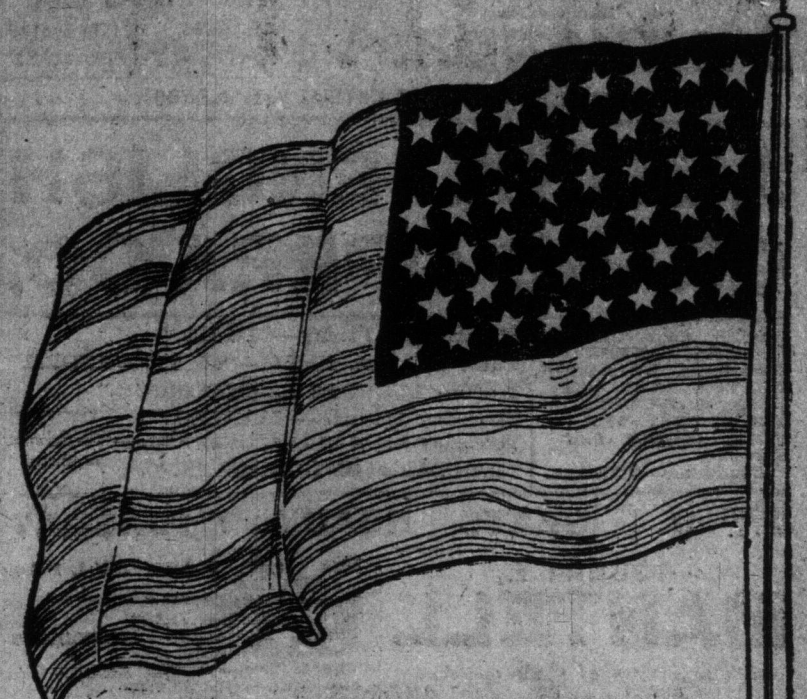


# Under Which FLAG?



(During the campaign the Anti-Reciprocity articles in The Montreal Star attracted widespread attention. They were admired by the vast multitude who read them, and copied all over the Continent. Those who had no opportunity to do so, have it now. These articles will doubtless become historic.)



**THE TWO FLAGS** that flank the caption of this article are twin standards of Christianity, of

civilization, of progress throughout the world. Each of them is a flag of which a great people is justly proud. It is entirely true—as the advocates of Reciprocity say so frequently—that these flags stand for much the same principles, much the same ideals, much the same standards of living. Moreover, the nations which float them have much the same ambitions—both love power, prestige and prominence among the nations.

We do not print these flags in contrast to praise our own and belittle that of the United States. Our readers, who have followed the opinions we have ventured to express from time to time in these columns, know us well enough to be sure of that before we say it. We admire the American people. They have some institutions which we do not like as well as our own; but these institutions are not at all the consequences of their national character—they are the inevitable results of the stupendous and daring attempt of the founders of the American Republic to strike off at a single blow a Constitution and an entire system of government.

## OUR FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

Our advantage lies in the circumstances that our constitution and system of government is a growth—not a manufacture. If we had been making our own governing machinery, we might, for instance, have thought it a wise and democratic step to cause our judges to be elected. We might have argued that no stream can rise above its source and that the selection of the judges should be left to the people. But, fortunately, our judicial system was grown for us. Under the guiding hand of Providence, it emerged slowly out of the conditions which followed the development of the monarchical idea. The consequence is that our judges are still appointed—nominally by the Crown, but really by an Executive responsible to the people—and this system of appointment for life has given us a judiciary which is the envy of our American neighbors.

Another example of our good fortune is our sensitively responsible government. If our American neighbors had stayed "under the flag" they would have had it as well as we. It is not our virtue or superior judgment which has given us this boon and denied it to

the Americans. It is the "accident" that they tried—very humanly—to make something quite different from the government whose rule they were fleeing. They feared to leave the executive and the legislative power all in the hands of one group of men. They distrusted their politicians; and we might have distrusted ours in the same way, had we had the chance. But fortune favored us. Our constitution was ready-made for us. It was made by the slow, sure hand of development, under pressure of hard trials and great difficulties. And the work of experience proved to be better than the hasty "creation" of the American Convention.

