

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
FOURTEENTH ANNUAL SESSION  
OF THE  
Trades and Labor Congress  
OF CANADA



Held at Winnipeg, Man.

ON FRIDAY, SATURDAY, MONDAY AND TUESDAY  
SEPTEMBER 16th, 17th, 19th and 20th, 1898

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TORONTO.



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1898-99

**President**—RALPH SMITH, M. P.P., - - - - - Box 392, NANAIMO, B.C.  
**Vice-President**—JOHN A. FLETT, - - - - - 414 Bay St. North, HAMILTON, ONT.  
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 J. H. WATSON, - - - - - Vancouver | WILLIAM MCKAY, - - - - - Victoria

## PLATFORM OF PRINCIPLES

1. Free compulsory education
2. Legal working day of eight hours and six days to a week.
3. Government inspection of all industries.
4. The abolition of the contract system on all public works.
5. A minimum living wage, based on local conditions.
6. Public ownership of all franchises, such as railways, telegraphs, water-works, lighting, etc.
7. Tax reform, by lessening taxation on industry and increasing it on land values.
8. Abolition of the Dominion Senate.
9. Exclusion of Chinese.

10. The Union Label to be placed on all manufactured goods where practicable, and on all government and municipal supplies.
11. Abolition of child labor by children under fourteen years of age; and of female labor in all branches of industrial life, such as mines, workshops, factories, etc.
12. Abolition of property qualification for all public offices.
13. Compulsory arbitration of labor disputes.
14. Proportional representation and the cumulative vote.
15. Prohibition of prison labor in competition with free labor.

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# PROCEEDINGS



St. John

CHAMBER OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,

WINNIPEG, MAN., September 16th, 1898.

Montreal  
Montreal

The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada was called to order at ten a.m., by Mr. John Appleton, President of the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council, who welcomed the delegates on behalf of organized labor.

Toronto  
Ottawa

Acting Mayor Horace Wilson, in a short address, tendered the delegates a hearty welcome to the Prairie City, and on behalf of the City Council invited the members of the Congress to be the guests of the city on Saturday afternoon and evening.

Winnipeg  
Winnipeg

Hon. J. D. Cameron was then introduced, and on behalf of the Government extended to the delegates a hearty welcome to the Province of Manitoba and the City of Winnipeg. He regretted that Mr. Greenway was unable to be present.

Vancouver  
Victoria

Rev. Hugh Pedley was glad to be present as a minister, for there was no conflict between the church and workingmen. He welcomed the organization because of the importance of the position of Winnipeg, and because of the need of labor to develop the natural resources of this country. He greatly preferred organized labor to unorganized. He understood that it was one of the objects of labor organizations to prevent strikes. Men do not strike for fun, it was the last resort. It was the object of organization to lift up the whole ideal and thought of labor.

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and on all govern-

Mr. D. A. Carey, President of the Congress, was then introduced by Mr. Appleton, and after thanking the various gentlemen for their words of welcome declared the Fourteenth Session open for the transaction of business. Mr. Ralph Smith, Vice-President, and Mr. Thos. I. Kidd, of Chicago, fraternal delegate from the American Federation of Labor, were called to the dias and took seats beside the President. The following telegrams were then read:—

by children under  
male labor in all  
as mines, work-

qualification for all

labor disputes.  
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or in competition

GLASGOW, MON., September 15th, 1898

*President Trades and Labor Congress, Winnipeg, Man.*

As delegate to Congress from Victoria, B.C., will arrive tomorrow at one-twenty by Great Northern. Read at Congress.

WM. McFAY.

## PROCEEDINGS OF LABOR CONGRESS.

TORONTO, ONT., September 15th, 1898.

D. A. CAREY, *Pres. Dominion Trades and Labor Congress, Winnipeg.*

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, in convention assembled, send fraternal greetings to the Trades and Labor Congress, in convention assembled, and hope that your session will be profitable and that much good will be accomplished for the benefit of organized labor in the Dominion.

F. P. SARGENT, *Grand Master.*

The following were appointed a Committee on Credentials: Messrs. John Appleton of Winnipeg, Charles March of Toronto, Edward Little of Quebec, Ralph Smith of Nanaimo, and P. C. Chatel of Montreal,

On motion the Congress adjourned.

## AFTERNOON SESSION.

Congress was called to order at 2.15 p.m.

The Committee on Credentials presented the following report, which was received and adopted:

*To the Officers and Members of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada:*

Your Committee on Credentials begs leave to report as follows: We have examined the credentials of the following and certify to their right to a seat at this Congress:

Toronto Trades and Labor Council .....	D. J. O'DONOGHUE. JOHN T. LATER. CHARLES MARCH.
Montreal Trades and Labor Council .....	P. C. CHATEL. O. BELANGER. S. FITZPATRICK.
Hamilton Trades and Labor Council .....	JOHN FLETT.
Victoria Trades and Labor Council .....	WM. MCKAY.
Vancouver Trades and Labor Council .....	J. H. WATSON. HARRY COWAN.
Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council .....	JOHN APPLETON. C. C. STEUART. R. A. PYNE.
Rosland Trades and Labor Council .....	JAMES WILKES.
D.A. No. 18, K. of L., Montreal .....	J. H. DODD. H. GRAVEL. D. VERDON.
D.A. No. 20 K. of L., Quebec .....	EDWARD LITTLE.
Nanaimo Miners Trades Union .....	RALPH SMITH.
Toronto Typographical Union .....	T. H. FITZPATRICK.
Winnipeg Typographical Union .....	ARTHUR W. PUTTEE.
Quebec Typographical Union .....	EDWARD JACKSON.
Ottawa Typographical Union .....	C. S. O. BOUDREAULT. JOHN DALY.
Journeymen Bakers Union, Toronto .....	CHAS. H. HOLLAWAY.
Toronto Printing Pressmen's Union .....	WM. A. VICKERY.
International Association of Machinists, No. 122, Winnipeg .....	BELL HARDY.
Winnipeg Ironmoulders Union .....	JAMES BIRCH.
Winnipeg Bricklayers and Masons Union .....	THOMAS CHING.
Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, Winnipeg .....	ROBERT UNDERWOOD.
Journeymen Tailors Union, Winnipeg .....	JOHN T. MORTIMER.
Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, Winnipeg .....	JOHN POCHE.
Brotherhood of Railway Firemen, Winnipeg .....	SAMUEL CORCARY.
Ottawa Bricklayers and Masons Union .....	A. R. MACDONALD.

PROCEEDINGS OF LABOR CONGRESS.

Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Winnipeg .....	JOHN W. STREET.
Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators, Winnipeg .....	W. D. FOSTER.
Winnipeg Labor Party .....	WILLIAM SCOTT.
Rat Portage Labor Union .....	JOSHUA LARGE.
Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen .....	WILLIAM SMALL.
Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen .....	R. W. MCGOWAN.
Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers .....	JAMES BROWNLEE.
Local Assembly, No. 1007, Sillery, Quebec .....	JACQUES ROBITAILLE.
Local Assembly, No. 2436, Montreal .....	WILLIAM KEYS.
Local Assembly, No. 10261, Quebec .....	P. J. JOBIN.
American Federation of Labor (as fraternal delegate) .....	THOS. I. KIDD, of CHICAGO, Ill.

Respectfully Submitted,

JOHN APPLETON, *Chairman.*  
 CHARLES MARCH.  
 RALPH SMITH.  
 EDWARD LITTLE.  
 P. C. CHATEL, *Secretary.*

The following Standing Committees were appointed :

*Committee on Standing Orders and Resolutions.*—Messrs. John A. Flett of Hamilton, T. H. FitzPatrick of Toronto, William McKay of Victoria, J. H. Watson of Vancouver, R. A. Pyne, of Winnipeg, James Wilkes of Rossland, J. H. Dodd of Montreal, Edward Little of Quebec, C. S. O. Boudreault of Ottawa, Bell Hardy of Winnipeg, H. Gravel of Montreal, James Birch of Winnipeg, J. Mortimer of Winnipeg, A. R. Macdonald of Ottawa, J. W. Street of Winnipeg, Harry Cowan of Vancouver, and Ralph Smith of Nanaimo.

*Committee on Ways and Means.*—Messrs. Charles March of Toronto, O. Belanger of Montreal, John T. Later of Toronto, Thomas Ching of Winnipeg, and W. D. Foster of Winnipeg.

*Committee on President's Address and Executive Committee Reports.*—Messrs. D. J. O'Donoghue of Toronto, William Keys of Montreal, Joshua Large of Rat Portage, C. C. Steuart of Winnipeg, Robert Underwood of Winnipeg, and William Scott of Winnipeg.

*Committee on Audit.*—Messrs. W. A. Vickery of Toronto, D. Verdon of Montreal, and John Daly of Ottawa.

President Carey read his annual address as follows :—

*Officers and Members of the Fourteenth Annual Session of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada :*

FELLOW WORKERS,—Once again it is my pleasure to greet you, the representatives of organized labor, to this the Fourteenth Annual Session of the Trades Congress of Canada, made the more pleasing because, for the first time in the history of our country, the representatives of the united toilers of the land meet in Winnipeg, the Prairie City of the West.

In presenting my views to you a year ago, in the city of Hamilton, on the requirements of labor, I reminded you of many advantages that were yet to be secured by organized labor in the interests of the working people in this country. I also told you of the efforts put forth by your representatives, and the representatives of the various Trades' Councils, for legislation then before the Dominion Parliament, and which they were not successful in obtaining. It is with these questions I will again ask you to deal with, believing that they are of the greatest interest to our people, and should be kept before our public men until they recognize their importance to the people whom they represent.

TO ESTABLISH A LAW FUND.

At the Hamilton meeting of the Congress I advised that action be taken to establish for the workers a "law fund" by the several Trades Councils and local organizations, for

the purpose of testing, when necessary, the legal value of such laws as have been placed on the statute books of the Dominion or Provinces and are of interest to the workers. This recommendation, while being approved of by the Congress, seems to have been almost forgotten, despite the fact that in several of our cities during the year many cases have occurred where such a fund would have been of immense value to the workers interested. This being true, I would now suggest that the Congress establish such a fund and that a special committee be appointed to take such steps as they may deem necessary to its establishment.

#### CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

There is the question of Chinese immigration to British Columbia, which your Executive have so repeatedly brought before the Government, pointing out again and again the great necessity for passing such legislation as would be a protection for the people of that Province. Yet, while the best efforts of your representatives have failed in that particular, we find the people of the West at work in earnest in their own Province. They have not only said "we want Chinese immigration restricted" but they have elected from the ranks of organized labor one of their own members, in the person of Mr. Ralph Smith, of Nanaimo, your worthy Vice-President, a gentleman whom I feel assured will prove a creditable representative of the working people of this country. Nor have they stopped here, for we find that by their persistent agitation and the justification of their cause they have succeeded in obtaining the co-operation of the Hon. Jos. Martin, Attorney-General of the Province of British Columbia, who, a few days ago, declared at a public meeting at Nanaimo that their cause was a just one. The continued support of the labor organizations of the East will be of material aid to them at this stage. Give it to them with the same generous spirit that prevailed in the past, so that in the near future, when success is theirs, we may share with them in the pleasure and advantage of their efforts.

I would again earnestly remind you of the great benefit to organized labor of the union label, it being the outward or visible sign of honest toil and fair wages, and I would zealously exhort you to give it your united support so that it may be more firmly established than ever in the industrial markets.

Bearing in mind my suggestion of last year, and concurred in by the Congress at Hamilton, and taking note of the praiseworthy fact that the labor laws of Ontario are being collated and which will be published in a separate volume at a nominal cost, I would strongly urge that not only the Congress itself but every labor organization in Canada—and especially those in Ontario—should possess itself of one or more copies of this work, which is being compiled by Mr. Allan M. Dymond, Law Clerk of the Ontario Legislative Assembly, a gentleman specially competent for the performance of the task. My reason for so advising is that not only ought the wage-earners in Ontario know the laws affecting their interests in that Province, but organized labor in every other Province ought to be also very familiar with these Ontario laws and to that extent be strengthened in pressing for like enactments in statutory codes of their own Provinces.

In view of a systematic and determined effort on the part of "friends of the workmen," outside of their own ranks, in some of our Eastern Provinces to engraft manual training in the Public School system, and being quite satisfied that the prime object of this movement is to save the "professions" and the "preserves" of the classes from the presence of the children of the masses rather than to benefit the latter, I direct the serious attention of the Congress to put itself on record in the matter.

#### THE EIGHT-HOUR MOVEMENT.

The past few years have been anything but favorable to the growth of the labor movement. The business depression and the consequent loss of employment in all lines of industry had their serious effect on all organizations whose membership was composed exclusively of workmen, and the growth of such organizations was almost an impossibility. From every part of the Dominion, and outside of it, came reports of large defections in the membership, and the inference, in the most of instances, was that dissatisfaction with prevailing methods of management was the controlling cause of the loss of member-

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ship. Closer investigation, however, invariably revealed the fact that loss of employment and lack of funds caused the men to drop away from their organizations.

