

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE  
SECOND SESSION  
OF THE

CANADIAN

Trades & Labor Congress

HELD IN TORONTO,

ON TUESDAY, WEDNESDAY AND THURSDAY,

*September 14th, 15th & 16th, 1886.*

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PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY OF THE CONGRESS.

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TORONTO:  
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## MANNER OF SUMMONING.

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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 circular by which it was called is here given in full, as follows :

*Officers and Members of the Trades' Councils, Unions, and District and Local Assemblies of the Order of the Knights of Labor throughout the Dominion of Canada.*

FELLOW WORKERS :

The Labor Congress held in Toronto on December 26th to 28th, 1883, in adjourning, did so subject to the call of another when deemed advisable and necessary by the Toronto Trades' and Labor Council.

Acting on that understanding and authority, the Toronto Trades' and Labor Council has instructed its Legislative Committee to summon another Congress, and the latter body has determined on Tuesday, September 14th, 1886, as the date, and two o'clock in the afternoon of the same day as the hour of convening, in the hall 46½ Queen Street West.

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 upward 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, will be one of the main objects on this occasion, 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 waiting to receive them. Such committeeman will be known by a badge.

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 that time, being the second and most interesting week of Toronto's Industrial Exhibition, 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.

R. J. WHITTON, *President T. & L. Council.*  
CHARLES MARCH, *Chairman Legis. Com.*  
D. J. O'DONOGHUE, *Sec., 33 Bellevue Place.*

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# PROCEEDINGS

## FIRST DAY.

On September 14th, at 2.30 p.m., the Congress was called to order by Mr. Charles March, who said:—Fellow-workers and brethren in the labor cause, owing to the unavoidable absence of the able and highly respected president of the Toronto Trades and Labor Council, the pleasant duty devolves upon me as president of the Labor Congress held in this city three years ago, as well as by reason of the fact of my being chairman of the present Legislative Committee of the Toronto Trades and Labor Council, to whom was assigned the arrangements for the Congress, to welcome you on behalf of the Trades Council of Toronto upon the present occasion. In extending a warm welcome to each and all of you, I feel justified in the knowledge that I am but giving utterance to the desire of the labor organizations of Toronto. In arranging for this Congress the committee determined not to lay down any order of procedure for the Congress, rather trusting to the combined wisdom of the delegates here in determining what the scope of their deliberations and action should be upon this occasion, and for the further reason that the greatest latitude should be given for the introduction of every question in the interest of all who work for wages. I think you will all admit the wisdom of this determination, and it very opportunely relieves me of the necessity of attempting to speak upon this occasion in reference to the many subjects which will come up for your consideration. Under these circumstances I now declare this Congress of Organized Labor open for the transaction of business, at the same time hoping that Providence will so guide your efforts that nothing but good will result from them to the organized laborers of this Dominion who are your constituents.

On motion the chairman appointed the following Committee on credentials:—J. R. Brown, Oshawa; R. H. Leahey, Quebec; Thos. O'Brien, Hamilton; C. M. Dawson, London; and D. J. O'Donoghue.

The Congress then adjourned for an hour to give the Committee on Credentials an opportunity to prepare their report.

On re-assembling at 4 p.m., the committee reported that they had found some of the credentials without seals and some with the names very illegibly written. The committee would suggest that the organizations be recommended to take greater care in future in making out credentials. The names of delegates whose credentials had been received were then read by the Secretary. The report was received and so far as related to those having the proper documents, adopted. Explanations were given by delegates respecting those documents not having seals or being otherwise irregular, and in all cases that were satisfactory the delegates were declared duly elected, and those respecting which the explanations were not satisfactory were referred back to the committee.

The delegates declared to be in good standing were the following:—John Aldridge and John Turner, Bricklayers' Union No. 2, Toronto; S. McNabb, F. W. Brayne, and W. L. Taylor, District Assembly No. 125, Toronto; J. H. Gilmour, Assembly 2305, K. of L., Toronto; Henry Geary and James McFarlane, Assembly 8527, K. of L., Toronto; Wm. McDonald, Stonecutters' Association, Toronto; Geo. Dower, Assembly 2305, K. of L., Toronto; T. W. Banton, S. Slaney, A. E. Otter, Assembly 3684, K. of L., Toronto; John A. Matthews, Assembly 3558, K. of L., London; Joseph Brockman, Assembly 4279, K. of L., Oshawa; John Roney, Michael O'Halloran, John Guest, Assembly 2622, K. of L., Toronto; Richard Clark, Henry Horey, John Breen, Assembly 5933, K. of L., Merritton; John Ward, George J. Fanner, and Richard Adams, Assembly 6420, K. of L., Parkdale; Robert Stevenson, Chas. McKenzie, and Jas. Caswell, Assembly 2900, K. of L., Belleville; Wm. H. Bews, Assembly 7814, K. of L., Toronto; R. Scully, Assembly 4679, K. of L., Toronto; Charles M. Dawson, Assembly 3305, K. of L., London; Jas. Smith, Assembly 3558, K. of L., London; George Wrigley, Trades and Labor Council, St. Thomas; George Thom, Assembly 5254, K. of L. Toronto; H. White, Arthur Quinn, Geo. T. Beales, Builders' Laborers' Union, Toronto; Thos. O'Brien, Assembly 2225, K. of L., Hamilton; Wm. Fraser, Alex. Nasmyth, Assembly 6429, K. of L. Toronto; Chas. Chase, Operative Plasterers' Union, Toronto

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Thomas King, Wm. Wilson, Builders' Laborers' Union, No. 3, Hamilton; J. S. Williams, Robert Jessiman, Bryan Lynch, Assembly No. 2782, K. of L., Toronto; R. H. Leahey, Assembly 4003, K. of L., Quebec; Chas. Miller, David Hastings, John Armstrong, Toronto Typographical Union, No. 91, Toronto; Chas. March, D. J. O'Donoghue, Isaac Thomas, Trades and Labor Council, Toronto; George Knight, John Entwistle, Painters' Union, Toronto; Thos. Martin, Myron Drew, Assembly 2355, K. of L., Oshawa; A. S. Hardy, Assembly 5331, K. of L., Uxbridge; John Mills, Assembly 7110, K. of L., London; George Coleman, Assembly 1852, K. of L., Hamilton; Wm. Berry and A. Long, Assembly 2132, K. of L., Hamilton; Ed. Doyle, Assembly 2980, K. of L., Guelph; Thos. Lawlor, Assembly 2225, K. of L., Hamilton; James Hennigan, M. W. Conway, and James Ripley, Central Labor Union, Hamilton; M. Scrimgeour, Assembly 2980, K. of L., Guelph; A. H. Deike, Assembly 4703, K. of L., Guelph; S. Cleveland, Andrew Hardie, P. A. Dunn, Assembly 6798, K. of L., Thorold; Joseph Kiefer, W. R. James, Jeremiah Reardon, Assembly 2056, K. of L., St. Catharines; Alf. F. Jury, Assembly 2305, K. of L., Toronto; Wm. Jeffrey, Assembly No. 4679, K. of L., Toronto; Jos. A. Kilroy, John McArdle, Assembly 3281, K. of L., Windsor; John Nott, Assembly 5330, K. of L., Port Perry; Wm. Hogan, Assembly 5331, K. of L., Uxbridge; W. H. Chapman, Plumbers and Steamfitters' Union, Ottawa; W. Carruth, Assembly 5222, K. of L., Ottawa; James R. Brown, Trades and Labor Council, Oshawa; George Gale, Assembly 5222, K. of L., Ottawa; Richard Elliott, Assembly 4139, K. of L., Amherstburg; Wm. Fraser, Assembly 6429, K. of L., Toronto; Alex. Calder and H. Bellinghurst, Assembly 3491, K. of L., Toronto; Aubrey Hunt and Henry Copas, Assembly 6953, K. of L., Toronto; Robert Glockling and James Ross, Assembly 5743, K. of L., Toronto; John Knowlton and James Robertson, Cigar-makers' Union, No. 27, Toronto; C. Phillimore, Assembly 2513, K. of L., Port Dalhousie; Wm. Scarrow, Assembly 5099, London; Charles Scrace, Assembly 4332, St. Thomas; Phillips Thompson, Assembly 7814, Toronto; Mrs. Elizabeth Wright, Assembly 4650, St. Thomas; Wm. F. Martin, Assembly 3449, St. Thomas; E. L. Smith, Assembly 2416, Ingersoll; Archibald Fairgrieve and Albert Beddoe, Assembly 5845, Toronto; Geo. H. Berry and Edward Pike, Assembly 4538,

Toronto; Mr. Robson and Josiah Ablett, Assembly 4298, Parkdale; S. R. Heakes, American Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Toronto; J. D. Garden, Lathers' Union, Toronto.

