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# CANADA AND THE EMPIRE

An address delivered before  
various Canadian Clubs

By

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## CANADA AND THE EMPIRE

The strength of a nation depends upon the kind of men and women it breeds. If other countries are to a large extent to do the breeding for Canada, then Canadians should take a deep interest in their own immigration problems. And these problems have a bearing on another question, that of the future of Canada. The discussion of them is worthy the efforts of our best citizenship, even if those making the attempt are unable to bring forward anything very original. This must be my excuse for having recently addressed some Canadian Clubs on "Canada and the Empire."

To-day Canada is an integral part of the British Empire. Where will she be to-morrow? Aye, and how will to-morrow find that Empire? The earth in its diurnal motions has set a pace which the civilized world is savagely trying to emulate. More happens in one minute now than in a month a century ago. Do we ever stop to contemplate what a collision to-day between nations may mean?

When we realize the rapidly growing burdens of the taxpayer, especially in Europe, for militarism, we must know the outcome will be one of two things—a pause in the mad race for military supremacy, or, for some nations, bankruptcy, with war or without war. No doubt, to avoid the ravages of war it is necessary to carry insurance in the shape of a fighting force. The needs of the present time are very great in that respect, and the taxpayer of the British Isles may be unable to put on sufficient insurance to impress other European nations with the view that it will be dangerous to interfere with Britain. If the British Empire as a whole will take action, wisely and promptly, in this matter of insurance, then, though the cost may be temporarily heavy, yet such a course would go far to end the present fruitless and unhappy struggle.

Let us hope that the day is not far distant when

there will be on the horizon some evidence of the millennium, when nations will be prepared to stand shoulder to shoulder for fair and honest principles. So long as people are to be seen bearing up under the strain of dragging sleds uphill, it is reasonable to suppose they will do some sliding and, likewise, so long as nations are straining every effort to increase their fighting capacity we must look for trouble.

It took the Franco-Prussian war to produce a confederated Germany. It looks almost as if the British Empire may have to go through the throes of a great war before it can be cemented together, and then, only provided she comes through all right. Who can tell? Diplomats are being overworked in these difficult days, and while we all hope that they will prove equal to their tasks, it certainly looks very doubtful, especially when, glancing backward, we see how close Britain and another country have on more than one occasion been to the edge of the war precipice. The danger has perhaps passed, almost before we knew it, and, being engaged in dollar-breeding, we appear to regard a miss as good as a mile; but it is not!

The writer would be sorry, indeed, if he should be deemed an advocate of militarism; but he believes we are very close to the breaking point, and that is when a nation requires to be powerfully effective. There are many who scoff at the military man; but let us not forget that the militarist has his place in our polity. He is above all prepared to protect his countrymen, even to the extent of giving his life blood for them, for those even who scoff at him, but thankfully take the fruit of his valour. His point of view, do you not think, is much more edifying than that of many of his critics who are engaged in bleeding their countrymen in their endeavour to fatten on the natural resources of the country?

As to Canada's position on the American continent, A. C. Coolidge, of Harvard University, closes a very interesting chapter on the United States and Canada, in "The United States as a World Power" (Macmillan

Company, 1909), as follows: "Remembering, too, the essential similarity between the populations on the two sides of a purely artificial boundary, we cannot conceive of their always remaining separated. Every new railway, every new waggon-road that crosses this line of 4,000 miles makes it a restriction harder to observe . . . . If we restrict our observations to present political conditions, we may see no reason why either the United States or Canada should ever wish to be merged in one larger whole; but if we take into account the great permanent forces of geography and nationality, we may well feel disposed to repeat the words of the marriage service—"Those whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder.'"

It will be observed that Mr. Coolidge refers to ties of kin as well as railway ties. The map enclosed very clearly indicates the latter. The map shows the railway development in Canada and the United States, also the distribution of population in both countries. With the exception of the mountainous and arid areas, settlement in the neighbouring republic is scattered over the entire country. Our hinterland, with its climatic conditions, will force our new comers for many years into the areas in which settlement now exists, and which are shown in pink on the map. Then as the point of congestion in those areas is reached, there will be a gradual encroachment on the interior wooded sections.

It will be observed there is a network of railways—reinforced concrete, as it were—in the United States, extending from the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico into the heart of that country, and working northward into Canada's great middle west, practically every mile of those railways being through traffic-producing territory. These are features that should not be lost sight of by those studying Canada's position on this Continent.

Now let us approach the difficult question: Is there any particular pride or pleasure in being a Canadian citizen? I realize that this is a dangerous question to ask, yet if it causes us to give some serious thought

to the question of citizenship in this country, then I feel that I shall have accomplished some good.

What is citizenship? Is it not a form of ownership? To be a citizen of some of the old-world countries carries with it privileges only obtained through the sweat of the brow. That is not the situation in Canada. If we closed our doors to the strangers and grow only by natural means—that is, by the excess of births over deaths—then indeed, sir, it would be a pride and pleasure to be a Canadian citizen, because the majority of our people are drawn from strong and sturdy stock. But it is the stranger who will be appearing at our gates that concerns me; it is the great virgin wealth of Canada that is her chief source of danger, because that is the magnet which will attract the stranger.

