

## FLAGS AND THE AUSTRALIAN MILITARY

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### INTRODUCTION

Australia is one of the few countries that can precisely identify the time and place of its origin. On 26 January 1788, Captain Arthur Philip proclaimed the establishment of the Colony of New South Wales and a British Union Flag was raised on a make-shift flag pole on the shores of Sydney Harbour.<sup>1</sup> A detachment of marines saluted the flag, as recorded in this painting, a copy of which can be seen at the NSW Parliament House. The prior occupation of the land by the various Aboriginal tribes was ignored as the continent was regarded as “Terra Nullius” – nobody’s land.



Figure 1 – Proclamation of colony  
26 January 1788



Figure 2 – The Army Banner  
Change of Command ceremony

The handover of command of the Australian Army in May this year was symbolised by the passing of the ceremonial banner of the Army by Lt. Gen. David Morrison to the incoming Chief of Army.<sup>2</sup>

From the beginning of European settlement, flags have had a relevant relationship to the military forces in Australia – initially British Army regiments and the Royal Navy, then various colonial forces and today the Australian Defence Force (“ADF”) that comprises the Australian Army, the Royal Australian Navy (“RAN”) and the Royal Australian Air Force (“RAAF”).

In 2000 the ADF Ensign was proclaimed.<sup>3</sup> The design was the same as the former Joint Services flag, which was first used circa 1979 and featuring the Tri-Service Emblem. The traditional British emblems for the three services was Australianised by the addition of the Commonwealth Star and a boomerang, which reinforces the unity of the three services in the defence of Australia.



Figure 3 – Australian Defence Force Ensign

## PRE-FEDERATION COLONIAL NAVAL FLAGS

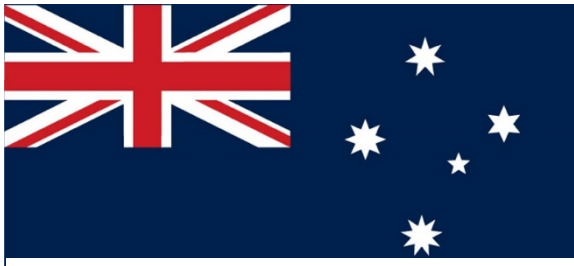


Figure 4 – Victorian Colonial Navy 1870

In my lecture at the Washington ICV24 I showed how the adoption of a flag for the Victorian Colonial Navy in 1870 led to the adoption of substantially the same design as the Australian National Flag.<sup>4</sup> I don't need to repeat that story.

Also mentioned preliminary research about the use of unofficial flags by the Victorian Naval Force prior to 1870. The archival material indicates that *HMCS Victoria* had used a local naval ensign from 1856. Based on the archived correspondence between the ship's captain and

the Victorian Government, I have reconstructed the design as a British white ensign with a crown and a kangaroo.<sup>5</sup>

In April 1860, the government placed the *Victoria* at the disposal of the Governor of New Zealand for one year to assist the British settlers who were fighting the Maoris in the Taranaki area, mainly transporting British troops, stores and ammunition. The ship's crew participated in some of the fighting onshore, as a naval brigade. This was the first of many occasions where an Australian military unit deployed overseas as part of an Imperial Force. During its service in the Second Maori War the *Victoria* was regarded operationally as part of the Australian Squadron of the Royal Navy and most likely flew the British blue ensign.<sup>6</sup>

The British Admiralty and Colonial Office determined that the proper flag for the Colonial Navies should be the British Blue Ensign with the seal or badge of the colony in the fly thereof. Therefore, sometime in 1866 the local naval ensign was changed to a blue ensign, continuing to use the crown and kangaroo.<sup>7</sup> My reconstruction is based on the written descriptions. These were replaced by the official adoption of the Victorian flag of 1870.