The election of officers was then proceeded with, and resulted as follows:—Charles March, Toronto, chairman; M. W. Conway, Hamilton, J. R. Brown, Oshawa, and Thomas King, Hamilton, vice-chairmen; D. Hastings, Toronto, secretary; Geo. Gale, Ottawa, assistant secretary.

It was moved by CHAS. MILLER, and seconded by GEORGE DOWER, That the privilege of the floor be extended to visiting Knights of Labor and members of Trades Unions. Carried.

It was moved by D. J. O'DONOGHUE, and duly seconded, That a sergeant-at-arms be appointed. Carried.

It was moved by D. J. O'DONOGHUE, and duly seconded, That the sergeant-at-arms be paid a sufficient sum for his services. Carried.

It was moved by GEORGE T. BEALES, and duly seconded, That the secretary be instructed to secure a badge for members of the Congress. Carried.

Moved by M. W. CONWAY, and duly seconded, That a committee of five be appointed as a committee on Standing Orders and Resolutions, to report at each session of the Congress. Carried.

Messrs. Jury, Leahey, Conway, Brown, and Kilroy were appointed on this committee.

It was decided, on motion of JOSEPH BROCKMAN, That the hours of meeting be from 8 a.m. to 12 noon and from 2 p.m. to 6 p.m.

It was decided that all motions be made in writing, for the better transaction of the business of the Congress, and referred to the Standing Orders Committee.

It was moved by GEORGE WRIGLEY, and seconded by JAMES SMITH, That delegates, during the various sessions of this Congress, be required to give their names and the designation of the organizations they represent on each occasion on which they rise to speak. Carried.

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It was moved by D. J. O'DONOGHUE, and duly seconded, That the rules of order of this Congress be the same as those in use by the Toronto Trades' and Labor Council, in so far as they apply. Carried.

Moved by D. J. O'DONOGHUE, and duly seconded, That the courtesy of the Congress be extended to the press. Carried.

The Congress then adjourned.

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## SECOND DAY.

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WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 15TH, 1886.

### MORNING SESSION.

CHAIRMAN MARCH called the Congress to order at 8.10 a.m.

The minutes of the afternoon session were read and adopted.

Moved by M. W. CONWAY, seconded by A. F. JURY:

"That this Congress send a deputation to Hon. Mr. Mowat, to ascertain if the Government will receive a deputation from this Congress relating to the proclamation of the Factory Act." Carried.

The Standing Orders Committee reported in favor of taking up the questions before the Congress in the following order:

1. Manhood Suffrage.
2. Labor Representation.
3. A System of Representation.
4. Amendments to the Municipal Acts.
5. Property Qualification for Aldermen.
6. Assessment Lists of Cities and Towns must be published.
7. That the Exemption of the income tax be raised from \$400 to \$800.
8. That in the opinion of this Congress, the income tax for Municipal purposes should be abolished.
9. That in the opinion of this Congress, all municipal taxation should be based on Real Estate.
10. That the Torrens system of land transfer be adopted by this Congress.

The Committee also recommended that movers of resolutions be allowed ten minutes, and succeeding speakers five; no members to speak more than once on any question before the chair without special permission of the Congress.

The report of the Committee was received and adopted.

The resolution on Manhood Suffrage was laid over until the presence of the mover.

Moved by JOHN RONEY, Toronto, seconded by MR. O'HALLORAN :

"That in the opinion of this Congress the working classes 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 opinion, and the members of this Congress pledge themselves to use their utmost endeavors to bring out candidates at the ensuing Local and Dominion elections in the constituencies in which they reside."

The mover of the resolution was not present, but the seconder spoke briefly in support of it, strongly advocating the formation of a third party on a Labor Platform. He dwelt upon the necessity of united action on the part of working men.

MR. NOTT, of Port Perry, strongly advocated the resolution. When there was nothing to divide the parties he voted Conservative, but he wanted to vote for men who would give labor fair consideration in the legislation of the country. The parties should be given to understand that the workingmen would no longer be bound by party ties in view of their own interests. He advocated the casting of blank ballots by workingmen, which would show their strength, and serve as a protest against the existing state of things.

MR. D. J. O'DONOGHUE, thought that they would waste time by discussing the matter in the present shape, and moved in amendment :

"That the matter be referred to a special committee, to report it in a shape to be taken up by the Congress, with a view to political action."

MR. KILROY, of Windsor, objected to referring to committees vital questions of this kind, which the Congress should deal with.

MR. GUEST, of Toronto, strongly supported the appointment of a committee on this subject, to report a platform upon which they could act.

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MR. DAWSON, of London, also supported the amendment, as a means of saving time, and securing directness of action.

The amendment was carried, and the resolution referred to a special committee consisting of Messrs. Brown, Kilroy, Jury, Leahey, and Conway.

The Chairman appointed Mr. Clouthier as sergeant-at-arms.

Messrs. Gilmour and Chase were appointed a deputation to interview Mr. Mowat, in accordance with the resolution of Mr. Conway.

Moved by MR. W. H. BEWS, seconded by S. McNABB:

"That this Congress, representing the labor interests of Canada, demand manhood suffrage at the hands of our legislators."

MR. BEWS, in moving the resolution, said it was hardly necessary, in a Congress of this kind, to demand manhood suffrage. The legislatures of Canada had gone nearly as far as manhood suffrage practically, but the principle had not been affirmed. Some might go further and favor universal suffrage, but he thought if they declared for manhood suffrage they might, later on, declare for womanhood suffrage as well.

The resolution was unanimously carried.

Moved by A. F. JURY, seconded by R. H. LEAHEY:

"That in the opinion of this Congress the best way to obtain labor representation in Parliament would be by a system of grouped constituencies, giving each elector a cumulative vote."

MR. JURY thought the Province should be divided into groups of three, six, or nine constituencies. He instanced the election for school boards in England. There were nine members, say, to be elected, and each voter had nine votes, which he might plump or divide as he liked. If a party had one-ninth of the votes it could elect at least one man, and more in proportion to its strength. Under the existing system the labor party, he believed, could not elect its man in any constituency in Ontario.

MR. RONEY, Toronto, believed that the labor party could elect its own men in some constituencies.

MR. RIPLEY, Hamilton, said he believed in "one man, one vote." The system now proposed, it seemed to him, would give a chance for a "trade" in the labor vote by some so-called labor

leader, the practical result being in favor of the politicians who had their machinery always ready.

MR. GUEST, Toronto, gave some facts respecting the cumulative system in England to show that it tended directly to the representation of minorities in proportion of their strength.

MR. JESSIMAN, Toronto, said that they could hardly expect any Government to make a re-division of constituencies, which would tend to lessen their chances of power. They should first increase their power at the ballot and in the House. He thought they should do all that could be done with manhood or even universal suffrage first, before taking this step.

MR. D. J. O'DONOGHUE strongly approved the resolution. First, it was passed at the Congress three years ago, and they should affirm again and again all those principles which they had affirmed before and which they still approved. He thought the experience in England had clearly proven that the cumulative system tended to give representation to minorities. It was quite true the Governments would probably hold back, but they wanted to affirm the principle and work on solidifying their numbers and increasing their strength until they could compel the Government to act.