Canada possesses in her waters alone a vast asset, occupying, as she does, a strategic position in the world of commerce, with magnificent waterways leading out to the ocean, with water-powers capable of producing the cheapest known energy, and a vast storehouse of raw material, timber, minerals of every description, inland fisheries and fur-bearing animals. True, we may have denuded our timber lands to a considerable extent; but they can be renewed if we but do our duty. Our fur-bearing animals may have largely disappeared through the greed of the hunter; but they can be replaced, and again become a source of wealth to this country. And as for our agricultural wealth I absolutely lack the vision to measure its possibilities. Then, what does it all mean? Simply this—that the greater the wealth the greater the attraction to humanity, to all classes of humanity. I repeat, then, that it is the stranger who will be appearing at our gates about whom we should be concerned.

Is there anyone in this country interested in transforming the alien into a citizen? I know of but few. Our chief citizen-making periods are during elections, when political parties are seeking votes. The greatest criminal, should he get within our borders and behave himself for three years, can become one of us. It is a

simple matter. He submits an affidavit setting out where he came from, that he has been in the country the required three years, and then his application is posted for two weeks, in some provinces in a court-house—an institution prone to attract litigants, a class frequently regarded as not the best type of citizens. The application then going unchallenged before a judge, the judge issues a certificate that the aforementioned criminal is a citizen of Canada, with all the rights and privileges which that implies—the right of standing beside you and me and calling us his brother Canadians. Well, would we attempt to take people into partnership in any other business in that way? Why should we do it in our nation-building business?

Now, I am not going to discuss our immigration methods, nor to suggest they are not what they should be: that would be another story. But I believe I have said enough to make us sensible of this fact, that the most important public service in Canada to-day is that of immigration. To the official standing on the boundary, looking into the face of the stranger, with power to say "You may," or "You may not" enter, to that official must we look for the answer to the query, "Is there to be any pride or pleasure in being a Canadian citizen?" Let the hand of the politician be withered before it is allowed to touch with political patronage that branch of our public service. It is the duty, the paramount duty of every citizen in this land to get behind that service, to support it, to insist that none but the very best men shall man our boundaries—men with that perception of the Indian of old, whose eyes and ears were in constant training.

And now let me discuss briefly some features in the growth of Canada. First let me say that in proportion to the development of our transportation facilities the more liquid does population become, owing to the greater ease with which people may surge back and forth. During the first 45 years of the life of the United States the voyage from Europe occupied several weeks and the total immigration to that country for that period has been estimated at 250,000 people. To-day

it has reached the enormous figure of about one million yearly. In the earlier years the difficulties of travel across the Atlantic withheld all but the vigorous and strong. Then, as her great native wealth became better known, and the rapidity as well as the ease and cheapness of travel increased, the numbers grew until that great country to-day cannot stem the tide, notwithstanding its vigorous measures against the undesirable immigrant.

Europe reproduces herself at the rate of about 5,000,000 yearly. About three-fifths of that number are practically absorbed into the life of that continent; the balance go abroad, principally to North America. Germany controls about one-fifth of Europe's natural increase; but unfortunately she will not give us any share of them, though her household is already overcrowded. Evidently she intends to develop a colony of her own as soon as she finds a suitable territory.

Coming back to Canada, with her 7,000,000 people lying side by side with one of the greatest nations on earth, with a population of 92,000,000, and adding to that population every four years as fully as many people as we have in Canada to-day; surely we should realize how impossible it would be for us to maintain our independence for any length of time should we decide to be an independent people. It would be a difficulty much greater than that of preventing the neighbouring city of Hull from fulfilling its ultimate destiny of absorption into this city of Ottawa.

Canada will not feed the United States with people. The United States, congested by immigration, will perform that service for us. From that great country will come our chief supply of people, because of the facilities that exist for moving into this country—facilities that are equal to those of moving from one state of the American Union to another. A resident of the United States can come over here to look about. If he finds what suits him he can plant his roots here; if not, he can return to his own country and carry on his work there as if nothing has occurred. That is not the situation so far as the immigration from Europe is con-

cerned. In this respect our neighbours have a decided advantage over our own people in Britain, who, once they pull up stakes in the old land and come to Canada, cannot turn back; many of them are forced to wander here and there for a considerable time before finding suitable employment. In fact I believe we have in the past lost many excellent immigrants, men who after drifting about Eastern Canada finally passed over into the United States. I venture the opinion there is a work here where these Canadian Clubs can be of the greatest service, a subject I would like the privilege of discussing with you on some future occasion.