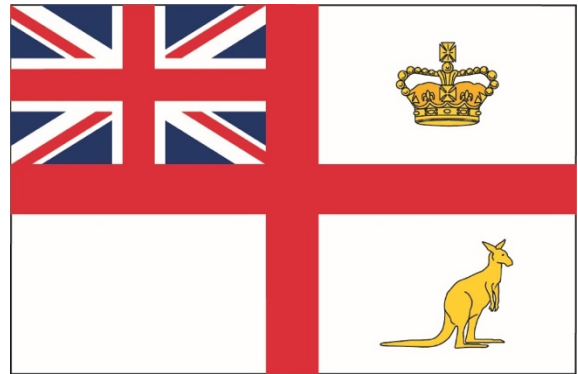


Figure 5 – HMCS *Victoria* 1856

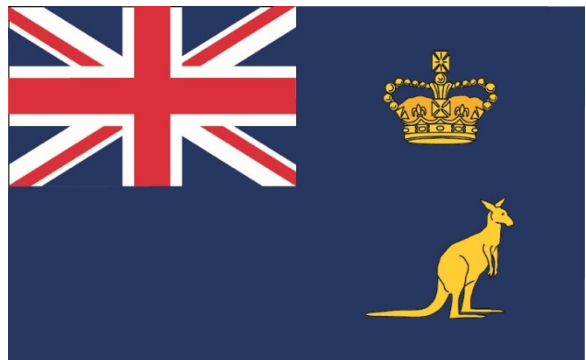


Figure 5 – HMCS *Victoria* 1866



Figure 7 – Victoria Naval Brigade 1900

One of the few examples of the colonial navies being involved in active service was the deployment of a contingent of troops from the Victorian Naval Brigade in August 1900 to join an international force in the military actions to suppress the Chinese Boxer Rebellion. The flag the Victorians used has been preserved and is on display in the Victorian Parliament. The flag is evidently an 1870 Victorian flag, with its large Southern Cross, which has had the crown added sometime after 1877.<sup>8</sup>

## MILITARY ATTITUDES TO ANY CHANGE TO THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL FLAG



Figure 8 – Australian National Flag 1908

*“We can’t change the flag because our servicemen fought under that flag”*

It is a great misfortune that Australia has been locked in a never-ending debate about the appropriateness of the continued use of a national flag that prominently includes the Union Jack. There are a vast multitude of alternative design proposals that advocates hope can better represent Australia’s current national identity and aspirations. But none of the many new design proposals has captured the public’s

enthusiasm and a change is unlikely in the absence of political leadership similar to that being demonstrated by the New Zealand Prime Minister John Key. That is unlikely to happen in Australia in the foreseeable future.

A by-product of this flag debate has been disagreement about the role of the Australian flag in Australia’s past military conflict. The facts have generally been ignored or deliberately misrepresented to prove or disprove the sentiment that “We can’t change the flag because our servicemen fought for (or under) that flag”. At least there has been a small improvement in the rhetoric, as I perceive less use of the phrase “fought **and died** under our flag”. Personally, I find the claim that we can’t change the flag because of our servicemen is offensive. It diminishes the significance of the services of our veterans, who fought for their country and what it stands for; and on the battlefield, their primary concern was looking to protect their mates and mutual survival in horrific circumstances.<sup>9</sup>



Figure 9 – Canadian veterans opposed change

The Canadians had a similar issue with opposition from their veterans to a flag change.<sup>10</sup> Today, Canadian veterans are as proud of their country and flag as other citizens, though the old flag need not be forgotten. I like this example of the use of the historical Canadian flag at the War Memorial for the Battle of Vimy Ridge.<sup>11</sup>

It shows that respect for our veterans need not make a flag change decision impossible or that a change necessarily must offend our veterans and their families.

New Zealand Prime Minister John Key observed: “I do not under-estimate the significance of the flag to New Zealand’s servicemen and women and their families, but being respectful of our history does not lock us permanently in the past.”<sup>12</sup>



Figure 10 – Canadian Memorial Vimy Ridge

### WHICH FLAG?

*Historical flag usage is complex & nuanced*

In the trenches of the New Flag Debate, the battle centres around the question of which flag was used in the First and Second World Wars – the Union Jack, the blue Australian national flag, or the red version of the national flag. The answer is complex and nuanced, and it is a great pity that any consideration of the historical use of flags in association with the Australian military is usually seen, by both sides of the debate, through a lens of revisionism, selective evidence, deliberate omissions and political bias that cheapens the record of bravery and service of our soldiers, sailors and airmen into point-scoring in a debate that lacks civility and respect.



Figure 11 – Three flags used in World Wars by Australian troops

The underlying cause for the question is the ambiguous role of the blue and red versions of the Australian flag prior to the 1950s, and the reality that, until the Statute of Westminster was ratified by the Australian Government in 1942, Australia was not fully independent. Australia was a Dominion, a superior form of British colony, and it was an integral part of the British Empire both legally and within the minds of the Australian public. Accordingly, the national flag of Australia was officially the Union Jack.