This did not apply to labor organizations alone; the fraternal societies experienced the same results—serious loss in membership. It is, therefore, gratifying to the members of this Congress and to those who have remained faithful to their organizations in the hour of need to realize and to know that, in reaching the bottom of depression in trade, labour organizations have taken a new lease of life and are steadily regaining the membership they lost during the scarcity of work during the past five years. While this is true of the present, what of the future? I believe it is your duty and mine as the representatives of labor in this country to prevent as far as possible a recurrence of the hardships of the past, or at least as far as in our power lies. Among the many solutions offered by those interested in the labor movement is the shortening of the hours of work for the toilers. Being a strong believer in this medium myself, I submit that we should make this the occasion of making the eight-hour work day more universal in this country. In order that I might be fully understood in asking your co-operation in this movement I submit to you my reasons for believing in the feasibility of an eight-hour day.

For years the demand for a shorter working day has been a prominent feature of the labor movement, and during that time it has been indefatigably opposed by many of the so-called political economists, capitalists and statesmen. Nevertheless, it has steadily grown in strength and succeeding—now here, now there—in forcing itself into various occupations, until finally it has been engrafted into the industrial methods of every country that has the wage system to any considerable extent. The movement has come naturally as an industrial necessity, and is being pushed forward by the common sense of the people. Many of those who give the movement their opposition do so believing that it is a restriction on free labor. Freedom is a catching word, but it should be remembered that there is no freedom without wealth. Freedom and poverty are incompatible. Hence to talk about the freedom of the worker is but to sound an empty phrase.

There are three reasons why the hours of labor should be reduced. First, because of its effect upon the physical condition of labourers. Second, because of its effect upon their social, intellectual and moral conditions. Third, because of its economic effect upon the whole community.

The physical effect—The factory system brought with it evils as well as benefits. It was a new state of society, bringing with it new conditions, and the first thing it did was to make people work harder, faster and longer. With the aggregation of the people into factories and the use of artificial light, the only limit to the laborer's working day is his physical endurance—often working fifteen hours a day. This new state of affairs increased the nervous strain upon the worker. It called for closer application to work, less leisure, and finally ill-health to many. A movement began on philanthropic grounds to shorten the hours of work, the result being that in many countries the hours were reduced to ten. But with the introduction of new machinery and still closer application to work, the ten-hour day of this period is perhaps fully as exhaustive as was the fourteen-hour day of 1820. For instance, the weaver of that time took charge of only two looms, while to-day some mind eight and ten; formerly the shuttles went across sixty times in a minute. Now it passes across according to the latest trade returns, 120 times a minute. This, again, means more exhaustion to the worker, the result of which sends the workmen to stimulants in the mistaken idea that the body may thus be kept in condition. It is this over-exhaustion that makes many workingmen and women use morphine and other noxious drugs as stimulants. For what? That they might be better sustained to go through the long hours of a day's work. Among the medical men of to-day it has become a recognized fact that the first step towards remedying this condition of affairs is more leisure, and more physical and mental repose from the strain which the industrial life imposes. In many instances, and especially among those engaged in banking and insurance offices, the hours are already being reduced to eight and in some instances even less. In addition to this, necessity has enforced that those engaged in these businesses obtain a yearly vacation.

The workingmen employed in the factories and workshops of the country are denied this, because it would stop the great wheel of industry, which must, at all cost, be kept in motion. I will not, therefore, dispute this necessity. But since this relaxation can not



act y what they may please to make them. Active or sluggish, keen or dull, narrow or broad, just as the members are intellectual or otherwise. But represent as they may either of these alternates, the trade union is the best form of organization for the toilers to protect their present interests and work out their future welfare.

Holding these views myself I submit them for your best consideration, and trust that the day is not far distant when the workers will realize and enjoy them to the fullest extent.

There are many reasons why this Congress should be congratulated for what has been obtained in their interest during the past year, and in conclusion I take this opportunity to mention them. First, the workers of British Columbia have been honest to themselves in selecting Mr. Ralph Smith to represent them in parliament, a fact which I believe is appreciated by workmen throughout the whole Dominion. Again we have reason to feel proud that the Dominion Government selected one from amongst the army of toilers in Mr. John Appleton to act on a very important commission, which was of so much importance to the workers of our land. I congratulate Mr. Smith therefore for his great victory, and Mr. Appleton, upon the fact that through his sound judgement the outcome of his labors have already been of great benefit to the working people of this country.

The Dominion Government is also worthy of our appreciation, especially the Hon. Wm. Mulock, Postmaster General, and the Hon. Dr. Borden, Minister of Militia, for their commendable action in having placed on all contracts in their departments, a clause providing for the payment of the union rate of wages.

It is also my pleasing duty to announce that for the first time in the history of the Congress, a local union has been established at Moncton, N. B., working under a charter granted by your Executive. We have every reason, therefore, to be gratified with the progress organized labor is making in Canada, and that we may continue steadily to advance is the desire of all. That we may do so let me urge that this gathering, like those of the past, will have the same beneficial results.

In conclusion I thank you, one and all, for the many kindnesses you have extended to me, and I can only say in return that my hope is, that the results of your deliberations at this meeting will bring with them all the blessings of a peaceful and happy future to yourselves and your families.

DAVID A. CAREY,

*President Trades and Labor Congress.*

The Executive Committee presented the following reports :—

*To the Delegates to the Fourteenth Annual Session of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada :*

GENTLEMEN,—Your Executive Committee beg to present the following report:—Shortly after the adjournment of last session all resolutions passed by the Congress bearing on Dominion legislation were typewritten and forwarded to the various ministers and His Excellency the Governor-in-Council. The same were officially acknowledged.

During the session of the Dominion Parliament a portion of your Executive, viz. : Mr. D. A. Carey and Mr. Chas. March, of Toronto, and Mr. Edward Little, of Quebec, waited on the Government and laid before it the subjects of most vital importance to the interest of labor. It is stated to have been the most encouraging interview yet held by your Committee, the members of the Government present giving a patient hearing and thoroughly entering into the discussion of the objects of the Congress. Those present on the occasion were Sir Louis Davies, Hon. William Mulock, Hon. David Mills, and Hon. William Patterson.

During the past session the bill providing for the protection of union labels and designs was introduced into the House by Mr. Geo. H. Bertram, M.P. for Centre Toronto. The bill passed the House by a unanimous vote and the promoters of the bill (the Legislative Committee of the Toronto Trades and Labor Council and the Allied Printing Trades Council of Toronto) were satisfied that the same would become law. Such was not to be the case, for when the bill reached the Senate a snag was struck and

## PROCEEDINGS OF LABOR CONGRESS.

the bill was thrown out by a large majority. The bill will again have to be fought before both branches of Parliament again next session. This bill comprised all the legislation during the session in the interest of labor.

Early in the spring of this year a union was organized by the employees of the Intercolonial Railway, not otherwise connected with organizations, in the town of Moncton, N.B. The new organization at once applied for a charter under our Constitution, but as none had been issued up to that time your Committee decided to get out a form. Your Secretary had some printed and forwarded one to Moncton, and the union is now known as "Federal Labor Union, No. 1." The organization promises to be an acquisition to the labor bodies of the Dominion. The new union prepared and had published a set of by-laws and ritual which will be laid before this Congress. In this connection your Committee would recommend that the incoming Committee be authorized to request the various Trades Councils of the country to secure and work directly under a charter issued by the Congress. This would, we believe, give them an official standing and would enable all Councils to act as organizing bodies in their respective localities. Your Committee are strongly of opinion that much good could be accomplished by this course and it would greatly tend to bring into the fold of your Congress many local organizations now holding aloof.

During the year correspondence was opened up by your Committee with the Secretary of the "Provincial Workingmen's Association," with headquarters at Stellarton, N.S. This Association is composed of the various miners unions of Nova Scotia, with local branches at Springhill, Truro, New Glasgow, Pictou, Stellarton, and several places in Cape Breton. Mr. R. Drummond, editor and proprietor of the Stellarton, N.S., *Journal-News*, is Secretary, and has held that position for nineteen years. Mr. Drummond, in his letter to the Secretary of the Congress, states that he is about to resign his position and that his successor will be appointed by the Executive Committee in July, when all correspondence will be handed over and presented at the annual meeting in September. He also states that no single lodge of the order can affiliate with our Congress, that being the business of the Grand Council. In the nineteen years of the existence of the Grand Council every piece of legislation pressed for was obtained and that under the circumstances no good could come from affiliation. Another objection would be the amount of per capita, which would amount to, at 8c., from \$72 to \$140 per year. However, the correspondence will be submitted to the annual meeting in September, and your Committee believe that efforts looking towards affiliation ought to continue during the coming year.

Your Committee would recommend that the thanks of this Congress be tendered to Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council for the active and energetic action taken to bring to public notice the disgraceful condition of affairs that existed on the Crows Nest Pass Railway.

The Executive Committee for New Brunswick has no report of business done, but Mr. Coates, Secretary of that Committee, states that organization in the Maritime Provinces is in a very backward state at present and strongly urges that some steps be taken at this meeting to place an organizer in that section of our country. He is of opinion that such a step would prove of immense advantage.

In conclusion, your Committee would tender their sincere thanks to the various Trades Councils in all sections of the Dominion for their many acts of kindness and for valuable assistance rendered when necessary.

Respectfully submitted on behalf of the Committee.

D. A. CAREY, *President.*

GEO. W. DOWER, *Secretary.*

#### *Report of the Executive Committee for Ontario:*

GENTLEMEN,—In his annual address to the Congress of last year President Carey, among other things, said: "For the future I would suggest that we refrain as much as possible from the introduction of new legislation, and that we direct all our energies to the carrying out to the fullest extent the laws now upon the Statute Books of our country which are of the greatest benefit to the workers." In referring to this suggestion the Committee on the President's Address and Executive Committee Reports "approves of

the suggestion that the efforts of the Congress be devoted more to securing the enforcement and extension of the beneficial legislation obtained rather than to pressing for new legislation."

Acting along the lines as advocated, and as a result your Ontario Executive have nothing of a distinctively new character to note in the way of original legislation directly interesting working people in Ontario through the Provincial Legislative session of 1898. Yet these interests were not altogether lost sight of for "An Act to amend the Woodman's Lien for Wages Act" extends the provisions of this very useful and much needed law to the District of Manitoulin, and adds pulp wood to the schedule. The law now is that the words "logs or timber" mean and include logs, timber, cedar posts, telegraph poles, railroad ties, tan-bark, pulp wood, single bolts or staves, or any of them, while the words "labor, service or services" mean and include cutting, skidding, felling, hauling, scaling, barking driving, running, rafting, or boning any logs or timber, and any work done by cooks, blacksmiths, artisans, and others usually employed in connection therewith. But the provisions of this Act do not apply in the case of any foreman, manager, or other person whose wages are more than \$3 a day. It is also specifically provided that contracts on the part of workmen to waive the rights secured them under this Act shall be void.

"An Act relating to Division Courts" was amended by providing that "if it appears that a judgment debtor had, when or since judgment was obtained against him, sufficient means and ability to pay the debt or damages or costs recovered against him, either altogether or by the instalments which the court in which the judgment was obtained has ordered without depriving himself or his family of the means of living, and that he has wilfully refused or neglected to pay the same as ordered, the judge may, if he thinks fit, order such party to be committed to the common gaol of the county in which the party so summoned resides or carries on business, for a period of forty days. This power is also vested in Police Magistrates in cases involving wages.

The Municipal Amendment Act provides that in cities of over 100,000 inhabitants the council may, by by-law to be passed before the 15th day of November in any year, extend the time for holding the (municipal) election until 7 o'clock in the afternoon, and no longer. In this Act also it is provided that "the corporation of any city may establish and carry on the business of cold storage in connection with or upon the city's market property, and may pass by-laws therefor."

Your Committee waited upon the Government during the last session of the Legislature and laid before them the views of organized labor, as expressed by the Congress during its last session, namely: the abolition of labor-saving machinery in the Central Prison, the work to be performed by hand labor; all goods manufactured in the prison for sale to be labeled prison made goods; a better system adopted for classifying prisoners, and the pernicious crowding of prisoners into the cells. To the latter request we were informed that if the present large number of prisoners was continued that more accommodation would be provided. To the other requests no definite promises of compliance was given. It was also urged upon the Government the necessity of increasing the staff of factory inspectors and appointing resident inspectors in the larger cities, as the work was not being properly carried out. The Minister under whose department the inspectors are, replied that he could not see his way clear on the score of expense, to appointing resident inspectors, but for the other he would take it into consideration. For years and up to the present time labor suffers from the lack of enforcement of a very necessary and beneficial Act. We also asked for the abolishing of the numbered ballot, as used in this Province, and the substitution of a secret ballot. To this request we were met by Premier Hardy with a prompt and positive refusal.

In the opinion of your Executive the time has arrived, if labor is to be protected and its rights respected, we must be independent at the ballot box, irrespective of whatever political party is in power. As the capitalistic lobbyist controls and corrupts our Government it is imperative that more attention should be given by the toilers to the selection of representatives who will at least voice their rights on the floors of our legislative halls.

