, PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL SESSION

OF THE

Frades and Labor Congress

OF CANADA



HELD AT HAMILTON, ONT.

On Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, September 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th and 17th, 1897.

TORONTO:

THOS. G. SOOLE, PRINTER, 14 WEST KING STREET.

1897

OFFICERS OF THE CONGRESS

1897-8.

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D. A. CAREY, TORONTO, ONT.

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SECRETARY-TREASURER

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TORONTO, ONT.

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EDWARD LITTLE,

158 St. John Street, Quebec.

DELPHIS J. MARSAN, 67 Danglier Street, Quebec.

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WILLIAM WHITE,

86 Hallett Street, Winnipeg.

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JOHN APPLETON,

Box 883, Winnipeg.

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20 Thornton Street, Ottawa.

CHARLES MARCH,

310 Richmond West, Toronto.

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GEO. BARTLEY,

741 Hamilton Street, Vancouver.

WILLIAM MCKAY,

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TULLY BOYCE,

Nanaimo, P.O.

NEW BRUNSWICK.

THOMAS KILLEN, - 126 St. James Street, St. John.

GEO. L. P. SWETKA, - 28 Paradise Row, St. John.

W. H. COATES, - Box 352, St. John.

The Trade p.m. by Mr. Labor Council,

"I entend t Birmingham of Ca to welcome you have been potent closely affecting t and have materia representatives of to-day, for has n Labor has, and al intelligence is sec having constructed lightening, and fl genius, the disco impresses the vac truth to distant ag palaces of crystal delighteth to hon victories in every into a region unin! then waving his w the barren mounta the busy wheels v science, the temp varied pennants ris which enrich him make it their resor awakening clothes its praise, civilizati of industry and gl ments will deny th although a large nu a warm spirit unde

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PROCEEDINGS

COUNTY COURT ROOM, HAMILTON, September 13th, 1897.

The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada was called to order at 2 p.m. by Mr. Hugh Robinson, President of the Hamilton Trades and Labor Council, who said:—

"I entend to you fraternal greeting, and bid you welcome to our fair city—the Birmingham of Canada, and the seat of your deliberations. We are indeed truly pleased to welcome you amongst us. In your capacity as members of labors parliament, you have been potent and powerful factors in the past of having great and good measures closely affecting the industrial masses introduced into our various legislative assemblies and have materially assisted in the framing and successful passing of the same. As representatives of labor you ought to feel justly proud of the position you occupy here to-day, for has not 'Labor proudly walked abroad and taken its place with kings.' Labor has, and always will be the fore-runner of civilization; the result of its brain and intelligence is seen on every hand and in every clime. To labor belongs the credit of having constructed a chariot on which speech may outstrip the wind, compete with the lightening, and fly as rapidly as thought itself. It is labor who seizes the thoughts of genius, the discoveries of science, the admonitions of piety, and with its magic types impresses the vacant page rendering it pregant with life and power, thus perpetuating truth to distant ages and diffusing it to all mankind. It is labor that sits enthroned in palaces of crystal, whose high arched roofs proudly sparkle in the sunshine which delighteth to honor it, and whose ample courts are crowded with the trophies of its victories in every country and in every age. Labor, the mighty magician, walks forth into a region uninhabited and waste, looks earnestly at the same so quiet in its desolation, then waving his wonder working wand those dreary valleys smile with golden harvests, the barren mountain slopes are clothed with foliage, the furnace blazes, the anvil rings, the busy wheels whill around, the town appears—the mart of commerce, the hall of science, the temples of religion rear high their lofty fronts, a forest of mast gay with varied pennants rises from the harbor, the wharves are crowded with commercial spoils which enrich him who recieves and him who yields; representatives of far-off regions make it their resort, science enlists the elements of earth and heaven in its service, art awakening clothes its strength with beauty, literature now born redoubles and perpetuates its praise, civilization smiles, liberty is glad, humanity rejoices, piety exults for the voice of industry and gladness is heard on every hand, and who contemplating such achievements will deny that there is dignity in labor. In conclusion, permit me to say, that although a large number of the members present meet as strangers to each other there is a warm spirit underlying which spontaneously rises to the surface and enables us to meet as brothers and extend the hand of fraternal fellowship.

Mr. Robinson concluded by introducing His Worship Mayor Colquhoun, who briefly welcomed the delegates to Hamilton, and trusted that their stay would be made enjoyable.

President Carey in a few words thanked the President of the Council and His Worship for the kind words spoken, and declared the Thirteenth Annual Session of the Congress open for the transaction of business.

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The following were appointed as a Committee on Credentials: Messrs. Ed. Little of Quebec, S. Fitzpatrick of Montreal, Chas. March of Toronto, John Appleton of Winnipeg and Hugh Robinson of Hamilton.

On motion Congress adjourned for fifteen minutes.

Congress was called to order at 3.40.

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 that they have examined the credentials of the following and found them correct and are entitled to a seat in this Congress:—

Congress	
Quebec Trades and Labor Council	JOHN C. SCOTT. OMER BRUNET.
	D. J. MARSAN.
Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council	. JOHN APPLETON.
Toronto Trades and Labor Council	.WM. HENDERSON.
	W. V. TODD. CHARLES MARCH.
Hamilton Trades and Labor Council	CHARLES MARCH.
Montreal Trades and Labor Council	HUGH ROBINSON. DAVID HASTINGS. FDWARD WILLIAMS.
Montreal Trades and Labor Council	S. FITZPATRICK.
	R. KEYS.
St. John, N.B., Trades and Labor Council	
Ottawa Allied Trades and Labor Association	R G. HAY.
London Trades and Labor Council	JOS. T. MARKS.
Blue Label League of Canada	. JAMES DONNELLY (London).
Union Label League of Toronto	JAMES SIM.
District Assembly, No. 20, K. of L., Quebec	
District Assembly, No. 18, Montreal	
2.00.00, 2.00.00,	J. DOWTON. H. McCAMLEY.
	H. McCAMLEY.
Nanaimo Miners Union	.RALPH SMITH.
Toronto Typographical Union	H. STEVENSON.
	T. H. FITZPATRICK.
	GEO. W. DOWER.
Ottawa Typographical Union	CHARLES ST. JACOUES.
Quebec Typographical Union	
Hamilton Typographical Union	.PHILIP P. OBERMEYER.
Bricklayers' Union, Hamilton	.D. R. GIBSON.
Moulders' Union, Hamilton	.FRED. WALTERS.
Moulders' Union, Toronto	ROBERT EMMETT.
Carpenters' Union, Hamilton	
Journeyman Tailors' Union, Hamilton	
Cigarmakers' Union, Toronto	
Tin, Sheet Iron and Cornice Workers Union, Ottawa	
Journeyman Horseshoers' Union, Hamilton	
International Association of Machinists, Toronto	A C HORWOOD
Brotherhood of Locomotive Fireman, Toronto	
Commercial (Clerks) Union, Ottawa	
Street Railway Employees Union, Toronto	M. J. CONNORS.
United Garment Workers Union, Hamilton	
Cigarmakers' Union, No. 55, Hamilton	D. J. WALSH.
Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers, Toronto	JOHN H. KENNEDY.
Bakers' Union, No. 1, Toronto	ARTHUR CALLOW.

Flint Glass Work Local Assembly, Local Assembly, Local Assembly, Local Assembly,

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Flint Glass Workers Union, Hamilton	SAMUEL CAUTH
Local Assembly, No. 713, Quebec	BUILDER BEILE
Local Assembly, No. 10061, Quebec	PHILIPPE PELLETIER.
Local Assembly, No. 2305, Toronto	D. J. JUBIN.
Local Assembly, No. 2436, Montreai	WM KEVS

Respectfully submitted,

EDWARD LETTLE, Chairman.
JOHN APPLETON, Secretary.
CHAS. MARCH.
S. FITZPATRICK.
HUGH ROBINSON.

The following Standing Committees were appointed:

Committee on Standing Orders and Resolutions. —Messrs. Ralph Smith of Nanaimo, B.C., R. Keys of Montreal, T. H. FitzPatrick of Toronto, W. J. Eagleton of Hamilton, Thomas Killen, of St. John, N.B., R. G. Hay of Ottawa, W. V. Todd of Toronto, James Donnelly of London, Robert Mackell of Ottawa, D. J. Marsan of Quebec, A. G. Horwood of Toronto, John Appleton of Winnipeg, D. R. Gibson of Hamilton, Geo. Crowhurst of Toronto, John C. Scott of Quebec, M. J. Connors of Toronto.

Committee on Ways and Means.—Messrs. Edward Williams of Hamilton, William Henderson of Toronto, William Keys of Montreal, James P. Walsh of Ottawa, J. T. Marks of London, J. H. Kennedy of Toronto, David J. Walsh of Hamilton.

Committee on Audit.—Messrs. C. March of Toronto, John A. Flett of Hamilton, Charles St. Jacques of Ottawa.

President Carey read his annual address as follows:-

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirteenth Annual Session of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada:

Fellow Workers,—It is with pride and pleasure I greet you the representatives of the toilers of our fair Dominion, to this the Thirteenth Annual Session of the Trades Congress.

In reviewing the work done during the past year by the Congress, there is, perhaps, much that we might be congratulated upon, and yet much more could and will be done by those who follow in the future continuing the work so ably begun by the "pioneers" of the labor movement in Canada, many of whom I am sure the younger delegates to this convention with myself will gladly welcome here to-day.

The labor problem to-day is receiving more attention at the hands not only of politicians but of philanthropists, the public and the press than it has previously, and that attention generally of a favorable character. To the members of labor organization this is a healthy and encouraging sign, evidencing the fact that our efforts for the emancipation of the toiling masses and the success which has attended those efforts have at last awakened the public conscience to the fact, that not only does a well-regulated trade union confer a benefit upon the individual as an individual, but upon the community in general.

The Congress marks another milestone in the march of progress. It may not be inappropriate to contrast in this year of jubilee, which by the way is our own semi-jubilee meeting, the circumstances under which we now meet as compared with the first meeting of the Congress which was the outcome of good seed sown by the old Trades Assembly in Toronto 25 years ago. At that time labor organizations were looked upon with scant favor. In spite of the open and covert hatred of its detractors, trade unions and labor organizations have by the moderation of their conduct, by the benefit conferred upon their members, and the social improvement effected as a consequence of those efforts, obtained a footing and a usefulness in the body-politic that their then opponents now freely and frankly admit. Do not for a moment forget, however, that we have many critics left who can discern nothing good in the trade union movement. Year by year our Congress has become more and more a valuable medium for the discussion of measures affecting the

welfare of the working people, as well as measures for the improvement of the social and industrial condition of their members.

The Statute Books of our country contain many Acts directly due to the efforts of trade unions and Knights of Labor and in a special manner is our thanks due to the Legislative Committee of the Toronto Trades Council for their ever watchful care of the interests of the toilers. The Congress itself is always a valuable medium for the discussion of these measures and in the education of public opinion.

Met as we are to consider what further measures are necessary for the advancement of the cause and the amelioration of the conditions of labor, it would be well for us to review the past, taking special note of our errors, endeavoring to find out the causes attached to our failures, so that in the future we may avoid them. Let us reform, embellish and beautify our ideals; be strengthened and encouraged by the success of the past, to be steadfast and persevering in seizing and utilizing every opportunity of furthering our ideas and our principles, and hastening on the time when the workers may all join in saying, "There is nothing better for a man than that he should eat and drink and make his soul enjoy good in his labor." Unfortunately too many of the toilers, men as well as women, fail to get either enough to eat or to drink and thus have no enjoyment of life. This too in the face of the fact that year by year our country grows richer and richer. No doubt, much of this is due to defects in our present social customs, and directly traceable to the old feudal system, with the reverence, the homage, and the servility which had to be paid to the lords of the soil by the toilers.