Figure 12 – National Flag of Australia 1901 - 54

Whilst there had been some legal doubts as to the legal position of private use of the Union Jack in Britain, it being a “Royal flag”<sup>13</sup>, the position within the Empire was spelled out explicitly by the British Secretary of State for Colonies in 1912 when he stated that “the Union Flag is the National Flag ... of all parts of His Majesty’s dominions and may be flown on land by all British subjects, and that the Red Ensign ... is intended to be used only by merchant vessels.”<sup>14</sup>

In the context of the new flag debate, the Australian National Flag Association (ANFA) and other defenders of the status quo argue that the blue Australian ensign has been our flag by custom and usage since the design was announced on September 1901. A flag that is over 100 years old can’t be changed.



Figure 13 – Ausflag logo

Ausflag, a political lobby group, counters by stating that the current national flag was not formally adopted until the commencement of the *Flags Act 1953*. Prior to 1954, the flag used by the Australian public was the Australian red ensign, as the blue version was restricted to use by the Australian Federal Government. Ausflag claims that it’s OK to change the flag, since the soldiers didn’t fight under the current flag until the Vietnam War.<sup>15</sup> This is countered by various examples of use of the national flag in the context of Australia’s military history. Oh, but a number of those examples are red ensigns, or the Union Jack, so you can’t say that our service men fought solely under the blue version of the national flag. As I said, it is trench warfare – and the arguments are stalemated.

Like most good arguments, there are elements of truth on both sides.



Figure 14 – Competition winner 1901

The Australian blue ensign that was the winner of the 1901 design competition was officially adopted on 20 February 1903 when a modified version was published in the *Government Gazette*. Usage of the new flag was initially restricted to Federal Government owned buildings and vessels. An Admiralty warrant was issued on 4 June 1903, creating the Australian red ensign for use by Australian merchant ships. Private buildings were assumed to continue to fly the Union Jack on those occasions justifying a flag to be flown.

## EARLY ARMY USE OF FLAGS

The origins of the Australian Army were the various citizens militias that were established in the various colonies and replaced the British regular regiments garrisoned the Australian Colonies, which were withdrawn in 1870. Volunteer rifle corps were established in the 1850s in response to fear of invasion by the Russians. The regimental colour of the Richmond Company of the Victorian Volunteer Rifle Corps is the oldest surviving colour in Australia, dating to 1861.<sup>16</sup>

The Australian War Memorial conserved the colours in 2000. The original design of the Queen's Colour for the Richmond Company originally included a Southern Cross motif, but this was rejected by the Colonel of Volunteers, because it carried associations with the Eureka rebellion six years earlier.<sup>17</sup>



Figure 15 – Victorian Volunteer Rifle Corps 1861



Figure 16 – Conservation by Australian War Memorial

Each of the six Australian colonies sent contingents of volunteer troops to South Africa during the Second Boer War 1899-1902, and eight Australian Commonwealth Horse brigades were formed in 1902. The Australian units served in a number of the major actions across South Africa. They were operationally part of the British Army forces and the primary flag used was the Union Jack.



Figure 17 – South African military hospital 1900

However, away from the battlefields, Australian colonial ensigns could be seen. The photograph at Figure 17 shows a military convalescent hospital decorated with flags, including a red ensign with the Victorian badge, as well as other flags.<sup>18</sup>

This reflected a feature of all the conflicts that followed – there rarely were any flags (Australian or otherwise) anywhere near the front lines, though some could be seen at battalion headquarters, hospitals or other locations away from conflict.



Figure 18 – Boer War flag 1901

A surviving example of a Union Jack from an Australian Boer War veteran is in the collection of Lara RSL Sub Branch (Figure 18).<sup>19</sup>

Some commentators suggest that it was in the Boer War that the Australian flag was first fought under.<sup>20</sup> Support for this view is provided by a photograph of the grave of “Breaker” Morant, which purports to show a red Australian flag (Figure 19).