Respectively submitted,

JOHN A. FLETT,  
R. G. HAY.  
CHARLES MARCH.

*Report of the Manitoba Executive Committee:*

GENTLEMEN,—The Manitoba Branch of the Dominion Executive has pleasure in greeting the delegates to the Prairie Province. It is indicative of a desire to bring into unison the active labor forces of a wide dominion, and we see in your visit to Winnipeg a decisive step in that direction.

The work of procuring much necessary legislation has been somewhat neglected owing to our attention being concentrated on efforts to firmly establish and maintain the practice of doing our public works by day labor and the payment of a minimum wage to our civic employees, and also to further organization of trades in this locality.

The question of the respective cost of day and contract labor was the subject of inquiry by a commission, appointed to test the accuracy of allegations made by contractors as to the correctness of the city engineers figures which demonstrated the economy of day labor. The decision of the judge has not as yet been given although the inquiry closed some months ago.

An attack on the constitutionality of the minimum wage clause, which our city by-laws require to be inserted in all contracts, was made by interested parties. We are pleased to report that the constitutionality of the said clause was maintained. As far as we know this is the first time in Canada that the legality of such a clause has been tested. Upon our suggestion the reception committee invited Mr. Ewart to read a paper before you in which he will no doubt give the principal arguments used in defence of this by-law.

At the last session of the Manitoba Legislature application was made for amendments to the Mechanics' Lien Act, which Act as a result was entirely re-constructed on the lines of the Ontario and British Columbia acts. As yet we have learnt of no cases where it has failed in its purpose.

A request was repeated by the Trades Council for the enactment of a Bake Shop Act similar in effect to the Ontario Act. A Bake Shop Act was passed but all its most useful features, especially those intended to prevent the abuse of labor, were eliminated. It is in other respects an impracticable enactment and will not secure, as we desired, the proper inspection and cleanliness of bake shops.

The Municipal Act was amended providing for the payment of \$300 a year to aldermen, but a property qualification for alderman is required, which is an effective barrier against workmen offering themselves as candidates for such an office.

The time is ripe in Manitoba for the enactment of factory legislation, and we will urge the Trades Council to make this the next law they ask the legislature to enact.

The annual influx of eastern labor by cheap excursions in the fall still continue and keep our labor market in an overstocked condition with the consequent result of low wages. Though intended to supply labor for the ingathering of our harvest large numbers of mechanics and skilled laborers take advantage of such excursions, and but a slight proportion of these have any acquaintance with or respect for Trades Unionism. Although reports in the papers appear regularly stating that in certain districts farmers require harvest help we do not regard such as indicating a general scarcity. Slightly better wages are offered, but only for one or two months, which practice of casual employment is by no means advantageous to labor, as it does not provide a basis on which the laborer can expect to make a home.

We are pleased to report the organization of several unions and resuscitation of others since last Congress.

In conclusion we trust the visit to Winnipeg of the fourteenth session of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada will be a pleasant and useful one in the interests of those we are endeavoring to serve.

JOHN APPLETON.  
WM. WHITE.

J. MORTIMER.

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*Report of the British Columbia Executive Committee :*

It is not necessary for me to write as comprehensively as in my former reports relating to the Chinese cheap labor problem, excepting to again add that this is still a live question in this province and will so remain till both the provincial and federal governments shall have brought down the required legislation.

The labor situation of the province since the Klondike gold excitement began has been very good, though in some lines the organization is deficient. Prospects seem fair.

The Vancouver Trades and Labor Council issued a platform during the recent provincial elections which sufficiently covers the immediate legislation desired. It is as follows :

"While opposed to entering any existing political party as a body we deem it to be our duty as individuals to use our influence during the forthcoming provincial campaign with the law-making powers to secure the following objects :

"1. That all existing beneficial labor laws shall be enforced, and that such measures be taken as will secure their enforcement.

"2. To prohibit the employing of Chinese and Japanese on public works, and that all charters be issued on this basis.

"3. The enactment of a law, (a) to appoint a permanent government official whose duty shall be to inspect all stationary steam boilers, and (b) that those in charge of the same shall be certified men.

"4. That an Act be passed recognizing the eight-hour working day.

"5. The adoption of measures providing for the health and safety of those engaged in mining, manufacturing and building industries.

"6. That the province shall provide all public school books and supplies to pupils free of charge."

It is needless for me to burden you with any lengthy report as British Columbia will be well represented this year at your Congress out of respect of the fact that your annual gathering is to be held nearer home than usual.

Every success attend your deliberations.

GEO. BARTLEY, *Member Executive Committee.*

On motion by Mr. O'Donoghue, seconded by Mr. Belanger, it was ordered that the foregoing reports be referred to the Committee on President's Address and Executive Committee Reports.

On motion by Mr. Appleton, seconded by Mr. Little, it was resolved that the privilege of the Congress be granted Mr. J. S. Ewart, Q.C., on Monday afternoon at two o'clock, when he would read his paper on the minimum wage clause.

Mr. Appleton presented an invitation, on behalf of the Reception Committee, to a banquet under the auspices of the Trades and Labor Council, on Tuesday evening.

Invitations were received and accepted from W. E. Ramsey, manager of the Harold Wilson Stock Co. to be present at the Grand Opera House, on Friday evening, and from R. H. Smith, secretary Fort Garry Park, to attend a lacrosse match on Friday afternoon.

Mr. O'Donoghue presented a petition on behalf of the United Garment Workers Union of America. The petition was referred to the Committee on Standing Orders and Resolutions.

Moved by Mr. Stewart, seconded by Mr. Hardy, and resolved,

That the regular sessions of this Congress be from 8 a.m. to 12 noon, and from 2 p.m. to 6 p.m. each day, and that, if necessary, extra sessions be held in the evening from 8 to 10 p.m.

Messrs. Steele & Co., photographers, asked permission to take a group photo of the Congress. The request was granted.

Congress adjourned at 5 p.m.

## SECOND DAY.

SATURDAY, September 17th, 1898.

Congress was called to order at 9 a.m.

The following Communication was read and referred to the Committee on President's Address and Executive Committee Reports :

LETHBRIDGE, ALBERTA, Sept. 13th, 1898.

MR. JOHN APPLETON, Winnipeg.

Sir and Comrade,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of a letter and report of proceedings of 1897 of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, received some time ago. I immediately submitted the same to our Miners Union but through stress of business no action was taken at the time, but seeing that the time for the convention at Winnipeg was drawing rapidly near, I ventured to call the attention of the Union again to the matter, but to my regret and contrary to my wishes a resolution was carried deterring the consideration of affiliation for one year. I have this apology to make, being but a young union the funds are low, and the membership subscription was started, in my judgment, at too low a figure, only 25 cts. per month. I regret, too, that the correspondence came to me instead of to our Secretary, as it put upon me the rather delicate duty of laying the matter before the Union who might or might not think that I, who had only just returned from the convention of the Western Federation of Miners, was seeking another trip. Perhaps you will believe me I am heart and soul with you in the objects of your convention, and would like nothing better than to look upon the countenances and to fraternally grasp the hands of the stalwarts of those who have done, who are doing, and I hope will continue to do so much in the interest of Canadian labor. But, after all, the Lethbridge Miners Union is not such a weakling. At this time of writing there is, in good standing, over 200 members, affiliated with the American Western Federation of Miners, one of the strongest on the continent, and with them affiliated with the Western Labor Union, we are working on advanced lines in social and political action. We have used to some purpose our influence with our representative in the Assembly, and who is also a member of the Government. He has undertaken, to the best of his ability, to further our desires and in a short time he will again have to come before his constituents and you may rest assured that that ordinance, which is a disgrace to the country, which sends the workman to prison for breach of contract and puts a monetary fine on the employer, will be brought to his attention, if it has not already been done. Through our efforts a system of voluntary co-operation will be inaugurated in a few days. We have a subscription list of upwards of \$4000 and we are advertising for a manager and looking out for suitable premises, and in a short time the Lethbridge Co-operative and Industrial Association will be launched, and this through the action of the Lethbridge Miners Union. This is not up to the mark that I had hoped for but it is a step on the way, a training, so to speak, for that era which will culminate in national co-operation and human brotherhood.

With fraternal greetings to yourself and Congress, I remain,

Yours, etc.,

THOMAS FARRAR.

The Secretary-Treasurer presented the following report, which was received and referred to the Audit Committee :

TORONTO, September 10th, 1898.

To the President and Members of the Fourteenth Session of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada :

Gentlemen,—I beg to submit the following report of the financial condition of the Congress for the past year :

Balance on hand .....	\$ 84 84
Grant from A. F. of L. ....	100 00
Received from Per Capita .....	350 27
<b>Total receipts.....</b>	<b>535 11</b>
<b>Expenditure .....</b>	<b>395 05</b>
<b>Leaving a balance of.....</b>	<b>\$140 06</b>

The receipts from all sources last year were \$409.32, being an increase of \$125.79, or \$25.79, leaving out the \$100 received from the American Federation of Labor. The expenses exceeded those of last year by \$70.59. The same complaint is in order again this year in regard to unions being represented and failing to pay the second instalment of per capita. This has reference more particularly to those unions contiguous to the place of meeting, and has been the rule for many years past. Your Secretary-Treasurer is of the opinion that organizations represented at our meetings are morally bound to pay all just per capita, and expresses the hope that in future all representatives will use their best endeavors to have the per capita paid for the entire year.

Respectfully submitted,

GEO. W. DOWER, *Secy. - Treas.*

Communications were received from St. Thomas, Ont., Guelph, Ont., Moncton, N.B., each containing resolutions. The same were received and referred to the Committee on Standing Orders and Resolutions.

Moved by Mr. Verdon, seconded by Mr. Gravel,

That delegates be not permitted to speak more than once on any question, and not more than ten minutes, so as to save the time of the Congress.

Moved in amendment by Mr. Cowan, seconded by Mr. March,

That the mover of a resolution be granted an extra five minutes.

The amendment carried, and the resolution as amended was adopted.

The Committee on Standing Orders and Resolutions presented their first report, which stated that Mr. Flett of Hamilton, had been elected Chairman, and Mr. FitzPatrick of Toronto, Secretary. The Committee also submitted several resolutions for the consideration of the Congress :

Moved by Mr. Vickery, seconded by Mr. T. H. FitzPatrick, and resolved,

That the Congress urges upon the Dominion Government the advisability of adopting such a law or amending the present law so as to bring the union label under the Trades Marks Act.

Moved by Mr. Pyne, seconded by Mr. Small, and resolved,

That the Executive Committee of Congress request the Dominion Government to print both the findings and the evidence of the Crows Nest Past Commission, and that a copy of same be supplied to all labor organizations in the Dominion.

## PROCEEDINGS OF LABOR CONGRESS.

Moved by Mr. Steuart, seconded by Mr. Puttee,

That the existing property qualification for the office of Alderman should be abolished, as it inconsistent with a free representative system of local self government, the retention of such qualification constituting a prohibition of labor representatives, and consequently a barrier to the advancement of the interests of a large and increasing portion of the community.

Moved in amendment by Mr. Flett, seconded by Mr. Keys,

That the word "alderman" be struck out and the words "all public offices" be inserted in lieu thereof and that the word "local," in the second line, be struck out.

The amendment was carried, and the motion as amended adopted.

Moved by Mr. O'Donoghue, seconded by Mr. March,

Whereas prison reform in Canada has been very seriously retarded by the lack of adequate legislation—as for instance the adoption of the Cumulative Sentence System for offenders, and the Indeterminate Sentence and Parole System for first offenders; and whereas it is important that the necessary legislation should be prepared and introduced early in the approaching session of the Dominion Parliament; therefore resolved, that the Executive Committee of this Congress be requested to seek an interview with the Minister of Justice, at an early date, for the purpose of discussing the proposed prison reform legislation.

The motion was lost.

The following letter was received and read:

Dear Sir,—The hour mentioned in your note of yesterday will suit me perfectly and I shall have much pleasure in presenting my paper at that time.

SATURDAY, A.M,

Yours faithfully,

JOHN S. EWART.

## AFTERNOON SESSION.

Congress was called to order at 2 p.m

Consideration of the Report of the Committee on Standing Orders and Resolutions was resumed.

Moved by Mr. Wilkes, seconded by Mr. Flett, and resolved,

Whereas, the supply of labor in most localities is fully up to the demand and in many communities considerably exceeds it, and in the opinion of this Congress there is positively no necessity for seven days work per week in this or any other country; and whereas the seven days work per week system obtains and prevails in the Metalliferous Mining Industry of British Columbia in direct antagonism to the expressed sentiment and wishes of organized labor in the localities mostly affected; therefore be it resolved, that this Congress instructs the British Columbia Executive Committee to urge upon the Legislature thereof the advisability of adopting such legislation as will speedily and effectually secure to the operatives of the mining industry in British Columbia the benefits and blessings of one day rest in seven.

