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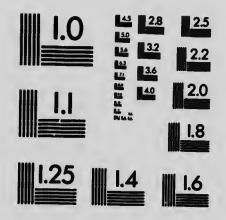
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The Flag of Canada

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The Flag of Canada.

From time to time there appear in the public press suggestions for the adoption of what is styled a "Canadian flag." In the vast majority of instances, the advocates of a distinctive emblem for Canada are moved by no thought of change in our political relations with Great Britain, which they do not desire, and in all probability would indignantly disclaim. They apparently possess a hazy notion that, in addition to the flag of Empire, which they would reserve for ceremonial occasions, the Dominion should possess a local or domestic emblem for every day use. Yet surely this suggestion betrays a curious confusion of ideas.

A national flag is the symbol of supreme authority and jurisdiction. Canada forms a portion of the dominions of the King of England—as much so, His Majesty himself has declared, as does Surrey or Kent How then could Canada, consistently with her allegiance, fly any flag other than that

which denotes British sovereignty?

In the case of those, happily very few, Canadians whose allegiance sits lightly on them, the proposal is at least intelli-One can understand what they are driving at, though they are beginning at the wrong end. They do not want the British flag for the reason that they chafe under the benign sovereignty which it symbolizes. Holding these views, their logical course, it seems to me, would be, first to agitate for the withdrawal of Canada from the British Empire, and, when that is accomplished, very naturally to haul down the British flag. This is the procedure adopted by an eminent King's Counsel, who in the closing month of last year, delivered a lecture before the Canadian Club at Ottawa, which, though he himself disavows the intention, I am unable to interpret otherwise than as an incitement to sever what the lecturer elsewhere styles-not very felicitously, in my judgment--'the umbilical cord" that connects us with the motherland. In February of this year he followed up his lecture by an article in the Canadian Magazine, in which he deprecates the use of the Union Jack alongst us, and advocates

the employment in its stead of the flag of the Canadian Mercantile Marine, to denote the successful performance of the obstetrical operation above alluded to. In this at least he is observing due sequence and succession. First cut your cord,

then hoist your flag to proclaim the exploit!

The learned King's Counsel professes to discern signs of the waning of British sentiment in the Dominion, one of which, he says, is that whereas in Canada a generation ago "we" always spoke of the United Kingdom as "home," now "we" never do. Some of us, perhaps, but not all. If by "we" the lecturer meant the Canadian people, I scarcely think that when he made that sweeping assertion, he had in mind the Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, or British Columbia. Nor do I consider it accurate as regards Ontario or the prairie Provinces. That many thousands of Canadians habitually speak of the old land as "home" is a living fact, and is thus borne witness to by no less a personage than the Prince of Wales. In his speech at the Guildhall, delivered a few days after his return from his colonial tour in 1901; His Royal Highness observed, not of course with exclusive reference to the Dominion, which, however, he had just left:-

"If I were asked to specify any particular impressions derived from our journey, I would unhesitatingly place before all others that of loyalty to the Crown and of attachment to the old country; and it was touching to hear the invariable references to 'home,' even from the lips of those who never had been or were ever likely to be in these Islands. And with this loyalty were unmistakable evidences of the consciousness of strength; of a true and living membership in the empire, and of power and readiness to share the burden and responsibility of that membership."

Our eminent King's Counsel draws a distinction between the Crown of England and His Majesty's Government, and while he evidently favours an early cutting loose from the thraldom of the latter, which he variously designates as the "Colonial Office" and "Downing Street," and which is symbolized by the Union Jack, inclines to a continuance, for the present, of our allegiance to the British Crown. It is true that he has not much faith in his own scheme. "How long," he writes, "the United Kingdom and Canada would continue to acknowledge the same Sovereign, no one can venture to say," and he cites what he fitly describes "as examples not of the most encouraging character," that of England and Scotland under the Stuarts, and Great Britain and Hanover under the Georges. He might have added, Sweden and Norway.