MR. HASTINGS, Toronto, said that there were other small parties who were now without representation which would join the labor party in securing this reform, and they could thus bring overwhelming strength against the Government to compel them to accede to the principle. This system had been in use for about twenty-five years in Norway and Sweden, and had proved a great success.

MR. BEWS said he thought under this system there would be less chance for trading, because now a man who sold his vote sold it all, while under this system a man might sell only a part.

MR. JURY supported the view of the last speaker, and explained with regard to "one man, one vote," the object of the principle thus expressed simply meant that no man should have more voting power than another.

MR. RIPLEY expressed himself satisfied with the explanation made, and said he would support the resolution.

The resolution was put and unanimously carried.

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Moved by MR. MACKENZIE, Belleville, seconded by MR. KIEFER, St. Catharines:

"That this Congress take measures to secure an amendment of the Municipal Act to abolish the principle of voting for municipal officers and councillors in other wards than that in which the voter resides."

The mover supported the resolution, claiming that it was not fair that one man should vote twice for aldermen against another's once because he happened to own a lot in another ward.

MR. CONWAY, Hamilton, strongly supported the motion, not only on the ground stated, but because in the city duplicate votes were illegally cast for Mayor under cover of the existing system.

MR. KIEFER said he seconded the resolution mainly to affirm the principle of "one man, one vote."

MR. WILLIAMS, Toronto, said he thought in matters affecting the spending of money by the municipalities, property should be to some extent represented.

MR. O'DONOGHUE said Mr. Williams could hardly have considered the matter. Under the existing system the man who had \$10,000 of property in one ward had only one vote, while the man with less, judiciously distributed, might have five or six. He would go so far as to say that even in money by-laws the rent-payer should vote, because the rent covered the costs upon the property. He hoped the resolution would be carried unanimously.

MR. WRIGLEY supported the resolution, which was put and unanimously carried.

The Chairman granted leave of absence, for the day, to Mr. Nott, of Port Perry.

The deputation appointed to see Mr. Mowat, reported that an interview had been arranged for 7.30 that evening.

MR. HASTINGS, Toronto, moved, seconded by MR. GALE, Ottawa:

"That this Congress petition the Provincial Legislature to abolish property qualification for holding municipal office."

The mover said that as property qualification had been abolished for members of the House of Commons and Local Legislatures, it seemed ridiculous to maintain it for municipal offices.

In this age of education and widening intelligence, experience constantly proved that ownership of property was no guarantee of intelligence.

MR. ARMSTRONG, Toronto, in supporting the resolution, said he was confident that there would be less "ring business" in connection with the important municipal institutions if the property qualification were done away with.

MR. SMITH, London, said they had in his city elected two labor representatives in one ward, but had great difficulty in the first place finding the man assessed high enough to be qualified. The carrying out of the proposition now made would make the representation of labor in the municipal bodies easier.

MESSRS. KILROY, BEWS, and KIEFER strongly supported the resolution, which was carried.

MR. GEORGE COLEMAN, Hamilton, moved, seconded by J. McARDLE, Windsor:

"That the Town and City Councils be compelled to publish the assessment rolls."

In the absence of MR. COLEMAN, MR. RIPLEY, of Hamilton, referred to the abuses existing, especially in the case of some business men, who "evaded" the law by scaling down their assessments. A laboring man could not thus "evade" the law, and the vast majority being true to their obligations as members of Assemblies would not evade it if they could. The assessment roll had been published once in Hamilton and some great injustices had been shown. The publication of the lists would tend to do away with these injustices by bringing public opinion to bear upon those who were guilty of them.

MR. HASTINGS, Toronto, referred to the practical injustice in the income tax shown by the recent publication of the Toronto assessment in the city press as proving the necessity for a change, and strongly supported the resolution.

MR. CONWAY, Hamilton, said he believed not a single manufacturing establishment in Hamilton paid a single dollar of income tax, which was a serious wrong.

MR. O'DONOGHUE expressed pleasure at having had this matter brought out. He thought, however, the resolution should be

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amended so as to make it more directly practical. He moved that it be made to read :

"That the Provincial Legislature be petitioned to so amend the Provincial Assessment Act that the municipal councils be compelled to publish the assessment rolls."

MR. PHILLIMORE, of Port Dalhousie, complained of irregularities in the assessment. These, he contended, would be remedied through the publication of the lists.

MR. KILROY, Windsor, strongly supported the resolution, quoting Detroit's experience under new assessors elected by the labor vote, showing how the assessment was swelled up in the case of some capitalists, who had up to that time evaded taxation to a large extent.

WM. BEWS moved in amendment to the amendment :

"That the matter be referred back to the Committee on Standing Orders and Resolutions."

The amendment to the amendment carried.

MR. A. F. JURY moved, seconded by MR. BEWS :

"That in the opinion of this Congress the income tax for municipal purposes should be abolished."

MR. JURY said doubtless they all agreed upon this question. The income tax was in its origin a war tax, but the Imperial Government found it a "soft thing" and continued it after the war, out of which it arose, had ended. The government on this side found it a good means of taking a great deal of money from the masses, and very little from the few rich, and they continued it. While the time might arise when it would be necessary to resort to the income tax, for war purposes or other special emergency, it was clearly a ridiculous clause as a tax for municipal purposes.

MR. WRIGLEY said there was a resolution to come up to raise the exemptions on income from \$400 to \$800. He thought some fusion of resolutions should be made. He believed there should be an exemption up to \$1,000.

After speeches by Messrs. Wrigley, Mackenzie, Bews, and Hastings, favorable to the resolution. MR. JURY said, with the consent of his seconder, and in conjunction with the mover of the resolution referred to, he would be glad to accept a motion to

increase the exemption to \$1,000, for that would relieve the masses from the tax, and it would not belong before it would be abolished.

The resolution was for the time laid over.

MR. CONWAY, Hamilton, moved, seconded by JAMES HENNINGAN, Hamilton,

"That all Labor organizations of the Province of Ontario petition the Legislature by 31st December, 1886, to raise the exemption of the income tax from \$400 to \$800 per year."

The mover explained that last session a Bill in this direction had been proposed, and was defeated only on the casting vote of the Speaker. If they could strengthen the hands of the gentleman who had that Bill in charge, by petitions from all the labor organizations of the Province, it would go through next session flying.

MR. O'DONOGHUE advocated the sending back of both of these resolutions to be moulded into one, declaring for the principle of abolition of the income tax, but in view of the probable impossibility of carrying that at once, accepting the increase of exemption for the present.

He moved in amendment, seconded by MR. GUEST, Toronto :

"That the whole question of exemption from and abolition of income tax be referred back to the Committee on Standing Orders and Resolutions."

MR. GUEST, of Toronto, said that there was an idea in the minds of all in England that the income tax was only temporary ; but they had got so fond of fighting over there that the tax was renewed again and again. He strongly objected to the manner adopted in Canada of finding out incomes, for the assessor might strike the factory or shop at a time when men were making specially high wages, and they would be assessed for the whole year at the rate they were then earning. The English system of appealing to a man direct, instead of to the books of his employer, was much preferable.

MR. CONWAY thought there was no object to be gained by referring back to the committee. The principle of abolition had not been declared for by the Congress, and they should be careful not to put the cart before the horse.

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MR. LYNCH, Toronto, favored Mr. O'Donoghue's resolution. He thought it would save time, and lead to the assertion of a proper principle, a temporary exception being allowed for the time.

MR. BEWS feared that the carrying of the amendment in favor of an increased exemption would look like class legislation, which they ought to avoid.

MR. KILROY thought their duty here was to look out for the class they represented, and let others look out for themselves.

MR. MARTIN, Oshawa, said he believed, properly considered, what a man earned by his work was not income, but what he made from investments, or from some source outside of his earnings.

After some further discussion the motion and amendment were withdrawn, and A. F. JURY then moved, seconded by J. A. MATTHEWS:

"That this Congress, believing the income tax to be an anomaly for municipal purposes, and that it should be ultimately abolished, but pending the consummation of that idea, call upon the Provincial Legislatures to raise the exemption on income from \$400 to \$800 at the next session of the said Legislatures, and that all labor organizations be requested to petition their various local Legislatures for the same."