We might go on citing other examples of this sort. But the sum total of it is that we have certain institutions and methods of government which we greatly prefer to those in operation across the line; and we propose to keep them. If we can preserve the independence and distinct nationality of Canada, we can keep them; but if we throw in our lot with "the Continent" to which we belong, then we lose them and receive in their stead the very American institutions and methods which the American people admit to be inferior to ours.

## RETAINING OUR IDENTITY.

Now, we want to say, with the full sense of the responsibility which attaches to such a statement, that we believe it will not be easy for Canada to retain its identity. Human nature must have changed and the teaching of history must be discounted if a nation of eight, or even eighteen millions, finds it easy to share a Continent with a nation of ninety or a hundred millions—and keep its feet. We must assume that the Americans are not ambitious—that they are not as selfish as other people—if we are to convince ourselves they do not and never will, covet Canada. Yet, if they covet Canada, they are ten to our one; and it is pure nonsense to talk as if it were like saying "good day" for us to decide to remain independent.

If we keep our national identity, we will have to defend it. A very little consideration will show any thoughtful person how the crisis is likely to arrive. The United States and the British Empire are two great English-speaking powers. They are in much the position which Prussia and Austria occupied in the time of Bismarck. Just as Prussia and Austria were rivals for the hegemony of the German-speaking world, so Great Britain and the United States must presently be rivals for the hegemony of the English-speaking world. Austria was the greater power; but Prussia won. Great Britain is to-day the greater power; but shall the parallel be completed?

## CANADA WILL DECIDE.

Canada will have the casting vote. That is why our position is so critical—and so perilous. When we get—say—thirty or forty millions of people here, if we go in with the United States, the enlarged American Republic will then contain between 150,000,000 and 175,000,000 people. The British Isles will carry little more than 50,000,000. They, and Australia and South Africa, will be isolated English-speaking communities, whose fat empire the hungry nations of the world will watch with watering mouths. It will be plain enough that the entire English-speaking race must then stand together, or fall separately into the maws of its rivals. But if this agreement of nations comes together and agrees upon a leadership, will that leadership rest with the 50,000,000 or with the 150,000,000?

On the other hand, if Canada, with its 40,000,000, stays by the Motherland with its 50,000,000, and finds ten to twenty millions more in Australia and South Africa, the hegemony of the race will easily remain in British hands; for the people of Britain, Australia and South Africa will be better equipped for war, on a per capita basis, than we on this peaceful Continent are at all likely to be. That having been secured, the next step beckons. Canada has by far the broadest opportunity for development.

Our vast country will fill up. We will grow from forty to eighty millions. We will be the largest of the British nations. Then, the hegemony will come to us; and a Canadian city will be the capital of the British Empire.

Without the support of Britain, Australia, South Africa and our "far-flung Empire," we would always be overshadowed by the Americans. United with these other British communities, we will control and guide the destinies of our race. It is this proud position that we are asked to sell. We are invited to declare now—before the competition has fairly begun—that Washington and not a Canadian city is to be the Anglo-Saxon Capital. That is the issue which is at stake in this election; and, compared with it, the petty game of matching markets, at which the politicians are playing so eagerly, shrinks into insignificance.

With this broader vision before our eyes, perhaps one or two other things become clearer. Can we not say that we have already seen at least two preliminary strategic "moves" in this impending struggle for the leadership of the English-speaking world? The first "move" was sought to be made in Britain. A section of her people proposed to bind the Empire—and especially Canada and the Motherland—more closely by means of a system of tariff pre-

ference. That "move" so far, has failed. The people of the United Kingdom have refused to make it.

