

ard of living; we can force them to eat and wear and use and have much less than they have; and we can deliberately lower the level of governmental services. Thus we might manage precariously to maintain independent national status. We can resolutely decide to be poor but proud. But if such a decision is made, it must be made by the 60,000 families who would have to do the sacrificing, not the 5,000 families who are confident of getting along pretty well in any case.

We have, I say, a perfect right to decide that we will turn away from North American standards and from North American standards of public services, and condemn ourselves as a people and government deliberately to long years of struggle to maintain even the little that we have. We may, if we wish, turn our backs upon the North American continent beside which God placed us, and resign ourselves to the meaner outlook and shabbier standards of Europe, 2,000 miles across the ocean. We can do this, or we can face the fact that the very logic of our situation on the surface of the globe impels us to draw close to the progressive and dynamic living standards of this continent.

Sir, our country is fast becoming a land of festering monopoly. Freedom of trade is becoming rapidly a thing of the past. I am not at this moment speaking of free trade; but of ordinary freedom of trade, the ordinary right, as it used to exist, of any man to engage in trade, to import his own merchandise and sell it direct to the people. That freedom is fast dying in Newfoundland, and is fast being replaced by monopoly. A new race of traders has arisen in our midst. They have secured exclusive agencies all to themselves, agencies for this and that necessary and desirable article of merchandise. (I am not talking now about our regular wholesale firms). What do they do, these exclusive agents? Do they add one cent of true value to the things on whose distribution they have a close monopoly in Newfoundland? No, they do not. Do they reduce the price of these articles to our people? No, they do not — on the contrary you will find that in many cases an article becomes dearer the moment some monopolistic trader secures the exclusive agency for it. A new race of monopolists has arisen in our

country. They will hate me for pointing at them. They will hiss at me for drawing the people's attention to them. But there they are, and their chief accomplishment has been to drive up the cost of things and make it even harder for our people to live.

Sir, I have done my share of pointing to the shame and infamy of certain tariff-protected industries in this country, some of those local industries, as we call them, that shelter behind a high tariff that drives up our cost of living. But these industries have at least this merit: that they produce something. They do bring in the raw material, they do employ a few people, changing the shape and appearance of those raw materials. They make something. These monopolistic traders make nothing, they produce nothing, they create nothing. They are traders, pure and simple. They manage to get themselves wedged in between the ordinary traders and the people; not, please note, between the goods and the people, but between the traders who sell the goods and the people who buy the goods. By getting these monopolistic agencies, they set up toll-gates of their own, and they collect their own special fee that is piled onto the cost of the articles they sell. It only means that one additional and one completely unnecessary item of expense is piled onto the cost of the things we must buy. If, sir, I seem to be paying a lot of attention to these modern monopolists, it is because I know how they are driving the high cost of living still higher. We have seen some of these men become rich and wealthy men. I could name them for you. I know their story. This man in 20 years has raked together a million dollars for himself by monopolistic practices.

**Mr. Chairman** What has this got to do with the subject of confederation?

**Mr. Smallwood** After I have laid the foundation, it will be seen.

Another man has attracted another million to himself. This third one is well on the way toward his first million dollars. This fourth one has passed comfortably the half-million mark. I look about this town, and I see men who in the past half dozen years, the past ten or 12 years, the past 15 or 20 years, have piled up great fortunes out of their comfortable monopolies. Where did they get their money, sir? Was it by the sweat of their brows? Was it by making two blades of grass