On being put, this was unanimously carried.

It was moved by MR. KILROY, seconded by THOMAS O'BRIEN:

"That this Congress endorse the Torrens' system of land transfer."

MR. JURY, at Mr. Kilroy's request, explained the features and advantages of the Torrens system, and advocated the adoption of it in Canada.

MR. KILROY especially supported the resolution in favor of this system as one which would show the farmers that organized labor was their friend, and that they would gain advantages through it.

MR. O'DONOGHUE said he favored the resolution and the Torrens land system. Still he did not want to have it understood that land was like any other property, absolutely within title of the men who assumed to own it. The title to land was in the State, and that principle should be affirmed.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

The Congress rose for recess at 12 o'clock.

## AFTERNOON SESSION.

CHAIRMAN MARCH called the Congress to order at 2 p.m.

CHAIRMAN MARCH reported that he had received an intimation from the Dominion Alliance that a deputation from that body desired to address the Congress, and it was decided to hear them at 3.30 p.m.

The minutes of the morning session were then read and adopted.

The rules having been suspended on motion, MR. GEORGE W. DOWER moved, seconded by DAVID HASTINGS:

"That a committee of five be appointed to take into consideration the formation of this body into a permanent organization, and that they be instructed to report at the earliest possible moment the basis for the same."

The motion was adopted, and the following committee was appointed: Messrs. Dower, Toronto; Brown, Oshawa; Kilroy, Windsor; Gale, Ottawa, and Dawson, London.

The Committee on Standing Orders and Resolutions reported a series of resolutions, the order being adopted by the Congress.

The first resolution was one which had been referred back to the Committee, and which the Committee reported in the following form:

Moved by JOHN RONEY, Toronto, seconded by MR. O'HALLORAN:

"That in the opinion of this Congress the working classes 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 members of this Congress pledge themselves to use their utmost endeavors, wherever practicable, to bring out candidates for the local and Dominion elections in the constituencies in which they reside."

MR. RONEY said the resolution had been changed by the Committee. He would prefer it in this form:—"Since it is evident that many reforms, bearing on the interests and affecting the well-being of the working people of this country, are urgently needed, in order to secure such reforms the working men should lose no time in sending representatives from amongst themselves to the various governmental bodies." However, he thought he could say

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what he wanted under the resolution proposed by the Committee. He referred to the several reforms necessary, such as a Factory Act, restricted hours of labor, etc., and said that the workingmen could hardly hope to secure the necessary legislation for such reforms so long as they continued to vote on the old party lines. The working classes had been overlooked because workingmen were not there to speak for themselves. Some years ago there was a strike on the Grand Trunk, and the very next year an Act was passed preventing a similar strike again, by prohibiting men from leaving their trains between stations. How long would it be before an Act to favor their pockets could be got by workingmen?

MR. JURY said that this last statement was hardly in accord with the fact. It appeared as a coincidence that the Grand Trunk strike had taken place the session before changes were made in the Master and Servants' Act, doing away with the penal clause in case of breach of contract by employees. But Parliament insisted on making three exceptions—in cases of men in gas or water-works or those running machines, by the sudden stopping of which life and property might be lost. The workingmen got benefitted rather than otherwise by the Act passed embodying this clause.

MR. WRIGLEY moved in amendment, seconded by BRYAN LYNCH, that the following be added to the resolution:—

"And where it is not deemed advisable to nominate labor candidates, that all labor organizations be advised to act unitedly in support of the candidate who pledges himself to vote for most planks of the platform of this Congress."

MR. HOGAN, Uxbridge, said he would rather have a straight platform. North Ontario, in which he lived, was a ticklish riding, and the labor vote, if united, would hold the balance of power. An opportunity should be given the labor vote there to make itself felt.

MR. MCKENZIE, Belleville, thought it not wise to go in for pledging candidates, for the ordinary party candidate would pledge himself to almost anything for votes.

MR. BEWS, Hamilton, advocated the casting of ballots marked "bad" against both party candidates. It was derogatory to the cause of labor to hawk their platform about. They had a man in Hamilton named Witton who was sent to Parliament.

What did he do? The first situation that was offered him he took it, and went to Vienna on some Government exhibition business.

MR. O'DONOGHUE defended Mr. Witton, whom he had known, and who, he considered, had done some part, if not the whole, of his duty. He thought the only way was to accept and support the best party candidates available where they could not have candidates of their own.

MR. HASTINGS took Parnell as an example of Parliamentary tactics, and pointed out that he had sought to get the balance of power. They should do the same with their votes.

MR. RIPLEY said that the Home Rulers had first formed a party and had drawn men to them. That was what they should do—make a party, and place it so that it would have weight.

MR. CONWAY thought they had forgotten the expected union with the Grangers. If that were achieved they would be able to bring out candidates in many constituencies.

MR. DAWSON, London, said that in London they had been shut out of effective political action in the Dominion because of London East being out of the city for Dominion electoral purposes.

MR. KILROY thought they should have their own candidates. The running of an election would be an education.

MR. GUEST, Toronto, said that some members seemed to think they could get what they chose to demand. That was not the case. The best thing they could do was to take what they could get, and where they had no candidates, vote for the best candidates in the field.

MR. B. LYNCH strongly advocated the adoption of Parnell's policy of making the best use of the votes of his party in every constituency. A partisan elected with Home Rule votes had to vote with the Home Rulers or make up his mind to stay at home after the succeeding election.

MR. DEIKE, Guelph, said that if they would put their own candidates in the field, doubtless they would get many votes of men not in labor organizations, who were only waiting for an opportunity to express their views.

The addition to the resolution proposed by MR. WRIGLEY was carried, and the resolution as amended adopted.

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A deputation from the Dominion Alliance was announced, and was ordered to be admitted. The deputation entered, and was received by the Congress standing. The temperance delegates were Mayor Howland, Ald. McMillan, Messrs. F. S. Spence, Toronto; W. Burgess, Listowel; A. J. Syer, Wyoming; D. H. Williams, London.

The CHAIRMAN welcomed the delegates, invited them to places beside him on the platform, and informed them that the Congress had extended the privileges of the floor to them.

MAYOR HOWLAND, who was received with applause, said he felt quite at home on this platform, and was proud to head a delegation from the Dominion Alliance to the Labor Congress. He thought there should have been an association of their two bodies for common purposes long before this time. Both were working on great social questions, both believed in saving flesh and blood, and both had the same interests at heart. The temperance movement was one which would benefit workingmen by saving money to them and to the country. The curse was not due to workingmen alone or chiefly. The restriction of the evil would tend to level social differences, and he, for one, did not believe in the great social differences which existed. If they wanted to find the finest residences and the most lavish display of wealth in any city or town in America, they could find it where the brewers and distillers lived. Their extravagance represented the savings of the people. The Alliance desired practical action with organized labor, for the Alliance had the agriculturists with them, and their friends of the Congress had the workingmen. They ought to unite on political work. He conveyed the heartiest greetings and sympathy of the Alliance.

Mr. F. S. SPENCE said that the views of the temperance party and those of the workingmen were identical, for the temperance movement was, in its inception and in its operation, a workingman's movement. They were fighting the same evils, the same interests. They were even fighting the same men. The bitterest foe of temperance was the same man who was the bitterest foe of organized labor (a voice—"Frank Smith"), and it was a disgrace to his party and—he would say the same if it was the other side—an insult to the temperance and the

labor communities that he should be honored as he was. They brought the cordial, kindly greetings of the Alliance to the representatives of organized labor.

The other delegates also addressed the assembly.

The CHAIRMAN assured the delegates the Congress was glad to see them, and said some action in reference to their visit would probably be taken.

With thanks expressed for the kind reception accorded them, the deputation withdrew.

Moved by GEORGE COLEMAN, seconded by MR. McARDLE:

"That the Provincial Legislatures be petitioned to so amend the Provincial Assessment Act that councils of cities, towns, and other municipalities be compelled to publish the assessment rolls annually in the newspapers of the municipality in time to be submitted to the Court of Revision."