The spread of education—the educating and new power of the press, properly described as the library of the workingman and the reception of political power, have infused new ideas, new principles and new aspirations into the heads and hearts of the workers. No longer are they mere hewers of wood and drawers of water; a new and more laudable desire has taken possession, that desire being to make his soul enjoy the fruit of his labor. Much has already been done. The ground gained will never be lost. Our progress may have been slow; it has been sure.

If we desire to improve our progress let it be by our local bodies striking out anew, by an organizing crusade among the unorganized—by the discreet use of political power—by the advancement of social and labor questions on all local or municipal boards—by our trade unions and labor organizations practicing more carefully all the doctrines they preach, and by the development of co-operation in all our undertakings.

At the last meeting of this Congress a resolution was passed pointing out the importance of that reform in voting methods known as proportional representation. Since then some developments have taken place in the British Colony of Tasmania which are worthy of note. Hobart and Launceston are the two chief cities of that colony. Hobart elects six members to the Lower House and Launceston four members. At the last parliamentary election for these two cities the Hare system of proportional representation was used and with great success, especially as regards the counting of votes which was done easily and quickly. The value of this reform to the cause of labor is well illustrated by the fact that at that election one labor member was elected for the city of Launceston, who could not have been elected under the old system of election. The government statistician of Tasmania, Mr. R. M. Johnston, has since published a pamphlet explaining and commending the work of the Hare system.

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. I believe that this Congress will find ample work in devoting their time to preparing and discussing phases by which the following Acts might be made of more advantage to those in whose interest they were framed:

The Factories and Shops' Acts are all perhaps that we could desire, yet, in many instances we hear of the violation of these very necessary and essential laws to the health and welfare of the workers.

Then the Eight-hour a Day Movement, which is already adopted by the Federal Government in their printing bureau and cartridge factory, should be extended so that it might become the universal law of the land.

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The use of the Union Label is also an important factor in the movement and should receive the undivided support of the Congress in assisting to establish it upon the market of industry as an emblem of honest toil and fair wages. These with many others I feel assured will give us ample work for at least the coming year.

There are one or two matters, however, which are not law, and despite the eloquence and logical appeals year after year of the representatives most interested, and the efforts of your representatives during the recent session of the Dominion Parliament, the government of the country is not yet convinced of the necessity of protecting the workers of the West from that undesirable class of emigrants, the Chinese. For years the Congress has kept this question before the government and the people, and while the progress has been slow, converts have been made who believe with organized labor that the continued importation of these people to British Columbia will be felt in the Eastern Province, and if not stamped out at once our country will be honey-combed with a people whose habits, to say the least, are not such that Canadians will feel proud of. I would therefore urge that special attention be given this question, so that the long sought legislation may be brought about and thus add another to the list of the many good acts of this Trades and Labor Congress.

To my mind—and I direct the particular attention of the Congress to the subject—a continued, active and persevering effort should be made through the several subordinate and other labor organizations of the Dominion to secure a system of tederal government, free employment bureaus throughout the Dominion, at least in the large centres of population. Such a system obviously would be of the greatest possible advantage and convenience to working people at large, and would without doubt be a death blow to the rascally private employment agencies which rob the very poorest and those least able to bear the loss. In Austria and the neighboring State of Ohio free employment bureaus have been most successful.

I submit also, that unmistakable steps ought to be taken at once to persuade the Ottawa government to give full, practical and immediate effect to the laws enacted by the Dominion Parliament in 1890, entitled "An Act to provide for the Collection and Publication of Labor Statistics." The great value of reliable data of this character is beyond computation, and in the matter of securing and publishing such statistics as were contemplated and enumerated in the schedule to that Act, Canada is far behind most other civilized countries.

I would strongly recommend that the organized and other labor elements of Ontario, familiarize themselves as much as possible with the provisions of "An Act respecting Councils of Conciliation and Arbitration for Settling Industrial Disputes, 1894," as well as with the amending Act of last session, entitled "An Act to Improve the Trade Dispute Act, 1894." Any and every law tending to lessen and soften the difference that, from time to time, crops up between working people and employers, should be welcomed and taken advantage of by all concerned.

A close observance of existing conditions compels me to the decided opinion, that the Congress ought at least to outline some uniform line of action, in the direction of advising the creation of a "law fund" by the several Trades and Labor Councils (where they exist), and by local organizations for the purpose of testing the legal value of such laws as are now on the Statutes of the Dominion, or on those of the several Provinces, in the interest or for the protection of the working classes, when necessity required or prudence dictated a reference to the courts.

"An Act to Restrict the Importation and Employment of Aliens" passed at the last session of Parliament of Canada, calls for more than mere mention. Apart from any merit it may otherwise possess, this law does not to my mind cover the ground, nor does it embody the chief aim of organized labor, although at the first glance it appears to meet with popular favor for the moment. The law sought after, and which would have covered all that was looked for, was an Act in these terms (omitting its last section), akin to those of the Act to which I am referring, with a proviso that the term "Alien" should apply to any person from outside of Canada. Instead of this, however, and under existing circumstances the present law has no practical effect except against persons from the United States, and is simply of a retaliatory character, for its 9th or last clause provides that "This Act shall apply only to such foreign countries as have enacted and retained in

force, or as enact or retain in force, laws or ordinances applying to Canada of a character's similar to this Act." Retaliation is not a dogmatic principle with organized labor in Canada. On the contrary, the ethical trend of the teaching of that element lies in the direction of fostering a love of right, justice and conciliation. As a consequence, while unflinchingly true to the best interest of Canada, and more especially so to those of her working elements, I sincerely trust the tone of the deliberations, as well as the official determinations, of your body will be devoid of hostility or offence to the people of any country.

Imbued as I am with the heroic struggle that the miners of the United States are making for the protection of their homes, their wives and their innocent children, for decency, for manhood and for society in general I would urge upon the workers of our Dominion to give them all the assistance in their power. Their fight is a just one, the struggle a bitter one, and that these men and women who are fighting the battle of freedom may be successful I would ask your co-operation for them so that organized labor throughout Canada may assist in bringing joy to many homes that are now desolate.

In conclusion let me say, my duties for the past year have been both pleasant and agreeable and the many hours I have spent in the work of labor, both in and out of the meeting room, can never be forgotten.

In the early days of many of us, if not all, we have felt the want of such an organization and now that such a one exists it is the duty of every loyal member to work with renewed energy in the cause of the toilers of our land, so that all who have not taken advantage of the many benefits offered by membership in the labor movement may do so and become sharers in the boundless good attained in such a cause.

The present gathering promises to be one of the most important in the history of the labor movement in Canada. Many important matters for the future welfare will be brought before you. Weigh well and carefully every act while legislating for those you represent and let your minds dwell only on the trust committed to your charge and your votes cast for measures that will redound to the interest not only of the great army of labor but to the whole people.

The assistance given me during the year by the officers of the Congress, and indeed by all connected with its welfare, deserves my best appreciation and your heartiest support.

Let my concluding words be the very best thanks to all for the honor conferred upon me a year ago in the ancient city of Quebec and the hope that in this the Ambitious City of the West your deliberations will be productive of much good to yourselves and your families and that peace, happiness and prosperity for the future may reign in the homes of all.

DALID A. CAREY,
President of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

The Executive Committee presented the following reports:-

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

GENTLEMEN, - Your Executive Committee beg to present a short report of their doings for the past year:

Shortly after adjournment of last session all the resolutions of importance were forwarded to His Excellency the Governor-in-Council.

During last session of Parliament several bills in the interest of labor (six in all) were introduced, but only one became law. This is a so-called Alien Labor Bill. The Bill is not what the workingmen of Canada needs, but what your Committee asked for was an Alien Contract Labor Bill applicable to all countries. A portion of your Committee, comprising President Carey, P. J. Jobin, and John Scott, of Quebec, D. H. Reynolds, of Ottawa, and Secretary Dower waited on the members of the Government at Ottawa, on April 9th last, and laid before them some of the most important questions dealt with at our last meeting, particularly the Chinese immigration question, the Alien Contract Labor Law, the Protection of Union Labels and Designs, and the Canadian Copyright

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Law. Your Committee were fortunate in being accompanied by a strong deputation representing the various Typographical Unions of Canada, which was in Ottawa in the interest of the passing of a copyright law. The deputation was, of course, courteously received and attentively listened to. While the answer of the Premier was candid and outspoken nothing was guaranteed even in the near future. Especially is this the case in regard to Chinese immigration, the question being surrounded by Imperial complications. The most surprising feature of this case is the pronounced silence of the members of parliament from British Columbia—men who were virtually elected on the cry of Chinese exclusion. Another important Bill that was dropped for want of time, is the one in reference to protecting Union Labels and Designs. This Bill was in charge of Mr. Lount, M.P. for Centre Toronto, and the promise is given that the same Bill will be reintroduced early next session, and all possible efforts made to have it become law. The Canadian Copyright Law seems as far off as ever, it also being hedged around by Imperial complications.

During the visit of your Committee an interview was obtained with Hon. Mr. Davies, Minister of Marine, in regard to the non-enforcement of the law respecting the Inspection of Gear and Tackle used in the loading and unloading of vessels. The Hon. Minister, while confessing that he knew very little about the matter, promised to make enquiries, and if the law was not properly enforced to have competent inspectors appointed at once. Up to the present your Committee cannot hear of any port in the country where an improvement has taken place. The Minister's attention has been again called to the matter.

When the changes in the tariff were announced your Committee were requested by the Cigarmakers' Unions to use whatever influence possible in the interests of having the duty on raw tobacco remain as it was, as an increase of duty simply meant a decrease of wages in their branch of business. Your Committee done so, both by interviews and correspondence, but to no avail, not being able to stop the tide of increase.

Early last spring the members of your Committee residing in Toronto were waited on by a Mr. P. J. Loughrin, of Sault Ste. Marie, who was then an organizer for the American Federation of Labor in Canada. He stated that he could attach to the Congress some 500 men engaged in the lumber industries on the north shore of Lake Superior. On the 17th of May last, a letter was received from a Mr. F. H. Baker, Secretary of the Federal Labor Union of Sault Ste. Marie, stating that that Union was about to withdraw from the American Federation of Labor, and asking for information in regard to our Congress. All the information possible was furnished, but up to the present time no arrangement has been arrived at in regard to affiliation. We also had a visit from a Mr. Wm. Hood, of Baysville, Muslcoka, who had a scheme to organize the lumbermen of Algoma and Muskoka. All information and assistance was rendered the gentleman, and after the preparation of an elaborate constitution he started out on a tour. Since then nothing has been heard from Mr. Hood.

Your Committee has had under consideration the best method of organizing the vast number of unorganized men in Canada, but such work will need more financial aid than the Congress can devote to it from the present income. The estimated cost of getting up a proper charter and outfit would be in the neighborhood of \$200, which would not include the cost of an organizer's time. While the formation of a few large Unions would more than pay the first cost some financial arrangement would have to be made in the meantime. There are many promising fields to work in. Your Committee would strongly recommend that some action be taken at the present session, looking to the providing of machinery for this purpose.

Your Committee would recommend that a permanent membership of the Congress be established, so that all delegates, ex-delegates and other members of labor organizations who wish to become active members of this Congress may do so by paying directly to the Secretary-Treasurer their per cap. tax. There is in Canada at the present time a large number of unorganized labor men whom this Congress should organize, and it is believed that this is the best means of starting on that work. There are a great many exdelegates to the Congress that would gladly pay the per cap. tax and remain active members of this Congress and would thereby take a more active interest in the labor movement.

