

business. They also are interlocked with the large banks. At that time there were sixty-six life insurance companies, Canadian and foreign, doing business in Canada. Of those companies three, the Sun Life, the Metropolitan Life and the Canada Life, controlled almost half the total assets. Life insurance companies are also closely connected with the banks, as are the investment trusts. In connection with transportation, the Canadian Pacific Railway is an important member of the North Atlantic conference, which dominates shipping. Two Canadian Pacific directors are directors of Canada Steamship Lines, which virtually controls Canadian lake shipping. Five Canadian Pacific directors are directors of Canadian Airways, the most important commercial aviation company in Canada. In regard to communications, the express and telegraph systems belong to the two railway systems. In eastern Canada telephones are controlled by the Bell Telephone Company through direct ownership and interlocking directorates. The directorates of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Bell Telephone Company interlock also. In regard to electric power, apart from publicly owned systems it is almost entirely in the hands of three groups, the Holt interests, the Nesbitt-Thompson-Killam interests and the International Power and Paper Company. These three are linked up with subsidiary power companies across Canada. In connection with pulp and paper there were fifteen companies listed. One, the Canadian subsidiary of International Power and Paper, is interlocked with seven of these companies. In connection with iron and steel, Ford and General Motors dominate motor manufacture in Canada and International Harvester, Massey-Harris and Cockshutt Plough hold a similar position with regard to agricultural implements. In the general steel industry, Dominion Steel and Coal, Steel of Canada and Algoma Steel control the situation. Everyone knows that nickel is a complete monopoly. In regard to copper the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company, a subsidiary of the Canadian Pacific Railway, holds a leading position. Cement is the virtual monopoly of the Canada Cement Company. In connection with oil refining the Imperial Oil Company, with assets of over \$242,000,000, towers over its four competitors with combined assets of only \$78,000,000. Rubber is in the hands of four companies. Textiles are largely in the hands or under the control of three main groups. Flour milling is controlled by four or five companies, four of which control a large part of the bread baking industry. Meat

packing is in the hands of three or four companies and tobacco is almost entirely in the hands of one company.

Those were the conditions that were public knowledge before the price spreads and mass buying committee was appointed at all. What I find wrong in this situation is not so much that these large companies eliminate competition and crush the small, individual business; it is that these large companies control the means by which the rest of the community live and by which they must obtain access to the things they need in their everyday life. Such recommendations as have been brought in by the price spreads and mass buying commission are altogether inadequate in a situation like this. Through this control a few individuals, numbering perhaps not more than one hundred, can and do levy tribute on the rest of the community, and it seems to me that during the time I have been here parliament has been mainly concerned with seeing that they were allowed to levy this tribute without let or hindrance. I am reminded of the illustration used by Thomas Carlyle:

The widow is gathering nettles for her children's supper. A perfumed landlord, lounging delicately in Paris, has an alchemy by which he will extract from her every third nettle, and call it rent and law.

If we change the perfumed landlord in Paris to a banker, an industrialist or a bondholder in Montreal, Toronto, New York or London and change rent and law to interest and profit, we have a clear picture of what Thomas Carlyle meant, so far as Canada is concerned at the present time. By the same methods as those used in Carlyle's time we find that today some landlords, some industrialists or other exploiters of labour take the value of the third stitch, if you like to put it that way, that the girl takes in her workroom in the attic or factory, and the third or possibly more than the third part of everything the farmer produces on his land. At page 111 of the report we find this statement:

Frank exploitation of labour's weakness has been common. Evidence has followed evidence with monotonous regularity before the commission to show that, in many cases, the welfare of the worker is almost the last consideration that enters into the minds of employers in this industry.

The commission was referring to one of the industries. So long as the labour of the individual is a commodity which is bought and sold in the public market we are bound to have the conditions described in the report. The employer buys his labour in very much the same way he would buy any-