Moved by Mr. T. H. FitzPatrick, seconded by Mr. Later, and resolved,

That in view of the copyright law coming before the House of Commons of Canada, the Executive Committee of the Congress be instructed to wait on the Government and present to them the clause that was passed by this Congress some time ago and placed before the late Government, demanding that all the work in connection with producing books shall be done in Canada.

On motion of Mr. T. H. FitzPatrick, seconded by Mr. Appleton, the Secretary was instructed to produce all correspondence between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress relative to the contribution of funds, and that said reading be the first order of business on Monday morning.

The Congress then adjourned.

## THIRD DAY.

MONDAY, September 19th, 1898.

Congress was called to order at 9 a.m.

As ordered the correspondence between the Congress and the American Federation of Labor was read, and on motion referred to the Executive Committee.

On motion of Mr. Cowan, seconded by Mr. Appleton, the President was instructed to forthwith appoint a committee of five, said committee to formulate a Labor Platform, and report on Tuesday, at 2 p.m. The President appointed Messrs. Cowan, S. Fitzpatrick, Smith, Appleton and McKay as such committee.

The consideration of resolutions submitted by the Committee on Standing Orders and Resolutions was resumed.

Moved by Mr. Watson, seconded by Mr. Wilkes, and resolved,

Whereas, the question of an increased taxation on Chinese has each succeeding year been urged upon the Dominion Government by this Congress; and whereas, no action has been taken by the government in response to these appeals; therefore be it resolved, that this Congress again urge upon the Dominion Government the absolute necessity of increasing the present head tax upon Chinese immigrants entering this country from \$50 to \$500.

Moved by Mr. Watson, seconded by Mr. Smith, and resolved,

Whereas, the extensive employment of Japanese and Chinese on coast steamships in the capacity of stokers and other responsible positions, is a menace to the safety of the traveling public; therefore be it resolved, that this Congress urge upon the Dominion Government the necessity of enacting such legislation as will effectually prohibit their employment in such capacities.

Moved by Mr. Mortimer, seconded by Mr. Watson and resolved,

Whereas, the letter carriers and other postal assistants of Canada have frequently appeared before different Trades Councils of the Dominion and complained that the conditions under which they worked were not such as should exist among government employees; and whereas, these Trades Councils have investigated and found that these men had a just grievance, in that they received insufficient wages, had no set hours of labor and had no definite system of promotion; therefore be it resolved, that we urge upon the Dominion Government the necessity of establishing a minimum wage of \$2 a day for 8 hours work, and so regulating the department that letters carriers may depend upon promotion for faithful services.

On motion, the President appointed Messrs. Macdonald of Ottawa, Wilkes of Rossland, Belanger of Montaeal, Daly of Ottawa, Later of Toronto, as a Committee on Thanks.

Moved by Mr. O'Donoghue, seconded by Mr. March, and resolved,

That the election of officers of the Congress be made a special order of business for two o'clock on Tuesday.

Moved by Mr. Appleton, seconded by Mr. Birch, and resolved,

That all motions be on the Secretary's desk at 4 p.m. Monday.

Congress then adjourned.

## AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Congress was called to order at two p.m.

The Committee on Audit presented the following report, which on motion was received and adopted :

*To the Officers and Members of the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress :*

Gentlemen,—Your Auditing Committee beg leave to report that they have examined the books of the Secretary and all bills and vouchers in connection with the same and find them to be correct. Your Committee would specially call the attention of the Congress to the clause in the report in which the Secretary complains of the non-payment of the per capita tax, and in the event of this state of affairs continuing would suggest that the Congress amend the Constitution in such a manner that unions or labor organizations that have not paid their per capita tax shall forfeit the right of representation at this Congress.

O. VERDON, }  
W. A. VICKERY, } *Auditors.*  
JOHN DAVEY. }

Mr. J. S. Ewart, Q.C., then took the platform and read the following able paper on the the case of Kelly *vs.* the City of Winnipeg :

I have been asked to present to the Convention a somewhat detailed account of the facts, arguments and judgment in a case which has recently been determined in the Court of Queen's Bench for Manitoba, the case of Kelly *vs.* the City of Winnipeg. The plaintiff was a very large contractor, and his action was an attack upon a resolution of the municipality, which was as follows :

"That in future a clause be inserted in all contracts passed through or let by the Council to the effect that contractors on city work should not pay their laborers or other employees a less rate of wages than  $17\frac{1}{2}$  cents per hour and the said rate of  $17\frac{1}{2}$  cents per hour shall be the minimum rate of wages for all laboring men to be employed on said contracts or on any new construction work undertaken to be done by the city by the day."

To support his attack the plaintiff advanced several facts and one proposition of law. He said that 15 cents per hour was the usual and customary rate of wages for laborers ; that at that rate the city could obtain all the labor it required ; that therefore to pay  $17\frac{1}{2}$  cts. was wholly unnecessary ; that when tendering for city work since the passage of the resolution, contractors computed  $2\frac{1}{2}$  cts. per hour more for labor than they would otherwise estimate, and that the city, therefore, paid so much more to contractors than if left to themselves they would demand ; and that the amounts thus unnecessarily paid out by the city in the course of a year was not less than \$14,000.

The proposition of law was a simple one and of elementary character namely : that the council had no power to give away the city's money, nor to do so indirectly by paying more for a thing than it is worth : and that if the members of the council were inclined to be generous they must use their own moneys and not those of the municipality.

Now it must be admitted that this is something of a formidable case. You must not pay more for a thing than it is worth ; you are paying for labor more than it can be obtained for, and it seems to be all the more overwhelming when I say to you that counsel for the city (Mr. Isaac Campbell) and the speaker were obliged to admit that both the facts and the law were undoubtedly as contended for by the plaintiff.

Our defence (happily for the clearness and importance of the decision) was in no way based upon contradiction, or even modification, of the facts. We admitted and were compelled to admit that all the laborers required by the city could be procured at the lower rate of wage. We contended, however, that two very important factors in the case had been overlooked by the plaintiff : first, the character of the employment in question ; and second, the character of the employer.

Allow me to develop what I mean by the first of these considerations by referring to certain legal authorities which we placed before the court. The directors of a trading

corporation at the end of a very successful year determined to give to all its employees a bonus of one week's extra pay. A shareholder objected and asked the courts to interfere. He said that the directors had no power to give away money of the company, and that that was what the directors were doing. The courts refused to interfere. (*Hampson vs. The Price Patent Candle Co.*, 1876, 45 L.J., N.S. ch. 437.) In giving judgment Sir Jessel, said:

"Can anything be more reasonable than that where the employer has had a very good year, through the exertions of the workmen employed by him, he should give them something more than their ordinary wages by way of encouraging them to exert themselves for the future? . . . It is stated that persons employed, as a rule, can leave their employment on short notice. But still they are in the employment of the company, and I have no doubt but that it will encourage them to work harder for the future; therefore, it is a direct benefit in that way; for, though a few workmen might leave, the bulk would, no doubt, remain a considerable time longer if they expected a gratuity of this kind. It is true that the company does not bind themselves to make the payment in the future; but the mere fact of the payment holds out the hope of something of the kind being done if such another prosperous year should occur, occasioned by the exertions of the workmen."

It is a very obvious commentary, I think, upon this judgment to say that in a prosperous year a bonus may be given to the workmen with a view to increased efficiency in labor, there can be no reason why it should not be done during a period of failure to make a dividend. In fact it might well be said that when the company was making money there could be very much less reason for resorting to unusual methods than when it was losing. In other words, if a bonus will help to prosperity, adversity is the peculiarly fitting time at which to apply the remedy. If this be true, a bonus to workmen may be legally bestowed at any time.

In another case, the directors of a bank resolved to give an annuity to the widow of a deceased clerk who had for many years faithfully and efficiently discharged important duty in the company's service. A shareholder appealed to the courts and was defeated. (*Henderson vs. The Bank of Australasia*, 1888, 40 Ch. D. 170).

The reasons given for these decisions will help to make clear the point which I have in hand. The courts agreed that directors cannot give away the company's money, but they held that it was by no means clear that that was what was being done. The courts recognized (that which is indeed well-known to everybody), that if you encourage your employees to work well they will more than repay you by their increased diligence. There is no one foolish enough to think that the bonus voluntarily added by the directors to the salaries had no beneficial effect upon the services of the ensuing year, nor to imagine that the reward by annuity to a clerk's widow would not stimulate others in the same employ to increased activity in his employer's interest.

A third precedent went still further. The directors of an insurance company determined to pay the amount of a loss, although the company was not, in strictness, legally liable to pay it. The courts again refused to interfere, upon the ground that the directors were acting upon the view that if the company resisted such a claim it would lose business. (*Taunton vs. The Royal Insurance Co.*, 2 H. & M. 135).

Observe then that in all these cases, although at first glance it would appear that money was merely being given away, the reality was otherwise—the reality was that it was being applied to very good purpose, and in furtherance of the financial interests of the companies. The mistake which the complaining shareholders made in the case was in not observing, first, that real return for expenditure may be indirect as well as direct; and, secondly, that there is a wide difference between a temporary and a permanent employer of labor.

The first of these is obvious enough and will be supported by opinion and experience from which I will quote in a few minutes; but let me shortly call your attention to the second consideration, the importance of which is often overlooked.

If I want a day's work done, it is quite evident that such temporary relationship with my employee gives me no interest in his future. If I overwork him, or underfeed him, to-day, the morrow's effects will not be felt by me. If, however, I engage a good cook, and hope to retain her services indefinitely, her value to me largely depends not only upon her physical health, but upon her constant desire to give me a good dinner. And

in the same way a large manufacturer who desires to retain as far as possible the continuous service of his men has a very direct real and pecuniary interest in their future condition and good-will. The difference between a temporary and a permanent employer then as to their interest in the men is extremely clear.

The case of a municipality employing labor is not exactly either of these cases. Upon the one hand it cannot be said that a municipality is such a temporary employer of labor that it has no interest in the morrow's welfare of its men. But, upon the other hand, it cannot be said that a municipality aims at retaining permanently in its employ the same set of laborers. Its case is of intermediate character.

This much, at all events, may be said with reference to the character of the employment, that it is from the citizens that the laborers are selected; that the municipality is the largest employer of labor in the city; that the municipality has, therefore, a direct, real and pecuniary interest in the bodily capacity and mental inclination of the laboring inhabitants. If the laborers are generally able-bodied, the city will obtain the benefit. If they are unfit for hard work the city will suffer. Municipalities may, therefore, be regarded for the purposes in hand as being somewhat in the same category as other permanent employers of labor—they have an interest in the future of their men.

Now, it is a very curious thing that while it is so extremely obvious that permanent employers of labor have this pecuniary interest in the bodily condition of their employees, it is to-day so little understood that it sounds very much like that dread thing "socialism" to very many comfortably ensconced old gentlemen. Ask one of these if he would think it advisable to get the cheapest book-keeper that offered; or if he thought he could get as much work out of a horse if he fed him on hay as if he threw in a few oats now and then, and you will be tolerably sure of a fairly sensible reply. Suggest to the same gentleman that a laborer will work better if well fed—that is if he is paid enough to procure proper food, and you may be fairly sure that something will be urged with a view of justifying the payment of the lowest wage at which the man can be got to work. Is not there always the great law of "supply and demand," to which appeal can be made to show that it eternally must be so."

We have indeed advanced to the stage at which it may be said that the economic writers are agreed that a man so far resembles an engine that if you do not supply stuff for combustion you will not get work, and that the better the fuel the better the work.

Practically, however, the vast majority of employers refuse to put the theory in operation. They think that by devices of piece work, payment by results, overseers, taskmasters with sharp sticks, and even sometimes with kind words, charities and philanthropies, the engine may be induced to change its nature, and to grind on, giving out good power at one end beyond the capacity of the poor fuel supplied at the other. A few, however, are more intelligent, and they will quickly force the others into rationality by their success.

Adam Smith, in *The Wealth of Nations*, vol. I., p. 86, says: "The liberal reward of labor, as it encourages the propagation, so it encourages the industry of the common people. The wages of labor are the encouragement of industry, which like every other human quality, improves in proportion to the encouragement it receives. A plentiful subsistence increases the bodily strength of the laborer, and the comfortable hope of bettering his condition, and of ending his days, perhaps, in ease and plenty and animates him to exert that strength to the utmost."

John Stuart Mill, in his *Political Economy*, Book IV., cap. 7, s. 4, p. 460, speaking of the sharp antagonism which, in his day, existed between employers and employed, and the necessity in the interest of both for its removal, said: "The total absence of regard for justice or fairness in the relations between the two, is as marked on the side of the employed as on that of the employers. We look in vain among the working classes in general for the just pride which will choose to give good work for good wages; for the most part, their sole endeavor is to receive as much and return as little in the shape of service as possible. It will sooner or later become insupportable to the employing classes to live in close and hourly contact with persons whose interests and feelings are in hostility to them. Capitalists are almost as much interested as laborers in placing the operations of industry on such a footing, that those who labor for them may feel the same interest in the work which is felt by those who labor on their own account."