Shortly after the close of last session the correspondence ordered by your body between your Secretary and President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, was despatched. The same was laid before the session of that body in Cincinnatti, but so far no reply or acknowledgment has been received. Before the session Mr. Gompers was very anxious to have our Congress represented by a fraternal delegate, but your Committee could not see their way clear to send one. While on the subject of American Federation of Labor, your Committee believe that your Congress is entitled to some of the money paid to the Federation by Canadian members of International Unions. At the present time every International Union in America is a member of that body, and at the same time every International is represented in our Congress by one or more of the Canadian Local Unions. Your Committee would therefore recommend that the Executive Committee strongly urge on the local unions of the various International bodies to petition their respective organizations to turn over to this Congress for legislative purposes the amount of the per capita tax now paid the Federation on their Canadian members.

In the early part of the year Mr. Albert Hudson, of Ottawa, resigned as a member of your Executive and the President appointed Mr. D. H. Reynolds, also of Ottawa, in the place of Mr. Hudson.

Respectfully submitted on behalf of the Committee.

(Signed), DAVID A. CAREY, President.
GEORGE W. DOWER, Secretary.

Report of the Executive Committee for Ontario ;

GENTLEMEN,—During the last session of the Ontario Legislature the record of that body was maintained in so far as the passing of laws for the protection of wage-earners. In all eights Acts were placed on the Statute Books directly in the interests of labor, as follows:—

"The Municipal Amendment Act, 1897," which provides among other things for the passing of by-laws by the Board of Police Commissioners regulating the hours of labor for persons employed in livery or cab stables.

"An Act respecting Technical Schools." This Act furnishes machinery under which Technical Schools may be established by municipal corporations.

"An Act to regulate the Immigration into Ontario of certain classes of children." This Act provides for the careful inspection and supervision of neglected children brought into the Province by any society or person, and came into force on September 1st last.

"An Act respecting Shops and Places other than Factories." This Act consolidates and amends four pre-existing laws, and is, as the name implies, the Act that governs factories, shops and bake shops.

"An Act to amend the Mechanics and Wage-Earners Lien Act, 1896." This Act makes more clear the various provisions of the Lien Law.

"An Act to improve the Trades Dispute Act, 1894." This amendment provides for the appointment, by the Governor-in-Council, of members of the board where either party refuses or neglects to appoint a representative.

"An Act respecting Wages and the Estates of Deceased Persons." This Act provides for the payment of wages due out of the estate of deceased persons, not exceeding three months, in priority of all ordinary or general creditors.

The above is a great bill of fare, and will no doubt be of immense benefit to the working man if enforced, but that part of it seems to be the great trouble, for of the scores of laws now on the Statute Books of Ontario many of them are dead to those in whose interests they were passed. Your Committee would urge the Congress to see to the carrying out of laws already in existence instead of asking for new ones.

After the adjournment of the Congress at London, your Executive for Ontario waited upon the Minister of Agriculture, and asked that the Factory Inspectors be changed from one district to another from time to time, in the hope that there would be an improvement in the enforcing of the Factory laws. This was granted, and now after nearly two years of a trial of the change of Inspectors, still the same old state of affairs exists, or yearly so, that is the disregard by manufacturers of the provisions of the Acts relating to

Factories. Espec Hamilton, where city to the Ministe and places of busi the Government waited upon the necessity of more employers. The labor, and that it. was to cause a du opinion that the I now be rigoursly have had added to than Factories an their number is al necessity of incre Inspector be loca mentioned Acts as

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Ontario waited changed from be an improveter nearly two airs exists, or cts relating to Factories. Especially is this noticeable in large manufacturing centres like the City of Hamilton, where frequent complaints are made by the Trades and Labor Council of that city to the Minister of Agriculture regarding the manner of enforcing the Factories Act, and places of business other than Factories and the Bake Shop Act. They contend that the Government will not allow the Inspectors to enforce the Act. Your committee waited upon the Minister who has charge of this department and urged upon him the necessity of more energetic measures being adopted to enforce respect for the laws by employers. The Minister replied that he was heartily in sympathy with the cause of labor, and that it was not the Government's object to secure convictions and fines as it was to cause a due observance of the laws by quiet means. Your Executive are of the opinion that the Factory Acts have been long enough on the Statute Books and should now be rigoursly enforced. We are further of the opinion, that since the Inspectors have had added to their duties the enforcing of the new Act, re places of business other than Factories and the Bake Shops Act, and the territory to be covered by them, that their number is altogether inadequate. We would urge upon the Ontario Government the necessity of increasing their number and in large manufacturing cities a permanent Inspector be located, whose whole time should be devoted to carrying out the above mentioned Acts and promptly attending to complaints.

Your Committee cannot close without extending the thanks of this body to the Legislative Committee of the Toronto Trades and Labor Council for duties performed and assistance cheerfully given on all occasions.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN A. FLETT.

T. H. FITZPATRICK.

D. H. REYNOLDS.

Report of the Executive Committee for Quebec:

Your Committee has the honor to report that it addressed a copy of the resolutions adopted at the last session of your Congress to the Ministers and Members of the Legislature of Quebec Province.

The delegation that waited upon the late Minister was composed of Edward Little, Master Workman of District 20, K. of L.; J. C. Scott, President of the Quebec Trades and Labor Council; P. J. Jobin, J. B. St. Laurent, and E. St. Pierre of Montreal, and was introduced by His Worship the Mayor of Quebec, S. N. Parent, Esq., F. Carbray, V. Chateauvert, Banff, and E. Sheyn, M.P.P's.

The numerous resolutions passed at the Quebec meeting of the Congress were placed before the Cabinet of ex-Premier Flynn and argued at great length.

Through the joint efforts of your Executive Board and the Quebec Trades and Labor Council, we succeeded in having free night schools for females, which proved a great success, and we hope the present Government will continue the same, and if possible, extend them.

We exceedingly regret not to have had more of our important measures adopted by our Legislature. However, for small favors we must be thankful.

In conclusion, we would recommend our successors to still persist in the good work, as it is only by persistent efforts that we will ever obtain anything.

(Signed), J

JOHN C. SCOTT, Chairman.

Report of the Executive Committee for Manitoba:

Gentlemen,—The Manitoba Executive in this their report wish to draw the attention of Congress to matters which immediately affect not only the labor interests of Manitoba, but adjacent provinces, and for this reason should be dealt with by the Dominion Congress.

In Central and Western Canada the extraordinary developments in gold mining have necessitated the construction of new railways and has stimulated other businesses to such an extent as to create in certain places a demand for labor during those seasons when outdoor labor can be performed.

This has resulted in a great influx of unorganized labor, chiefly brought or assisted in

reaching these localities by corporations and parties interested in keeping down the price of labor. Being landed at great distances from their homes and friends, at points where there is but a camp settlement, they are entirely at the mercy of employers and those who control the means of transportation. The obvious consequences are low wages and a condition of life which is anything but conducive to the building up of good citizens and desirable homes. Such a class is entirely without organization and being composed of all classes of skilled and unskilled labor, are a competitive menace to the regular supply of labor in the older settlements nearest to mining and railway construction centres.

Living, as we do, at a great distance from industrial centres, we feel entitled to the protection which such distance, under natural conditions, would afford the price of labor. We suffer the disadvantages of such a position and therefore should have higher remuneration. Instead of which, wherever any great public work in the west is undertaken, or any discovery or development as mining occurs, which would provide increased revenue for transportation corporations and their capitalistic confreres, an illimitable supply of labor is brought here and placed in a position which renders such the slavish and servile instrument of capitalists, who, by such means, defraud the regular supply of local labor of the extra value of their services which naturally increased demand should give.

It is apparent from such experiences that our railway companies and the government—as employment agent—act in union, under the specious plea of developing the country, to prevent the rise of wages by manipulating the supply of labor.

To remedy this interference with the adjustment of wages by regular conditions of supply and demand we suggest that a demand be made for legislation providing a uniform rate for passenger traffic, any deviation from such to be punishable. This in conjunction with a thorough administration of the Alien Labor law would prevent unnatural disturbances of the labor market in districts mentioned.

Another disturbing element is the assisted immigration of foreigners, who on arrival, through the instrumentality of Dominion government agents, are provided with work on railway construction. In view of the fact that in Canada already we have a large demand for remunerative employment, we deem it advisable to draw the attention of Congress to this matter.

During the past year the Trades and Labor Council made several demands upon the government of our province for legislation and amendments thereto, but in no case was our demand conceded. Among the important provisions asked for were: Amendments to "The Mechanics Lien Act;" The establishment in Manitoba of a "Free Employment and Labor Statistical Bureau;" A measure similar to the Ontario "Bakeshop Act" but with provisions to prevent night work and to limit hours of work for journeymen bakers; The abolition of the property qualification for aldermen and voters in civic elections. So far as we know these questions were treated with scant consideration by the legislature of Manitoba.

Since last Congress the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council has had several difficulties between employers and employed to deal with and generally the outcome has been satisfactory. The Winnipeg Typographical Union, with the concurrence of the said Trades and Labor Council, resented the decision of an arbitration conducted irregularly and a strike ensued which terminated by a settlement which has since proved to be unsatisfactory. As regards arbitration our experiences teach us the necessity of carefully defining the procedure and point in question before submitting disputes for settlement in such a way. The progress of organization in Winnipeg has been gratifying in spite of the difficult of maintaining same against the constant immigration of non-union labor of all classes from Eastern Canada and other countries.

This year we are pleased to report a very general and enthusiastic interest in the celebration of Labor Day.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

W. J. HODGINS. HARRY COWAN. JOHN APPLETON. Report of the Execu

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HODGINS. COWAN. PPLETON. Report of the Executive Committee for British Columbia :

GENTLEMEN,—The most important question to Canadian organized workmen is the one of Oriental cheap labor—the same as last year. We know that your honorable body for a number of years has done all in its power to right this grievance, yet we still earnestly request that your powerful Congress will tighten its hold and bring pressure to bear on the Government till it disgorges the anti-Mongol legislation so long fought for. Mr. Geo. R. Maxwell, M.P., has assured us that he will press this question to an issue in the House of Commons at its next session, and have a vote called for.

Last year you will remember that we briefly surveyed the disastrous effect of the settlement in this Province of over 12,000 cheap-working, half civilized Mongols, and the urgent need that the Chinese poll tax be raised from \$50 to \$500. We also stated that we urgently needed to restrict the immigration of the Japanese coolies, and that the present conditions of naturalization should be more stringent. This is again drawn to your keen attention.