Morant served in a British irregular unit called the Bushveldt Carbineers and it has become widely believed that he had been wrongly convicted by the British Army. He was arrested in October 1901, so it is fanciful to suggest that Morant “served under the Australian flag” due to him not being in an Australian unit and the timing. The photo has poor provenance and the original may have been modified to more clearly show the flag. It is remarkable that a flag design proposed on 3 September 1901 would be on a grave in Pretoria six months later, and prior to its adoption by the Australian government.<sup>21</sup>



Figure 19 – Breaker Morant grave February 1902



Figure 20 – “King’s Banner” 1904

In 1904 the British Government awarded “King’s Banners” to the colonial contingents who served in the Boer War. A total of 20 banners were presented to the Australian Light Horse Regiments that were the successor units to the various colonial militias, and they were granted the honorary distinction “SOUTH AFRICA 1899-1902” in lieu of the specific battle honours granted to the British Army regiments. These King’s Banners were regarded by the British Army as “honourable insignia” and not King’s Colours. Figure 20 shows the King’s Banner awarded to the 1<sup>st</sup> Australian Light Horse Regiment (New South Wales Lancers).<sup>22</sup>

Official Colours, consisting of a King’s Colour and a Regimental Colour began to be awarded to the new Australian battalions from May 1906, when the first colours were presented to the 1<sup>st</sup> Australian Infantry Regiment.<sup>23</sup> The King’s Colours were a silk Union Jack 3 feet by 3 feet 9 inches (plus a 2-inch fringe) with a circular crimson badge with the unit number in gold, surmounted by a Tudor Crown. The regimental colours for Australia were dark green with the regimental badge in the centre within a wreath of wattle and the number of the unit shown in the top corner next to the pike.[24] The regiment’s battle honours are added to small scrolls on each colour.



Figure 22 – Regimental and King’s Colours of Essendon Rifles 1914

Presentation of colours to the 58<sup>th</sup> Infantry (Essendon Rifles) Regiment in August 1914 is recorded in Figure 21 and Figure 22.<sup>25</sup>



Figure 21 – Presentation of colours to Essendon Rifles

Colours have a long tradition in the armies of Europe and have their origins as signifying the position of the regimental commander on the battlefield and the rallying point for soldiers in the confusion of battle. The 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> Century imagery of a battlefield included the colours advancing with the troops.<sup>26</sup>

But the loss of the colours to the Zulus at the Battle of Isandlwana in 1879 resulted in the British Army deciding not to take colours on active service, and to only use colours for ceremonial purposes.<sup>27</sup>

With this decision, the opportunity for soldiers to die protecting the colours passed into history. In Australia, at the start of the First World War, the Department of Defence decided that no colours were to be taken overseas on active service and the award of any new colours would be deferred until the end of hostilities.<sup>28</sup>

## RECRUITING FLAGS

Following the outbreak of war in August 1914 the Australian Imperial Force (“AIF”) was established to fulfil the promise of 20,000 men for service anywhere in support of the British Army. The force was uniquely named “Imperial” rather than “Expeditionary” (used by Canada and New Zealand) to signify the twin nature of the Australian’s duty: nation and empire.<sup>29</sup>

The Union Jack featured prominently in many Australian recruiting posters.<sup>30</sup>

Recruiting began on 10 August 1914; it was entirely voluntary and was regionally based. Initially many men serving in the militias transferred to the AIF, as the militia were precluded from serving overseas by the *Defence Act 1903*. After the initial rush of volunteers, there were various patriotic posters and in 1915 recruiting committees were formed in almost all Australian towns. Some marches were organised to travel from various outback towns gathering additional men along the route to the army recruiting offices in the major cities. The most famous of these was the Coo-ee March from Gilgandra to Sydney in October 1915, which was led by a prominent Australian red ensign.<sup>31</sup>



Figure 23 –Colours in battle



Figure 24 –Recruiting poster 1916



Figure 25 –Coo-ee March 1915



Figure 26 –Coo-ee March flag

The banner of The Men From Snowy River march from Delegate to Goulburn in January 1916 showed the dual loyalty to the British Empire and the Australian nation.<sup>32</sup>



Figure 27 –The Men From Snowy River March, January 1916

*Dual loyalty to Empire and Australia*

## AUSTRALIAN ARMY USE OF FLAGS

The Australian Military Forces was established in March 1901 and it took over control of the various state militias and they were re-designated as Australian battalions. British Army officers commanded the Australian Military Forces and they ensured that the new army would continue with British traditions and standards. Army regulations were substantially the same as the British *King's Regulations* that included the practice of flying the Union Jack on military forts, or on royal anniversaries, the British Royal Standard.

