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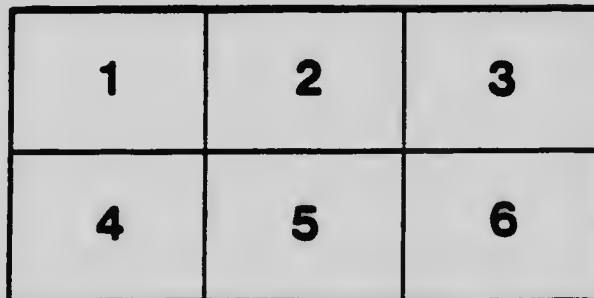
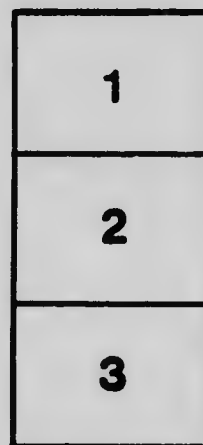
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SIR WILLIAM MULLOCK
POSTMASTER GENERAL AND MINISTER OF LABOUR.

SPEECH

DELIVERED BY

SIR WILLIAM MULOCK,

At the Joint Banquet of the Young Men's Liberal Club and the
Laurier Club, at Toronto

ON

MONDAY, the 23rd March, 1903.

ONWARD, CANADA.

I am asked to speak to the toast of "Canada and the Empire," a
interesting subject, and one which may be regarded from many differ-
points of view. For example, there is a jingo school that, losing sight
of the teachings of history, and believing that the cultivation of the military
spirit should be the chief aim of society, would convert the British Empire
into a military camp. Such a school, with its pupils in Great Britain as
well as in Canada, would urge us to establish our country practically upon
a war footing, and to cultivate a war spirit that would make Canada a
participant in the military struggles that from time to time result from
European and other international complications.

One cannot travel in Europe, witnessing there the burdens now borne
by the people as a consequence of militarism, past and present, without
realizing the terrible mistake of nations whose policy stimulates not indus-
trial but military energy. (Hear, hear.) It is one thing for a people to
cultivate a sturdy, manly spirit against foreign aggression; another, that
spirit which spoils for a fight. There is little danger, I think, of Canada,
with the experience afforded by history, selecting the wrong path. (Hear,
hear.) Still, there are some of our people who, possessing confused ideas
as to our duties towards the empire, honestly believe that Canada should
establish a standing military force or send a substantial annual cash con-
tribution to Great Britain for the maintenance of the army. We cannot be
indifferent to the protection extended to Canada at all times by the military
arm of the mother country, but there are, I think, cogent reasons against
the proposition that Canadian resources should as a matter of course be
diverted from Canada for such a purpose.

Canada's Duty.

Canada not only recognizes her duty to maintain peace and order within her own territory, but has also given proof of her practical sympathy with the mother country in time of need, and it may be confidently assumed that the Canadian people in their own way, and according to their own ideas, will at all times be prepared to do what they conceive to be their duty both to themselves and to the mother country. (Cheers.) For the present and immediate future circumstances are creating for Canada as serious responsibilities and duties as could well confront any young nation, and the long future of Canada must largely depend upon the manner in which she meets these responsibilities and duties.

Canadian Progress.

The mist that for ages hung over western Canada has suddenly lifted and revealed to the world an expanse of territory and an extent of natural wealth that are awakening the cupidity of the less fortunate citizens of other lands, and making Canada to-day, without an exception, the most attractive and progressive country upon earth. (Applause.) One-third of a century has elapsed since we acquired the Hudson Bay country, at that time a hunting preserve. Since then various Governments and Ministers had endeavoured to attract people to that land, but so unsuccessful had been their efforts that when we took office in 1896 the population of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories scarcely exceeded one quarter of a million of people. When forming his Government, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, realizing the supreme importance of peopling the northwest, to that end placed the portfolio of the Interior in the hands of Mr. Sifton, a gentleman of the greatest administrative capacity, and who by his energy and magnificent power of organization has promoted a larger immigration to Canada within the last five years than had taken place during the whole preceding thirty years. (Cheers.)