## TAFT WAKES UP.

But the suggestion that it might be made, has had its effect at Washington. President Taft is engagingly frank on this point. He tells his people that there are "forces at work in England and Canada" which seek to "separate her (Canada) by a Chinese wall from the United States, and make her part of an Imperial commercial band reaching from England around the world to England again by a system of preferential tariffs"; and that, consequently, this is a "critical" time for Reciprocity, and that "we (the Americans) must take it now or give it up forever."

In this, we wholly agree with President Taft. His political precience is undeniable. The basis for his conclusion is not as broad as it should be, however. There is another force at work far more fatal to American Reciprocity than the preferential proposal; and that is the mounting growth of Canada. Give us a few more years; and our people would laugh Reciprocity out of court without even a hearing.

But, in any event, President Taft has made his "move"—the second "move" in this great and world-shaking game. He has offered Canada the preference over which Britain hesitates. We are to have free access to his market; and everybody else is to be taxed. It has a most tempting sound. The life-long Reciprocity in the Liberal Government fell victims to it; and they were the most astonished men in the world when they found that the whole country did not hail their "bargain" with delight. They thought that all Canada was for Reciprocity in natural products.

It was, at one time! But now Rip Van Winkles have no business in politics. The world has moved in the last two decades. Conditions have mightily changed—and changed for the better. Now that the storm has risen, these men have tried to hide in the grave of Sir John Macdonald. But that grave has been closed for fifteen years; and is closed on a man who fought his last fight against a form of Reciprocity which he feared would rob him of his proudest possession—the privilege of dying "a British subject."

## CONDITIONS HAVE CHANGED.

Of course, every farmer knows that a preference in the United States is quite a different thing from a preference in Britain. The United States is an exporter of farm produce; the United Kingdom is an importer. There we have the thing in a nutshell. British preference would be a bonus to every Canadian farmer;

and if it is, perhaps, just as well to remember that, in voting for Reciprocity, we are putting the possibility of that bonus away from us forever. An American preference is — to use an American expression — "an option on a fight." That is, we can send our farm produce into a market which has a constant surplus of its own growth, where it can "fight" for a chance against the home-grown article.

However, that is an economic question; and we are inviting your attention just now to the subject of our political future. We believe, for our part, that this is a greater matter than the rise and fall of markets. Whether our readers agree with us on this point or not, the men who have made history in the past have always been of this opinion. When the Empire Loyalists left their comfortable and oft-times luxurious homes in the new American Republic for the long "trek" into what was then the wilderness of Canada, they did not do so in search of the dollar. It would have paid them better to stay and accept the American flag. They would have been richer, more comfortable, lived longer and given their families far greater advantages. But — right or wrong — foolish or sublime — they chose the Union Jack for their flag and followed it into peril, hardship, suffering and death.

## THEY CHOSE THE UNION JACK.

The Union Jack has been accustomed to fly over such sacrifices. "The flag that braved a thousand years, the battle and the breeze," has seen men die in its defence under every sun that shines and by every sea that has borne its ships. If British subjects had always counted the cost before they faced death under its folds, it would not be our flag to-day — it would not, in truth, be a flag at all. Wolfe dying at Quebec; Brock dying at Queenston Heights — the soldiers and pioneers and Empire-builders who have planted Canada where she stands, would have found more personal profit in other paths.

These signal names which fire our blood are by no means all of those who have made their real sacrifices to keep the flag flying which faces the Stars and Stripes at the head of this article. Literally thousands of Canadians who are alive to-day, or who have not been long in their graves, have known what it is to choose the smaller pay, the more limited chance in life, the narrower outlook, that they might stay "under the flag" and help build up a Canada of which their children and their children's children could be proud.