After some discussion this resolution was carried unanimously.

MR. D. J. O'DONOGHUE moved, seconded by MR. CHAS. MILLER, of Toronto:

"That the continued and systematic expenditure of large sums of public money in assisting and encouraging to this country paupers, indigents, and orphans from abroad, is a gross injustice to the people of Canada, and in particular to the working classes; therefore, be it resolved, that it is the imperative duty of the Governments to peremptorily abolish the existing immigration system, and that due care should be exercised in preventing the introduction of such classes into Canada, whether they be sent under the authority of the Imperial Government or through any other channel."

The resolution was carried unanimously.

MR. WRIGLEY moved, seconded by MR. SMITH, of London:

"Whereas the labor of convicts, when sold, as heretofore, to contractors, is forced into competition with that of honest laborers throughout the Dominion, therefore be it resolved that this Congress recommends that hereafter the Governments do not sell such labor to contractors, unless in such manner and at such figures that unfair competition with legitimate labor will not result; and resolved also, that it be required that some mark or designation be placed upon prison-made goods, to inform intending purchasers that they are such."

The mover briefly supported his resolution, saying he would speak at greater length, but he supposed it would be carried without division.

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MR. MCKENZIE, Belleville, said that he believed the contract system should be done away with altogether.

MR. O'DONOGHUE said that the Toronto Trades and Labor Council had advocated this reform before the Government, but were asked what should be established in its place. They had promised to report a scheme, and would be glad to have suggestions from delegates and from other bodies. The question was beyond doubt an exceedingly complicated one, for in the fall many committed small offences in order to be sent to prison for the winter, there to be well fed and housed. If they were supported in idleness it would be by the taxes of working people, which was in itself a grievance.

MR. SMITH, London, said that the convicts, in his opinion, should be sent to the North-West, and to the wild lands of the Province to open them up for settlement.

MR. HOGAN, Uxbridge, said that the convicts should be set to breaking stones for the country roads everywhere, and the statute labor money should be used to buy the stones.

MR. JESSIMAN strongly advocated the idea set forth by Mr. Smith, saying he had held it for years.

MR. RONEY, Toronto, said they might as well get the convicts to making shoes as breaking stones, for either interfered with the honest laborer.

MR. WRIGLEY said that if the goods produced by the convicts were not sold below regular prices the injury done would be reduced to a minimum.

MR. RIPLEY, Hamilton, said that he objected to the contract system in toto, and wanted to see it done away with.

MR. LYNCH agreed that the question was an exceedingly complicated one, but it seemed to him if the convicts were put to work making goods for the unfortunates in the public charitable institutions the difficulty would be in great part overcome.

MR. MCKENZIE, Belleville, moved, seconded by MR. ROBERT STEVENSON:

"That this convention expresses its disapproval of any system of prison contract labor or the product of convict labor being placed in competition with the product of honest labor."

MR. KILROY, Windsor, supported the amendment. He thought the first thing was to prevent the competition of prison with honest labor.

MR. BEWS, Hamilton, said nothing could well be more ridiculous than to tax honest men to maintain men in idleness simply because they had broken the laws. He had seen men from the South-west, and from what they said he doubted the advisability of maintaining the chain-gang system or introducing it here. It was a degrading thing to set a man who might have been guilty of a crime committed in a fit of passion, the only stain on a law-abiding life, out to work on the streets with convicts with a ball to his leg. The people of Muskoka would not stand the sending of convicts up there to work. Like as not they would turn out and shoot both guards and convicts. He thought Mr. Lynch's idea a good one. Further discussion was taken part in by Mr. S. B. McGown, Toronto; Mr. Ross, Toronto; and others.

MR. HASTINGS moved, in amendment to the amendment, seconded by C. M. DAWSON, of London:

"That the whole matter of prison labor be referred to a special committee to devise a definite plan for the guidance of organized labor in the matter."

The amendment to the amendment carried, and the following committee was appointed by the chairman: Messrs. Smith, Knight, Lynch, Hardy, and Wright.

#### THE FACTORY ACT.

The following were appointed by the chairman a deputation to wait on the Attorney-General respecting the Factory Act:— Messrs. A. Jury, Chas. Miller, Toronto; Conway, Hamilton; Scrimgeour, Guelph; McKenzie, Belleville; W. R. James, St. Catharines; Kilroy, Windsor; Nott, Port Perry; Hogan, Uxbridge; Gale, Ottawa; Brockman, Oshawa; Elliott, Amherstburg; Phillimore, Port Dalhousie; McNabb, Parkdale; Matthews, London; Wrigley, St. Thomas; Leahey, Quebec; Horey, Merriton, and Smith, Ingersoll.

It was moved by D. J. O'DONOGHUE, and duly seconded:

"That a committee of four be appointed to act with the committee from the Toronto Trades and Labor Council to meet the committee of the Grangers."

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He explained that the object was to secure to some extent united action with the Grange. The resolution was carried, and Messrs. O'Donoghue, Brown, Kilroy, and Hennigan were appointed on the committee.

It was moved by D. J. O'DONOGHUE, seconded by GEO. GALE, of Ottawa :

"That in the opinion of this Congress, any Factory Act enacted, or hereafter to be enacted, will fail in attaining the end sought, if the inspector or inspectors appointed to secure its enforcement do not possess the confidence of the wage-earners at large, as expressed by the various labor organizations."

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Under suspension of the rules MR. HENNIGAN, Hamilton, moved, seconded by MR. KILROY :

"That a delegation from this body be appointed to wait upon the Executive Committee of the Dominion Alliance, with a view to securing closer relations between both bodies on all matters looking to the elevation of the working classes, and adequate representation of their interests in our legislatures."

After a lively debate, in the course of which Mr. Lynch declared that the temperance and labor vote united would be invincible, and that this was the greatest opportunity organized labor in Canada had had for a generation, the resolution was carried. The committee appointed to meet the Grange committee was appointed to wait upon the Alliance Executive also, with the addition of Mr. B. Lynch.

MR. O'DONOGHUE, seconded by MR. HASTINGS, moved :

"That 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 effort tending to reduce the consumption of intoxicating liquors will meet the hearty support of organized labor, as represented in this Congress."

The resolution was carried.

MR. GALE, Ottawa, moved, seconded by MR. HASTINGS, and it was resolved :

"That in the opinion of this Congress a law should be passed enforcing the payment of wages weekly, where practicable, and in lawful money."

MR. DEIKE, Guelph, moved, seconded by MR. CONWAY :

“That this Congress approves of the principles of co-operation, and recommend their application to the production and distribution of the results of labor wherever practicable.”

The resolution carried and the Congress adjourned.

### THIRD DAY.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 16TH, 1886

#### MORNING SESSION.

CHAIRMAN MARCH called the Congress to order at 8.30 a.m.

The minutes of the previous session were read and adopted.

It was moved by JAMES RIPLEY, and duly seconded, that this Congress adjourn at 6 p.m. to-day.

It was moved in amendment that the hour be 5 p.m.

It was moved in amendment to the amendment, that this Congress use every effort to finish the business at 6 p.m. to-day.

The amendment to the amendment carried.

The committee appointed to interview Hon. Mr. Mowat last evening regarding the proclamation of the Factory Act, reported having done so. Mr. Mowat detailed the history of the Factory Act legislation, the reasons which, up to the present, prevented the proclamation of the Act, and the position of the matter as it now stands, and stated that if he could not get the Act into operation any other way, he would proclaim it. The report was received.

D. J. O'DONOGHUE moved, seconded by GEORGE WRIGLEY, that having read the report of the committee appointed to press upon the Attorney-General the advisability of giving the effect of the law to the present Factory Act, be it resolved:

“That in the event of the existing Factory Act not being in the meantime proclaimed law, all labor organizations be recommended to petition the Provincial Legislature to order the present Factory Act to become the law.”

MR. J. A. KILROY moved in amendment, seconded by M. W. CONWAY:

“That, in the opinion of this Congress, nothing short of the proclamation by the Ontario Government of this Factory Act will meet the requirements of the workingmen of Ontario.”