Recently I applied to Mr. George Johnston, Dominion Statistician, for an estimate of the increase in our population at the end of the next five years, and received from him the following answer:—

“Establishing the population of Manitoba and the Northwest at 684,103 in 1902, and accepting the increase in immigration in 1902 over 1901 as the standard of future years, the population would be over 1,500,000 in 1907, and in five years more over 3,250,000.”

A Serious Problem.

Nineteen hundred and seven is not far in the future, and each steamship arrival from Europe reports its hundreds and hundreds of passengers for settlement in the Territories. Now that our resources are known, is there any reason to fear that immigration will fall off or cease, or might we not rather anticipate its assuming increased proportions? If that view is correct, are we not now confronted with a most serious problem, in fact, one touching the national life of Canada? Look at the map of Canada. Interpret it in the light of our information, and what do we find? The older Provinces separated from Manitoba and the Northwest by a thousand miles of country almost unoccupied, and an obstruction to interchange of commerce between eastern and western Canada. True, we have the Canadian Pacific Railway, and also the Canadian Northern running easterly from Winnipeg, passing for a short distance through United States territory, and at present terminating at Port Arthur, but even these two railways have failed to meet the transportation requirements of the present limited population of the West.

Transportation.

One is now confronted with the question, What avenues will be taken by the commerce of the million and a half of people that within the coming period of less than five years are to occupy our western country? If the existing railway systems have been unable to handle the traffic of less than three-quarters of a million of people, what is to become of the traffic of many times, or even double, that number? We must not shut our eyes to the fact that for many a year to come at best there will be a most sparse population between old Canada and the eastern limits of Manitoba. Until that hiatus is filled up the population of the country will increase in two distinct groups, one easterly and one westerly of this thousand-mile intervening space. Are they to remain isolated commercially from each other, or shall we endeavour to bridge over this thousand-mile separation, and thereby knit them together in the closest bonds of commercial and political union?

Contemplate the conditions to-day. Thousands are now flocking into the northwest. Some are from older Canada, others from Great Britain, but a vast number are citizens of foreign flags. United States railways are penetrating into the Northwest Territories for the purpose of establishing trade relations between the western States and western Canada. Are we to

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be indifferent to the political consequences likely to flow from the development of a community of interest between western Canada and the western States, or should we rather seek to promote a community of interest and sentiment between western and eastern Canada? If the latter is to be our object, how may we best attain it?

Increased Canadian Trade.

The goods that eastern Canada would sell to the settlers in the west must go by rail. The food that western Canada would sell to eastern Canada and to Europe must largely come by rail. If the manufacturers and merchants of eastern Canada are to retain the markets of western Canada there must be ample direct railway transportation facilities between the two parts of the country. If our western people find an outlet for their produce in the western States, they are also likely to become more and more united in interest and in sentiment with the western States. It seems to me unwise for us to shut our eyes to the inevitable future, and with the reasonable assurance that within a very few years there will be in western Canada a population at least equal to that of older Canada to-day, would it not be the part of wisdom for us now to lay our plans for controlling this interprovincial trade, instead of allowing it to drift into foreign channels, with the consequent danger of its prejudicially affecting our national life? (Cheers.) Western commerce must find its eastern outlet either via the United States or via Canada. If via Canada, it will build up our maritime ports, make Canada a commercially independent country, both in respect of its export and import trade. By what means, then, can we prevent our commerce passing via the United States and secure its taking an all-Canadian route?

An All-Canadian Route.

With our splendid St. Lawrence and maritime port opportunities we have seen our commerce largely diverted to the United States ports of Portland, Boston and New York, and we are often told that natural conditions are against an all-Canadian route. Is it not rather that natural conditions are in favor of an all-Canadian route, but up to this moment artificial conditions and rival interests have prevented its adoption? For example, were a railway to be built direct between Winnipeg and Quebec City, the latter would be within 1,300 miles of Winnipeg, as against Portland's over 1,700 miles, Boston's nearly 1,800 miles, and New

York's 1,900 miles. We have also a correspondingly shorter ocean distance to Great Britain. Discarding, as I think we are warranted in doing, geographical objections to the all-Canadian route, the question is, how may we bring it about that our western traffic, instead of seeking an eastern outlet through the United States, may take an all-Canadian route? Existing railway services being inadequate, the manifest answer is, "Build more Canadian railways between old and new Canada;" but on what principle?—there's the rub.