A Steveston, B.C. (at the mouth of the Fraser river) correspondent of the World, under date of Sept. 3, says that the "fishing season is practically at an end, though a few of the canneries propose handling cohoes when the time comes round. With a total pack on the river of fully 850,000 cases—being about 400,000 cases more than any previous record, it cannot well be said that the chance was missed. Squaring up accounts is the order of the day now, and in that connection some knotty questions are arising. For example, one fisherman who was under contract to sell all his fish to one cannery at 'current daily rates' objects to have a limit put on the quantity taken in at these rates, and the rest paid at a lower when the canner ean take in fish at the same time from men not under contract to him. The magistrate thinks the fisherman is right, but the canner wishes to get the opinion of a judge of the Supreme Court on the question. A boat puller has another tangled thread to unravel, and his case came before the magistrate yesterday. He finds that although he has pulled boats for two different fishermen and has enabled them between them to put in so many fish to one cannery, that his third is worth \$82, he has got from them only \$7. Things are so tangled up between the fisherman and the canners, that the fishermen have nothing coming to them, but are in debt to the cannery, which holds their boat and gear as security, and they therefore have nothing to offer to the boat puller. The latter has asked the magistrate to give him judgment against the canner who got the fish, and the case is still subjudice. Both these cases come up as test cases and the decisions will effect a number of persons similarly situated. A klootchman was in serious trouble and came to the magistrate. She had lost the time tickets which she had got from the boss Chinaman, and when she went to John and told him of this he produced two tickets similar to hers, and of the same number, which he had paid to some person, and he refused to pay them again. Suit was raised and the matter was afterwards settled by the Chinaman paying her one half and costs. After that the kiootchman started to pack up for her homeward journey, and had not gone far when she discovered her lost tickets. What will now be done is not disclosed, but presumably the Chinamen will at once pay up the balance due. Those who have been watching events closely during the season have learned quite a number of useful lessons. Our best season has proved the very worst for the fishermen. Why? The traps have demoralized their business and the foreign or alien element has been by far too largely represented among them. In both these connections there can and there should be, much greater control from Ottawa than there is. What is to hinder us from having all the trap fish—if we must submit to traps—canned at one or two canneries, located at say Point Roberts, convenient for quick delivery, and then have all the other canneries supplied by fishermen, that is, by Btitish fishermen fishing in British waters; again, why is it deemed more important, if in practice it actually is so, that the license holder be a British subject, when both fishermen and boat-pullers can treely get work at fishing who are aliens of a decided order? It is within the mark to say that at least one-third of the men who were engaged fishing on the river this year were aliens. Of Japs alone over 1,500 fished at this place, and although many of these are naturalized in a way it is believed that a large proportion are new comers. A new departure has been made by some of our canneries in the employment of white labor to a large extent this year for inside work. One in particular, the Star cannery, under Mr. Costello's management,

employed a number of white women and boys and girls in different departments of work. The results have proved very satisfactory all round and the hope is entertained that by next year we will have many more settlers here and that men and women and children will all be engaged at the reaping of a harvest from the sea. How to dispose of the fish offal is a question still with us in all its magnitude. One suggestion is worth considering at least. It is that the Government take the matter in hand in a business like way themselves and carry it through the experimental stage. To aid in doing so they might tax each cannery say \$10 for every 1,000 cases put up. They would not have to do more than add a like amount themselves. If they make the business pay they could dispense with this tax. As soon as the work is thoroughly proved they can easily get good business men to take it in hand independently and purchase their plant. The course will effectually prevent friction, and may prove a valuable aid to the work of the Department of Agriculture."

Locally speaking, trade has been very good among our business men, the Klondike rush having contributed in no small measure to make it so. Workmen as a rule have all found something to do during the past season, and the unions are beginning to grow and increase in numbers, which is to say the least very encouraging. The latest addition to labor unions is the formation of a branch of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers with a roll of over 30 members. The outlook for work for the winter is uncertain.

Our sincere hope is that your Thirteenth Annual Convention will be a great success and that you will meet in Winnipeg next year. Kind regards to all.

I am, fraternally yours,

GEO. BARTLEY,

Member of Executive Committee for B. C.

On motion the President's Address and Executive Committee Reports were referred to a Special Committee, and the following were appointed as such Committee:—Messrs. David Hastings of Hamilton, D. J. O'Donoghue of Toronto, D. J. Marsan of Quebec, M. H. O'Connor of Ottawa, and A. H. Laverdure of Montreal.

Mr. Lancefield, Librarian of the Hamilton Public Library, was granted permission to address the Congress on the question of Canadian Copyright. The address was attentively listened to, and at the conclusion the thanks of the Congress was tendered to Mr. Lancefield for his kindness.

Moved by Mr. Horwood, seconded by Mr. Callow, and resolved, That the session of the Congress be from 9 a.m. to 12 noou, and from 2 to 6 p.m.

Mr. Flett, Chairman of the Reception Committee, presented an invitation to a trolley drive to the Beach and the Mountain on Tuesday afternoon.

On motion the invitation was accepted.

A letter was received from Mr. Cochrane, photographer, asking for the privilege of taking a group photo of the delegates on Tuesday noon.

On motion the privilege was granted.

Congress adjourned at 5 p.m.

SECOND DAY.

Tuesday, September 14th, 1897.

Congress was called to order at 9 a.m.

The Committee on Standing Orders and Resolutions presented their first report, stating that Mr. Smith of Nanaimo, had been elected Chair-

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sented their cted Chairman and Mr. Todd of Toronto Secretary, and submitted several resolutions for the consideration of the Congress:

Moved by Mr. Todd, seconded by Mr. Miller, and resolved,

That whereas, it is intended to make application at the next session of the Dominion Parliament for legislation providing for the registration of union labels and the protection of all rights in the same, therefore be it resolved, that it be an instruction to the Executive of this Congress to assist by all means in their power the promotion of this legislation; and, further, that the delegates to this Congress be requested to assist by communicating with their Parliamentary representatives, and asking favorable considertion for

Moved by Mr. S. Fitzpatrick, seconded by Mr. R. Keys, and resolved, That we strongly condemn the monthly payment system as now in vogue in the Government works and other large corporations, it being detrimental to working men and their tamilies; that this Congress, representing the working classes of the Dominion, petition the Governments, both Federal and Local, to pay all their employees weekly, and that in any contracts for public works or otherwise given out by the Government it will be one of the conditions that the men employed by them shall receive what is due

Moved by Mr. Todd, seconded by Mr. Sim, and resolved,

That whereas a large number of labor organizations have adopted union labels, for the purpose of designating the product of their labor, to the end that members of organized labor and those who are in sympathy with the cause may, by demanding the union label, aid very materially in creating and sustaining a demand for union-made goods; and whereas, experience has demonstrated that it is of the first importance in the agitation for the use of union labels that organized labor individually and collectively should lead in making the demand for these labels; therefore, be it resolved, that in the opinion of this Congress it is the duty of organized labor to demand the union label, to the extent of refusing to trade directly or indirectly with dealers who neglect or refuse to handle union label goods.

Moved by Mr. Hastings, seconded by Mr. Robinson, and resolved,

That the Executive Committee of the Congress urge upon the several Provincial Governments to abolish, where such exists, the use of numbered ballots, and to substitute

Moved by Mr. Robinson, seconded by Mr. Hastings, and resolved,

That all public works under the control of the Federal Government should be carried out by it by day labor as far as possible, and that on all such works, whether done by day labor or by contract, the hours of labor should not exceed eight per day.

Moved by Mr. Williams, seconded by Mr. Hastings, and resolved, That the property qualification for all civil and municipal offices be abolished.

Moved by Mr. Robinson, seconded by Mr. Williams, and resolved,

That the practice of requiring deposits from candidates for the Dominion Parliament should be abolished.

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

That it be an instruction to the Quebec Executive to urge upon the Government of the Province of Quebec the advisibility of having the books of all the public schools made uniform.

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

That the Minister of Marine and Fisheries be requested by the Trades and Labor Congress to enforce the law providing for the appointment of an inspector of gear and tackle used in the loading and discharging of vessels, and that said inspectors be appointed at all ports throughout Canada.

Congress adjourned at 12 noon.

THIRD DAY.

Wednesday, September 15th, 1897.

Congress was called to order at 9 a.m.

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

Resolutions by Mr. Stevenson and Mr. Appleton, bearing on the question of a scheme of organization, were referred to the Committee on President's Address and Executive Committee Reports.

Moved by Mr. Hay, seconded by Mr. T. H. FitzPatrick,

That it is the opinion of this Congress that the Constitution be changed so as to form a Canadian Federation of Labor in the Dominion of Canada, and that a Committee be now appointed and instructed to prepare such amendments as are necessary to carry this motion into effect, said committee to report said amendments to this Congress within forty-eight hours from the passing of this resolution.

The motion was lost on division.

The following resolution was submitted by Union No. 81, of Toronto, United Garment Workers of America, and adopted:

Whereas, the uniforms for the militia and public officials of this country are manufactured by contractors for the Government in several shops and tenement houses under conditions that do not guarantee to the people of Canada that proper sanitary precautions have been taken to protect the health of the wearer and workers, and a fair wage has been paid to the workers thereof; therefore, be it resolved, that this Congress urge upon the Dominion Government to establish under its control a factory where all clothing necessary for the public service be manufactured, or if clothing be again contracted for that a clause be inserted in the contract that all garments bear the label of the United Garment Workers of America.

Signed and sealed on behalf of the United Garment Workers of America,

LOUIS GUROFSKY, Member G.E.B.U.G.W.A. CHAS. D. LEARY, President.
RAY GUROFSKY, Secretary Local Union No. 81.

Moved by Mr. Callow, seconded by Mr. Horwood, and resolved,

That this Congress reaffirms its declaration of last year in favor of proportional representation. It rejoices to know that the principle is steadily gaining ground among English speaking people, and calls attention to the following facts as instancing this progress: I. The adoption of proportional representation by an increasing number of voluntary organizations, including the Social Democracy of America, which incorporated proportional representation in its constitution as one of the reforms demanded. 2. The fact that a Bill providing for proportional representation was introduced in the New Zealand Parliament and came within eight votes of passing the Lower House. 3. That in Tasmania the Hare system was used in the last parliamentary elections for the cities of Hobart and Launceston, resulting in the return of a labor member who would not otherwise have got in. This Congress commends to the Canadian Government the example of these progressive British colonies, and reiterates the opinion that a trial of proportional representation should be made by grouping together not less than five constituencies and adopting either the Hare system, the Gove system, or the Swiss Free List with the Single Vote.

Moved by Mr. Marks, seconded by Mr. Donnelly, and resolved,

That the Executive Committee of this Congress be instructed to use their best efforts with the provincial authorities to so amend the several Factories Acts as to afford better protection to unskilled labor engaged on provincial, municipal or other public works, in

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Moved by Mr. Williams, seconded by Mr. Gibson, and resolved,

That the Executive Committee be and are hereby instructed to exert their best efforts to induce the Dominion Government to withdraw the Order-in-Council issued by the late Government to the civil servants of the Intercolonial Railway, prohibiting them from taking an active part in municipal elections.

Moved by Mr. Donnelly, seconded by Mr. Marks,

That the Provincial Government be petitioned to so amend the Municipal Act so that every male subject twenty-one years of age or over be entitled to vote at municipal elections.

Moved in amendment by Mr. Horwood, seconded by Mr. Callow,

That the words "male subject" be struck out, and the words "every citizen of Canada, both male and female" be inserted in lieu thereof.

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

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

That this Congress favors, (I) Judicious and necessary immigration to Canada. (2) The prompt abolition of the payment by the Government of bonus or per capita allowance on any immigrants, no matter how or by whom imported or forwarded from abroad. (3) The Act of the last session of the Legislature of Ontario, entitled "An Act to regulate the immigration into Ontario of certain classes of children," and that it be an instruction to the Executive to press the Government of the Dominion to introduce a like measure applicable to all parts of Canada. (4) That any system of successful immigration should include as part thereof the co-relative one of emigration under which people already in Canada should receive more special opportunities to go upon the public lands of the country, when they so desire and are suitable otherwise.

On motion the resolution was considered clause by clause. Clauses 1 and 2 were adopted.

The Congress then adjourned.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Congress was called to order at 2 p.m.

Consideration of the resolution re immigration was resumed. Clauses 3 and 4 were adopted and on division the motion was carried.

Moved by Mr. Gibson, seconded by Mr. Williams, and resolved,

That this Congress favor the principle of one man one vote, and that it be an instruction to the Executive Committee to petition the Federal Government to so amend the Franchise Act on the above principle.