Canada's position, therefore, is different from that of the other overseas dominions. The emigrant who passes to South Africa or Australia is separated from his native land by a long sea voyage. To a greater or less extent he leaves behind him the ideals of his homeland and rapidly becomes knitted into the life of the new country; but obviously such a change cannot be brought about so quickly in the case of those coming from and through the United States to this country. We cannot expect it. In the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan our new settlers are building up their own centres and to a considerable extent bringing with them, naturally, their own ideals. I repeat, then, that to maintain our national individuality is no small task for Canada and should she ever elect to stand alone as an independent nation the task, in my judgment, would be absolutely impossible. In my opinion Canada must remain an integral part of the British Empire or become part and parcel of the United States of America. I realize that there are those who do not agree with me in my conclusions, but, studying the conditions that must surround the growth of this young country, coupled with our peculiar position on this North American Continent, I do not see how it can be otherwise.

When a country grows only by natural increase—an excess of births over deaths—there may be no necessity to force the cultivation of a national senti-

ment; but when the growth is largely by immigration, as is the case in Canada, our natural increase being about 80,000 yearly, while our immigration gives us about 300,000—the outlook is not so clear. Of course I am aware that a considerable proportion of our immigration comes from Britain to-day; but how long will that continue after the other overseas dominions become keen competitors for British immigration? Anyway, I hold to the belief that it is our duty to take active steps in moulding our people into one national life, with our own ideals, the ideals of the British people.

I have no desire to discuss or touch upon the significance of the recent elections and in the present company would not undertake to say that the issue there determined was dealt with well or ill; but I feel justified in saying, after what has happened, that to serve an economic issue up with any sentimental sauce is a bad business; at least that was my experience. The sentiment of older Canada, of our native-born population, is clearly for closer connection with Britain. The sentiment of our newer West, which is settled largely from the United States, is for closer relations with that country, and it is but natural. A country growing only through the excess of births over deaths will have but one sentiment; but when the growth by immigration is very considerably greater than the natural increase, then the sentiment of the native-born may to a considerable extent be modified by that of the immigrant population, and perhaps on some critical occasion be completely overborne.

At the rate we are growing, the immigration we shall receive within the next twenty years will at the end of that time equal the natural increase of our present population. Looking, then, at the sentimental side of the issue recently dealt with at the polls I can easily see that had it been necessary to decide the matter under conditions which may exist twenty or thirty years hence the result might have been very different from that reached the other day.

Now a cosmopolitan immigration will make us a powerful people like, for instance, the United States.

But we must remember that it brings with it cosmopolitan ideals. Conditions exist in that great country which its founders could not foresee. It is our privilege to be in a position to take advantage of their experience. Take an example: The selection of a jury in the legal battle recently waged at Los Angeles in connection with the destruction of the Times Building in that city; it took several weeks to find three out of the twelve good men and true. I believe that is a situation which could not be found where British ideals prevail. I do not wish to be thought that I am casting any reflection upon our neighbors. They are a great people. They have problems to solve and be it said to their credit that when they take up the solution of a problem they do so in earnest and act most effectively. It is only a few weeks since Edison, the great American inventor, paid a marked tribute to the business integrity of the British people. The British stand in the very front rank amongst the peoples of the world in the matter of honesty of purpose. Then, is there not some pride and pleasure in belonging to that great family? And in saying this, I do not wish it to be thought I can see no reason for pride and pleasure in belonging to any other family.

Now, I come to the Imperial side of the question. First, is it desirable that Britain and her overseas dominions should go down into the far future as one people? If so, is it practicable? At the outset let me say, I am an Imperialist. To me the Empire has become a religion. I do not waste any time in analyzing the true meaning of the word "Imperialist." My interpretation is that it stands for one who is looking for some organic union, some cement thrown among the various elements that go to make up the British Empire, so that there shall be absolutely no question about our going down through the ages as a united family. I believe that Britain allows all classes drawn from all nations on earth, to stand shoulder to shoulder on the highest known plane of civilization, and it is the possibility, if there be such, of the disintegration of that empire, that I am con-

cerned about. Should that come about, it would be the gravest calamity that could befall the human race. Amongst other things it would mean the throwing of the white man's burden within narrower limits for support.

I consider that the majority of Canadians are Imperialists in the sense that I am; but there are two schools of thought—the one may perhaps be described as believing in the separate and independent upbuilding of each unit and then expecting us to be held together by some golden thread of sentiment and that alone. The ideal is a good one, but let me suggest that we are not yet rehearsing the millennium. If those overseas dominions were to grow only by the excess of births over deaths, or were to be supplemented largely by the immigration of the British-born, then it would look possible. But what is the situation? Europe is overcrowded. The United States, as I have already said, is taking in yearly about one million foreigners, and there is no reason, so far as I can see, why our overseas dominions should not before many years be absorbing the same number, because we must admit that the capacity of those dominions to absorb people will be fully equal to that of the United States. Very good. But how much leaven is Britain able to give her overseas dominions? She is reproducing herself at the rate of four or five hundred thousand yearly, of whom perhaps only 300,000 are suitable for colonization purposes. Then the leaven she will be able to give us will practically amount to one, say, in every three of those who will be seeking homes within her dominions. And while the theory is sometimes advanced that the filial affection of the offspring will always be found ready to stand by the old mother, let us remember this, that the filial affection of the step-son kind is not at all times very stable. There then is the situation as I see it, in so far as concerns the integrity of the British Empire by the separate and independent upbuilding of each of its units.