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The amendment was discussed by Messrs. KILROY and BEALES.

The previous question having been called for and carried, the amendment was adopted.

The committee on prison labor reported as follows:—Your committee, to whom was recommended the resolution on convict labor, beg to report the following resolution,

“That, recognizing the fact that labor should be ennobling to mankind, this Congress disputes the right of Governments to sell convict labor, and place it in competition with the labor of honest workingmen, and that while this Congress does not recognize any duty resting upon it to provide any means of employment for convicts, it would recommend that, where it is not deemed advisable to keep them in solitary confinement as a punishment for crime, they may be profitably employed by laboring on public works, under proper guards, or by laboring in new countries, improving the lands and roads for intending settlers.”

It was moved in amendment by JOHN RONEY, seconded by M. O'HALLORAN :

“That the whole matter be referred to a special committee to report at the next session of this Congress.”

It was moved in amendment to the amendment :

“That this Congress protest against the employment of prison labor in any way by which it will come into competition with free labor.”

The previous question having been called for, the amendment to the amendment was adopted.

It was moved by P. A. DUNN, seconded by HENRY HOREY:

“That the Secretary of this Labor Congress be and is hereby instructed to send to the Hon. Mr. Mowat a copy of the resolution passed at this Congress in reference to the Factory Act.” Carried.

It was moved by JOSEPH KIEFER, seconded by SAMUEL CLEVELAND :

“That we sustain the Assemblies of the Knights of Labor and other labor organizations in the counties of Lincoln and Welland in their protests against the contemplated action of the Dominion Government in unwatering the Welland Canal for five or six months during the coming winter, which would throw over 2,500 working people out of employment, and cause suffering and destitution in the localities interested, and that a copy of this resolution, signed by the President and Secretary, be forwarded to the Minister of Railways and Canals, Ottawa.” Carried.

It was moved by WM. BERRY, seconded by JAMES RIPLEY :

"That the K. of L. label of the Shoe and Leather Workers' Council of America be endorsed by this Congress as a *bona fide* label for boots and shoes." Carried.

It was moved by H. GEARY, seconded by J. McFARLANE :

"That in view of the rapid growth of the city and town populations, and the consequent huddling together of large numbers of working people in small and ill-ventilated workshops, and under very imperfect sanitary arrangements, causing sickness and distress in many honest homes, therefore be it resolved that the Congress call upon the Dominion and Local Governments to pass a Workshop Regulation Act, by which all the workshops of the Dominion shall be regularly and properly inspected by competent inspectors, in whom the labor organizations of the country have confidence." Carried.

MR. DAVID HASTINGS moved, seconded by GEORGE GALE :

"That, in the opinion of this Congress, much more stringent legislation is needed in the direction of prohibiting the importation of Chinese labor." Carried.

MR. D. J. O'DONOGHUE moved, seconded by DAVID HASTINGS:

"That this Congress would recommend to all labor organizations the agitation of the eight-hour system as the only means by which the large amount of surplus labor at present in the market of the Dominion can be employed, and a fair amount of remuneration for such labor be received." Carried.

MR. LEAHEY, Quebec, moved, seconded by MR. D. J. O'DONOGHUE :

"That this Congress approves of the appointment by law of Dominion and Provincial arbitrators, to which all disputes between workmen and their employers shall be submitted for settlement, and that their decision be final."

After discussion by Messrs. Knowlton, Jury, Conway, Thompson, Jessiman, Gale, Bews, Scrace, Williams, Lynch and Aldridge, it was moved in amendment by A. F. JURY, seconded by GEORGE GALE :

"That this Congress approves of the principle of arbitration, and petitions the various Governments to pass a law giving legal and binding effect to the decision of any Board of Arbitrators mutually agreed upon by both parties to any labor dispute."

MR. PHILLIPS THOMPSON said that the great benefit of arbitration was that it allowed a dispute to be settled without either party

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feeling the humiliation of a defeat. It was quite true that a workingman could not be compelled to work for an employer, even after the award was made; but the employer would be placed in good standing with the labor organization which demanded the arbitration.

MR. GALE, of Ottawa, expressed himself as cordially in favor of the principle of arbitration.

MR. WRIGLEY, St. Thomas, was opposed to the arbitrators being permanently appointed by the Government. There would be too many opportunities to buy them up. He thought the arbitrators should be appointed by the men at the time when their services were required. He therefore moved in amendment to the amendment, seconded by A. S. HARDY:

"That this Congress affirm the principle of arbitration in all cases in which difficulties arise between employers and employees that cannot otherwise be settled, and that this Congress further requests that a law be passed making it binding that in cases where disputes arise, each party must proceed to arbitrate, and making the decision of such arbitration in all cases binding."

MR. LYNCH believed that one arbitrator should be appointed by the employers, another by the men, and a third by the Provincial Government. The Governments had an interest in the matter, for they were interested in the preservation of peace.

MR. ALDRIDGE agreed in the views expressed by Mr. Lynch.

MR. O'DONOGHUE said that while it was true that you could not compel men to go back to work after an arbitration, still he believed the general rule was that both parties to an arbitration fairly abided by the decision. He did not believe in the Government appointing one arbitrator, as suggested by Mr. Lynch; that would be virtually giving employers two arbitrators. He believed the whole board should be appointed by the Government.

MR. HASTINGS contended that Mr. O'Donoghue's position was inconsistent, inasmuch as he was afraid to trust the Government with the appointment of one arbitrator, but willing to let them appoint all three.

MR. O'DONOGHUE said there was no inconsistency in that position. If the Government appointed all three, the workingmen could hold them responsible for the choice. If they appointed only

one, they could choose whom they pleased. They could say: "This is our prerogative. You and the employees can choose whom you please, and we have the same privilege."

After some further discussion, in which Messrs. Armstrong, Ripley, Bews, and Jessiman took part, the question having been called for, the amendment to the amendment was carried by a vote of 37 to 17.

The rules having been suspended on motion, the report of the special committee on permanent organization was received and taken up clause by clause.

The report was still under discussion when the Congress rose at 12 noon for recess.

#### AFTERNOON SESSION.

Chairman March called the Congress to order at 2 p.m.

The minutes of the morning session were read and adopted.

D. J. O'DONOGHUE reported on behalf of the delegation appointed to wait on the Dominion alliance, that they had been very favorably received, and had laid their views before that body.

The report was received.

Discussion on the report of the committee on permanent organization was then resumed. The report as amended and finally adopted is as follows:

That an organization be formed of the Trades Unions and Knights of Labor assemblies of the Dominion of Canada, under the name of the Trades and Labor Congress of the Dominion of Canada.

That the Congress meet annually, at such time and place as may be determined on at each session.

That the objects of the organization be for the better consideration and carrying out of the measures most suited for the advancement of the wage-earners and the cementing more closely of the various industries throughout the Dominion.

That the revenue of the Congress be raised by an assessment of—per member of all bodies affiliated with the Congress, the amount to be determined by a ways and means committee.

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The representation shall be as follows:—Trades Unions and K. of L. Assemblies, composed of 200 members and under, one delegate; over 200 and under 400, two delegates; over 400, three delegates; Trades and Labor Councils, District Assemblies, and Central Labor Unions, three delegates.

The Executive Board shall be composed of a President, Vice-President, Secretary-Treasurer, and ten members selected from different portions of the Dominion.

In reply to a question by Mr. Gale, Ottawa, as to what paper the delegates should purchase while in the city, Mr. Hastings stated that all the daily papers were in the fold of the union with the exception of the *Evening Telegram*.

MR. DOWER moved that the Congress now proceed to elect officers of the permanent organizations and choose the place of meeting. Carried.

The following nominations were made for President:—Mr. Charles March, Toronto; Mr. M. W. Conway, Hamilton; Mr. Kilroy, Windsor; Mr. D. J. O'Donoghue, Toronto. Mr. D. J. O'Donoghue and Mr. Kilroy retired, and a ballot was taken between Mr. March and Mr. Conway. The result was the election of Mr. March, who obtained 34 votes, Mr. Conway getting 33.

