

leaders, however, are, in my opinion, fundamentally opposed to Confederation taking place at all. In short, I do not think that the question *per se* of proceeding through an elected Government or otherwise is a matter of concern to the vast majority of Newfoundlanders — even to those who voted for Responsible Government on July 22nd. At the same time I would not be surprised to see some of the die-hard advocates of Responsible Government continuing to agitate for its return on constitutional grounds.

14. This leads me to mention a factor which unquestionably influenced large numbers of people to vote for Confederation — fear of the consequences of a return to Responsible Government as it existed in 1933 and in the years prior thereto. This fear was evidently a good deal stronger than any opposite fear of the alleged burdens of Confederation. A great many people who remember or know the depth to which the life of the average person sank here during the worst years of Responsible Government are filled with alarm, on their children's account as much as on their own, at the thought of Newfoundland returning once again to that form of government. This fear is also shared by many thoughtful Newfoundlanders in positions of prominence.

15. As in the first campaign, there was a good deal of misrepresentation and deliberate confusing of the issue by the opponents of Confederation. The result was that, as on June 3rd, fear of various allegedly dire consequences operated to prevent many people from voting for Confederation. The chief of these, of course, was the fear of increased taxation — particularly property taxes. Another cause for apprehension was the question of the effect which Confederation would have on the fisheries. It does not appear, however, that even these fears assumed much larger proportions than they did in the first campaign. So far as the fisheries question is concerned, there is little evidence that the stand taken by Mr. Ray Gushue, the Chairman of the Fisheries Board, had as serious an effect as I feared it might. He was oddly late in issuing his warning and the counter-attack launched by the Confederates must have been effective in combating its influence. Also, it would appear that Confederation had long since established itself in the minds of the great mass of the fishing people as the real solution of Newfoundland's problem, and that even the Chairman of the Fisheries Board, in attacking it where — on the basis of the present terms — it is relatively vulnerable, was taking on something a little too big for him.

16. On the positive side, as I have said before, the advantages which Confederation clearly offers in the way of economic security and social betterment was perhaps the largest single factor in making up the minds of a majority of Newfoundlanders that they want their country to become a province of Canada. Most of the people here are too simple to comprehend the complexities of the Canadian federal system and too insular to feel the appeal of Canada as a nation. At the same time, I am convinced that something of the meaning of Confederation has entered the minds of the mass of the people of Newfoundland. How firmly it is there, I do not know, but there can be no question that what has been planted as a germ has now risen as a hope. If one were to single out one Newfoundlander more responsible than others for this development, one would name Mr. J. R. Smallwood. He is known in this country as the "Apostle of Confederation" and unquestionably deserves the major share of the credit for the success which it has