Public Opinion on Subsidies.

We have in Canada different railways, brought into existence by different methods. In the Maritime Provinces we have the Intercolonial Railway, built exclusively with public money and controlled and operated by the people. We have other railways built partly with public and partly with private moneys, but owned by private corporations, not by the State. Public opinion to-day appears to be more or less against subsidizing railways. Is there any prospect of capitalists out of their own capital alone building a line over the thousand miles of country to which I have alluded, which for many a year will fail to supply any reasonable return on the capital invested? Capitalists are not philanthropists, but expect a return upon their investments. Shall we proceed to subsidize the various railways that are now proposing to extend their lines to Manitoba? Shall the country extend the Intercolonial Railway, say, from Quebec to the Pacific Ocean, not only investing the capital involved in the work itself, but also operating the line, or shall we simply build a railway highway, available under proper regulations, as would be a canal, for the traffic of all railways between Manitoba and, say, the City of Quebec, with its branch connections with intermediate Provinces? Or shall we fold our arms, shrink from discharging our proper responsibilities, and let the country drift?

Onward, Canada.

There are those who, forgetting that the progressive Canada of to-day is not the old unprogressive Canada of half a dozen years ago, think her affairs can be managed now as then. There are others who, for party purposes, would paralyze our action by endeavoring to deter us from having the courage to meet the altered conditions of to-day. Neither of these classes, I think, represents true Canada. There is a third, a more broad-minded, progressive, enterprising and patriotic section of the people, an

"Onward, Canada" party in effect, who, recognizing the unparalleled progress our country is making to-day, demand that instead of checking the movement by inaction, we should take occasion by the hand and wisely and masterfully grapple with, and if possible successfully solve, the problems growing out of Canada's great and unprecedented development. One of the most serious of these problems is the railway question, to which I have alluded. The wise solution of this problem, as, for example, by direct railway connection between Manitoba and the City of Quebec, means much for Canada. Affording to Manitoba and the western country an eastern all-Canadian outlet, it would encourage railway extension in the west. It would exercise a controlling influence on the commercial relation between eastern and western Canada. It would aid in building up our St. Lawrence and Atlantic ports and our mercantile marine. It would assist us in the work of assimilating the foreign element now settling in the west, by promoting interchange of trade between them and eastern Canada, and, in developing inter-Imperial trade, would strengthen not only Canadian but also Imperial sentiment. (Cheers).

Mandate of Providence.

Gentlemen, Canada must not mark time. Her gifts from Providence are a mandate to us to be up and doing, and even if the doctrine of "Onward, Canada" does not find a resting place in every Canadian heart, it is at least a dominant Canadian sentiment to-day, impelling Canada to do her duty by her people and her country, and if in this way Canada be true to herself, she cannot be false to the Great British world-empire. (Appl.)



SPEECH BY SIR WILLIAM MULOCK AT ST. GEORGE'S BANQUET.

HAMILTON, ONT., APRIL 23RD, 1903.

You ask me to respond to the toast of "Canada and the Empire." The theme is a large one, suggestive of many thoughts. For example, it reminds us that Great Britain, throughout the years that have gone, so played her part as to emerge from a vassal state to become the home of free men, the sanctuary of the politically oppressed of all countries; that patient industry, thrift and enterprise have rewarded her people with almost unexampled prosperity, developing her domestic and foreign commerce until it has assumed gigantic proportions, and given birth to her present mighty maritime power; it reminds us that her sway has so extended that to-day one-quarter of the habitable globe is hers, and that concurrently with her material development she has so advanced in civilization and moral influence that in connection with international disputes, she has won the proud position of being regarded as the chief advisor and peace-maker, if not umpire, among the leading nations of the world.

But the drama of the rise of Great Britain, playing her many parts on the world's stage, is for the historian, not the post-prandial speaker, and I shall trespass upon your time but for a few moments to give expression to the thought that, in laying the foundation of Canada's future, it might be the part of wisdom for us to seek to avoid, at least, one of the great errors that have marked the history of older countries. I refer not to measures of defense, but to that aggressive, warlike spirit known as militarism.