Such visionary and impracticable ideas are not likely to do much harm in themselves, but I cannot refrain from expressing my surprise and regret that the lecturer should associate the name of Sir John Macdonald with his fantastic scheme—Sir John Macdonald! the guiding principle of whose long and eventful life was British connection, and for whom the visible symbol of that intimate union stood as a pillar of cloud by day, and a pillar of fire by night. Far from entertaining any sympathy with a propaganda having for its object the lowering of the Union Jack upon this continent at any time, Sir John Macdonald held the very idea in detestation. This was so well known and so universally acknowledged in his lifetime, I am amazed that any one can be found to ignore it to-day. One must not overlook the fact, however, that time is marching on, and that a generation is coming forward to whom Sir John Macdonald is but an historic name. For their instruction, and with many apologies to those who knew him in the flesh, I proceed to show out of his own mouth what that great statesman thought of British connection. I quote from a speech delivered by Sir John Macdonald at Queen's University, Kingston, in 1887:-

"I am satisfied that the vast majority of the people of Canada are in favour of the continuance and perpetuation of the connection between the Dominion and the mother country. There is nothing to gain and everything to lose by separation. I believe that if any party or person were to announce or declare such a thing, whether by annexation with the neighbouring country, the great republic to the south of us, or by declaring for independence, I believe that the people of Canada would say 'No.' We are content, we are pros-perous, we have prospered under the flag of England; and I say that it would be unwise, that we should be lunatics, to change the certain present happiness for the uncertain chances of the future. always remember, when this occurs to me, the Italian epitaph: "I was well, I would be better, and here I am." We are well, we know, all are well, and I am satisfied that the majority of the people of Canada are of the same opinion which I now venture to express here. For the language that I heard this morning, the language which I have heard this afternoon, and the language which I have heard to-night, shows that, at all events, all who are connected with the University of Queen's are men in favour of the continuance of the connection between the Dominion and Great Britain. I say that it would bring misfortune and ruin, any separation from the United Kingdom. I believe that is the opinion of the present Parliament of Canada, and I am certain that any party, or the supposed party, making an appeal to the people of Canada, or any persons attempting to form a party on the principle of separation from England, no matter whether they should propose to walk alone, or join another country, I believe that the people of Canada would rise, almost to a man, and say, 'No, we will do as our fathers have done. We are content, and our child, n are content, to live under the flag of Great Britain."

"Any separation from the United Kingdom"—the United Kingdom, mark well, those who affect to differentiate between the British Empire and the British Crown—"any separation from the United Kingdom would bring misfortune and ruin to Canada."

He is always saying the same thing. In his first election address, when a young man of twenty-nine, he assures the

electors of Kingston of his

"firm belief that the prosperity of Canada depends upon its permanent connection with the mother country, and I shall resist to the utmost any attempt, from whatever quarter it may come, which may tend to weaken that union"

Forty-six years pass away, and again John Alexander Macdonald stands before the electors of Kingston. In the interval he has 'sounded all the depths and shoals of honour'—has seen much and learned much—probably has revised in some—perhaps in many things, the judgments of his earlier years. But on the subject of British connection he is absolutely unchanged. In the flush of youth he gave utterance to his firm belief that the prosperity of Canada depended upon its permanent connection with the mother country. And half a century later, with the shadow of death upon him, he thus alludes to that subject which is ever nearest his heart:—

"To the descendants of these men" (U. E. Loyalists) " and of the multitude of Englishmen, Irishmen and Scotchmen who emigrated to Canada, that they might build up new homes, without ceasing to be British subjects—to you Canadians I appeal, and I ask you what have you to gain by surrendering that which your fathers held most dear? Under the broad folds of the Union Jack, we enjoy the most ample liberty to govern ourselves as we please, and at the same time we participate in the advantages which flow from association with the mightiest Empire the world has ever seen. Not only are we free to manage our domestic concerns, but, practically, we possess the privilege of making our own treaties with foreign countries, and, in our relations with the outside world, we enjoy the prestige inspired by a consciousness of the fact that behind us towers the majesty of England."

Is it not at least remarkable that a statesman who never lost an opportunity of testitying to his love for England and the Union Jack, should be represented, not twenty years after his death, as looking forward to a future for Canada of 'Independence," even though gilded with the qualification 'under the British Sovereign," an unsatisfactory if not impossible status as all modern history shows, and the lecturer himself goes far to admit.