Figure 28 – Australian National Flag February 1903

*Australian Army refused to use until 1908*



Richard Crouch, a Federal member of parliament campaigned for the newly adopted Australian government flag to be used by the Australian Military Forces. The military was opposed to change and regarded the new flag as an inferior design and stated that the Union Jack should continue to be flown to indicate the presence of the senior (British) officer at barracks.<sup>33</sup> Crouch arranged for a House of Representatives resolution in June 1904 that “the Australian flag as officially selected should be flown upon all forts, vessels, saluting places and public buildings of the Commonwealth upon all occasions when flags are to be used.”<sup>34</sup> The military ignored the instruction until 1 June 1908 when the Australian blue ensign replaced the Union Jack on forts and military establishments.<sup>35</sup>



Figure 29 –Australian flag used in New Guinea October 1914

The first military engagement by Australian troops occurred in September 1914 with the capture of German New Guinea. The Union Jack was raised at Rabaul during the surrender ceremony, and again on 17 October when Kaewieng on New Ireland was occupied.<sup>36</sup> Lieutenant B Holmes commanded the Kaewieng detachment and he claimed that an Australian flag (Figure 29) was raised on the island.<sup>37</sup>

The AIF and New Zealand troops were initially sent to Egypt for training and they were deployed at Gallipoli (on the Dardanelles Peninsular, Turkey), landing on 25 April 1915. This heroic, but doomed military assault has become a legendary part of the Australian national identity, and there has been much focus on its commemoration this year, the Centenary of the landing. There are few records of the official use of any national flags at Gallipoli – neither Australian nor British. The only flags recorded on the battlefield were those of the Red Cross, regimental headquarters, and semaphore flags – functional flags.<sup>38</sup>



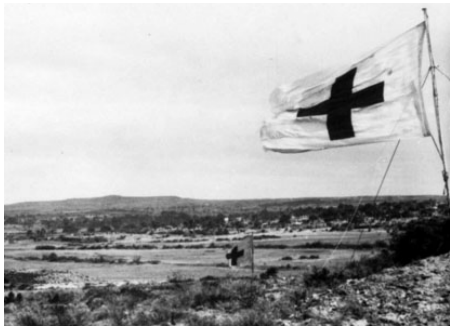


Figure 30 – Red Cross flag



Figure 31 – Quinn’s Post Headquarters flag



Figure 32 – Semaphore

Were there Australian flags in connection with the ANZACs? Yes. One example is the Australian flag in Egypt where the 1<sup>st</sup> Australian Division is being addressed prior to the Gallipoli.<sup>39</sup> An Australian red ensign marked the entrance and covered the altar of the make-shift chapel of the Padre at Ryrie’s Post.<sup>40</sup>



Figure 33 – Military Parade in Egypt, December 1914



Figure 34 – Red ensign at Ryrie’s Post, Gallipoli



Figure 35 – Percy Virgoe’s red ensign at Gallipoli

There were also numerous small flags that were given to soldiers by family and friends. One surviving example is approximately 4 x 6 inches and is an Australian red ensign.[41] Why red? Because only the red version of the Australian flag was allowed to be used by the general public, with the blue version reserved for use by the Government.[42]

Whilst I personally don’t agree with the view that Australians at Gallipoli fought for a flag, rather than Nation and Empire, to the question of what flag did they fight under, I am inclined to say the Union Jack. It was the flag of Empire, and the flag of the British Army generals, under whose command the Australian regiments fought. This opinion is reinforced by the cover of *The Anzac Book*, published in 1916 containing the stories, poems and sketches of the soldiers whilst they were at Gallipoli. The diggers chose the flag that best represented them.<sup>43</sup>

The AIF returned to Egypt after the evacuation from Gallipoli in December 1915 and were reinforced and expanded and, together with the New Zealand division, were formed into the 1<sup>st</sup> ANZAC Corps under the command of a British Indian Army officer, Lieutenant General Sir William Birdwood. The ANZACs arrived in France in March 1916, where they formed part of the British 2nd Army. They endured three years of heavy fighting on the Western Front.