The other school of thought is that which looks

for some business co-operation between the various units of the Empire, with a clear understanding that each unit shall have absolute control of its own tariff and other domestic matters. If you ask me for the details of that arrangement I cannot give them. Had you asked me ten years ago if a man could fly I would have been in the same plight, and yet to-day flying is an accomplished fact. Fifty years ago certain men in British North America took up the question of confederating the various British units on this continent. Each province then stood alone, and the argument was advanced by some that they could and should continue to do so. But the fathers of Confederation felt otherwise and worked out a business arrangement so that to-day we are held together by business as well as sentimental ties. There are those who appear to think that the various units of the Empire are too far separated from each other to be brought together in any business arrangement. That would have been true fifty years ago, but not to-day. While the ocean is not receding, the time it takes to cross it has rapidly diminished and after all, distances are measured by time. The Thirteen Colonies were each independent of each other. They might have continued in such a condition for a while, but unity is strength. They joined forces and made a lasting union, a business arrangement, though at the time they made that union the two extreme members were farther apart in the matter of time than Britain and Canada are to-day.

It is true that there is long, non-producing space, the Atlantic Ocean, intervening between Canada and Britain. But it is the cheapest possible traffic route to maintain. Look at our own confederation, held together by railway skewers, with at least two distinct intervening barriers. First, the gap from North Bay to Winnipeg—a thousand miles, bridged by an expensive piece of road to maintain, and practically non-productive in the matter of traffic; in cost of transport fully equal to any voyage of 6,000 miles. Then we have the Rocky Mountain section, dividing our great

middle west from British Columbia. Yet no Canadian is going to suggest that we are not determined to hold our different sections together by the present business arrangement. Suppose, sir, we dropped the business feature, how long would sentiment hold the Provinces of Canada together, and how long especially would it alone hold Canada to the motherland, when at no distant date we may have the sentiment of the stepson to reckon with?

Now, if Canada is to be nationally great it will become so only through the development of her great wealth, and to bring this about she must become a great trader in the markets of the world, the policing of her trade being just as necessary as that of her centres of population, and even more so. No matter then what her destiny may be she must accept her responsibility in the matter of defence, until at least we can see on the horizon signs of the thousand years of peace which are yet to come.

Apparently, sir, those who believe in erecting the overseas dominions into separate and independent units favour each separately policing the waters which surround their own territory, very much the same as residents of parallel thoroughfares might undertake to organize separate police systems to take charge of their respective streets and half the intervening territory—something that does not, at least, look very practicable.

A superficial consideration of the subject of defence might incline us to the belief that for Canada to engage with the other members of the family in a uniform system would involve us in greater burdens than would be undertaken if we took up the subject independently. Combination usually means greater efficiency at a minimum cost. The term "defence of the Empire," after all, only means the defence of our own interests within the Empire, and that, it seems to me, can be accomplished much more effectively by co-operation than by independent action.

While I have admitted my inability to forecast the business co-operation which will be, as I believe,

eventually worked out amongst the several units of the Empire, and doubtless worked out very slowly, yet I am convinced that the existing situation is an impossible one, in that, as we now stand, the representatives of the people of one unit, the British Isles, may by their act at any moment plunge the other members of the family into difficulties with foreign powers. Of course I realize we have some who feel that we need not necessarily be involved in such troubles; but it appears to me the other nations will have something to say about that, and we might find ourselves in the humiliating position of either having to get busy or pull down the flag. I hold, with others, then, that we must soon change that order of things, have some part in the regulation of the foreign affairs that concern us, and join in a uniform system for the protection of our combined interests within the Empire.

Now, so far as a closer union is concerned, the general feeling appears to be that the overseas dominions must take the initiative, on the theory that if the Mother Country should attempt to do so her action would have the effect of driving the offspring nations further from her instead of bringing them nearer. In my judgment that view is wrong. It is for the Motherland to work out some simple form of partnership, capable of being developed gradually into a sound business arrangement, and to offer the overseas dominions the option of entering that partnership, on the clear understanding that if they do not wish to do so their position in the Empire may remain as it is at present. I venture the opinion that if such an opening were created it would not be long until we would find the various units of our Empire within a closer circle. The first step in that partnership arrangement would be a voice in the foreign policy of the peoples of the Empire; this I consider must come about at no distant date, otherwise that counter sentiment to which I have referred may, in gaining strength as time passes, seek other arrangements, the nature of which I have no desire to discuss.

Much has been said about the formation of an

Imperial Parliament to deal with foreign policy as well as with matters of defence. The chief stumbling block to bringing this about appears to be the fear that it would destroy the autonomy of the several units having representation therein, as it would have to fix our responsibilities in the matter of taxation for defence purposes. Why, the question has been asked, should South Africa have a voice in saying what the Canadian taxpayer should expend on defence? The same question might be asked as to the Maritime Provinces, which have to-day a voice in fixing the responsibilities of British Columbia in Dominion matters.