Moved by Mr. Jas. P. Walsh, seconded by Mr. O'Connor, and resolved,

This Congress is of the opinion that the principle of Municipal Local Option ought to be extended so as to give municipalities the power of adopting three fundamental reforms demanded by organized labor, namely: (1) Proportional Representation, by abolishing the Ward system and adopting some form of the Single Vote. (2) The Initiative and Referendum, by providing that any measure must be submitted for decision by popular vote if a certain percentage of the voters petition therefor. (3) Tax Reform, by lessening taxation on industry and increasing it on land values. We submit that the wisdom of these reforms can best be tested by practical experience. We therefore urge the Provincial Governments to make such changes in their Municipal Acts as will give municipalities the opportunity of gaining this practical experience for themselves and of enjoying the benefits of these reforms when proved successful.

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

That the more population increases in any locality the higher rises the value of the land therein. This value belongs in justice to the community, for it is caused by the community, but at present enables the owner of the land to impoverish and oppress industry; and this power to despoil industry now amounts in some of our largest cities to upwards of fifty thousand dollars per acre per annum, and thus enables some parties to enjoy all the advantages of society without bearing any of its burdens, either for taxation or otherwise; therefore, this Congress would be pleased to see every industrial or other organization do all in its power to get taxes removed from the products of industry and concentrated more and more on the value of the land, and thus put an end to the process whereby one part of society degrades and despoils the other part; and further, that it be an instruction to the Executive of this Congress that they urge upon the Government of Ontario to abolish the Act exempting vacant land over two acres in extent in cities.

Moved by Mr. Little, seconded by Mr. Scott, 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. Scott, 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 workingmen 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 workman 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. Scott, seconded by Mr. Marsan, and resolved,

That this Congress gives its support to the Association of Mechanical Engineers of the Province of Quebec to obtain from the Provincial Government the appointment of a Boiler Inspector for the City of Quebec, said Inspector to be a paid officer of the Government; and, that the said Government be petitioned to enforce the clause of the law compelling everyone having charge of a boiler or motor to be possessed of a certificate of competancy; also, that the Government be petitioned that more inspectors of factories be appointed, as it is impossible for one inspector to do all the inspection necessary.

Moved by Mr. Smith, seconded by Mr. Appleton,

Resolution on an Order-in Council, passed May 21, 1897, making regulations for the control of gold mining in the Yukon district of the N.W.T. Resolved, (1) That the reservation of alternate claims by the Government for the purpose of putting them up for sale is directly putting the wealth of this country into the hands of a corporation at the expense of the poor man who has toiled and suffered severe hardship to find it. (2) It is preventing miners from working together as is the custom of placer mining, and thus preventing the work of individual claims to the best advantage. (3) That regulations such as these are certain to create friction between miners themselves as well as between miners and the Government officials are unwise, applying as they do to a district like Yukon, the regulation of which will be difficult under the most favorable circumstances; and, whilst we as a Congress recognize the right of the Government to seek to make the gold fields revenue producing, we believe that the exactions proposed are very excessive and a great burden on the miners, such as to defeat the very object the Government have in view. Be it resolved by this Congress as a part remedy for the above, that we request the Government, if they mean to retain possession of the gold claims, to operate them for the good of the people at large.

The motion was carried.

Moved by Mr. Wm. Keys, seconded by Mr. Laverdure,

That in view of the fact that it is detrimental to the interests of workingmen generally, and particularly to shoemakers, tinsmiths, printers, bookbinders, those employed in

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men generemployed in the manufacture of binder twine, as well as that of clothing and other industries on account of the various articles being manufactured in the prisons under the control of the Dominion Government and also the Governments of Ontario and Quebec; that the above named Governments be waited upon by delegations from this Congress at the earliest possible moment and requested to discontinue the manufacture of any article whatever that is placed on the market in competition with free and honest labor, and until such time as all prison labor is abolished we would request the various Governments of Canada to place a label or mark of some description on all goods manufactured in prisons so that they may be known by the public.

Moved in amendment by Mr. O'Donoghue, seconded by Mr. Williams, That the whole matter be referred to the incoming Executive Committee.

The amendment was lost.

Moved in amendment by Mr. Gibson, seconded by Mr. Horwood,

That a special committee be appointed to report upon the whole question of Prison Labor, said committee to report before the close of this Congress.

The amendment was carried and the committee was named as follows: Messrs. Wm. Keys, Gibson, Williams, Donnelly and Little.

Moved by Mr. Obermeyer, seconded by Mr. Hastings, and resolved,

That an increase in the number of inspectors of shops and factories is necessary for the proper enforcement of the Act, and that in the appointment of additional inspectors, such officials should be placed so as to provide resident inspectors in manufacturing centres.

Moved by Mr. D. J. Walsh, seconded by Mr. Sim. and resolved,

That, whereas the wholesale clothing manufacturers of the Dominion have not seen fit to make use of any union label on their goods, and whereas the United Garment Workers of America have a union label to distinguish the product of their members' labor; and whereas we have branches of the United Garment Workers in the Dominion of Canada, therefore, be it resolved that this Congress appoint a special committee to consist of the following delegates—Messrs. Williams, Walters and D. J. Walsh—to wait upon the wholesale clothing manufacturers in this city with the object of inducing them to place the union label of the United Garment Workers on clothing manufactured by them.

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

That this Congress considers the answer made to the Trades and Labor Congress Executive Committee by the Hon. the Prime Minister of the Dominion regarding the increase of the pole tax from \$50 to \$500 on Chinamen coming into the country very unsatisfactory and completely ignoring the strong appeals made; first, by the people of British Columbia in their petitions forwarded to the Government, the people who are most affected by said Chinese; (2) the representation of the whole of the British Columbia members on both sides of the House making such demand; (3) the unanimous resolution of the Provincial Government of British Columbia appealing, as they did, for such increase of tax. The want of some active steps being taken has resulted in a much larger increase since that time, has practically made a bid to this class of people and must ultimately result in banishing the white laborer out of the Province of British Columbia altogether.

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 Committee on Audit begs leave to report that they have examined the books of the Secretary-Treasurer and find the total receipts for the past year

to be \$409.32. expenditure \$324.48, balance in the hands of the Secretary-Treasurer \$84.84, showing a gratifying increase in receipts over the previous year of \$107.99, as against an increase in expenditure of \$49.42; and also, that they have examined the accounts and vouchers and find them correct and his books kept in a business-like manner.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

CHAS. MARCH.
JOHN A. FLETT.
CHAS. ST. JACQUES.

On motion the President appointed the following as a Committee on Thanks: Messrs. Donnelly, Horwood, St. Jacques, T. H. FitzPatrick, Stevenson and Callow.

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

That the election of Officers and the selection of the next place of meeting be the order of business for 3 p.m. on Thursday.

On motion, it was resolved that all motions be on the Secretary's desk by 12 o'clock noon on Thursday.

The Congress then adjourned.

FOURTH DAY.

Thursday, September 16th, 1897.

The Congress was called to order at 9 a.m.

The Committee on President's Address and Executive Committee Reports presented the following report:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada:

Proportional Representation.—Your committee heartily concurs in the President's favorable references to this reform, and urges that members of labor organizations inform themselves regarding it with a view to its adoption at the earliest possible date.

Enforcement of legislation for the benefit of the workers now on the Statute Books.—Your committee approves of the suggestion that the efforts of the Congress be devoted more to securing the enforcement and extension of the beneficial legislation already obtained, rather than to pressing for new legislation.

Union Labels.—Your committee is entirely in accord with the President's recommendation that the use of union labels receive the undivided support of the Congress.

Chinese Immigration.—Your committee approves of the President's remarks on the necessity for further restrictions on that undesirable class of immigrants, the Chinese, and concurs in his view that special efforts should be made to bring about the long-sought legislation.

Government Employment Bureaus,—Your committee endorses the President's recommendation that efforts be made to secure the establishment by the Dominion Government of a system of free employment bureaus.

Collection of Labor Statistics.—Your committee also concurs in the President's recommendation that steps be taken to persuade the Dominion Government to establish a Bureau of Labor Statistics.

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nt's recomestablish a Conciliation and Arbitration.—Your committee agrees in the view that the workers of Ontario should familiarize themselves with the provisions of the legislation creating Councils of Conciliation and Arbitration, and would add to the President's recommendation on this point that it would be well for the labor organizations of this Province to take advantage of this legislation whenever opportunity offers.

Law Fund.—Your committee believes that the creation of a "Law Fund" such as the President suggests, would be of great advantage to the labor organizations of the Dominion, and recommends favorable consideration for any feasible plan for putting this idea into effect that may be laid before the Congress.

Alien Labor Legislation.—Your committee endorses the objections of the President to the Act to Restrict the Importation and Employment of Aliens, passed at the last session of the Dominion Parliament. Not only are its provisions unsatisfactory, but the methods by which it is enforced are such as to make it inoperative to a large extent where it might be beneficial. If it is to remain on the Statute Books efforts should be made to have it amended so as to bring it into accord with the views of labor organizations, who are not seeking for a weapon with which to injure their fellows of the United States, but a law which will prevent the degradation of Canadian workingmen by the importation under contract by unscrupulous employers of cheap foreign laborers.

The Miners' Strike.—This great struggle having ended in a substantial victory for the men, there will be no necessity for this Congress, unless it is renewed, acting upon the President's suggestion to co-operate with the miners in their battle.

Executive Committee's Lahors.—You committee recognizes that the Executive Committee of the Congress did its best to obtain the legislation it was instructed to press for and joins with it in regretting its failure. It is recommended that the incoming Executive Committee renew the efforts made, in the hope that persistent agitation may bring about the desired results.

Organization in Northern Ontario.—Your committee commends the Executive for its efforts to strengthen and extend the work of organization at Sault Ste. Marie, in Algoma and Muskoka, and trusts that the efforts in that direction may not prove entirely fruitless.

Permanent Membership.—Your committee cannot concur in the recommendation of the Executive Committee that a permanent membership of the Congress be established, to enable delegates, ex-delegates, and other members of labor organizations to become active members on payment to the Secretary-Treasurer of their per capita tax. Such a plan, in the opinion of your committee, would endanger the character of the Congress as a body representative of the views of the labor organizations of the Dominion, which can be expressed only through the medium of duly elected and properly accredited delegates.

Canadian Per Capita to the American Federation of Labor.—Your committee approves of the suggestion that an effort be made to obtain for the Congress, for legislative purposes, the per capita tax now paid to the American Federation of Labor for and on behalf of the Canadian members of international organizations. It recommends, however, that an application be made direct to the executive of the American Federation of Labor, and that it be an instruction to the Executive Committee of this Congress to open up a correspondence with that object in view, setting forth the justice of the request in such a manner as to show that it is not made in any spirit of hostility, but merely for the purpose of obtaining what can fairly be said to be our own.

Unorganized Wage-earners.—Your committee concurs with the views expressed in the Executive Committee Report, and in the resolution offered by Delegates John Appleton and Wm. Keys, and that of H. Stevenson, regarding the advisability of steps being taken to bring about the organization of the vast number of unorganized wage-earners in Canada. The Executive Committee very truly says, "that such work will need more financial aid than the Congress can devote to it from its present income," and for that reason and because there is no certainty of any substantial increase in that income in the near future, your committee is compelled to report unfavorably on the resolution above mentioned, which calls for the appointment of a permanent official to act as a travelling

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organizer. The salary and expenses of such an official would involve an outlay of five or six times the annual income of this Congress, and it is recommended that action be deferred on this question at least until the result of the application to be made to the American Federation of Labor is known. The impossibility of making such an appointment at present, however, ought not to mean any relaxation of the efforts that have been made to extend the numbers and widen the sphere of influence of the labor organizations of the Dominion, and full advantage should be taken of the machinery now at our disposal for this purpose, and all possible care exercised to improve and perfect that machinery.