The world furnishes to-day two distinct schools of thought in regard to militarism, as affecting national life.

Old World Burdens.

On the one hand, we see most European and other old-world nations, still clinging to the methods of barbarous ages, seeking to maintain their opinions by the sword, whilst on the other are younger countries, like the two great nations of North America, placing their trust rather in respect for right.

Out of which method is likely to come the greater, the more lasting good to the human race?

The arbitrament of the sword is incident to a low state of civilization, and has survived its time.

Shall we, a young nation, standing on the vantage ground of a higher civilization and a wider experience, commit in this age the fatal error of incorporating that aggressive warlike spirit with our efforts towards national development?

Nations come and nations go, but the nation that of all nations has enjoyed the longest period of continuous progress, power and influence, is that to which we belong; and it is perhaps not incorrect to say that Great Britain's strength, influence and stability appear to have increased step by step as, whilst jealously guarding her own rights, she has come more and more to respect the rights of other peoples and races, including those not of British origin who have come under her flag.

The world's history is a long-drawn-out tale of the rise and fall of nations, so often told that if one did not seek to ascertain the cause of national decay he might conclude that it was as unavoidable as death to the individual. But though every man must die, yet the race lives. Every moment millions of drops of water of the noble St. Lawrence fall into the eternal sea, but the St. Lawrence continues on its course, great and mighty forever.

Hold Their Own Destinies.

History does not show that the downfall of nations is in obedience to irresistible destiny, but rather that nations hold their destiny in their own keeping, and that as they sow so shall they reap.

It is said that Columbus stumbled by accident upon America, an explanation difficult to accept. Rather, it seems to me, that a wise Providence reserved this favored land until man should learn how best to use it, until experience had taught him which institutions made most for human happiness, in order that those he might transplant to the virgin soil of this free western world, leaving behind those others that have proved themselves the enemies of man.

To-day almost every nation of Europe which is not bankrupt is staggering under the burdens of militarism, past and present.

What nation has profited by it? The sword is not an instrument with which to build, but to destroy. (Hear, hear.) Shall we, then, with the warnings of history, transplant it to Canada and place a sword in every man's hand, or shall we rather, whilst defending the right, endeavor to promote the arts of peace?

Mr. Chairman, of our own free will we are citizens of no mean Empire. (Cheers.)

It is said that the Imperial tie has but the strength of a slender silken thread. We Canadians are not all of the same racial origin, neither do we all speak the same tongue, nor rejoice in the same glorious past; but there is one sentiment common to all Canadians, the love of liberty, and this sentiment not only makes of us one united Canadian people, but, finding as it does a response in the hearts of our fellow-citizens in the Motherland, gives to the Imperial tie, that slender silken thread, the strength of the hempen cable. (Applause.)

Militarism is the enemy of true liberty, and its adoption in Canada would go to weaken, if not destroy, the bond of union now so firmly and happily uniting us with the great mother of nations.

Follow In Britain's Steps.

It is Canada's ambition to follow all that is glorious in the annals of Great Britain. Canadian citizenship is now being extended to vast numbers of people, who, weary of old-world burdens, disappointments or oppressions, come here to breathe the air of free Canada, to share with us in her bounteous gifts and assist us in building up in this western world a Greater Britain, suggesting the thought that the centre of empire may yet be in British North America. (Cheers.) But be that as it may, Canada's task awaits her.

Ever guided by the torch of liberty, instead of destroying with the sword, let her aim be to acquire industrial dominion over her fertile lands, her productive waters, her mines, her forests; to drive away the solitude of her vast unoccupied areas with the cheerful music of human voices and hum of productive machinery; to awaken her dormant wealth, lying everywhere easily within man's grasp; to extend her commerce to the uttermost corners of the earth, and to make the name of Canada everywhere stand for freedom and progress.

Mr. Chairman, Canada may, if she will, win for herself such a future ; and it will, I doubt not, be the ever constant prayer of her people that for all ages the same flag shall float over Canada and the mother country, and that the empire may ever remain, as it is to-day, the freest, the most progressive, the most enduring of all human institutions. (Cheers.)