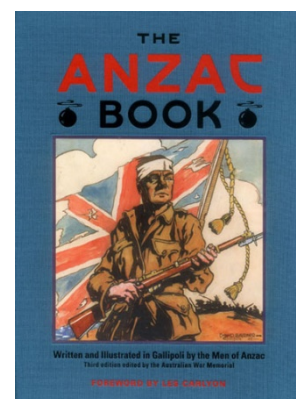


Figure 36  
*The ANZAC Book*

The existence of flags on the Western Front was similar to that of Gallipoli. There were official Australian blue flags on parades, Red Cross flags, battalion flags, and other functional flags at the battlefield and small red ensigns in the soldiers' kitbags. In this photograph (Figure 37), Australian troops parade in front of a blue Australian flag.<sup>44</sup>



Figure 37 – Military Parade, Northern France, August 1917

There were also group photos, some of which included the Australian red ensign as a backdrop.<sup>45</sup>

The fact that the Australian flag was not common on the Western Front is implied by Figure 39 - a photograph of an improvised red Australian flag made from cardboard for the visit of Prime Minister Billy Hughes to a brigade headquarters in France in 1918.<sup>46</sup>



Figure 38 – 41<sup>st</sup> Battalion, Belgium 1917

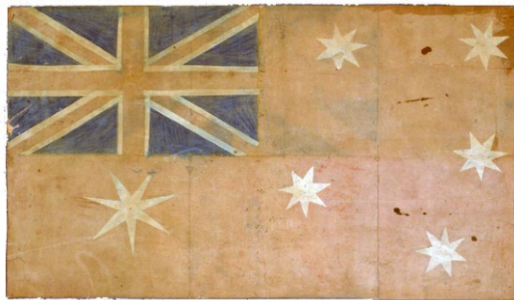


Figure 39 – 7<sup>th</sup> Infantry Brigade Headquarters, France 1918

Another flag was presented by Billy Hughes in 1914 to British reservists returning to their units from Australia (Figure 40). This was possibly the first Australian flag to fly in France during the First World War.<sup>47</sup>



Figure 40 – Corporal Watson's flag during service with British Army in France 1914

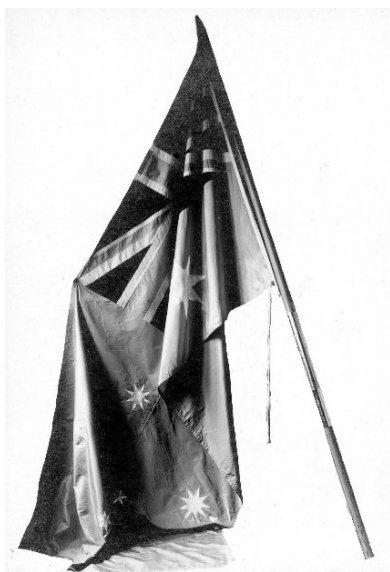


Figure 41 – Flag presented to Lt.-Gen. Birdwood in 1916

A famous Australian flag of the First World War is known as the Birdwood flag. This was a ceremonial flag that was subscribed for by the women of Newcastle, and it was presented to Lieutenant General William Birdwood on 12 September 1916 in France. Small silver plaques on the pole recorded the battles in which Australians fought. The red Australian flag was personally returned to Newcastle by General Birdwood in 1922, where it was laid up at Christ Church Cathedral. The flag, which had perished into numerous fragments, has recently been rediscovered and there is some faint hope it could be restored.<sup>48</sup>

Some of the flags taken to the Western Front were blue.



Figure 42 – J C Ewen’s flag during service in Egypt and France 1916 - 1918

Figure 42 is a flag that was presented to Lt. J C Ewen by the residents of Bellingen when he enlisted in 1915 and he carried it as a reminder of Australia throughout the war.

As Australian flags were not officially issued to units serving overseas Ewen’s flag was used in various ceremonies in France. The embroidered names of places where Ewan served were added by his mother on his return to Australia.<sup>49</sup>

There are numerous items showing the use of flags at the Home front – recruiting posters, war propaganda, sheet music, fund-raising events and testimonials during and after the war’s end. I have ignored these items in this lecture as they do not inform us of the use of flags in connection with the actual conflict.

For me, the most difficult memento associated with flags in the First World War is an image described as the “Battle of Polygon Wood” which purports to show a blue Australian national flag being planted on the Anzac Redoubt on 20 September 1917 (Figure 43). The image is widely used to “prove” the significant role of the Australian National Flag in the First World War fighting.<sup>50</sup> However, it is a fiction; it is propaganda based on a signal to Corps Headquarters stating “Objective reached. The Australian flag flying on Anzac House.” Various newspapers repeated the report and created their own invented imagery.