At p. 68 (Book I., cap. 7, s. 5), he says: "The moral qualities of the laborers are fully as important to the efficiency and worth of their labor as the intellectual. Independently of the effects of intemperance upon their bodily and mental faculties and of flighty unsteady habits upon the energy and continuity of their work (points so easily understood as not to require being insisted upon), it is well worthy of meditation, how much of the aggregate effect of their labor depends on their trustworthiness. All the labor now expended in watching that they fulfil their engagement, or in verifying that they have fulfilled it is so much withdrawn from the real business of production to be devoted to a subsidiary function rendered needful not by the necessity of things but by the dishonesty of men. Nor are the greatest outward precautions more than very imperfectly efficacious where, as is now almost invariably the case with hired laborers, the slightest relaxation of vigilance is an opportunity eagerly seized for eluding performance of their contract. The advantage to mankind of being able to trust one another penetrates into every crevice and cranny of human life; the economical is perhaps the smallest part of it, yet even this is incalculable."

McCulloch, in his Principles of Political Economy, says: "This is not a point about which there can be any doubt. The experience of all ages and nations proves that high wages are at once the most powerful stimulus to exertion, and the best means of attaching the people to the institutions under which they live."

Brentano, in his Hours, Wages and Production, proves that "where a rise in the standard of life comes about as a consequence of increased wages and shorter hours, experience shows that it induces greater intensity of labor, since men whose requirements are larger and their hours shorter are compelled to greater industry, and that at the same time it makes that intensive labor possible owing to the fact that favorable bodily circumstances and greater pleasure in labor make the greater industry easier to such workmen than to those whose requirements are small, and who are badly nourished, weary and depressed. That this development is to the interest of the laborer needs no further demonstration. But no less is it in the interest of the community, and only in its socio-political but also in its economic interest, for it is, by this development that the preliminary conditions are first created under which industrial progress becomes physically and economically possible."

Mr. H. W. Massingham, in an article in 64 Contemp. Review. (1893) p. 775, on The Government and Labor, says: "I think there can be no doubt that it would pay a State, organized on democratic lines, to give its workers 10 per cent. above the level of the best kind of private employment."

Now let me give you some evidence as to the operation in practice of the theory of the economy of high wages.

Sir Thomas Brassey, in a book entitled Foreign Work and English Wages, gives the result of his experience derived from almost every part of the world. He says that the efficiency of labor was found to vary with tolerable accuracy in accordance with the standard of comfort or real wages; and he expresses his preference for the higher paid laborer.

Mr. James Henderson, an English factory inspector, in his report (Oct., 1890, p. 7), speaking of his experience of Lancashire and Scotland, as factory inspector, says: "There are no operatives of whom I ever had any experience who work with so much energy as the Lancashire people, and the contrast between a Scotch and a Lancashire weaving factory in this respect is very remarkable. The Lancashire weaver works with a will; she earns a high wage (on an average double that of her Scotch sister in the same class of work), and is anxious to maintain it. She will take charge of four power looms without hesitation. . . . In Scotland, on the other hand, it is common to find weavers of long experience with only two looms, and it is with difficulty that they can be persuaded to take a third."

Sir J. L. Bell (a German ironmaster) in his work on The Iron Trade of the United Kingdom, p. 564, says: "We have often the same technical appliances as you in England, for anything an engineer sees he can construct and imitate, but what we cannot imitate is to work with our cheaply fed men with the same vigour that your English workmen labor."

Mr. John Rae, in an article in 65 *Contemporary Review* (1893), p. 790, on *The Eight Hours Day and the Unemployed*, says: "But now we are realizing that, generally speaking, men's work is in direct ratio to their diet, or in other words, to their wages. Mr. Brassey found that agricultural laborers, when they began to work on a railway, would lie down exhausted at three in the afternoon, but after twelve months of higher wages and better food, they would get into better working condition, and be able to perform their task without difficulty, and when Mr. D. Pidgeon visited the Willimatic Thread Mills, Connecticut, he found the firm supplying their younger hands gratuitously with a cup of milk and a slice of bread and butter between meals and owning themselves more than recouped by the increase of production which even so small a service of food enabled to be made. The best fed nations—the English and Americans—are the largest producers, but give other nationalities the same fare and they show near the same work. It is many years since Mes-srs. Manby & Wilson got their French hands in their Clarenton foundry to eat as much meat as their English hands, and found, as they had hoped, that as soon as the better diet had time to tell, they did nearly as much as the English did."

The London County Council acts in much the same way as Winnipeg. From an article in 67 *Contemporary Review* (1895), pp. 143-6, the following references to the Council's action are taken: "Here, in most cases, no generally recognized trade union rate exists. The Council, fortified by a unanimous vote of the House of Commons to the same effect, has taken the position that it is undesirable, whatever the competition, that any of its employees should receive less than the minimum required for efficient and decent existence. Seeing that Mr. Charles Booth places the actual 'poverty line' in London at regular earnings of 21s. per week, it cannot be said that the Council's 'moral minimum' of 24s. for men and 18s. for women errs on the side of luxury or extravagance. But, unlike the Council's wage for skilled workmen, it is more than actually paid by many conscientious employers; and it is undoubtedly above the rate at which the Council could obtain similar labor, if it chose to disregard all other considerations. Whatever may be thought of the wisdom of this labor policy it is now a matter of common consent that it has worked smoothly and with marked success.

"It must equally be put to the credit of the present Council that it has settled the 'fair wages' question for its contractors as well as for itself. Many town councils up and down the country are still laboring with this issue, which London has at last got rid of. All firms tendering for Council's work are required to specify the wages they pay for each particular craft. If the work is to be executed within the London district, it is an easy matter to see whether these rates correspond with those in the Council's standard list. If the work is to be done elsewhere, it is found, in practice, quite possible to ascertain by inquiry of the proper local officers of the associations of employers on the one hand and the trade unions on the other whether the proposed rates are really those current in the district. Firms accusing themselves of paying less than these rates are informed of the fact, as a reason why their tenders are not accepted, and have, therefore, full opportunity of correcting any injustice. This system works smoothly and well. The good contractors fall easily into line with it, and most of the minority of councillors who honestly believed it to be impossible of execution now recognize that they were mistaken. Here again the key-note of the Council's policy is, not the abolition of competition, but the shifting of its plane from mere cheapness to that of industrial efficiency. The speeding up of machinery, the better organization of labor, the greater competency of manager, clerk or craftsman, are all stimulated and encouraged by the deliberate closing-up to the contractor of less legitimate means of making profit.

"So far, indeed, is the Council's action from being economically heretical, as is commonly supposed in West End drawing rooms, that it is exactly what the instructed 'orthodox' economist recommends. When the issue was explicitly raised last August at the economic section of the British Association, there was not a single dissenting voice. Even the *Times* now holds its peace. The economic heretics, in fact, are those who, in flat defiance of Adam Smith, McCulloch, Mill and Marshall alike, persist in assuming that there is some obligatory 'law' that the pressure of competition ought without interference from man, to be allowed so to act as to degrade the standard of life of the whole community."—*Contemp. Review* (1895), p. 145.

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"Over 150 local governing bodies in England have adopted some kind of fair wages clause in their contracts (see H. C. 189 of 1892); and the House of Commons, by unanimous resolutions of February 13, 1891, and March 6, 1893, adopted the principle for Government contracts."

So also have the Dominion Government, to some extent, and the cities of Toronto and Montreal.

Schoenhof, in his *The Economy of High Wages*, writes (p. 84), "The higher wage rate per diem ruling in the United States enables the operatives to enjoy a better mode of living, and better nutrition of body and mind. They eat more and better food than any of the operatives of Europe, and their general mode of living is upon a higher standard. They operate more spindles, more looms in the textiles. In steel-making, coal-making, coking, etc., an equal number of hands turn out more tons in a given time than any of their competitors in Europe, England not excluded. They work more steadily in every hour of their working day. The steadiness of the worker the application of his whole time and energy to his work, is most intense, and is only possible where good nutrition prevails. Every moment is made use of to turn out the greatest number of pieces that can be ground out of his machine, or run out of his hand while at work."

Mr. E. P. L. Gould has a valuable article in 65 *Contemporary Review* (1893), p. 125, *The Social Condition of Labor*, in which there are many tables comparing social condition in various countries. He says: "What inferences are we to draw from the foregoing statistics? Unmistakably this, that higher daily wages in America do not mean a correspondingly enhanced labor cost to the manufacturers. But why so? Some say because of the more perfect mechanical agencies put into the hands of the workmen in American rolling mills. There is reason in this answer if we take the average conditions, but it does not represent the whole truth. Moreover, it cannot be used in a comparison between England and the United States, since in the former country mechanical processes have been perfected almost to the same degree as in the latter. The real explanation I believe to be, that greater physical force, as the result of better nourishment in combination with superior intelligence and skill, make the workingman in the United States more efficient. His determination to maintain a high standard of life causes him to put forth greater effort, and this re-acts to the benefit of the employer."

John A. Hobson, in an article in 64 *Contemporary Review* (1895), on *The Economy of Wages*, says (p. 815): "This theory, which has been advancing by rapid strides in recent years, and is now supported by a great quantity of carefully collected evidence, requires more serious consideration. A comparison between England and the United States shows that in weaving, where wages are much higher in America, the labor is so much more efficient as to make the cost of production considerably lower than in England; in spinning, where English wages are about as highly paid, the cost of production is lower than in America. The low-paid, long-houred laborers of the Italian factories are easily undersold by the higher price and more effective labor of England and America. So also a comparison between Mulhausen and the factories of the Vosges Valleys shows that the more highly paid labor of the former is the more productive. In Russia, the better paid labor in the factories near Petersburg and in Esthland can out compete the lower paid laborer of the central government of Valdimir and Moscow."

In the *Manchester Chamber of Commerce Record*, Nov. 30, 1895, at p. 263, will be found the following: "The conviction that abundant remuneration and efficient work are correlative is so firmly held by the great mass of intelligent English employers as to give the proposition an axiomatic character. Lancashire cotton manufacturers, for example, rejoice in and are proud of the high earnings among their work people, and in every town there is a certain spirit of emulation among them in the endeavor, by the provision of good machinery and good material, to place their establishments in the front rank as places where the weekly wages stand highest. This principle that abundant earnings and industrial success go together has been learned by experience, by observation, and by the interchange of ideas which is always going on in every department of trade."

Mr. W. Cunningham, in 66 *Contemporary Review* (1894) p. 16, in an article on *A Living Wage*, says: "With these qualifications, the Manchester axiom about high

earnings and efficiency may be accepted as thoroughly sound; the opinion of Adam Smith, Ricardo, Mill and Marshall can apparently be quoted in its favor, and it is satisfactory to hear that the principle is so generally recognized by employers of labor. And the advocates of the living wage may fairly claim that they only seek to give effect to a principle which has such a high economic authority and is confirmed by the experience of practical men."

Henry George, in his *Protection and Free Trade*, p. 149, says: "Looking further, we see in every direction that it is not the fact that low-priced labor gives advantage in production. If this is the fact, how was it that the development of industry in the slave states of the American Union was not more rapid than in the free states? How is it that Mexico, where peon labor can be had for from four to six dollars a month, does not undersell the products of our more highly paid labor? How is it that China and India and Japan are not 'flooding the world' with the products of their cheap labor? How is it that England, where labor is better paid than on the continent, leads the whole of Europe in commerce and manufactures? The truth is that a low rate of wages does not mean a low cost of production, but the reverse. The universal and obvious truth is that the country where wages are the highest can produce with the greatest economy because workmen have there the most intelligence, the most spirit and most ability; because invention and discovery are there most quickly made and most readily utilized. The great inventions and discoveries, which so enormously increase the power of human labor to produce wealth have all been made in countries where wages are comparatively high. That low wages mean inefficient labor may be seen wherever we look."

The application of all this to our case of *Kelly vs. Winnipeg* is very apparent. We admit, as I have said, that we are paying more than we can get the work done for. But we say that we are permanent and not temporary employers of wages; that we have a real, direct and financial interest in the bodily condition and mental inclination of the men whom we employ; that we believe in the economy of high wages; and that we are not acting philanthropically at all but in our own proper, and if you like, selfish interest when we refuse to pay our men less than a fair living wage. We have come to realize, as Mill hoped we would, that "capitalists are almost as much interested as laborers in placing the operations of industry on such a footing that those who labor for them may feel the same interest in the work which is felt by those who labor on their own account;" and that the economical advantage of this state of affairs, although, "perhaps the smallest part of it yet is incalculable."

The second of the factors overlooked by the plaintiff in the case of *Kelly vs. Winnipeg* was, as I have said, the character of the employer.

How can that affect the question; In this way: If a manufacturer should underpay his men, and as they became incapacitated draft in younger and stronger men, the policy might, as we have seen, be financially injurious to him, but at all events his damage would cease with reference to each particular man as each received his last day's pay. A municipality differs from all other employers of labor (unless indeed it be slave labor), at this very point. If in a city the current rate of wage is below the fair living standard, all employers, including the City, suffers from lack of efficient service; but the municipality has also to sustain the expense of maintaining by its hospitals, its homes, its work houses, its refuges, those who cannot maintain themselves, and of subduing by its constables, its magistrates, its gaols, those who are goaded or misled into taking a portion of that which they have some reason for thinking they had a right to earn.