Fortunately for Sir John Macdonald, he has had truer interprecers. Not very long after his death, Lord Rosebery unveiled a bust erected to his memory in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral. On that occasion Lord Rosebery said:—

Penates—the household gods—of our commonwealth Up above there sleep Wellington and Nelson, those lords of war who preserved the Empire; below here we have the effigies of Dalley and Macdonald, who did so much to preserve it. We have not, Indeed, their bodies. They rest more fitly in the regions where they lived and laboured; but here to-day we consecrate their memory and their example. We know nothing of party politics in Canada on this occasion. We recognize only this, that Sir John Macdonald had grasped the central idea, that the British Empire is the greatest secular agency for good now known to mankind; that that was the secret of his success, and that he determined to die under it, and strove that Canada should live under it. It is a custom, I have heard, in the German army that when new colours are presented to a regiment, the German Emperor first, and then his princes and chiefs in their order, each drive a nail into the staff. I have sometimes been reminded of this practice in connection with the banner of our Empire. Elizabeth and her heroes first drove their nails in, and so onward through the expansive eighteenth century, when our flag flashed everywhere, down to our own times, when we have not quailed or shrunk. Yesterday it wrapped the corpse of Tennyson; to-day we drive one more nail in on behalf of Sir John Macdonald. This standard so richly studded imposes on us, the survivors, a solemn obligation. It would be nothing were it the mere symbol of violence and rapine, or even of conquest. It is what it is because it represents everywhere peace and civilization and commerce, the negation of narrowness and the gospel of humanity. Let us then to-day, by the shrine of this signal statesman, once more remember our responsibility, and renew the resolution that, come what may, we shall not finch or fail under it."

Nor was Sir John Macdonald's first successor in the office of Prime Minister of Canada, one whit behind Sir John himself in loyalty to British connection and devotion to the British flag. Speaking on the occasion of the great debate on the subject of Confederation in 1865, the Honourable Alexander Mackenzie said:—

"Altogether, I regard the scheme as a magnificent one, and I look forward to the future, expecting to see a country and a Government possessing great power and respectability, established under this scheme, and of being before I die a citizen of an immense empire built upon our part of the North American continent, where the folds of the British flag will float in triumph over a people possessing freedom happiness and prosperity equal to the people of any other nation on the earth. If there is anything that I have always felt anxious about in this country, it is to have the British possessions put in such a position that we could safely repose without fear of danger from any quarter, under the banner which we believe, after all, covers the greatest amount of personal freedom and the greatest amount of personal happiness that is to be found in the world."

and thus in 1870:—

"I have heard it said that the United States and Great Britain would guarantee our independence, and then we would be quite safe. Sir, I do not want any guarantee of our independence. I Empire, and if we are to cut loose from it, I would scorn the British of a principality having its independence guaranteed by any country. Remember, however, I am not advocating the separation of Canada from the Mother Country. Canada was a British possession when I chose it for my future home, and I shall regret the occurrence of anything that would tend in the slightest degree, to Mother Country and her British American colonies."

and again in 1875:-

"The patriotism of the British people and Government will ever be with us, and we in turn hope always to reside under the shadow of the grand old flag of England, at once the symbol of power and of civilization."

During his visit home (if the eminent King's Counsel will pardon the expression) while Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Mackenzie, alluding to his love for Scotland, exclaimed: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning," and proceeded:—

"We can, as Scotchmen, sing our national songs—songs of freedom or affection, whether placed in Canada or Australia; whether in the Arctic or Antarctic zones, and feel our national anthem to be as dear to us in one place as in another; for the broad banner of British liberty floats alike over every country of the British Empire"

Sir George (or, as he was at the time, Mr.) Cartier was equally outspoken in his devotion to the British flag. Listen to him:—

"I repeat it every day; we should be proud to live under the British flag. We often hear people praising the great success and prosperity enjoyed by the United States since they have proclaimed their independence; those persons have not taken the trouble to compare this prosperity with that of England, which is greater.

(In presenting the Militia bill) we endeavoured to prove to England that we cherish our union with Great Britain, and that we deemed it necessary for the prosperity and glory of this country."