The creation of an Imperial Parliament would naturally reduce the status of the British Parliament without similarly affecting those of the overseas dominions; but there is vastly greater work in the national upbuilding of new countries than in merely carrying on domestic matters in a finished country such as Britain. Of course I realize that the latter country has greater social problems than confront governments in new countries. Therefore it would appear impracticable to have a group representing Canada, say, in an Imperial house, to undertake to fix our responsibilities, in the matter of taxation for defence purpose, and to have the Dominion Parliament at the same time, acting independently, imposing the necessarily heavy burden for developing the country. It looks as if there should be but one tax-gatherer, and that the home government. The scheme might have to be an Imperial Parliament, partly elected, partly selected by the Dominion or home governments, so that the Imperial body would be largely in sympathy with those in power in the various dominions; and further that Imperial measures should have more than clear majorities as a means of protecting the smaller units within the Empire; also that the Imperial body should be called upon to take into consideration our heavy responsibilities in connection with national development; in short, sir, that national development and national defence should be bracketed together and dealt with at the same time.

The Imperial conferences are certainly doing good work. Why should they not be held more frequently and become perambulating in character? Surely each unit of the Empire has spare public men whom it can send abroad to discuss our larger questions. It is only by rubbing shoulders together that complicated questions can be solved. Would it not be an excellent idea if each unit had at its disposal, say, three seats in the Parliaments of the other overseas dominions, allowing no representative to occupy the same seat more than one session? That would keep a small stream of men interchanging within the Empire, thereby giving greater breadth to our public life—something not only necessary but very desirable in new and progressive countries. These suggestions are perhaps but vague in character, but passing into the minds of other men, such ideas sometimes leave a germ capable of breeding a sound principle.

Now, I have given you a few stray thoughts on Canada and the Empire. May I be permitted to summarize my conclusions? First, if Canada is as rich as you and I believe her to be, then in proportion to that wealth will be the desire of men to get within our borders. In the procession will be found the undesirable as well as the desirable. The standard of citizenship is as sensitive as the mercury in the glass. Let in the undesirable and down that standard goes, forcing up our responsibilities, that is, increasing the burdens of the maintenance of those institutions which the state properly provides for unfortunates.

Therefore, our pride and our pleasure in being Canadians will largely depend upon the extent to which the sieve is used at our borders. And remembering that those passing through that sieve will, with their offspring, before many years outnumber the natural growth of our present population, may I use the simile of the chemist who does not wait until nature assimilates the elements he finds within the mortar, but actively uses the pestle. Canada is a mortar and the pestle we need to work cohesion into the various peoples who are coming into this country is that of

British ideals. And likewise the pestle necessary to knit firmly together the several units of an Empire, made up of various peoples is, in my judgment at least, business co-operation.

Now, a few words more. The cementing together of the British countries which surround the globe, and upon which the sun never sets, is a magnificent task and in the best interests of humanity. To hold to that ideal will make us none the less true and loyal Canadians. It will mean our own material advancement. Our Maritime provinces will be brought into greater evidence. And let me say, we cannot congratulate ourselves upon the activity that we appear to have taken in their development. Their chief function in Canada appears to have been to supply the rest of this country with good men.

In short, the perpetuation of the great British Empire, with its glory, its history and its greatness, stands for the liberty and betterment of mankind.