In fact, the view which counsel for the city had to combat was boldly this. If a municipality can get laborers at two cents an hour, it must not pay more, even although it is reasonably certain that if it does not the municipality will suffer not only morally but financially also. And that, I venture to think, is a proposition which does not require a great deal of skill to overthrow.

It will thus be seen what I mean by the argument derived from the character of the employer. The employer is the city. It yearly disburses large sums in charity, and large sums in protecting itself from the unemployed and the underfed. Is it not, then, a fit and proper object of city government to endeavor to reduce the amounts spent

in respect of charity and crime, and at the same time to encourage and uplift the honest laborer. And may it not be maintained that paying higher wages, and thus setting the standard for other employers in the city, are doing something more than taking the charity and crime money and applying it to the payment of labor; and that it in reality effects a substantial saving upon the aggregate of the two accounts.

Counsel for the city did not argue that, apart from financial considerations altogether, the municipality could, under our particular statute, apply city funds towards general schemes for the moral improvement of its citizens. Such objects may well be thought to be properly within the municipal sphere. But it is for the Legislature so to declare, and without its authority a municipality, which is its creature, has no right so to apply its revenues. Legislatures may, however, come to agree with Henry George.

Henry George, in his *Protection or Free Trade*, at p. 5, says: "I hold with those who deem the increase of wages a legitimate purpose of public policy. To raise and maintain wages is the great object that all who live by wages ought to seek, and workmen are right in supporting any measure that will attain that object. Nor in this are they acting selfishly, for while the question of wages is the most important of questions to laborers, it is also the most important of questions to society at large. Whatever improves the condition of the lowest and broadest social stratum must promote the true interests of all. Where the wages of common labor are high and remunerative employment is easy to obtain prosperity will be general. Where wages are highest, there will be the largest production and the most equitable distribution of wealth. There will invention be most active and the brain best guide the hand. There will be the greatest comfort, the widest diffusion of knowledge, the purest morals and the truest patriotism. If we would have a healthy, a happy, an enlightened and a virtuous people, if we would have a pure government firmly based on the popular will and quickly responsive to it, we must strive to raise wages and keep them high."

Upon the argument of the *Kelly vs. Winnipeg* case, counsel for the city appealed to the analogy afforded by the shorter hour question. If it be taken as established that shorter hours does not mean less work, may it not also be that higher pay does not mean a smaller return? The factors in the two cases are very much the same.

Mr. John Rae, in an article in *63 Contemporary Review* (1895), on *Eight Hours and the Unemployed*, says (pp. 801-3): "Much better tests of the effect of shortening hours on the unemployed in the engineering trade are afforded by the experience of the various firms who have recently replaced the nine by the eight hours' system. The surprising thing about these experiments, and indeed about a large proportion of other eight-hour experiments also is that the same staff of men have done more work in the forty-eight hours a week than they did before in the fifty-four hours, together with the overtime then habitual. Messrs. S. J. Johnston & Co., engineers, Stratford, who have now practiced the eight-hour system for four years, state explicitly to Mr. Hadfield, author of a recent interesting work called *A Shorter Working Day*, that though they pay the men the same wages for the shorter day as they used to do for the longer one, they find the cost has not only not increased but has practically decreased, and that is, of course, equivalent to saying that they now get more work done in a day.

"This is accounted for partly by the increased stimulus given to make the machinery more perfect and capable of increased speed, but it arises far more from the work people, by absence of that weariness and exhaustion which the long hours occasioned and by their increased cheerfulness and activity, being enabled to work more steadily and diligently, and to economise time, intervals of rest while at their work being now less necessary.

"The explanation is in all cases the same and is very simple. The men use their time and they have more physical energy. They come after breakfast, and they come with more punctuality and better heart. Both Mr. Allan and Messrs. Johnston found the work of the first hours of the day formerly unprofitable because the men were very irregular in coming and because when they came, they did so little comparatively that as Messrs. Johnston say, their early morning work cost fifty per cent. more than the work done in the rest of the day.

"A reduction from twelve hours a day to eight is a very big alteration to make all at once, and it would seem to be against nature to expect it to be made without some

considerable reduction in the daily output. But this incredible thing has been done again and again, and even greater things, in some of the more laborious trades."

The same gentleman, in a later article on Eight Hours Day and Foreign Competition, in 65 Contemporary Review (1894), p. 190, says: "They go to show that under the eight-hour system the men work with so much more energy and concentration while they work that they turn out as great a quantity and sometimes even more than they did under the nine-hours or ten-hours system, and are less exhausted at the finish, for they are expressly stated to be in better health and spirits. Still even successful experiment seems inadequate to overcome the obstinate preconceptions and incredulity that prevail on the subject."

Shorter hours—to the extent, at all events, necessitated by the human limit of strength—are advisable because of the better body and mind developed in the laborer. Better wages—to the extent prescribed by the necessity for sufficient fuel for the furnace—are also advisable and for the same reason.

We did not ask the courts to accept our views of the advantages to be derived by the City of Winnipeg from a strict adherence to its resolution. It was not necessary that they should do so. It is not for the judges to settle questions of policy, or to determine whether this or that course of action will be productive of largest and best results.

All that we had to establish was that we were acting as trustees of other people's money should act; that we were not merely giving it away; that we were expending it as we deemed best in the interest of the city, and that our judgment in that regard was no mere idle notion, but one supported by almost unanimous opinion; by increasing experience, and by many considerations which rightfully ought to appeal to the council as the governing body of a great municipality. This we succeeded in accomplishing and we had the satisfaction of hearing Mr. Justice Bain say in his judgment:

"It does not seem doubtful that the city, as well as contractors, could hire laborers for less than 17½ cents an hour.

"But both in buying material and supplies for the city services and in hiring men to do its work there are many other considerations besides that of mere cheapness that may legitimately influence the council; and I do not think the council necessarily subjects itself to interference by the court if, in hiring its workmen, it does not act on the principle that only such wages are to be paid as the law of supply and demand, operating on the necessities of the working men, will compel them to accept.

"All who make affidavits in reply to the plaintiff's motion, agree in stating their belief that 17½ cents an hour is not more than a fair living wage for a competent laboring man in Winnipeg, and that it is in the city's interests that laborers employed on the city works should be paid a fair living wage.

"The reasons given for this latter belief may or may not appear convincing, but upon the wisdom or unwisdom of the policy of the council, acting *bona fide* in the matter within the scope of its powers, it is for the ratepayers, and not the court, to pronounce.

"And as there is nothing before me that would justify me in finding that the council, in acting on the resolution, will be acting otherwise than in what it considers to be the best interests of the city, I cannot consider that it will be acting unreasonably in any legal sense, if it insists that men engaged in city work shall be paid fair living wages for their work, even though men might be hired to do the work at a lower rate."

Mr. Kelly, not being satisfied with this decision, appealed to the full court composed of three other judges. His counsel presented, with great force, all that could be urged on his behalf, but the court did not think that there was room for difference of opinion upon the point, and did not therefore deem it necessary to hear what the city's counsel had to say in reply. Mr. Justice Bain's decision was affirmed, and there the case ended.

Moved by Mr. O'Donoghue, seconded by Mr. Keys, and resolved,

That the thanks of this Congress be tendered to Mr. Ewart for his kindness in preparing and reading the able paper now read before the Congress.

The President tendered Mr. Ewart the thanks of Congress.

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The consideration of resolutions submitted by the Committee on Standing Orders and Resolutions was resumed.

Moved by Mr. Large, seconded by Mr. Macdonald, and resolved,

That the Ontario Executive of this Congress be instructed to urge upon the Ontario Government the necessity of the better enforcement of the Ontario Factories' Act.

Moved by Mr. O'Donoghue, seconded by Mr. FitzPatrick, and resolved,

That the petition from the Toronto unions of the United Garment Workers of America be placed before the Executive of this Congress to investigate and if the conditions as stated in said petition are correct then the Executive communicate or take such steps to lay before the Government the facts and insist upon the observance and the spirit of the law being carried out.

Moved by Mr. Cowan, seconded by Mr. Watson, and resolved,

That we urge upon the Executives of the various provinces the necessity of advocating in their various provinces the appointment of an inspector or inspectors of all boilers of whatever nature, except marine boilers, which are already provided for; and further, that they advocate the licensing of all engineers.

Moved by Mr. O'Donoghue, seconded by Mr. March, and resolved,

That inasmuch as systematic efforts have been and are being made to engraft manual training upon the Public School system, be it resolved, therefore, that such an innovation would be inimical to the best interests of the working people of this country, and it is hereby an instruction to the Executive to use its best efforts in opposition wherever such efforts are being or may be made, and that instead it urge a general encouragement of the teaching of technical education and the obligatory teaching of the science of agriculture, at least in its primary branches.

Moved by Mr. Flett, seconded by Mr. T. H. FitzPatrick, and resolved,

That owing to the failure of the Executive of this Congress to bring about a reform through the governments of the provinces to discourage the production of prison made goods being placed in competition with free and honest labor, that this Congress again urge upon the Executive to continue its efforts to secure the abolition of labor-saving machinery in the prisons and penitentiaries of this Dominion and substitute therefore hand labor, and that a label stating the goods were made in prisons be placed on all articles manufactured.

Moved by Mr. Keys, seconded by Mr. Flett, and resolved,

In view of the fact that the numbered ballot does not secure the free and untrammelled expression of the electorate of the Province of Ontario, that if the rights of the toilers are to be respected and their political freedom be achieved it is imperative that a secret ballot should be adopted in the above named province similar to that now used in Dominion and other provincial elections.

Moved by Mr. March, seconded by Mr. Cowan, and resolved,

That as specific and regularly issued official labor and wages statistics are of vital importance to both the working people and the general Canadian public, and whereas there exists a Dominion Bureau of Statistics, it be an imperative order to the Executive of this Congress to press upon the Dominion Government to at once direct that labor statistics in detail be collected and published at stated periods, not less frequently than three months, as is now being done in several other countries, a full knowledge of which, on the part of the people as a whole, is of the most vital importance to the country as a whole.

Moved by Mr. Wilkes, seconded by Mr. McKay, and resolved,

That whereas the findings of the special commission appointed to enquire into the conditions of the laborers on the Crows Nest Pass Railway are evidence of unfair and even atrocious treatment to the same, we desire the Government to pursue the course of legally punishing the parties implicated in the same as we consider the appointment of such com-

mission an honest attempt to correct such wrongs, the justice of the workmen's claims can only be corroborated by applying the law against the proven perpetrators; we furthermore contend that as far as the wages of such laborers are concerned the true remedy is the fixing of a minimum wage by the Government in such cases, and the other conditions being entirely supervised by a Government agent.

Moved by Mr. Flett, seconded by Mr. Keys, and resolved,

That this Congress deems it of supreme importance to all members of labor organizations and friends of the fair wage system, that a more lively agitation be instituted in bringing before the public the advantages to organized labor by creating a demand for the various *boni fied* trades labels, and that members of labor organizations insist upon having said labels and give their patronage to those handling such goods in preference to those refusing to handle them.

Moved by Mr. Scott, seconded by Mr. Small, and resolved,

That the various Provincial Governments be petitioned to so amend their respective educational Acts that the education of children shall be compulsory and that books and supplies be provided free to pupils.

Moved by Mr. O'Donoghue, seconded by Mr. Halloway, and resolved,

Whereas, if a man clears a lot of land, if he erects buildings thereon, raises crops, manufactures goods or otherwise put that land to its best use, then because he has employed labor in the production of prosperity his taxes are increased; but if he holds land idle, employs no labor thereon and thus adds nothing to the prosperity of the country, if he turns a garden into a desert, if he puts land to its worst possible use, for extortion and not for production, then his taxes are kept low; thus the better a man does for the country, the worse the country does for him; thus our laws discriminate against productive industry in favor of speculation and consequently injure the industrious classes in two ways: first, by keeping land idle, men are kept idle; second, wherever population concentrates, there the so called owner of the land is enabled to subject the industrious classes to an endless tribute, which they must pay for the occupation of the land; therefore, this Congress urges that every means be adopted to secure the abolition of all taxes on the products of industry and the concentration of taxation on the value of the land.

Moved by Mr. O'Donoghue, seconded by Mr. March, and resolved,

Whereas this Congress is of opinion that the voters of any municipality should have power to initiate by-laws and similar enactments by means of an initiative petition of five per cent. of qualified electors, and that the due presentation of such a petition should compel the submission of any such proposed by-law or enactment to a mandatory referendum vote of the citizens; and whereas the use of municipal initiative petitions is provided for to a limited extent in existing Provincial legislation, and the municipal referendum to a much larger extent; and whereas the principle of the initiative and referendum is being widely adopted in the neighboring republic, a notable instance of which is the new charter of the city of San Francisco; therefore this Congress strongly urges the Provincial Legislatures to grant to municipalities much wider powers of initiative by petition, with its accompanying referendum vote; and this Congress is of opinion that the subjects coming within the scope of such powers should at least include the following: 1. The adoption of proportional representation in the election of councillors and aldermen; 2. The relief of buildings, improvements, and personal property, from taxation, partly or wholly, with a corresponding increase of the tax on land values; 2. The municipal ownership and control of franchises, monopolies and public utilities.