George Brown, too, that great leader of the Reform party, was ever a staunch upholder of the Union Jack. In the course of the Confederation debate he said:—

"It may be that some among us will live to see the day when, as the result of this measure, a great and powerful people may have grown up in these lands—when the boundless forests shall have given way to smiling fields and thriving towns—and when a united Government, under the British flag, shall extend from shore to shore"

And so I could go through the list of the Fathers of Confederation. I have their speeches under my hand. So far as relates to the subject under discussion, they all say the same thing. Love and loyalty to England and England's flag is the dominant note throughout.

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It is impossible to misunderstand their meaning, or to fail to realize that when they speak of the British flag waving over Canada, they had in mind an enduring condition of They were not experimenting, they were settling the question for all time. "Perpetuation" is the word used alike by Macdonald and Mackenzie to signify what all alike

Many members of the Parliament of 1865 supported the Union Scheme as the surest means of perpetuating British connection. "I vote for Confederation," said one, "because I consider it essential to the maintenance of British connection, and to preserve that, I for one am prepared to make many sacrifices."

We may be quite sure too that when these men spoke of British connection and the British flag, they meant just what these phrases import in their primary and natural sense, and that the chimera of an independent Dominion under the

British Sovereign never entered their minds.

And has that feeling changed? Let the present Prime Minister of Canada answer. In a speech delivered two years ago, at a dinner of the University of Toronto, Sir Wilfrid Laurier-speaking of the indifference which prevailed in England forty years ago towards the colonies-observed that in those days, public men in Great Britain sometimes said things which could only be construed as suggestions, or hints, or invitations, to cut the painter.

"But, Sir, to every one of these invitations to every one of these suggestions, these hints, there came on the part of the colony (Canada) the same passionate answer:-

Intreat me not to leave thee, or to return from following after thee; for whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge; thy people shall be my people, and thy God, my God'

These words which come to us across the ages, and which record a pathetic family scene, not inaptly represent the conditions between the Mother nation and her nation daughters, if we remember that they were uttered by Ruth the Moabitess to Naomi of Bethlehem-judah.

I have said that a flag is the symbol of sovereignty, and, apart from decorative purposes, fulfils no other function on land. It is different at sea. There a flag, besides proclaiming the nationality of the vessel bearing it, which in the case

of a world-wide Empire such as ours, affords but little information as to the quarter of the globe from which she hails, may possess a distinctive badge indicating the particular colony to which she belongs, or, it may be, the rank and status of some one on board. Reasons of convenience may sometimes render the adoption of such a distinguishing mark by ships or boats, desirable.

In the year 1869 the following Memorial from the Lords of the Admiralty was adopted by the Queen in Council:—

"The Union Jack having been established by Your Majesty's Regulations for the Naval Service as the Distinguishing Flag to be borne by the Admiral of the Fleet, and whereas great inconvenience has at times been experienced by the Union Jack having been carried in boats and other vessels by Governors of Colonies, Military Authorities, Diplomatic Officers and Consular Agents when embarked, we have deemed it expedient to place ourselves in communication on this subject with the Commander-in-Chief of Your Majesty's Forces and the principal Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs for the Colonies and for War, and with their concurrence we most humbly submit that Your Majesty may be graciously pleased by your Order-in-Council, to prescribe and direct that in future the Union Jack to be displayed by the Military Branch of Your Majesty's Service on such occasions shall bear in the centre thereof, as a distinguishing mark, the Royal Initials surrounded by a garland on a Blue Shield, and surmounted by the Crown,—that the Union Jack to be used by Your Majesty's Diplomatic Servants, Ministers Plenipotentiary, Charges d'Affaires, &c., shall bear the Royal Arms in the centre thereof on a White Shield, whilst Consuls and Consular Agents, &c., shall be limited to the use of the Blue Ensign with the Royal Arms in the fly thereof. We further submit that Governors of Your Majesty's Dominions in Foreign parts, and Governors of all ranks and denominations administering the Governments of British Colonies and dependencies be authorized to fly the Union Jack with the Arms or Badge of the Colony blazoned in the centre thereof.

"A drawing of the Union Jack with the proposed distinguishing devices is transmitted herewith, for Your Majesty's approval."

Moved by considerations of a like nature, the Canadian Government in 1890 applied for permission, on behalf of vessels registered in the Dominion, to fly the Red Ensign 'defaced' with the Canadian Arms. The Admiralty, to whom this request was referred, while not questioning the expediency of granting it, pointed out with much force:—

"that there are not unimportant objections to interference with the simplicity and uniformity of national colours.