The true story was told by Charles Bean in the official history of the First World War – the flag was only 3 x 4 inches in size; probably a red ensign from a comforts parcel that was placed on the Anzac House pillbox. The facts were confirmed in 1930 by Joe Maxwell, who participated in the battle.<sup>52</sup>



Figure 43 – Fictional scene claimed to be Battle of Polygon Wood – 1917 propaganda postcard. *In fact, the flag was only 3 x 4 inches*

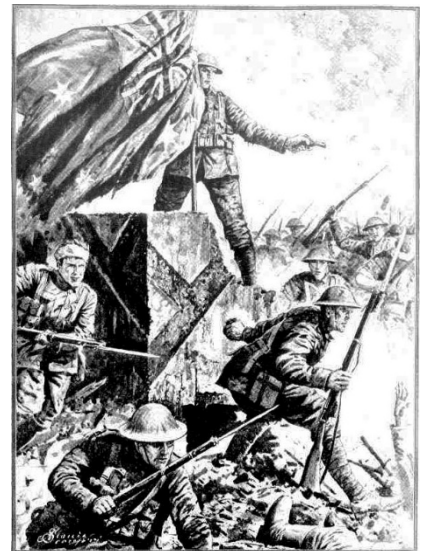


Figure 44 – Scene as imagined in *Sydney Mail*

The evidence therefore is clear – no flags were significant in the experiences of the Australian soldiers in the First World War. There were Union Jacks and red Australian ensigns about, but not in a combat setting. There were some blue Australian National Flags about, but not enough to support the assertion that Australian soldiers fought for or under the current flag.

## WORLD WAR TWO

The situation in the Second World War was similar, but there clearly were more instances of the use of the official blue Australian National Flag.

The photograph at Figure 45 shows an Australian flag at an RAF base in England where an Australian bomber squadron was stationed. Similar photos exist of use of the Australian flag by RAAF squadrons, particularly in the later part in the war.<sup>53</sup>



Figure 45 – Australian flag for RAAF bomber squadron based in Lincolnshire 1944



Figure 46 – Capture of Sadau Island, Borneo, 1945

Another use made of the Australian National Flag was to demonstrate that territory had been recovered from the enemy. Upon the capture of Sadau Island, Borneo, on 30 April 1945, a blue Australian flag was raised (Figure 46).<sup>54</sup> Not quite an Iwo Jima moment, but close enough. There are similar photos marking the capture of territory in New Guinea.

On the home front, the blue Australian National Flag received more prominence, particularly after the statement by Prime Minister Robert Menzies on 15 March 1941 that there were no unnecessary restrictions on the use of the blue ensign by the Australian public.<sup>55</sup>



Figure 47 – Australian Women's Weekly, 1941

The *Australian Women's Weekly's* Anzac Day 1941 issue linked the flag to our troops fighting in North Africa.<sup>56</sup> The flag was also enlisted to sell war savings bonds.<sup>57</sup>



Figure 48 – Buy War Savings Bonds, circa 1941

However, there continued to be examples of use of the red ensign, though use of the Union Jack was substantially lower, particularly after the Fall of Singapore, and with Australia's war effort redirected from the Middle East to defending Australia from the Japanese.

Another example of the misinformation circulated by participants in the flag debate is the differing images provided in respect of Sergeant "Diver" Derrick, who was photographed hoisting an Australian flag after the capture of a village in New Guinea in December 1943, for which he was awarded the Victoria Cross. The original photo shows a red Australian flag,<sup>58</sup> but when colourised, in an official war history book, the flag changed shape and colour.<sup>59</sup> (Figures 49 and 50, next page).