Ontario Legislation.—Your committee joins with the Executive Committee for Ontario in its satisfaction at the number of Acts in the interest of wage-earners placed on the Statute Books during the last session of the Legislature, and agrees that the main object of the Congress now should be to see that these and other good laws are carried out.

Factory Inspection.—The comparative failure to enforce properly the Factory Act, the Bake Shops Act, and the Act for the inspection of places of business other than factories, noted by the Executive Committee, has been apparent to your committee, as well as to the labor organizations throughout the Province. It is recommended that vigorous efforts be made to induce the Ontario Government to increase the number of inspectors, to provide for the permanent location of one in each of the larger manufacturing centres, and that it be an instruction to the Executive Committee for Ontario to give its best attention to this matter.

Manitoba Executive.—Your committee agrees with the Executive Committee for Manitoba that importation of workmen under contract and the assisted immigration of foreigners are detrimental to the interests of the wage earners of Canada, and approves of the continuance of efforts to remedy these grievances. The failure to secure the legislation asked for by the members of Manitoba is regretted, but your committee would point out that much may be accomplished by improved organization, persistent agitation, and the proper use of the ballot.

British Columbia Executive.—Your committee endorses the contention of the Executive for British Columbia that there should be further restrictions on the importation of Oriental cheap labor. The facts it communicates regarding the fishing and canning industries of the Province should be considered carefully by the delegates, with the object of providing such remedies for the causes of complaint referred to as the workers of British Columbia may desire.

Quebec Executive.—Your committee has noted the efforts of the Quebec workers to secure favorable legislation and their comparative failure, but is satisfied that a continuance of these efforts is bound to have good results in time.

In conclusion, your committee desires to express its satisfaction at the able reports presented by the President and the several Executive Committees, and at the evidence that they give that all the officers of the Congress have done their duty to the best of their ability and deserve the hearty thanks of this Congress, and of the wage-earners of the Dominion on whose behalf they have labored.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

D. J. O'DONOGHUE, Chairman.
A. H. LAVERDURE.
P. J. MARSAN.
M. H. O'CONNOR.
DAVID HASTINGS, Secretary.

On motion the report was taken as read and considered clause by clause. All the clauses were adopted and the report as a whole was carried.

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

That the correspondence relating to the resignation of Mr. Albert Hudson from the Executive of Ontario be placed before this Congress showing cause for resignation.

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Correspondence was laid on the table and satisfactory explanations given in regard to the resignation.

Moved by Mr. Todd, seconded by Mr. Dower, and resolved,

That Messrs. O'Donoghue and Hastings be a special committee to report a resolution to this Congress, on the action of the United States authorities in the matter of the miners' strike, which resulted in the death of a number of persons, who at the time of their death were in the exercise of their rights as citizens.

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

That inasmuch as certain complaints are made on behalf of the freight handlers in the Grand Trunk Railway service in this city against the actions of Agent Wallace respecting very unfair treatment as to working hours, overtime and no pay therefor, be it resolved, that the matter be referred for investigation to a special committee composed of Delegates Robinson, Gibson, Williams, Flett and Obermeyer, and with power to take such action as may be deemed necessary and advisable, including the co-operation of the Hamilton Trades and Labor Council.

The motion was lost.

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

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

That inasmuch as the operation of railways by electricity has assumed wide-spread proportions, it be an instruction to the Executive Committee to consider the advisability of seeking the enactment of law: (1) Providing that motormen be possessed of certificates of proficiency before being allowed to operate on any electric system having power to carry passengers; (2) Providing that every motor car on any such electric line while in active use shall carry a motorman and at least one other official.

Moved by Mr. Wm. Keys, seconded by Mr. S. Fitzpatrick, and resolved,

Whereas, there are two classes of laborers employed in the examining warerooms situated at Montreal, of which one is known as the class that is appointed and the other as that of supernumery. The appointed class is allowed two weeks vacation annually and are paid in full for all lost time, while the supernumery has to do his work in his absence along with his own. The supernumery gets no vacation and is not paid for any lost time; be it therefore resolved, that this Congress request the Dominion Government to put all laborers on an equal footing.

Moved by Mr. Wm, Keys, seconded by Mr. Killen, and resolved,

That it is imperative that the resolutions coming from this Congress should be followed up in the strongest manner possible; be it therefore resolved, that all labor organizations in Canada be requested to appoint deputations to wait on their respective members in the localities in which they reside with a copy of the resolutions, requesting the member, whether federal or local, to use his best efforts in securing the requirements of this Congress; and further, that all local organizations send a copy of the said resolution to the Dominion or Provincial Governments as the case may be, requesting the passage of the laws required.

Moved by Mr. R. Keys, seconded by Mr. Laverdure,

Whereas, the Right Honorable Sir Wilfred Laurier has stated on many occasions that Canada is now a nation, and in consequence we are not aware as to whether the Imperial Government will appoint a successor to His Excellency the Earl of Aberdeen, but if it is the intention to do so this Congress considers it advisable that the next Governor-General be a Canadian and that this Congress petition the Canadian Government to that effect.

Congress then adjourned.

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AFTERNOON SESSION.

Congress was called to order at 2 p.m.

Consideration of the resolution reappointment of a Canadian Governor-General was resumed.

Moved in amendment by Mr. Appleton, seconded by Mr. Callow,

That the preamble of the foregoing resolution be stricken out.

In amendment to the amendment by Mr. Hastings, seconded by Mr. O'Donoghue.

That the original motion lay on the table.

On a vote the motion was laid on the table.

The hour of three o'clock having arrived, the Congress proceeded to the election of officers, and the President appointed as scrutineers Mess.'s. March of Toronto, Appleton of Winnipeg and Wm. Keys of Montreal election resulted as follows:

President— D. A. Carey, of Toronto
Vice-President— Ralph Smith, of Nanaimo
Secretary-Treasurer— Geo. W. Dower, of Toronto
Legislative Committee for Manitoba— William White, of Winnipeg
Legislative Committee for British Columbia-
George Bartley, of Vancouver
Legislative Committee for New Brunswick-
Thomas Killen, of St. John
Legislative Committee for Quebec
John Scott, of Quebec. 25 Edward Little, of Quebec 22 D. J. Marsan, of Quebec 18 S. Fitzpatrick, of Montreal 9 A. H. Laverdure, of Montreal 9
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Messrs. Scott, Little and Marsan having received the highest number of votes, were declared elected.

Legis	lative Committee for Ontario-	
	John A. Flett, of Hamilton 23.	
	N. G. Hay, Of Ottawa	
	Charles March, of Toronto	
	W. V. Todd, of Toronto	
	T. H. FitzPatrick, of Toronto	

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Messrs. Flett, Hay and March having received the highest number of votes, were declared elected.

The selection of the next place of meeting was then proceeded with, and Winnipeg, Man., Ottawa and Toronto, Ont., were placed in nomination. The vote resulted as follows:

Winnipeg	18
Ottawa	13
Toronto	6

On the second ballot Winnipeg was selected as the next place of meeting by a vote of 20 to 18.

Mr. S. Fitzpatrick, seconded by Mr. Laverdure, moved that the resolution re the appointment of a Canadian as Governor-General be lifted from the table. On a vote the motion was lost.

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

Moved by Mr. S. Fitzpatrick, seconded by Mr. R. Keys, and resolved,

Whereas, it is to the great inconvenience and financial loss of the working classes of this country to be compelled by large corporations and other employers of labor to wait for a month, and in many cases as long a six weeks, for their wages; this Congress therefore, request the Dominion Government to enact a law for the purpose of compelling all corporations and employers of labor to pay their employees weekly.

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

That the gold recently discovered in the Yukon region of Canada is the property of the people of Canada, and should be worked by the Government for the people, and should not be left open to the world, for all comers to be enriched by the exploitation of our natural resources; and that a copy of this resolution be sent to the Ministers of the Interior, Finance, Trade and Commerce, and the I'remier of Canada.

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

That it be and is hereby a strong recommendation on the part of this Congress to the labor organizations in the several centres of population in the Dominion to make such provision for the creation of a "Legal Fund," in such manner as may be locally considered best, for the specific and only purpose of both asserting and ascertaining the value of such laws, whether of the Dominion or of any of the respective Provinces, said or presumed to be for the protection of the working classes.

The Committee on Ways and Means presented the following report :

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

Your Committee on Ways and Means beg 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 Recording-Secretary for his able services. That \$15.00 be granted to President Carey for expenses, and \$5.00 to the Janitor of the Hamilton Court House for services rendered the Congress.

We further recommend that 1,500 copies of the Report of Proceedings be printed in the English language and 500 in French.

We would also recommend that immediately after the adjournment of the Congress

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an appeal be made to the various labor organizations throughout the Dominion for voluntary contributions, for the purpose of building up a fund to place an efficient organizer in the field to forward the work of organization and advance the general interests of labor.

E. WILLIAMS, Chairman.
WM. HENDERSON.
WM. KEYS.
JAS. P. WALSH.
DAVID J. WALSH.
JOS. T. MARKS.

The report was received and adopted.

The Special Committee to whom was referred the question of Prison Labor, presented the following report:

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

Your committee begs leave to report that it is detrimental to the interests of the workingmen generally that the goods manufactured in our prisons and penitentiaries should be placed upon our markets in close competition with free and honest labor, and recommends that this Congress instruct the Executive Committee to petition the Dominion and Provincial Governments to discontinue the present system of prison labor where such comes in direct competition, and would further recommend that pending the readjustment of the present system consistent with the above, the Executive Committee demand from the Provincial and Federal Governments that a suitable Government stamp or label be placed upon all goods so manufactured, that the public may be protected; and would respectfully submit for the consideration of the Government that the education of the prisoners be made a special object, and more time allowed them for that purpose under proper instructors. The making of roads, clearing up of public lands, washing, drilling, etc., are a few matters which may also be considered; and be it further resolved that this Congress, through the Executive Committee, emphasize its entire disapproval of the recommendations of Douglas Stewart, Inspector of Prisons and Penitentiaries, as set forth in his annual report of 1896, recommending that the following goods be manufactured in our prisons, namely, mail bags, boots, caps and clothing for the militia, military schools, letter carriers and railway mail clerks, uniforms for conductors on Government railways, fisheries protection service, boots, suits and saddles for the Mounted Police, clothing for the Indian and industrial schools, pails, brooms and tinware for the lighthouse and coast service, wire fencing, etc., and freight cars of all descriptions for Government railways.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

WM. KEYS, Chairman.
E. WILLIAMS.
JAMES DONNELLY.
ED. LITTLE.
DAVID R. GIBSON.

In amendment to the adoption of the report, it was moved by Mr. O'Donoghue, seconded by Mr. Obermeyer.

That all reference in the report to Douglas Stewart's recommendation to the Minister of Justice be stricken out.

The amendment was carried by a vote of 16 to 9, and the report as amended was adopted.

The Special Committee to whom was referred the drawing up of a resolution re the Miners' Strike presented the following report: To the Officers and

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

Whereas, the miners of a large section of the United States have been engaged in a prolonged struggle to secure for themselves better wages and improved conditions, and while in pursuance of those objects, and in the exercise of their legal rights as citizens, a number of them were shot down on the highway by a posse of deputies under the command of a sheriff, thus using the powers of the Government to murder unoffending workmen; therefore, be it resolved that this Congress condemns such tyrannical misuse of authority, and expresse, the hope that no effort will be spared by our fellow workers of the United States to bring to justice the perpetrators of this outrage, and to secure such legislation as will prevent the use of armed bodies of men by capatalists whenever it suits their purpose to intimidate or coerce wage earners, whose only crime is that they are seeking justice at the hands of their employers.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

D. J. O'DONOGHUE. DAVID HASTINGS.

The report was adopted. Congress then adjourned.