An important use of an ensign is to supply a ready means of indicating to foreigners the nationality of a ship which flies it. It is desirable that the pattern of this flag should be uniform and simple, so that there may, under no circumstances, be any excuse for failing to perceive what country's it is. The adoption of a considerable

variety of ensigns for ships of the same character, because they happen to be registered in different parts of the Empire, might afford a colourable pretext for questioning their nationality, and might, in times of disturbance, give rise to inconvenient questions. The small size of a "defacement" would not entirely remove these objections to its introduction as has been proved by experience in the past during war.

Though they may rarely concern themselves to refuse it, the final recognition of a flag to be carried on the sea really rests with foreign Governments. The present flag of China was practically devised and its use indicated by the Foreign Admirals on the station. It is most desirable, therefore, that no opportunity should be given to foreigners of considering whether to accord or withhold recogni-tion of the colours carried by any British ship."

Upon our Government adhering to their request, the Admiralty issued their warrant authorizing "the Red Ensign of Her Majesty's fleet, with the Canadian Coat of Arms in the fly, to be used on board vessels registered in t¹ Dominion."

It will be observed that the use of this engine is limited to "on board vessels registered in the Dominio..." mission has no application on land, where of course the Admiralty have no jurisdiction outside their own dock ards. Yet from mere carelessness and indifference, an impression has been allowed to grow up in this country that this marine flag is the distinctive ensign of Canada both on land and sea.

A further erroneous idea on the subject of flags, both here and at home, is that the Union Jack should be flown only from Government buildings, forts, and the like. In short, that it is an official flag which private individuals have no

right to use.

This is another misapprehension. Shortly before the Coronation of His present Majesty, an English Church clergyman wrote for permission to fly the Royal Standard on that momentous occasion. The King's Private Secretary replied:—

> "Buckingham Palace, June 4th, 1902.

Dear Sir.

In reply to your letter, I am afraid that the Royal Standard which is the King's personal flag, can only be hoisted on the Coronation. If permission were given in one case, it would be impossible to refuse it in any others. I must remind you that you can always fly the Union Jack.

Yours faithfully, F. KNOLLYS.

The Vicar of St. Michael's, Folkstone,"

Here it is categorically laid down that a private individual "can always fly the Union Jack," and the Times, in its issue of the 18th September, 1902, says:" "We may be sure

that this opinion by the King's Private Secretary was not lightly given." This being so, the question naturally arises, why should any loyal Canadian wish to fly any other flag? Apart from the inherent fitness involved in the flying on British soil of the flag which symbolizes British sovereignty, surely one ought to feel a special gratification in exercising this great privilege, the birthright of every subject of His

There is nothing that so imbues one with a sense of the power and greatness of the Empire to which we belong, and which makes us so realize the extent of our kinship throughout the world, as the Union Jack. Nor is there anything more striking to the foreigner than its universality. His Imperial Highness Prince Fushimi of Japan, landed in Quebec last June, one of his suite, pointing to the Union Jack proudly floating from the Citadel, remarked how impressed they were by the fact that the emblem they had left behind them in England was the first object that greeted their eyes upon landing on the American continent. They viewed it frequently in t1, r progress across the Dominion, and the last sight they behold as they were borne in a British battleship from the shores of Canada, was the Union Jack flying from the fort at Esquimalt.

One sometimes hears it urged that the Union Jack denotes by its conformation the union of England, Scotland and Ireland, and therefore its use should be confined to the United Kingdom. To this pedantic objection I answer, that whatever its origin and symbolic history, it is to-day and has been for a hundred years, the acknowledged emblem of British dominion, the flag of the British Empire, and is recognized as such alike by friends and foes the world over.

We do not require to be told, as we are told on every occasion by our public men, of the value of the support and assistance they derive from his Majesty's representatives in foreign capitals, when engaged on diplomatic missions abroad, or with what respect and consideration the nations treat those coming to them in the name and with the authority of the King of England. And the same thing holds true of the humblest British subject who finds himself in need of assistance in a strange land. All he has to do is, guided by the Union Jack, to make his way to the nearest British Embassy, Legation or Consulate, as the case may be, and there, no matter from what portion of the King's dominions he may come, whether from Piccadilly or Prince Rupert, he will find that the strong arm of England is both able and willing to protect him against injustice and wrong.