Moved by Mr. Halloway, seconded by Mr. March, and resolved,

This Congress notes with gratification that resolutions passed by the Trades and Labor Congress of 1896 and 1897 have been acted on by the Ontario Legislature to the extent of abolishing ward divisions in some municipalities and giving others the option of ward abolition; whilst warmly approving this legislation as being a step in the right direction this Congress urges the necessity of following it up by such further enactments as will permit the adoption of proportional representation instead of the present crude

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and unscientific method of multiple voting; and the Secretary is hereby instructed to bring this subject to the attention of the Ontario Government and Legislature, by forwarding copies of this resolution and taking such other steps as may be deemed advisable.

Moved by Mr. Little, seconded by Mr. O'Donoghue, and resolved,

That it be an instruction to the Executive Committee to press upon the Government of the Province of Quebec to have the Civil Code so altered that the election of Aldermen and Councillors in the different country parishes be by ballot instead of the present open voting system.

Moved by Mr. Little, seconded by Mr. March, and resolved,

That it be an instruction to the Quebec Executive to press upon the Local Government the advisability of passing an Act that all workmen injured while in the employ of stevedores, merchants or agents, at ship or timber works, either by the day or season, be compelled to pay such workmen his wages for such time that he, or they, may be laid up by such injuries, and that the paying of such wages shall not debar them from taking legal action should they desire to do so.

Moved by Mr. Small, seconded by Mr. Large,

Whereas, there is at present an opportunity being given to the electors of Canada to declare at the polls whether they are in favor of the passing by the Dominion Parliament of a law to prohibit the manufacture, sale and importation of spirituous and malt liquors for beverage purposes within the boundaries of Canada; be it therefore resolved that this Congress places itself on record as being in favor of the passing of such an act at the earliest possible date, as being in the best interest of the people.

On motion, the resolution was laid on the table.

Mr. C. C. Steuart presented the following notice of motion:

I hereby give notice of amendment to the Constitution, as follows: "That Article V., Sec. 1, be amended to read as follows: Sec. 1.—The officers of this Congress shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Provincial Vice-President for each province represented, and a Secretary-Treasurer.

Congress then adjourned.

#### FOURTH DAY.

TUESDAY, September 20th, 1898.

Congress was called to order at 9 a.m.

Consideration of the report of the Committee on Standing Orders and Resolutions was resumed.

Moved by Mr. Chatel, seconded by Mr. Belanger, and resolved,

Whereas it is most detrimental to the interests of all wage earners in this country, by reason of the fact that the Dominion Government, as well as the Governments of the Province of Ontario and Quebec, have entered into competition of a most unjust and pernicious character with the manufacturers of Canada by establishing factories equipped with the most modern and improved machinery operated by convicts within the prisons under the control of the above named governments; be it therefore resolved that the Executive of this Congress be instructed to request the labor organizations of the Dominion to use every means in their power to secure the defeat of the above named governments unless steps are taken to abolish prison labor.

Moved by Mr. Flett, seconded by Mr. FitzPatrick, and resolved,

That it be an instruction to the Executive of this Congress to make such representation before the Commission now in session in the city of Quebec, expressing the views of this Congress on the Alien Labor Law of this country as a measure entirely unsatis-

factory to the working people of this country, inoperative in its machinery and unsought for by this Congress. But that our desire is that a law be enacted preventing importation into Canada of any person or persons under contract.

Moved by Mr. O'Donoghue, seconded by Mr. March, and resolved,

That inasmuch as it is in the best interests of the country that a "day labor" system should supercede that of the "contract" form, and whereas the "day labor" has been in a degree officially recognized in the construction of some public works by the Dominion Minister of Public Works. Be it resolved that the Executive be instructed to urge upon the Dominion Government to adopt only the "day labor" system in connection with all federal public works, and further, that it be an instruction to the delegates to use every possible effort in urging their respective representatives both in the Federal Parliament and in the Provincial Legislature to use their best efforts to secure the adoption of the "day labor" system both Federally and Provincially.

Moved by Mr. Steuart, seconded by Mr. Daly, and resolved,

That it be an instruction to the Executive to bring about by conference or correspondence with the officials of the Canadian Wheelmen's Association a change in the date of the holding of the annual Dominion Wheelmen's Meet from the present fixture—Labor Day—in order to avoid a serious clashing of interests.

An invitation was received from Mr. McIntyre and Mr. Carman to visit the public school of the city. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

The Congress then adjourned.

#### AFTERNOON SESSION

Congress was called to order at 2 p.m.

The notice of motion given by Mr. Steuart on the previous day, that Art. V., Sec. 1, be amended, was on motion adopted.

The Executive Committee presented the following report, which on motion was adopted :

*To the Officers and Members of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada :*

Gentlemen,—Your Executive Committee to whom was referred the question of our relation with the American Federation of Labor, beg to report as follows :—

Your Committee met and invited the presence of Mr. Thomas I. Kidd, fraternal delegate to this meeting. After considerable discussion it was decided to recommend to this Congress that steps be taken to petition the American Federation of Labor that a sum of money be granted by said Federation yearly for the purpose of carrying out our system of seeking legislation and also for the purpose of assisting, so far as possible, the organization of workingmen in Canada. At the conference Mr. Kidd promised his assistance and support, in his report as fraternal delegate to the annual session at Kansas City, to have the aims and objects of our Congress brought prominently before that session.

Your Committee would also strongly recommend that this Congress elect a fraternal delegate to the coming session at Kansas City.

Respectfully submitted,

D. A. CAREY, *President.*

GEO. W. DOWER, *Secretary.*

The Committee to whom was referred the question of formulating a platform of principals, presented the following report :

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*To the President and Delegates to the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.*

Your Committee appointed to draft a platform beg leave to report as follows:—

- 1—Free Compulsory Education and Free Text Books.
- 2—Legal working day of eight hours and six days to a week.
- 3—Government inspection of all industries.
- 4—The abolition of the contract system on all public works.
- 5—A minimum living wage based on local conditions.
- 6—Public ownership of all Franchises, such as Railways, Telegraphs, Waterworks, Lighting, etc.
- 7—Tax reform by lessening taxation on industry and increasing it on land values.
- 8—Abolition of the the Dominion Senate.
- 9—Exclusion of Chinese.
- 10—The union label on all government supplies where practicable.
- 11—Abolition of child labor by children under 14 years of age.
- 12—Abolition of property qualification for all public offices.
- 13—Compulsory arbitration of labor disputes.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN APPLETON, *Chairman.*  
S. FITZPATRICK.  
WM. MCKAY.  
RALPH SMITH.  
H. COWAN.

On motion the Congress resolved itself into committee of the whole on the report.

Clauses 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9, were adopted.

Clause 10 was amended to read as follows: "The union label on all manufactured goods, where practicable, and on all government and municipal supplies."

Clause 11 was amended by adding thereto: "And of female labor in all branches of industrial life, such as mines, workshops, factories, etc."

Clauses 12 and 13 were adopted.

On motion clause 14 was added, as follows: "Proportional Representation and the culumative vote."

On motion, clause 15 was added, as follows: "Prohibition of prison labor in competition with free labor."

The Committee rose and reported, and on motion the report, as amended, was adopted. (NOTE—The platform as finally adopted, will be found on page 2 of this report.)

The Committee on Ways and Means presented the following report, which was received and adopted:

*To the Officers and Members of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.*

Your Committee on Ways and Means beg leave to submit the following report:

Your Committee would recommend that the per capita tax for the coming year remain as at present. That the sum of \$75.00 be granted to the Secretary-Treasurer for salary. That \$50.00 be granted to the Secretary for railroad fare and general expenses.

That \$75.00 be granted to President Carey for general expenses, railroad fare, etc., and that the sum of \$5.00 be granted to the caretaker of the Legislative Building. We further recommend that the usual number of copies of the Report be printed in English and French.

Respectfully submitted,

CHAS. MARCH, *Chairman*.  
O. BELANGER.  
THOMAS CHING.  
W. D. FOSTER.  
JOHN T. LATER, *Secretary*.

The time set for the election of officers having arrived, the President called Mr. Kidd to the chair and the election was proceeded with, resulting as follows :

*President—*

Ralph Smith of Nanaimo.....Acclamation.

*Vice-President—*

D. Verdon, of Montreal .....	8
John A. Flett of Hamilton.....	13
O. Belanger, of Montreal .....	3
C. C. Steuart, of Winnipeg.....	11

On the third ballot Mr. Flett was declared elected by a vote of 24 to 14 for Mr. Steuart.

*Vice-President for New Brunswick—*

W. H. Coates, of St. John. .... Acclamation

*Vice-President for Quebec—*

S. Fitzpatrick, of Montreal.....	17
Wm. Keys, of Montreal.....	19

Mr. Keys was declared elected.

*Vice-President for Ontario—*

Charles March, of Toronto.....	18
T. H. FitzPatrick, of Toronto.....	18

On the second ballot Mr. FitzPatrick was declared elected by a vote of 20 to 16.

*Vice-President for Manitoba—*

John Appleton, of Winnipeg.....	21
C. C. Steuart, of Winnipeg.....	4
R. A. Pyne, of Winnipeg.....	9

Mr. Appleton was declared elected.

*Vice-President for British Columbia—*

Harry Cowan, of Vancouver.....	16
James Wilkes, of Rossland.....	20

Mr. Wilkes was declared elected.

*Secretary-Treasurer—*

Geo. W. Dower, of Toronto ..... Acclamation

*Legislative Committee for New Brunswick—*

Thos. Killen of St. John . . . . . Acclamation  
Murray Fleming, of Moncton . . . . . “

*Legislative Committee for Quebec—*

Ed. Little, of Quebec . . . . . Acclamation  
H. Gravel, of Montreal . . . . . “  
S. Fitzpatrick of Montreal . . . . . “

*Legislative Committee for Ontario—*

Charles March, of Toronto . . . . . Acclamation  
A. R. Macdonald, of Ottawa . . . . . “  
John T. Later, of Toronto . . . . . “

*Legislative Committee for Manitoba—*

J. Mortimer, of Winnipeg . . . . . Acclamation  
C. C. Setuart, of Winnipeg . . . . . “  
W. A. Vickery, of Winnipeg . . . . . “

*Legislative Committee for British Columbia—*

J. H. Watson, of Vancouver . . . . . Acclamation  
Wm. McKay, of Victoria . . . . . “  
Harry Cowan, of Vancouver . . . . . “

*Fraternal Delegate to the A. F. of L.—*

D. A. Carey, of Toronto . . . . . 24  
Ralph Smith, of Nanaimo . . . . . 12

Mr. Carey was declared elected.

The selection of the next place of meeting was then proceeded with. Mr. Chatel asked unanimous consent to the reading of the following telegram :—

MONTREAL, QUE., Sept. 17th, 1898.

P. C. CHATEL, Labor Congress, Winnipeg.

The Mayor of Montreal would consider it an honor for his city if the Labor Congress would choose Montreal as their place of meeting next year and extends therefore to the labor organizations of Canada his cordial invitation.

R. PREFONTAINE, Mayor.

The following places were then placed in nomination, and on a vote Montreal was declared the place for holding the next session of Congress:—

Montreal, Que. . . . .	19
Cornwall, Ont. . . . .	7
Victoria, B.C. . . . .	2
Peterboro, Ont. . . . .	2
Vancouver, B.C. . . . .	5

The consideration of resolutions submitted by the Committee on Standing Orders and Resolutions was resumed.

A resolution submitted by Federal Labor Union of Moncton was recommended referred to the Executive Committee :

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this union that the Constitution now in force of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada is inadequate for the proper conducting of local lodges, and for the advancement of the working classes throughout the Dominion of Canada, and we do hereby request the Congress, when in session at Winnipeg, to promulgate and adopt a new Constitution for the government of that body and all subordinate lodges chartered by them.

A resolution submitted by Federal Labor Union of Moncton was recommended and adopted :

Resolved, That in view of the general state of mechanical business in Canada, as well as the apparent necessity of more leisure hours for recreation and rest, and believing that better work could and would be done in shorter hours we consider it advisable that all grand bodies of organized labor should discuss this important question in its entirety. In this matter we are only in line with those in the American Republic ; therefore resolved, That we submit the foregoing to the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada with the suggestion that they take such means as are at their disposal to have this matter brought before the Parliament of Canada at the earliest opportunity.

A resolution, submitted by Iron Molders Union, No. 212, of Guelph, in regard to the Intimidation Act, as regards strikes and lockouts, was recommended referred to the Executive Committee.