FIFTH DAY.

Friday, September 17th, 1897.

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. D. J. Walsh, seconded by Mr. Donnelly.

That we heartily endorse the union labels of the following organizations: International Typographical Union, Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, United Garment Workers of America, Journeymen Bakers and Confectioners International Union, Iron Molders Union of North America, Hatters Union of North America, Tobacco Workers National Union, Boot and Shoe Workers Union, and the Blue Label of the Cigarmakers International Union, and all bona-fide Trade Union Labels; and further, that we pledge ourselves to do all in our power to create a general demand for union made union labeled goods.

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

That all after the word "that" in the original resolution be expunged and the following substituted: "This Congress heartily approves of the use of the labels of all bona-fide labor organizations."

On a vote the amendment was declared carried.

Moved by Mr. Gibson, seconded by Mr. Hastings, and resolved,

That all Government lands should be held for the people. The giving away of millions of acres as bonuses or grants to railway or other companies cannot be to severely condemned, and that the Government should make every effort to secure the surplus labor population on the lands; and that all lands in the hands of speculators, or so-called colonization companies, should be re-invested into the Government as all such companies are a great hindrance to settlers and a standing menace to the welfare of the country.

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

That this Trades and Labor Congress of Canada desire to direct the attention of the Government of Canada to the flagrant violation of the Copyright Act on the part of the Hymnal Committee of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, in the matter of the new Presbyterian Book of Praise, and would urge this upon the Government as another and a most excellent reason for the enactment of a new Copyright Act.

Moved by Mr. James P. Walsh, seconded by Mr O'Connor, and resolved,

That it be an instruction to the Ontario Executive to exert their influence upon the Provincial Government to so amend the municipal law as to compel municipalities having a population of over 12,000 to appoint qualified plumbing inspectors.

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

That in the opinion of this Congress there is no necessity for Sunday work. The labor people demand, not as a privilege but as a right, that they should have the Sabbath for their own use, it was made for man; therefore, be it resolved, that we urge upon our members to continue there warfare against Sunday work, remembering that if six men work seven days they do the work of seven men in six days, therefore, any time six men work Sunday they are taking the bread out of the mouth of one fellow workman.

Moved by Mr. Crowhurst, seconded by Mr. Horwood, and resolved,

That the Executive Committee of this Congress be instructed to interview the Minister of Railways and Canals, and endeavor, in connection with the Committee of the Brotherhoods of Train Service, to establish a system of seniority with regard to the employees of the Intercolonial Railway, practicability and seniority to take the preference over party influence.

Moved by Mr. Henderson, seconded by Mr. Gibson, and resolved,

That this Congress is strongly impressed with the urgent desirability of labor being directly represented in our Legislative halls, and uiges the importance of labor candidates being nominated in all electoral districts where a possibility exists of securing their election to Parliament.

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

That the members of the Executive Committee be instructed to visit the various labor organization within their district and try to induce them to become affiliated with this Congress.

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

That in the opinion of this Congress the regular police and military forces of Canada are amply capable, and the only forces which should be recognized as officers of the law or in its execution, and hereby enters the strongest protest against the engagement or employment by the Government of this country of any person or persons to act as police or soldiers, either in the Klondike or in any part of the Dominion, and it is hereby ordered that a copy of this resolution be at once forwarded to the Secretary of State for Canada.

In concluding our work the Committee on Standing Orders and Resolutions begs to recommend that the Congress record its approval of and its concurrence in all acts done and measures passed upon at previous sessions of the Congress, not inconsistent with the action of the present session, and not dealt with in detail.

Respectfully submitted,

RALPH SMITH, Chairman.
R. KEYS.
T. H. FITZPATRICK.
W. J. EAGLETON.
THOS. KILLEN.
R. G. HAY.
JAMES DONNELLY.
ROBERT MACKELL.

D. J. MARSAN.
A. G. HORWOOD.
JOHN APPLETON.
D. R. GIBSON.
GEO. CROWHURST.
JOHN C. SCOTT.
M. J. CONNORS.
W. V. TODD, Secretary.

The following was unanimously

Whereas, during most earnest workers of Quebec; and who Montreal session of I ized labor, especially gress places on recorthis Congress be exte

The Committ

To the Officers and A

Your Committee following recommend

That the thanks City of Hamilton for

To the Trades a to the delegates, for t most successfui endea in Hamilton, and we

To the Reception
To Organized L

To Messrs. Kun their respective estab

To the Press of ous reports, also the ceedings of this Con-

To Mr. Robinso

To Mr. McLea Dominion Hotel for their efforts to make

There being n City of Winnipeg The following resolution moved by Mr. March, seconded by Mr. Little, was unanimously adopted:

Whereas, during the past year death has claimed one of our delegates and one of the most earnest workers in the cause of unionism in the person of Mr. H. Laforce Langevin of Quebec; and whereas, Mr. Langevin was a delegate to every Congress since the Montreal session of 1889, and was always known as a sincere an active member of organized labor, especially in the Province of Quebec; therefore be it resolved, that this Congress places on record its heartfelt regret at his sudden death, and that the sympathy of this Congress be extended to his bereaved family in the loss of a beloved son and brother.

The Committee on Thanks presented the following report:

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

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Your Committee on Thanks of the Trades Congress of Canada begs to submit the following recommendations:

That the thanks of this Congress be tendered to the Mayor and Corporation of the City of Hamilton for the use of the Court House during the present session.

To the Trades and Labor Council of the City of Hamilton for the banquet tendered to the delegates, for the pleasant trips to the Beach and Mountain, and their earnest and most successfui endeavors to entertain and make the stay of the Delegates pleasant while in Hamilton, and we desire to say that the stay will long be remembered with pleasure.

To the Reception Committee for their attentson and courtesy.

To Organized Labor generally in the City of Hamilton.

To Messrs. Kuntz and Lotteridge for reception and entertainment of the delegates at their respective establishments.

To the Press of Hamilton, viz.: the Herald, Times and Spectator, for their voluminous reports, also the Toronto Globe for sending a special correspondent to report the proceedings of this Congress.

To Mr. Robinson, Bandmaster of the XIII. Battalion Band, for courtesy extended.

To Mr. McLean of the St. Nicholas, and Messrs. Armstrong and Chapman of Dominion Hotel for their kindness and attention to the delegates while their guests and their efforts to make them comfortable.

Respectfully submitted,

JAMES DONNELLY, Chairman.
ARTHUR CALLOW.
H. STEVENSON.
T. H. FITZPATRICK.
A. G. HORWOOD, Secretary.

There being no further business the Congress adjourned to meet in the City of Winnipeg, Manitoba, in September, 1898.

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Sec. 2.—It to secure the re existing statutes tinent to the car working classes.

Sec. 3.—It into local union workingmen be National Union or National Unibe the duty of member of said

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Sec. 1.—Th from Trades Cou and Local Assen hood in the Don

Sec. 2—The blies of the Knig hood shall be all each additional of Unions, National District Assembl Unions, Local Anot exceed 150, allowed, and all case of bodies coto and at time of or assemblies frounions or assembrepresented not s

Sec. 3.—All officer and secret where such exists provided by section secretary of such

Sec. 4.—Not and the number of Secretary of the C Credentials must gress—one to be the Chairman of

Sec. 1.— The upon at each sessi sion, to decide by

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.-NAME AND OBJECT.

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

Sec. 2.—It objects shall be to unite all the labor organization of the Dominion so as to secure the repeal of existing laws, the enactments 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 workingmen 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 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 by 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.

Sec. 1.—The ret Trades and Labor C Directory of the Indu blies of the Knights of year, and unions cha National head, 16 ce

Sec. 2.—This period equal instalments, du May in each year.

Sec. 3.—All org during the last past sion, will be required capita in advance, th November ensuing.

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Sec. 1.—The Coing of Congress, one

ARTICLE IV .- EXPENSES.

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 and a Sec-stary-Treasurer.

Sec. 2.—There shall also be elected a Legislative Committee of six, three from the Province of Ontario and three from the Province of Quebec.

Sec. 3.—The Congress at any session may, by a majority vote, elect three additional members to the Legislative Committee from any or every other Province of the Dominion.

Sec. 4—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 re-ignation 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; the shall watch the Provincial Legislatures and Dominion Parliament as to all measures and matters before these 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.

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FAIR PLAY IN ELECTIONS.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE

Foundation Principles of Proportional Representation

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THEIR USE IN LABOR
AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS;
INCLUDING

A Comparison of the Single Vote with the Multiple Vote.

ALSO

A PLAN FOR THE ELECTION OF SINGLE OFFICERS

IN SUCH A WAY AS TO GET A CLEAR MAJORITY
BY ONE BALLOTING, WHEN THERE ARE
SEVERAL CANDIDATES.

PRINTED FOR

The Industrial Banner,

427 Grey Street, LONDON, ONTARIO, CANADA, September, 1897.

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RACTICE grand old labor or Proportion dominion, nicipal contests in their own eleusing for its of Fair play in thing in the local Trades Union Assipolitics.

No doubt there way when the Ha used. Some of th not fully comprehe Proportional Repre the system used v the election do Others, who canno closely, think it co certain. The scr find it bothersome doing the same thir has it at his finge familiar and easy; only to do the thing months he is very a it from one election be puzzled by some

But is it necessary system in the election or delegates in sma answer this question must look into the ge

FAIR PLAY IN ELECTIONS.

By S. T. P. R.

RACTICE what you preach " is a grand old rule; therefore when labor organizations demand Proportional Representation for dominion, provincial and municipal contests they should use it in their own elections. It is worth using for its own sake, anyhow. "Fair play in elections" is a good thing in the lodge room and the Trades Union Assembly, as well as in politics.

No doubt there are difficulties in the way when the Hare-Spence system is used. Some of the members who do not fully comprehend the principles of Proportional Representation will blame the system used when the results of the election do not please them. Others, who cannot follow the process closely, think it complicated and uncertain. The scrutineers sometimes find it bothersome. When a man is doing the same thing day after day he has it at his fingers' ends, and it is familiar and easy; but when he has only to do the thing about once in six months he is very apt to partly forget it from one election to the other and to be puzzled by some unfamiliar point of procedure which may arise.

But is it necessary to use the Hare system in the election of committees or delegates in small meetings? To answer this question intelligently we must look into the general question of

representation as it applies to this kind of election.

FUNDAMENTAL METHODS.

Only two factors are absolutely essential to proportional representation, namely:

- (1) A constituency which returns several members.
- (2) The single vote that is, that each elector should have only one vote which counts.

Other factors may be added in certain cases with advantage, but only these two are absolutely necessary.

We need say no more about the first factor, because that is always present in the election of representatives at a meeting.

This, then, narrows us down to the single vote; and it will be well to start with a thorough examination of this, as compared with the multiple vote, which is commonly used in such elections, because the multiple vote is an old established and much prevailing institution.

A SPECIFIC CASE.

Here is a cheerful, well-lighted and well ventilated room, in which thirty earnest members of organized labor are gathered in assembly or council Among other things, they have to elect five delegates to some higher body, or five members of a committee for some | elect the two delegates to which they special duty. There are ten candidates. These five delegates or com mitteemen are intended to represent the thirty members. What is the

right way to elect them?

We all know the old fashioned way. It is to give each voter as many votes as there are delegates to be elected; namely, five votes; so that thirty persons cast a total of a hundred and fifty votes. Then the five candidates having the highest number of votes are declared elected. This plan is called the multiple vote.

MONOPOLY OF REPRESENTATION.