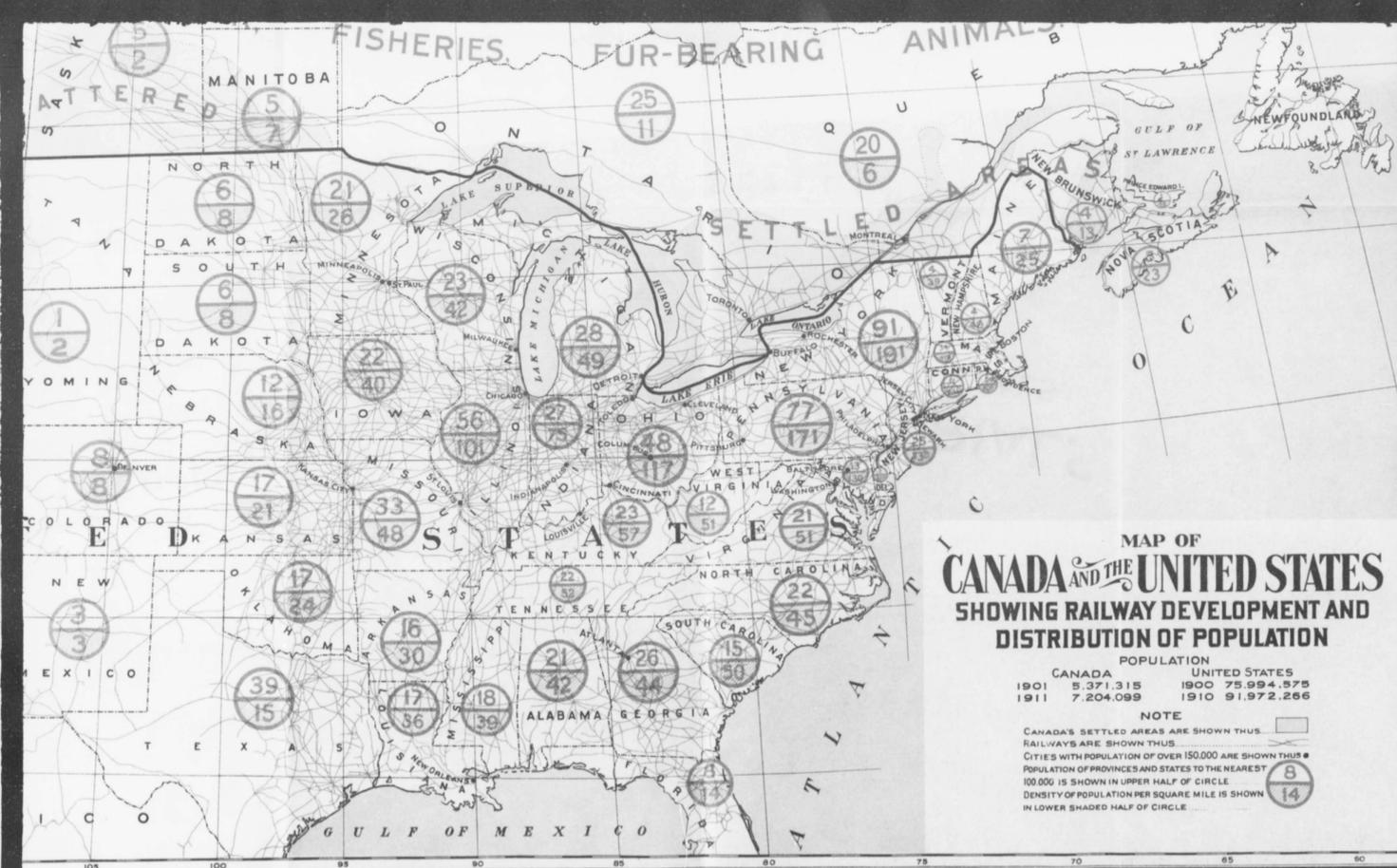
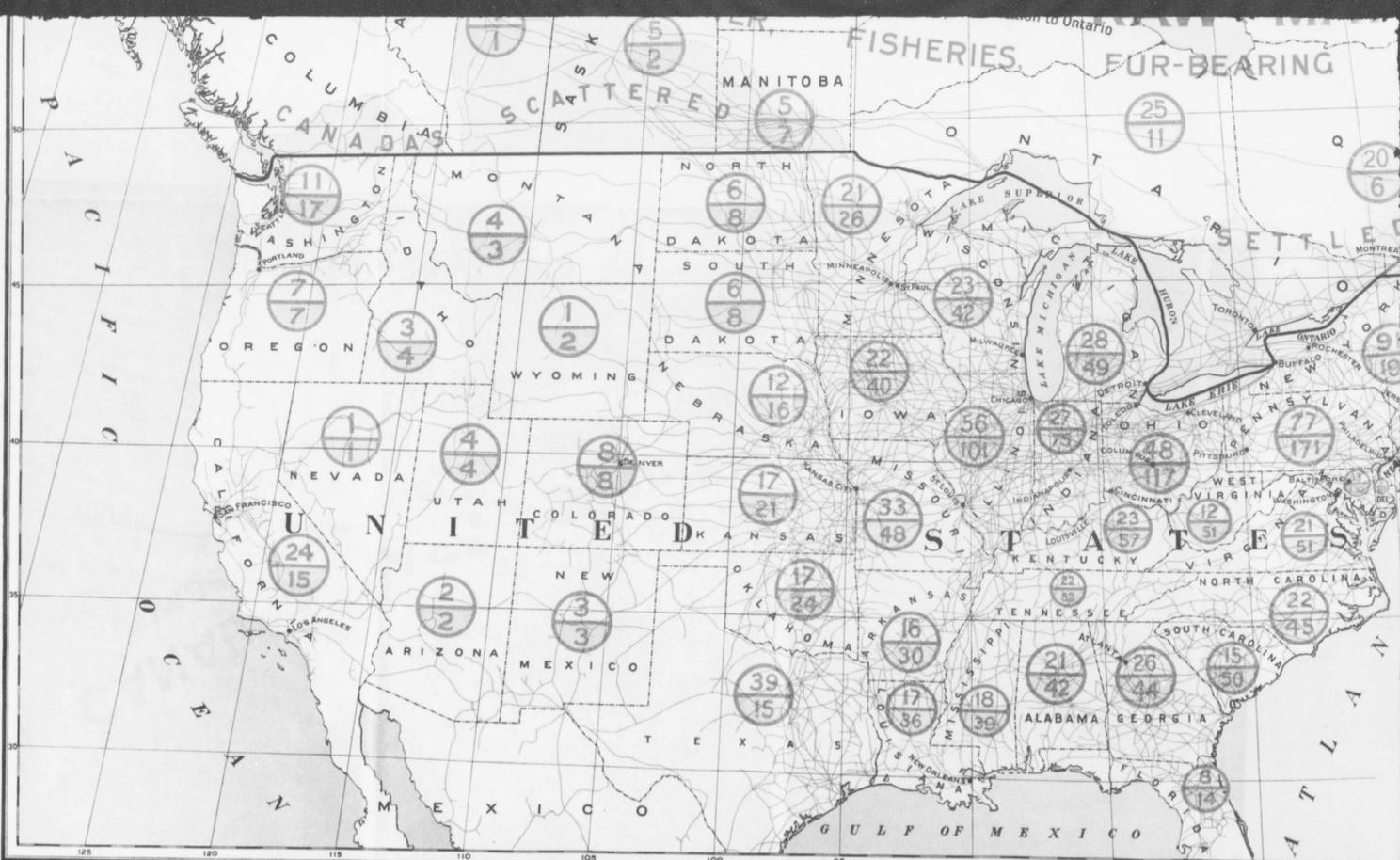
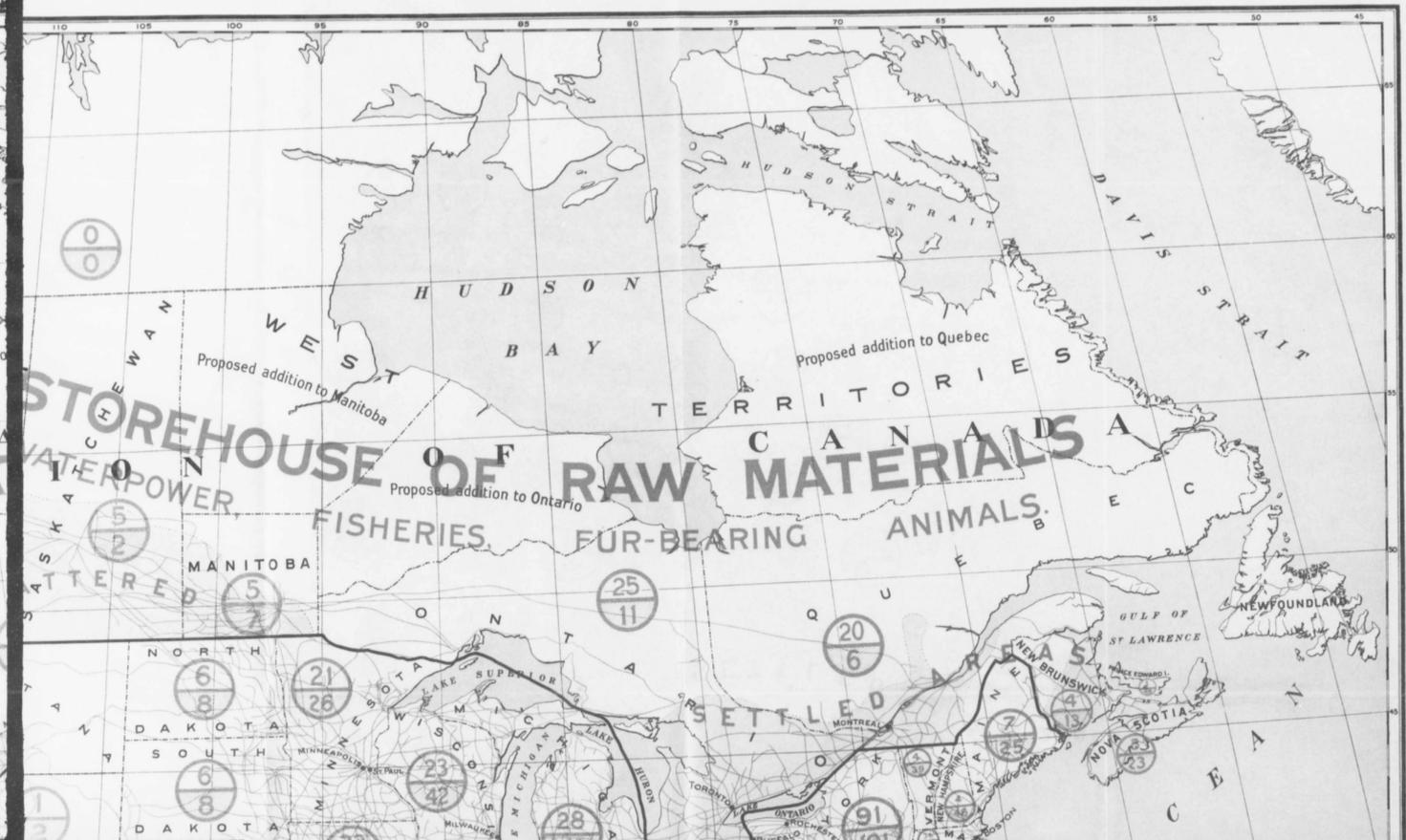
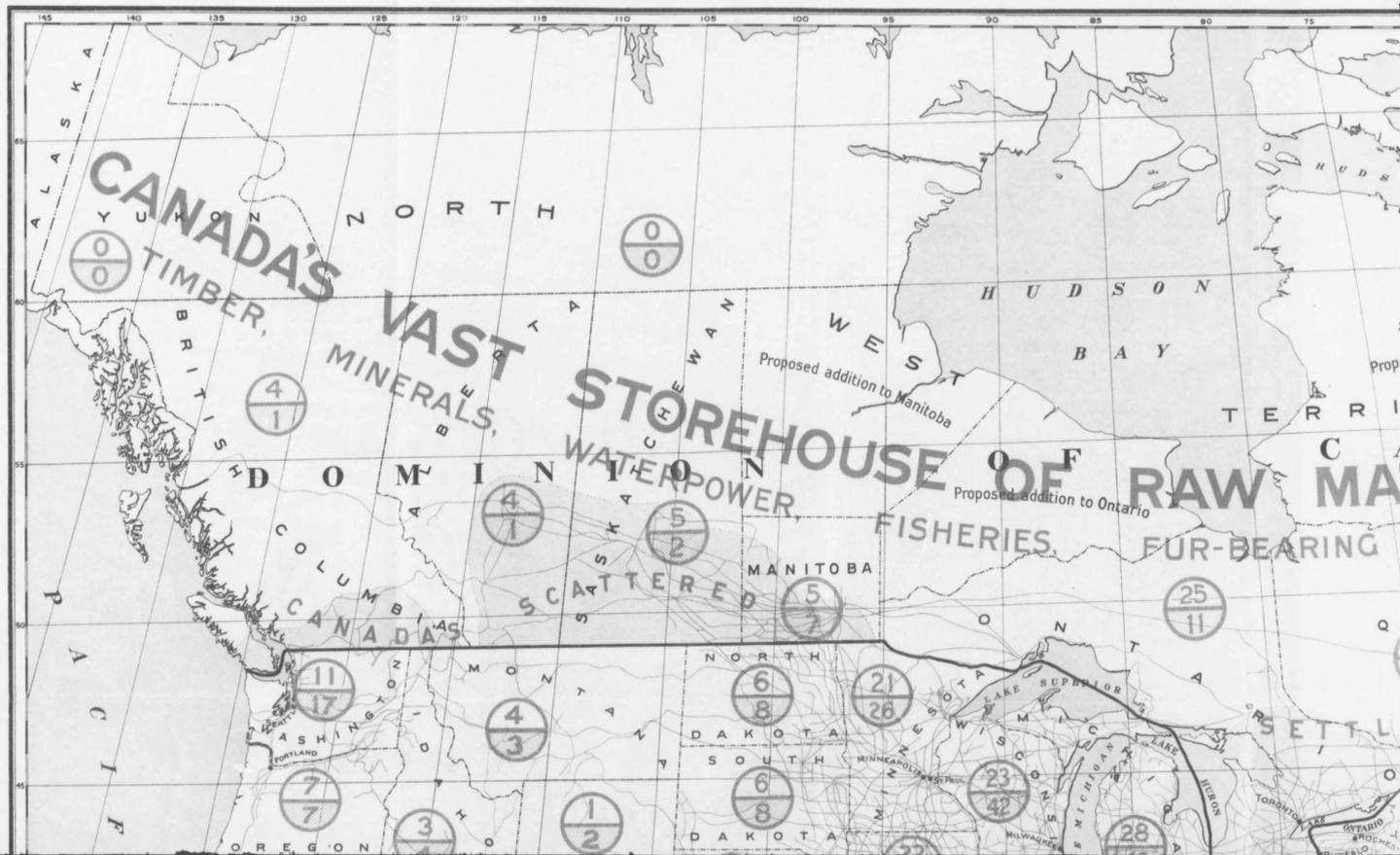
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#### Railway Ties and Ties of Kin.

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*"Canada must remain an integral part of the British Empire or become part and parcel of the United States of America."*





**MAP OF CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES SHOWING RAILWAY DEVELOPMENT AND DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION**

POPULATION

	CANADA	UNITED STATES
1901	5,371,315	190,759,575
1911	7,204,099	191,917,266

NOTE

CANADA'S SETTLED AREAS ARE SHOWN THUS

RAILWAYS ARE SHOWN THUS

CITIES WITH POPULATION OF OVER 150,000 ARE SHOWN THUS

POPULATION OF PROVINCES AND STATES TO THE NEAREST 100,000 IS SHOWN IN UPPER HALF OF CIRCLE

DENSITY OF POPULATION PER SQUARE MILE IS SHOWN IN LOWER SHADED HALF OF CIRCLE

STORAGE  
WATER POWER

AST  
TRA

SCATTERED

WORTH

RTI

MI

AS

MON

