

1933. After a span of a natural lifetime, heavily burdened with debt, its people impoverished, its government confused, the oldest colony of the Empire gave up self-autonomy. Newfoundland did not give up reluctantly. The erstwhile dominion found herself in the hands of the receivers and little remained for her but to submit to the indignity of losing her suffrage and becoming the administrative agency of a country 2,000 miles away. May I review briefly some of the factors that led up to that drama of 1933?

- (1) Newfoundland had an export economy, and there was then a world depression.
- (2) Newfoundland was dependent on the economy of countries thousands of miles away.
- (3) Newfoundland had no internal market for her products; moreover, she had to import even the everyday commodities of life from abroad.
- (4) Newfoundland's chief industry, the fisheries, was replete with the vagaries and uncertainties that, for want of a better name, must be called in this country acts of God.
- (5) Newfoundland never could raise any substantial internal loans; thus her debt for the greatest part was external. In other words, her financiers were investors who wanted their pound of flesh.
- (6) With 6,000 miles of coastline and more than 1,300 settlements, she was burdened with a cost of government that, to say the least, was excessive; or as someone aptly put it, she carried the trappings of an elephant on the back of a mouse.
- (7) Responsible government did not always adopt policies that were conducive to prosperity and the public weal.

Mr. Chairman, I hold that economically and geographically, the conditions that led up to the 1933 drama are not now substantially different. We are for the moment enjoying only a temporary prosperity, the impact of a war boom, and a recession must inevitably come. Already there are clouds on the horizon, and it may well be that in the not far distant future, our then finance minister will be off and away to ring the doorbell of some foreign capitalist, tipping his hat, with, "I would like a loan if you do not mind!"

Gentlemen, I am not a pessimist. I believe in Newfoundland, in her great fisheries. I have faith in Newfoundlanders; but faith is not enough. All the faith in the world will not enable that fisherman who sailed in my schooner this past summer

to pay his account and buy for a family of five out of the \$300 seasonal earnings that was his in 1947. All the faith in the world will not give him a position when there is no work to be had. Yes, that family allowance would give him a lot of faith and greater hopes....

But there is a destiny in store for our beloved island, a greater destiny than some of us perhaps realise, a destiny that will be of our own making, if we as a people choose wisely and well. Yes, sir, Newfoundland has a date with tomorrow; and in concluding I would repeat with some minor alterations, and with an apology to the immortal poet, a quotation from Longfellow's "Ship of State":

Thou too sail on, O Ship of State,
Sail on *in union* strong and great,
Thy countrymen, with all their fears,
With all their hopes of future years,
Are hanging breathless on thy fate!
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea,
Our hearts, our hopes are all with thee,
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee, are all with thee!

Mr. Chairman, I support wholeheartedly the idea of putting both forms on the ballot paper, but I cannot support the motion.

Mr. Bradley It is not my intention to detain this Convention at any length this afternoon, and I rise purely for the purpose of making my position upon this resolution perfectly clear.

After a somewhat hectic and not altogether creditable period of existence comprising some 16 months, we have reached the final and most important stage in the life of this Convention. Within the next few days we shall decide what forms of government we shall recommend to the British government to be submitted to our people at a referendum. The first of two resolutions upon this subject is before us now and, if I am to judge by many of the speeches made upon the resolution thus far — and indeed by the resolution itself — the conviction is forced upon me that the intention wilfully to ignore our plain duty as set out in the terms of reference is as strong as ever.

Even before the Convention election in 1946, at which we were sent here to discuss the matters set out in the Convention Act, I made it quite clear to this country that I regarded the Convention as a completely non-political body — non-political in the party sense, at any rate. Of course we had