MR. CONWAY moved that Mr. March's election be made unanimous. Carried.

MR. M. W. CONWAY was elected Vice-President by acclamation.

MR. HASTINGS, of Toronto, was elected Secretary-Treasurer by acclamation.

The following Executive Committee was elected:—Hamilton to Niagara, James Hennigan; London to Hamilton, C. M. Dawson, London; Windsor to London, J. A. Kilroy; Toronto to Whitby, A. S. Hardy, Uxbridge; Guelph to Toronto, Wm. Scrimgeour; Oshawa to Cobourg, James R. Brown, Oshawa; Belleville to Brockville, James Caswell, Belleville; Ottawa and neighborhood, George Gale, Ottawa; Quebec, R. H. Leahey, Quebec City.

Owing to there being no representative at the Congress from the Stratford district, that section was left unrepresented.

It was moved by JAMES H. GILMOUR, seconded by DAVID HASTINGS, that we proceed to nominate places for the next convention. Carried.

It was moved by M. W. CONWAY, seconded by JAMES H. GILMOUR, that the place receiving the highest number of ballots be the one selected.

It was moved in amendment that the place selected secure a majority of all ballots cast.

On a vote being taken, the amendment was lost, and the main motion carried.

A ballot was then taken with the following result:—Hamilton 32; Ottawa 17; London 10; Toronto 7; Belleville 3. The choice of Hamilton was made unanimous.

It was moved by GEORGE GALE, seconded by DAVID HASTINGS:

"That a Committee on Ways and Means be now appointed, and that said committee report as soon as possible." Carried.

Messrs. Jury, Ripley, Gale, Hardy and James were appointed on this committee.

Moved by B. LYNCH, seconded by ALF. JURY:

"That it be a recommendation from this Congress to the various district assemblies or trades and labor councils represented here, to take such steps as they may find necessary towards getting up a course of winter lectures in their respective districts, for the purpose of improving the moral and mental condition of the working classes, so as to better qualify them for the discharge of their increased and important duties as citizens." Carried.

MR. J. GUEST moved, seconded by MR. J. RONEY:

"That the interests of working people are not conserved by the continuance in authority of any irresponsible body possessing power to defeat measures passed by responsible representatives of the people, and the Dominion Senate being such a body and possessing such power, it is the opinion of this Congress that said body should be abolished."

MR. HEAKES moved in amendment, seconded by JOHN ARMSTRONG:

"That the representatives in the Senate be in the future elected by the people, so as to bring that body in sympathy with the masses."

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The mover of the amendment pointed out that in the United States, the country which was held up as a model of a democratic state, there were two representative bodies.

MR. JURY, supporting the original motion, said that the case of America had been cited. He thought that the two houses in America were a survival of the British constitution. He did not believe in electing two bodies to do the work of one. There was not a single case in which a second chamber had been useful. The Province of Ontario had but one chamber, and the legislation of that Province, whether under Mr. Sandfield Macdonald or Mr. Mowat, would compare with the legislation of any legislative body in the world.

MR. PHILLIPS THOMPSON said that the best way to reform the Senate was to reform it out of existence. The Senate of the United States, instead of being a model, should be a warning. It was a house of monopolists, capitalists, and railway men, who for the most part had bought their way into power, and were a block in the way of progressive legislation.

MR. O'HALLORAN, Toronto, said that there were some Senators who never went to Ottawa except to attend to their own selfish interests. It was a Senator who had referred to certain workingmen as a lot of thieves.

MR. JOHN NOTT wanted to know whether the Congress wished to keep in power a set of men who branded them as a lot of thieves. The Senate was responsible to nobody, it was expensive, and it was useless.

MR. BEWS said that any endeavor to patch the Senate would be a failure. It should be abolished entirely.

MR. RONEY said that the Senate was opposed to the democratic sentiment of the country, and was both useless and harmful.

The amendment was put and lost by a large majority, and the original motion carried on the same vote.

It was moved by JAMES RIPLEY, seconded by WM. BERRY:

"That in the opinion of this Congress the Dominion Government should issue all moneys for the purpose of a circulating medium, to be legal tender for all debts, public and private, and that the Government do not grant charters to banks."

It was moved in amendment by A. F. JURY, seconded by DAVID HASTINGS, to strike out all words after "private."

After discussion the amendment carried, and the resolution was adopted as amended.

It was moved by GEORGE THOM, seconded by SAMUEL B. MCGOWAN:

"That the city council of Toronto be petitioned to enforce the by-law regarding the street railway, to compel that company to carry a limited number of passengers on each car for the better protection of health and safety of life."

An amendment, referring the matter to the Toronto Trades and Labor Council, was adopted.

D. J. O'DONOGHUE, on behalf of the delegation appointed to meet the executive board of the Dominion Grange, reported having done so. The matter discussed was the advisability of union between the two bodies, which was very favorably viewed by both sides. Arrangements were made for the subsequent examination by each of the constitution of the other body. The Grange's board asked that the Congress prepare a platform to be submitted to them at their approaching fall meeting. The delegation recommended that the Congress instruct the executive to foster the further unity of the two.

The report was received, and the recommendation adopted.

The Congress adjourned at 6 o'clock, to meet again at 7.30.

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### EVENING SESSION.

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PRESIDENT MARCH called the Congress to order at 7.45 p.m., in Richmond Hall, Dufferin Hall being engaged.

The minutes of the afternoon session were read and adopted.

A motion limiting speakers to two minutes, and to only one speech on each question, was adopted.

A letter from J. Herbert Mason, president of the Canada Land Law Amendment Association, relating to the Torrens land transfer system, and enclosing 50 copies of a pamphlet issued by the association, was read by the Secretary.

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On motion, the communication was received and ordered to be acknowledged, and it was decided to petition the legislature in accordance with the suggestion of the letter.

It was moved and seconded that the Congress go into committee of the whole on ways and means. Carried.

M. W. CONWAY took the Chair.

Moved by SAMUEL McNABB, and duly seconded, that the expenses of this Congress be left in the hands of the Toronto Trades and Labor Council of Toronto, and they be empowered to levy a pro rata assessment on the bodies represented.

Moved in amendment by CHARLES MARCH, seconded by J. A. KILROY, that the President and Secretary-Treasurer be empowered to levy a pro rata assessment on the bodies represented, for the purpose of paying all expenses and seeing that the reports are printed and circulated, and that the same officers be empowered to levy an additional assessment, if necessary, to meet current expenses before the meeting of next Congress.

Moved in amendment to the amendment by D. J. O'DONOGHUE, seconded by THOS. O'BRIEN :

"That the sum of \$1.00 per organization represented at the present Congress be assessed forthwith for the purpose of liquidating pressing obligations."

The amendment to the amendment carried.

The amendment was then carried.

The main motion was lost.

On motion the committee of the whole rose and reported, and the report was adopted.

Moved by GEO. GALE, Ottawa, seconded by DAVID HASTINGS:

"That this 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." Carried.

Moved by J. R. BROWN, seconded by D. J. O'DONOGHUE :

"That in the opinion of this Congress any terms or stipulations other than the rendering of an equivalent for wages, insisted upon or demanded by employers in the engagement of employes, should be declared by law null and void; and that any attempt at their exaction be declared a criminal offence, punishable by imprison-

ment for a specific period on proof and conviction in any court of competent jurisdiction; be it therefore resolved that both the Dominion and Provincial governments be respectfully petitioned to introduce and pass into law measures to that effect."

An amendment by MR. JURY, to strike out all reference to criminal prosecution, was lost, and the motion carried.

Moved by JAMES ROBERTSON, seconded by JOHN KNOWLTON:

"That this Congress endorses the blue label of the cigar-makers' international union to be the only reliable guarantee of union-made cigars."

SAMUEL McNABB moved in amendment, seconded by W. H. BEWS:

"That the matter be laid on the table till the next Congress."