A few weeks ago, His Majesty's Ambassador to the United States, publicly declared in Montreal that threequarters of the business of his office relates to Canada and its affairs. No one conversant with public questions can doubt the accuracy of that statement, nor question the correctness of Mr. Bryce's assertion that he is more the Ambassador for Canada than for Great Britain. Yet Canada does not contribute one cent towards the heavy cost of maintaining the British Embassy at Washington, a circumstance which recently moved the Toronto News to remark that the benefits the Dominion derives from Imperial connection are out of all proportion to the return we make to the Empire.

These advantages are ours to-day, because of our British nationality, which is indicated by the Union Jack. Replace the British flag by a symbol which proclaims the severance of the "umbilical cord," and we cease to be British, to become something else. We cannot be at one and the same time a part of the British Empire and separate therefrom. We cannot discard the Union Jack as "inappropriate," and at the same time participate in the advantages which the British flag confers. We must be one or the other. Sir John Macdonald said, we should be 'lunatics' to be other

than what we are.

The British Empire has a glorious past, and I believe is destined to a yet more glorious future. I cannot doubt that little by little the present difficulties in the way of closer union between its component parts will be overcome, and that a century later, the fact of being a British subject will be even a prouder distinction than it is to-day.

And so, to those to whom material considerations primarily appeal, I would say: Stick close to British connection; it will pay to do so. Not that I greatly admire this 'honesty is the best policy' style of argument. Rather do I sympathize with those many thousands of Canadians who are resolved, as were their fathers before them, to adhere to the Empire, whether to do so be materially advantageous or not. We believe in the old country's continued progress and prosperity. But if we are mistaken in our forecast—if it be true, as the croakers are never tired asserting, that England has reached the summit of her greatness, and now 'hastes to her setting'—if the old mother is really going down hill—then we will go down the hill together—hand in hand, to the very bottom. To extend Sir Wilfrid Laurier's quotation from the Book of Ruth:-

[&]quot;Where thou diest, will I die, and there will I be buried; the Lord do so to me, and more also, if aught but death part thee and me.'

We live in an age of general upheaval, amid a tendency that is everywhere abroad to cut loose from old-established moorings. Periodically, a cry is heard for the abolition of some aucient and venerable institution, or, it may be, of some picturesque and interesting ceremony linking the present with the past, on the ground that it is out of harmony with the spirit of the age, though in the opinion of some, that very fact may constitute its peculiar and abiding charm. Nor is this iconoclastic spirit confined to assaults upon institutions or buildings, or traditions or ceremonies. cherished convictions in which we have been nurtured; the most sacred beliefs which have commanded the general assent of mankind for ages, are to-day derided as figments of superstition, apparently for no other reason than because they are old and widely held. "O, foolish hearts"-exclaims an illustrious defender of the Christian revelation-"Oh, foolish hearts and fastidious intellects, who seek a creation more perfect than the Creator's and a gospel purer than the Redeemer's."

Religion and patriotism! The two ideas are intimately allied. May we not, in turn, say to those who seek to persuade us that our flag is old and unsuited to present conditions, and should be replaced by one that is brand new:—

O, foolish ones, who recklessly talk of casting away the standard which we have been taught from childhood to revere; which is endeared to us by the noblest traditions; for which our fathers freely shed their blood on this Canadian soil; which is the symbol of our living union with the greatest Empire the world has ever seen; which makes us one with our fellow Britons all over the earth; which stands for order and justice, and peace and progress, and security and freedom, in every quarter of the globe: what, do you vainly imagine, would it profit you to dissociate yourselves from so much glory and so much greatness? Do not, like the base Indian, 'throw a pearl away, richer than all his tribe.' Venerate, protect, defend your flag to the last extremity, and far from casting it from you, be swift to invoke the apocalyptic malediction against those who would presume to add to, or take from, in the smallest particular, this great emblem of our union and our strength.'

Ottawa, 19th March, 1908.

JOSEPH POPE.

Note—The statement that the Colonial Office has approved, as the new flag for the Transvaal, the Vieurkleur with the Union Jack in the corner, is incorrect.

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