The blood-letting of the "exodus" has not long ceased. We

have all seen our companions leave for the more dazzling lure of "American prosperity." They went to seek their fortunes where fortunes were being found. But we stayed by the ship. We may have been foolish — many said we were — but we had the faith in our country and a belief in the ability of our people to build up a mighty and lasting nation here on the northern half of this great continent. So we stayed. We took pence when we could have got dollars; and we chose the northern — the less brightly gilded — the more storm-tossed flag. Perhaps we were inspired by the feeling of that patriotic Canadian poet who wrote:—

## THE MEN OF THE NORTHERN ZONE.

Oh, we are the men of the Northern Zone!  
Shall a bit be placed in our mouth?  
If ever a Northerner lost his throne,  
Did the conquerer come from the South?  
Nay, nay—and the answer blent  
In chorus is southward sent  
"Since when has a Southerner's conquering steel  
Hewed out in the North a throne?  
Since when has a Southerner placed his heel  
On the men of the Northern Zone?  
Our hearts are free as the rivers that flow  
To the seas where the north star shines;  
Our lives are free as the breezes that blow  
Thro' the crests of our native pines.  
We never will bend the knee,  
We'll always and aye be free,  
For liberty reigns in the land of the leal.  
Our brothers are round her throne;  
A Southerner never shall place his heel  
On the men of the Northern Zone." The Khan.

But now, at last, the tide has turned. The brothers who left us are coming home again. The hard, stubborn fight we have made to prove the essential pre-eminence of Canada has won. We have secured the suffrage of the entire world in support of our claim that Canada is the land of greatest opportunity under the wide sky. We have routed indifference, we have conquered contempt, we have baffled jealous hostilities, we have convinced scepticism itself. We have filled our cities with industries; we have banded our half-continent with railways, we have laughed at leagues of wilderness and leaped over mountains; and we have drawn to our prairies, and the fat fertile land of our older provinces, the sturdiest army of farmers in the world.

No one now doubts the possible future of Canada. We have made it sure. We are not a boastful people; but we may be forgiven if we boast a bit of our

determination, our faith in the face of discouragement, our unyielding loyalty to our native land. We have believed in Canada; and she has justified our belief. She is the richest, most promising, most prosperous country in the modern world.

## BELIEVED IN CANADA.

We have believed, furthermore, in our people. We have been confident that they would "make good." And they have. They are the possessors of the El Dorado of the twentieth century; and they have proven their capacity to guide its development and carry it forward to its high destiny.

The capacity we have. Have we the courage? That is the issue to-day. Just at the climax of our success, we are asked by the shrewd nation which scorned us when we were weak and scouted us when we sought her favors, to give it all up—to abandon the ideal for which our fathers faced the bleak north—to share with her the rich harvest which we sowed in bitter hardship and cherished through long years of suffering and lonely sacrifice.

Shall we do it?  
Shall we surrender just when the battle is won?

Shall we let the men, who deserted us in the dark days, now come in as full-fledged "American citizens" and take over the country they did not think worth living in?  
Shall we give it to them to say that they have judged better than we have all along—that they cleverly escaped the digging and the planting, the dull days of rain and deadly days of drought, but that now they get a Prodigal's share of the feast? They will have reversed the parable. They went abroad and found—not a diet of husks—but the richest living, leaving the "lean commons" to us; and, now they come to us as citizens of a foreign country, expecting that the "fattened calf" will be served to them.

Shall we give up, too, the glorious future which beckons us—the chance that we will become the chief state in the British Empire and the most powerful nation in the world?

Shall we bring the sacrifices of the Fathers to naught?

Shall we re-tread the path, with apology on our lips and our price in our hands, that the United Empire Loyalists trod with stern lips and a priceless loyalty in their hearts?

Shall we admit to the refuge they found, and made sacred, the very flag whose intolerance they defied?

The answer to these questions will all be given on polling day. This is not a party election. It is a national crisis. We are, in truth, "at the parting of the ways." We will either continue to march on the highway toward national greatness with the flag of Canada floating in our clear northern air over our heads; or, we will turn aside toward absorption in the "great and glorious Republic" to the south of us, surrendering to a calculating smile what we have long defended from hostility in every form—armed invasion, tariff persecutions, bullying over boundaries, even insolent disregard of treaty obligations. *Montreal Daily Star, September 16th, 1911.*