A resolution, submitted by Tailors' Union, of St. Thomas, in regard to the free ingress of merchants to towns and cities without the payment of a license, was, on motion of Mr. Mortimer, not concurred in.

The Committee presented its final report as follows :—

The Committee on Standing Orders and Resolutions have considered all the resolutions and communications submitted to it and have handed down to Congress all resolutions with the exception of two, the first being the resolution by C. C. Stuart on the Crow's Nest Pass, on the ground that the matter contained therein is already covered by the resolution of Delegate Wilkes and passed by the Congress. The second, on the copyright question, was thrown out on the ground that the matter was covered by the resolution already passed. Your Committee, in concluding their work, would earnestly recommend that the members of Congress use their best efforts with their local organizations to assist the Congress in carrying out the spirit and letter of the resolutions. Your Committee would also recommend that the Congress records its approval of and its concurrence in all acts done and measures passed upon at previous sessions of Congress, not inconsistent with the action of the present session and not dealt with in detail.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN A. FLETT, <i>Chairman.</i>	WM. MCKAY.
J. H. WATSON.	R. A. PYNE.
JAMES WILKES.	J. H. DODD.
ED. LITTLE.	C. S. O. BOUDREAU.
BELL HARDY.	H. GRAVEL.
JAMES BIRCH.	J. MORTIMER.
A. R. MACDONALD.	J. W. STREET.
HARRY COWAN.	RALPH SMITH.

T. H. FITZPATRICK, *Secretary.*

By unanimous consent the following resolution was moved by Mr. Stuart, seconded by Mr. Street, and adopted,

That in the event of failure of negotiations at Quebec to have the alien labor law amended or altered, action be taken at Ottawa on similar lines.

The Committee on President's Address and Executive Committee Reports presented the following report, which was received and adopted.

*To the Officers and Members of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.*

Gentlemen,—After careful consideration of the subject of the "Law Fund" we would recommend that, while realizing the great necessity for and the value of having such a fund, in view of the fact that the Congress has no power to levy upon its constitu-

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ents for any purpose other than as now provided for in the Constitution respecting the per capita tax, it is not deemed advisable to do more, at this time, than to strongly emphasize and advise more active action on the part of subordinate bodies in starting a "Law Fund" for the purpose contemplated in the legislation of last year's Congress in this particular.

Concurrence is recommended as to views expressed in the President's Address as to the value and importance of laws and resolutions passed upon at previous Congresses; as to the seriousness of Chinese immigration into Canada; as to the union label; respecting Ontario labor laws; as to the insidious attempt to embody manual training in the public schools; as to the great importance of the 8-hour day amendment; as to the election to the Legislature of British Columbia of Mr. Ralph Smith, Vice-President of this Congress; as to the value of the appointment of Mr. John Appleton, of Winnipeg, as a member of the Commission appointed by the Dominion Government to enquire into charges against the C.P.R. Railway and its sub-contractors in connection with the construction of the Crow's Nest Pass Railway; as to appreciation of the work of the Dominion Government—especially recognizing the names of Hon. Wm. Mulock, Postmaster-General, and Hon. Dr. Borden, Minister of Militia—for commendable action in having placed clauses providing for the payment of union wages and other very beneficial requirements in certain public contracts. In this connection your Committee willingly adds the name of Hon. J. I. Tarte, Minister of Public Works, in warm and appreciative recognition of his action in officially recognizing the employment of union men and the payment of union wages on public works; as to the establishment of a local union in Moncton, N.B., under a charter from your Congress; and as to the cheering information from the Lethbridge Miners' Union and their commendable efforts at voluntary co-operation.

As to the report of the Executive, concurrence is recommended except that as respects the appointment of an organizer for the Maritime Provinces, which would be advisable not only in that direction but throughout all the Provinces, before such action the question of ways and means must be considered.

Respecting the Sub-Executive Ontario Report it is recommended for concurrence as are also those from the Provinces of Manitoba and British Columbia.

We would also recommend that the following resolution, introduced by Messrs. Wilkes and Large, and referred to the Committee, be adopted: "Whereas, it is a fact that eight is the maximum number of hours worked per day by underground operatives of all of the various mining industries throughout the length and breadth of the British Empire with the solitary exception of the Metalliferous Mines of British Columbia and Ontario; and whereas, the extension of the eight-hour day principle to the mining industry of the aforesaid provinces would be immensely beneficial to the working people thereof, and in the opinion of this Congress should be extended to all other branches of industrial life; therefore be it resolved, that this Congress instructs the Executive Committee of the aforesaid provinces to prevail, if possible, upon the legislatures thereof to enact legislation that will define and constitute a day's work for all underground employees engaged in the mining industry to mean and to be not more than eight hours' work in twenty-four."

Respectfully submitted,

D. J. O'DONOGHUE, *Chairman.*  
 WM. KEYS.  
 JOHN A. LARGE.  
 C. C. STEUART.  
 ROBT. UNDERWOOD.  
 WM. SCOTT, *Secretary.*

The Committee on Thanks presented the following report, which was received and adopted:—

*To the Officers and Members of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada:*

We, your Committee on Thanks, beg leave to submit the following recommendations:  
 (1) That the thanks of this Congress be tendered to the Provincial Government of Manitoba for the use of the Parliament buildings during the present session of this Congress;

(2) To the Mayor and corporation of the city of Winnipeg for the pleasant trip on the electric cars over the entire system of the Winnipeg Street Railway Company enabling the visiting delegates to visit the various points of interest in the city, and the splendid banquet tendered the members of this Congress on Saturday evening last; (3) To the press of the city for their voluminous reports and kindly comment on the proceedings of this Congress; (4) To the reception committee for their careful attention and earnest and eminently successful efforts to make the stay of the delegates in the city as pleasant as possible; (5) To organized labor generally in the city of Winnipeg for the innumerable evidences of fraternal feeling manifested toward the members of this Congress during their sojourn here; (6) To the Nelson Dramatic Co. for their kind invitation to attend the performance of Home, which was accepted and enjoyed exceedingly; (7) To Superintendent McIntyre and Chairman Carman for invitation to visit the public school building; (8) To the citizens generally of Winnipeg for their courtesy and kindness on the streets and in the public places of the city; (9) To the Western Cigar Co., for kindly donating one hundred cigars for the use of the Congress; (10) Last but not least to Mr. J. S. Ewart, Q.C., for his able address on the constitutionality of the minimum wage clause.

In conclusion we beg to express our sincere appreciation of the hospitality, courtesy and kindness extended to us on every hand and we feel assured that every visiting delegate to the Congress will long remember with pleasure and depart from this city with none but the kindest recollections of his visit to the Queen City of the Great West.

Respectfully submitted,

JAMES WILKES, *Chairman.*

J. T. LATER,

A. R. MACDONALD.

O. BELANGER.

HONORE GRAVEL, *Secretary.*

After short addresses by the newly elected officers the Congress adjourned at 5.40 p.m. to meet in the city of Montreal, in September, 1899.

*Geo. W. Dower*  
Secretary-Treasurer.

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# CONSTITUTION.

## ARTICLE I.—NAME AND OBJECT.

SEC. 1.—The name of this organization shall be the "Trades and Labor Congress of Canada."

SEC. 2.—Its object shall be to unite all the labor organizations of the Dominion so as to secure the repeal of existing laws, the enactment of new laws or amendments to the existing statutes in the interest of wage-earners, to formulate and discuss all subjects pertinent to the cause of labor, and to further by every honorable means, the welfare of the working classes.

SEC. 3.—It shall form organizations in localities where none at present exist, either into local union, or assemblies of the Knights of Labor, but in no case shall any body of workmen belonging to any trade or calling at present having an International or National Union be granted a charter. In the event of the formation of an International or National Union of the trade or calling of the union so chartered being formed, it will be the duty of the proper officers of the Congress to see that the said union becomes a member of said International or National Union.

SEC. 4.—Unions so organized by this Congress shall be known as "Federal Labor Unions," and shall hold regular meetings at least once a month for the purpose of strengthening and advancing the labor movement. The fee for a charter shall be \$5.

## ARTICLE II.—REPRESENTATION.

SEC. 1.—The Congress shall be composed of delegates duly elected and accredited from Trades Councils, Central Labor Unions, Trades Unions, Federal Unions, District and Local Assemblies of the Knights of Labor and Directories of the Industrial Brotherhood in the Dominion of Canada.

SEC. 2.—The basis of representation shall be as follows: Trade Unions, Local Assemblies of the Knights of Labor, Federal Unions, and Directories of the Industrial Brotherhood shall be allowed one delegate for each one hundred members or under, and one for each additional one hundred or majority fraction thereof; Trades Councils, Central Labor Unions, National Trades Unions, General Directory of Industrial Brotherhood and District Assemblies of the Knights of Labor, three delegates each. Two or more Trades Unions, Local Assemblies of the Knights of Labor, whose aggregate membership does not exceed 150, may unite and send one delegate. No proxy representation will be allowed, and all delegates must be members of the bodies they represent, except in the case of bodies composed of delegates from local organizations, at least six months prior to and at time of election, but nothing in this clause shall be construed to prevent unions or assemblies from combining to send one representative who is a member of one of such unions or assemblies; provided nothing in this clause shall prevent organizations being represented not six months organized.

SEC. 3.—All delegates will be required to produce credentials signed by the presiding officer and Secretary of the organization they represent, and bearing the seal of the same where such exists. Where two or more organizations have united to send a delegate, as provided in section 2, his credentials must bear the signatures of the presiding officer and secretary of such organizations, and also the seal of the same, where such exists.

SEC. 4.—Notice of the election of delegates, together with their names and addresses and the number of members in the organization they represent, shall be forwarded to the Secretary of the Congress at least ten days before the date of meeting of said Congress. Credentials must be made out on duplicate forms furnished by the Secretary of the Congress—one to be forwarded to said Secretary, and the other presented at the meeting to the Chairman of the Committee on Credentials.

## ARTICLE III.—MEETINGS.

SEC. 1.—The Congress shall meet annually, at such time and place as shall be agreed upon at each session; provided that it shall be in the power of the Congress, at any session, to decide by a majority vote not to meet for two years.

## CONSTITUTION.

## ARTICLE IV.

SEC. 1.—The revenue of the Congress shall be met by a per capita tax as follows: Trades and Labor Councils, District Assemblies of the Knights of labor, and General Directory of the Industrial Brotherhood, 12 cents per year; Trades Unions, Local Assemblies of the Knights of Labor, and Directories of the Industrial Brotherhood, 8 cents per year, and Unions chartered by the Congress and not having to pay to an International or National head, 16 cents per year.

SEC. 2.—This per capita tax shall be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer in two equal instalments, due and payable on or before the 15th of November, and the 15th of May in each year.

SEC. 3.—All organizations which have not contributed to the income of the Congress during the last past year, and wishing to be represented by delegates at any Annual Session, will be required to pay to the Secretary-Treasurer the amount of one-half year per capita in advance, the same to count as the instalment due and payable on the 15th of November ensuing.

## ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

SEC. 1.—The officers of this Congress shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Vice-President for each Province of the Dominion and a Secretary-Treasurer.

SEC. 2.—There shall also be elected a Legislative Committee of three from each Province of the Dominion.

SEC. 3.—The Executive Committee of the Congress shall consist of the President, Vice-President, Secretary-Treasurer and the General Legislative Committee.

## ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF OFFICERS.

SEC. 1.—The President shall preside at all meetings of the Congress and of the Executive Committee, shall call the Executive Committee for business at his discretion, or upon requisition of three members of it, and shall perform such other duties as are usually within the province of a presiding officer of a deliberative body.

SEC. 2.—The Vice-President shall perform the duties of the President in case of the absence or resignation of that officer.

SEC. 3.—The Secretary-Treasurer shall keep a correct account of the proceedings of the Congress, and shall at the close of each session, prepare and have printed a report, which shall contain a record of the business transacted; he shall receive all money payable to the Congress, giving his receipt for the same, and shall expend it in payment of the just debts of the Congress; shall issue to all labor organizations in the Dominion, so far as he may be able, circulars notifying them of the session of the Congress, together with blank forms of credential, at least eight weeks prior to the date on which it is to meet, and shall arrange for reduced railway fares for delegates and forward to all whose election he may have notification, the certificates which will enable them to obtain the same.

SEC. 4.—The Executive Committee shall meet at the call of the President at such time and place as he may select, and shall act for the Congress during the intervals between its sessions; they shall watch the Provincial Legislatures and Dominion Parliament as to all measures and matters before those bodies which may specially affect the interests of labor, and shall, as far as possible, endeavor to further the legislation decided on by the Congress at each session, or such other legislation as shall by them be deemed advisable. They may appoint one or more of their number, if the revenue of the Congress will permit, to attend the Provincial Legislatures or Dominion Parliament and press for legislation in the interests of wage-earners, or act in conjunction with the delegates of any other organization to that end.

## ARTICLE VII.

SEC. 1.—The Constitution or any of its clauses may be amended at any regular meeting of Congress, one day's notice being given, on a majority vote of delegates present.