Is this a fair and proper system? No; because if sixteen of the voters unite on five candidates, these sixteen men can elect all the delegates, and leave the other fourteen without any representation at all. Let us say eighteen voters, if you like, so as not to use too extreme an illustration; although sixteen could do it. Each of these eighteen men has five votes, and this enables them to place their five candidates in the five places at the top of the poll. The remaining twelve men can only give each of their candidates twelve votes, so that these are all placed below the candidates of the eighteen. The result is that these twelve men have no delegates to represent them; although, being two fifths of the meeting, they are entitled to have two out of the five delegates. Is that fair? No, it is not.

How would the single vote work in such a case? It simply renders any such result impossible. The eighteen men, having only one vote each, have to divide their votes amongst the candidates they want to elect, and could not elect more than three. This would allow the twelve men to

are entitled.

TAKING CHANCES.

A grave objection to the multiple vote is that it mixes and muddles things, and brings in a large element of chance. It is something like throwing dice. There is no telling which side will come to the top. Many curious combinations of the five-fold vote take place. Monopolization of all the representatives by a mere majority of the voters may result from the inherent cussedness of the method itself, and not from a deliberate or organized attempt on the part of the majority.

A ONE FIFTH INTEREST.

Then, instead of your being represented in a clear and definite way by one distinct delegate on the committee, you have, so to speak, only a one-fifth interest in five different delegates, men necessarily of diverse views and opinion on some subjects that you are interested in. Which idea of representation is most in accord with common sense?

AS MUCH VOTING POWER.

Some persons have the idea that a man's voting power is lessened by giving him only one vote instead of five. This is a fallacy. When everybody else has five votes as well as you, your additional votes are swamped and neutralized by the additional votes of the other fellows; so that you get all the disadvantages of the multiple vote without any increase of your voting

MAJORITY AND MINORITY.

It is sometimes said, "Oh, the majority must govern." But to apply that remark to an election is to suffer from confusion of thought. Represen-

tation is one legislation is fair representat committee, the representatives to a decision, measure. And done in any body besides th An intelligent tives has great its voice can and fairly pre voters whom it watch the ma straight if need the clear right they are denie multiple vote.

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Take anothe seven voters ou ticularly desirou -say Mr. Smit The other twen voters are indi Smith, or prefer six or seven men committee, and titled by right to sentation; that out of the five. vote they are d that is, they are d of their voting po vote, any candi would be elected

If you disfran voters in a meet can you reasona disfranchisemen form one fifth of district of thirty no difference in two actions. If chise the six me ich they

multiple muddles element e throwg which Many five-fold ation of a mere ult from method erate or t of the

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Oh, the o apply o suffer epresen-

tation is one thing; government and legislation is another. First get a fair representation of the voters in your committee, then let a majority of the representatives decide when it comes to a decision, Yes or No, on any measure. And there is much to be done in any governing or executive body besides the mere Yes and No vote. An intelligent minority of representatives has great weight and influence; its voice can be heard; it can fully and fairly present the views of the voters whom it represents; and it can watch the majority and keep them straight if need be. These things are the clear rights of the minority, and they are denied by the use of the multiple vote.

THE GOLDEN RULE.

Take another illustration. Six or seven voters out of the thirty are particularly desirous to have a certain man -say Mr. Smith-on that committee. The other twenty-three or twenty four voters are indifferent or hostile to Smith, or prefer somebody else. These six or seven men are one fifth of the committee, and therefore they are entitled by right to one-fifth of the representation; that is, one committeeman out of the five. Under the multiple vote they are deprived of that right; that is, they are disfranchised - deprived of their voting power. Under the single vote, any candidate having six votes would be elected.

If you disfranchise one fifth of the voters in a meeting of thirty men, how can you reasonably complain of the disfranchisement of the labor men who form one fifth of the voters in a large district of thirty thousand? There is no difference in principle between the two actions. If it is right to disfranit is also right to disfranchise the six thousand in the larger election. each case it is a tyrannous usurpation by the majority. Perhaps it never struck you in that way?

THE UNIT OF REPRESENTATION.

It may be asked, Why have not onesixth of the voters a right to independent representation, as well as onefifth? Because only five members are being elected, and the right of such representation is limited by the number of members. If six members were being elected, then one-sixth of the voters would have the right to independently elect one member. They would then be what is called "the Unit of Representation."

The case we are taking is an election in which the unit of representation is one-fifth of the electors. Although in this case a smaller number cannot elect their own particular man, yet the single vote gives them considerable latitude of choice otherwise, as we shall show directly.

IT IS QUICKER.

One little practical advantage that the single vote has over the multiple vote is, that it takes less time. You have only thirty votes to count instead of a hundred and fifty.

VOTERS NOT DISFRANCHISED.

Enough has been said to show the unfairness and disadvantages of the multiple vote. Let us now deal with the single vote on general grounds. One very plausible objection to the single vote may be put thus:

Suppose there are ten candidates, only five of these can be elected; yet the other five receive a number of votes. Are not the men distranchised and unrepresented who cast their votes chise the six men in the labor meeting for the five rejected candidates?

The reply is clear and definite. Never, all of them. Rarely, some of them. Usually, none of them.

THE "ALTERNATES" IDEA.

Why is this? Because the use of the single vote ensures some delegate being elected whom you, an unsuccessful voter, would have been willing to vote for if you had known that your special favorite could not get in. Every voter must necessarily have in his mind "alternates" amongst the candidates. For instance, you prefer Smith; yet you are satisfied with Jones if you cannot get Smith; and you can even get along fairly well with Robinson if you cannot get either Jones or Smith. But we have already shown how easily Smith and his friends Brown and Jones, and all his other friends, could be squeezed out by the multiple vote.

Consciously or unconsciously, there must always be this use of alternates in every election; because your friend Smith might not be a candidate at all, and then you could not possibly have him for your delegate; although there would be somebody amongst the candidates that you would like well enough to vote for.

This is not mere theory, but has been proved over and over again by practical experience with the Hare system in many elections. The Hare system provides for a transfer of the votes from unsuccessful candidates in order to fill up the number of candidates higher up, so as to make these votes count for somebody. It is found that in most cases this transfer makes no difference in the final result. Therefore, in most cases, if unsuccessful voters in a single vote contest had had the privilege of marking their ballots so as to transfer their votes to somebody

else, such transfer would simply increase the number of votes received by candidates who would be elected anyhow.

PRACTICAL CONCLUSIONS.

It is therefore safe to recommend the use of the single vote, as a usual thing, in lodge rooms, labor unions, and assemblies, in preference to the Hare-Spence system. It is so simple that there can be no difficulty in working it. This is the process:

- (r) Distribute your ballot papers with instructions for each voter to write the name of the one man he votes for on his ballot, or to mark the name with a cross if the candidates' names are printed or written on the ballots.
- (2) Collect your ballots and sort them into as many piles as there are candidates, calling off the names as you do so, and having a second person keep tally of them.
- (3) Then the five candidates having the highest number of votes are declared elected.

THE HARE SYSTEM.

The Hare system is better adapted to large elections than to small ones; but it works well when the voters number as many as 40 or 50, so as to give a quota of 8 or 10 in the election of five persons. When scrutineers are available who are thoroughly familiar with the system, it may be advisable to use it in such cases. The editor of the Industrial Banner intends to publish in his November number, full working directions, a careful study of which will enable any intelligent person to act as scrutineer. Those interested are referred to the November Banner.

The distinction of several confident or clearly realized the object is voters, as nearly it. In the same requisite is the should have a votes cast, and the by a minority.

The ordinary single officers is two candidates rathere three or running, the suand often is, elethe voters—which

Many labor clearly, and ta order ultimately The friends of give up the mar and cast their volike next best; continued until so majority.

There is a be which we shall It is an application feature of the Han

Suppose that S and Robinson as presidency of your let each voter man the candidates in he prefers them. voter who wants S and who thinks I objectionable of t who prefers Brown voting is done by

ELECTING SINGLE OFFICERS.

The distinction between the election of several committeemen and the election of a single officer, such as president or secretary, should be clearly realized. In the former case, the object is to represent all the voters, as nearly as you can come at it. In the second case, the only requisite is that the man elected should have a clear majority of the votes cast, and should not be elected by a minority.

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The ordinary system of voting for single officers is all right when only two candidates run for each office; but where three or more candidates are running, the successful one may be, and often is, elected by a minority of the voters—which is not right.

Many labor organizations see this clearly, and take several ballots in order ultimately to secure a majority. The friends of the weaker candidates give up the man of their first choice and cast their votes for the one they like next best; and the process is continued until some one gets a clear majority.

There is a better way than this, which we shall proceed to describe. It is an application of the preferential feature of the Hare system.

Suppose that Smith, Brown, Jones and Robinson are running for the presidency of your organization. Then let each voter mark his ballot for all the candidates in the order in which he prefers them. For instance, take a voter who wants Smith to be elected and who thinks Robinson the most objectionable of the candidates, and who prefers Brown to Jones. If the voting is done by writing the names

on the ballots, this voter will write his ballot thus:

Smith. Brown. Jones. Robinson.

If printed or written ballots have been distributed, with the names in alphabetical order, this voter will mark his ballot as follows:

Brown .							2
Jones							-
reconnecti	١,						4
Smith							т

A ballot is spoiled unless the voter marks at least three out of the four names. The voters must be told this distinctly before they vote.

At the close of the poll the votes are sorted out according to the "number one" votes for each candidate. Then the candidate who has the smallest number of these first choice votes is declared "out," and his votes are distributed amongst the other three, according to the marking of the ballots. Then the lowest of these three remaining candidates is declared "out," and his ballots are similarly transferred. Then whichever of the remaining two is found to have the greatest number of votes, transferred or original, is declared elected.

A great deal of time is saved by this plan; "log-rolling" is hindered; and a fuller choice of candidates is given. Unless himself elected, no man can spoil the chance of a friend by splitting his vote. Therefore a man is willing to be a candidate by way of seeing what he can do, and his friends will vote for him in the same way, knowing

that they will have a chance at a stronger candidate if their favorite proves to be very weak in popular favor.

THE PROCESS IN DETAIL.

- I. Distribute the ballot papers amongst the voters, with instructions that all the candidates are to be written or marked in the order of the voter's choice, or the ballot will be spoiled; except when one name only is omitted. In that case the omitted name will be understood as being the man most objected to by the voter. Collect the ballots when all are marked.
- 2. Sort out the ballots into four piles, according to the number one or first choice votes, paying no attention to the other figures; call out the name on each ballot as you do so. Whilst this is being done, two tally clerks are keeping tally of the number of votes for each candidate. Reject spoiled ballots in accordance with paragraph 1.
- 3. The tally clerks name the candidate who has the smallest number of first choice votes (the only votes that so far have been counted). The scrutineer then declares that candidate out, and distributes the whole of his ballots amongst the remaining candidates, according to the second choices on the ballots. For instance, if Mr. Smith

is at the bottom of the poll, the illustrative ballot above given would be transferred to Brown's file, because Brown is second choice upon it; and it would count Brown one vote.

- 4. Three candidates are now left on the board. The lowest of these is declared out, and his votes are transferred to the remaining two candidates, in the way already described. If, for instance, Brown was declared out, then the ballot above given would be put on Jones' file, and would count one vote for Jones, because Jones is number three on the ballot, and both number one and number two are out and cannot be elected.
- 5. Only two candidates are now left, and the one found to have the greatest number of votes is declared to be elected. By means of the transfers he has a clear majority of the vote cast.
- 6. Ties can be disposed of by excluding the candidate having the least number of first-choice votes; or, first-choice votes being equal, by excluding the one having least second choice votes, and so on. Or, cast lots.
- 7. These directions relate specifically to an election with four candidates; but they will at once suggest the method to be pursued when three or five or more candidates are running.

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