A motion to adjourn was made by D. J. O'DONOGHUE, and duly seconded, but on being put to the Congress, was declared lost. A lengthy discussion then ensued, taken part in by Messrs. Knowlton, Conway, Bews, Robertson, Aldridge, Hastings, Hennigan and Jury, and D. J. O'Donoghue then moved, in amendment to the amendment:

"That the words 'the only' be stricken out, and the word 'a' substituted."

The mover of the original resolution accepted the amendment to the amendment, and the amendment having been withdrawn, the original motion was adopted with the change noted.

It was moved by M. W. CONWAY, seconded by A. F. JURY:

"That we believe that the Employers Liability bill of the last session of the Government of Ontario should have been enacted without any provision depriving any laboring element of the full benefit of the act; and we request, as a representative body of labor, that the Government will at the expiration of the limited time of one year wipe out the provision complained of." Carried.

It was moved by CHAS. CHASE, seconded by D. J. O'DONOGHUE:

"That the Dominion Government be petitioned for the enactment of an Employers' Liability Act." Carried.

It was moved by W. H. BEWS, seconded by J. A. KILROY:

"That this Congress demands the abolition of the contract system in connection with national, provincial and municipal works, and the institution of a system whereby such public works will be carried on under the direct supervision of the National,

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Provincial and Municipal Governments, thus saving to the people that large proportion of public revenue now absorbed by middlemen and non-producers of the capitalistic class." Carried.

Moved by A. F. JURY, seconded by MR. ALDRIDGE :

"That the Congress call upon the Dominion Government to at once appoint the officers required by the Trades Union Act to give it practical effect, so that labor organizations can take advantage of such Act by incorporating under its provisions." Carried.

Moved by D. J. O'DONOGHUE, seconded by J. A. KILROY :

"That in the opinion of this Congress any Insolvency Act should contain a provision giving labor a priority of claim for wages of sixty days at least." Carried.

Moved by J. R. BROWN, seconded by CHARLES MILLER :

"That this Congress condemns as inimical to the best interests of the country the monopolization of public lands by corporate companies and individual speculators." Carried.

Moved by JOHN ARMSTRONG, seconded by F. W. BRAYNE :

"That whereas the exemption of property from taxation weighs heavily upon the wage-working community by increasing the rate of taxation, be it resolved that this Congress demands the removal by Dominion and Provincial Parliaments of all such exemptions." Carried.

Moved by S. H. SLANEY, seconded by T. W. BANTON :

"That considering the increasing mass of unemployed labor in most branches of industry, particularly in that of unskilled labor, and considering also that it is the duty of the Government to further the welfare of the people in every possible way, and that the reduction of the hours of labor is an important means to that end, therefore this Congress petition the Government to enact a bill to regulate the hours of all workers in the employ of the State, and by all public bodies and companies obtaining contract or concession from Parliament, and that eight hours be the maximum time of the working day in these establishments." Carried.

Moved by F. W. BRAYNE, seconded by THOMAS KING :

"That this Congress take immediate action to lay before the Provincial Legislature the following resolution: 'That the time has arrived when all doctors of medicine and druggists should be compelled to write their prescriptions and recipes in plain English instead of Latin, which is an imposition on the public at large.'"

The motion was laid on the table.

Moved by A. F. JURY, seconded by G. T. BEALES :

"That this Congress petition the Ontario Government to appoint an inspector whose duty it shall be to see that the Act passed by that Legislature to give protection to the lives of railway employes is strictly enforced."

The motion was laid on the table.

Moved by PHILIPS THOMPSON, seconded by W. H. BEWS :

"That we demand the passage of a law by the Dominion Government making the establishment of armed and uniformed private police or detective bodies illegal." Carried.

Moved by MR. LEAHY, Quebec, seconded by D. J. O'DONOGHUE:

"That, in the opinion of this Congress, every contract as between any of the Governments of Canada and contractors for public works should contain a clause declaring that no employe of any contractor, while employed upon the work so contracted for, shall be asked or compelled to work more than eight hours per day, under penalty of forfeiture of contract." Carried.

Moved by JAMES RIPLEY, seconded by WILLIAM BERRY :

"That this Congress deplore the dissension which seems to exist between Knights of Labor and trades union organizations, which, we are satisfied, is not endorsed by the majority of the members of both bodies, but by arbitrary action of a few leaders; and further, that this Congress request the different organizations to use their best endeavors to remove all cases of dissension, and to recognize the right that both bodies have in the elevation of labor."

The motion was laid on the table.

Moved by A. QUINN, seconded by Geo. T. BEALES :

"That this Congress is of the opinion that it would be beneficial to all the building trades in Toronto to amalgamate as much as possible."

The motion was laid on the table.

Moved by CHAS. MCKENZIE, seconded by G. T. BEALES :

"That this Congress take steps to secure the enactment of such laws that in future all commissions of enquiry or investigation issued by the Dominion or Provincial Legislatures, shall be composed of members of Parliament, so that the public may hold them accountable for the report they may present."

The motion was laid on the table.

Moved by T. O'BRIEN, seconded by CHARLES MILLER :

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"That the present law governing the appointment of police commissioners be amended so as to place power of election in the hands of the ratepayers." Carried.

Moved by JOHN ARMSTRONG, seconded by JAMES RIPLEY :

"That the Provincial Legislature be asked to transfer the allowance that is now enjoyed by universities and colleges to the public schools, for the purpose of further promoting their efficiency and providing the pupils at such schools with books free of charge." Carried.

Moved by GEO. WRIGLEY, seconded by JAMES SMITH :

"That this congress recommends that one or more practical railway men be appointed on the railway commission to be provided for in a railway bill to be introduced at the next session of the Dominion Parliament."

The motion was laid on the table.

Moved by T. W. BANTON, seconded by S. MCNABB :

"That this Congress demands that all lands held by individuals in excess of 150 acres, not under cultivation, shall be taxed to the full value of cultivated lands of like character." Carried.

Moved by CHARLES MACKENZIE, seconded by A. F. JURY :

"That this Congress take steps to secure the enactment of such laws that officials of Dominion and Provincial Governments who have hitherto been appointed, such as Sheriffs, Collectors of Customs, Postmasters, License Commissioners, etc., be elected by the vote of the people in such municipality or district where a vacancy may occur, and that all candidates shall possess a certificate of practical qualification."

Moved in amendment by J. A. KILROY, and duly seconded, that the words "Collectors of Customs, Postmasters" be struck out.

The amendment, on being put was lost, and the original motion carried on the same vote.

Moved by J. A. KILROY, seconded by D. J. O'DONOGHUE :

"That in the opinion of this Congress the office of Lieutenant-Governor should be elective, and the salary of the Governor-General should not exceed the sum of \$15,000 per annum." Carried.

Moved by BRYAN LYNCH, and duly seconded :

"That the Executive of this Congress be empowered to co-operate with the representatives of the Dominion Alliance in their

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respective localities in such a manner as the circumstances may require." Carried.

Moved by M. W. CONWAY, seconded by JAMES RIPLEY:

"That a vote of thanks be tendered to the Toronto Trades and Labor Council for the many courtesies received from them by the delegates during their stay in Toronto." Carried.

A vote of thanks to the press concluded the business of the Congress.

The Congress adjourned to meet again at the call of the Executive.





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## INTRODUCTORY.

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IN submitting this report of the proceedings of the Trades and Labor Congress, held in Toronto, on the 14th, 15th and 16th of September, 1886, to the organizations represented, as well as to the public in general, some explanation of the method of its preparation is considered advisable. No official stenographer having been employed to take reports of the many able speeches delivered at the Congress, on the various subjects which came up for discussion, the report is necessarily rather a record of work done than of words spoken. Where any portions of the debates appear, the compilers are indebted to the full and very accurate reports which appeared in the city press during the session of the body, these and the minutes of the secretary being the only source of information available. The formation of the Congress into a permanent organization will permit of better arrangements being made in future for the publication of its proceedings. It is desired that those into whose hands copies of this report may fall, should give it as wide a circulation as possible, so that the best results of the work of the Congress may be obtained, and a fuller representation secured at its next session in Hamilton.

CHARLES MARCH,  
*President.*

DAVID HASTINGS,  
*Secretary.*