Figure 49 –Original photo of red flag raising in PNG 1943

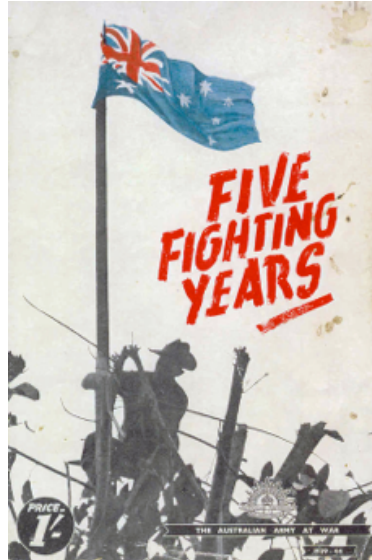


Figure 50 –Altered photo of flag raising in 1944 official book

## OTHER CONFLICTS

Australia’s participation in conflicts since the Second World War has all been in the context of multinational military actions. In the Korean War, our military was part of a United Nations Force. The Australian flag was flown at a shared British Commonwealth Forces Korea army base, with the United Nations flag in the superior position .<sup>60</sup>



Figure 51 – Korean War - UN, Australian & UK flags

In the Vietnam War, Australia was part of the Free World Military Assistance Forces, which provided support for the Republic of Vietnam and the United States military. This involvement is exemplified by this Safe Conduct Pass (Figure 52).<sup>61</sup>



Figure 52 – Vietnam War - Free World Military Assistance Force



Figure 53 – Afghanistan: *Resolute Support* and flags of allies

The Australian military has been one of the many countries supporting the United States in the First and Second Gulf Wars, Iraq and Afghanistan. The Australian flag is one of the many displayed at Allied functions,<sup>62</sup> and the Australian National Flag is displayed at military bases where Australian units are deployed.

Ironically, the recent wars have involved the use of shoulder patches showing the Australian flag.<sup>63</sup> The Australian flag is now, for the first time, carried into battle, and our service men and women can accurately be described as serving with the Australian flag.



Figure 54 – Flag shoulder patches of ADF personnel

## MILITARY COLOURS



Figure 55 – Parade of Colours of 5<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> Royal Victoria Regiment, Anzac Day 2000

There is a lot more that can be said about the interaction of flags with the Australian military, but there is not enough time. However, I will briefly describe one of the unique features of the Australian ceremonies to honour the regimental colours.<sup>64</sup>

Colours are venerated as the soul and spirit of the regiment and they memorialise the great deeds of those who have served in battles past, including those who gave their lives for their country. There are many traditions and conventions surrounding colours, with one of the most important being the ceremony at which colours are presented to a regiment. This includes a Service of Consecration.

England clergyman, but provisions were made for a Roman Catholic priest to perform the consecration in respect of the Irish regiments and a Presbyterian minister in Scotland.

British *King's Regulations* instructed that the consecration of colours is to be performed by chaplains in accordance with an authorized Form of Prayer. Usually that would be a Church of

In Australia, the issue of religion at the Consecration of Colours first arose in 1925 when the Commanding Officer of the 59<sup>th</sup> Infantry invited a Presbyterian Minister to officiate at the consecration.<sup>65</sup> The Secretary of the Australian Catholic Federation protested to the Minister of Defence; Roman Catholic soldiers should not be required to attend a compulsory parade that was a religious ceremony, as this would be contrary to Section 123B of the *Defence Act 1903*.<sup>66</sup> The problem was avoided by an order that such ceremonies would no longer be compulsory parades.

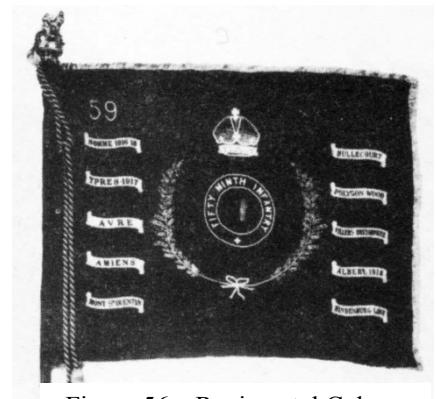


Figure 56 – Regimental Colour of 59<sup>th</sup> Infantry Battalion, 1925

The issue flared up again in September 1952 when the Roman Catholic Chaplain-General, Archbishop Daniel Mannix, objected to the Anglican liturgy in the ceremony for the presentation of the Queen's Colour to the RAAF at Laverton airbase.<sup>67</sup> Catholic doctrine opposed Catholics attending Protestant services and Mannix saw the consecrations as an example of institutionalised sectarianism in the military. Officially, Catholics could be excused attending the parade for the presentation of colours, but at Laverton the officers threatened them with disciplinary action until Archbishop Mannix reluctantly consented to the Catholics participating in the parade.<sup>68</sup>



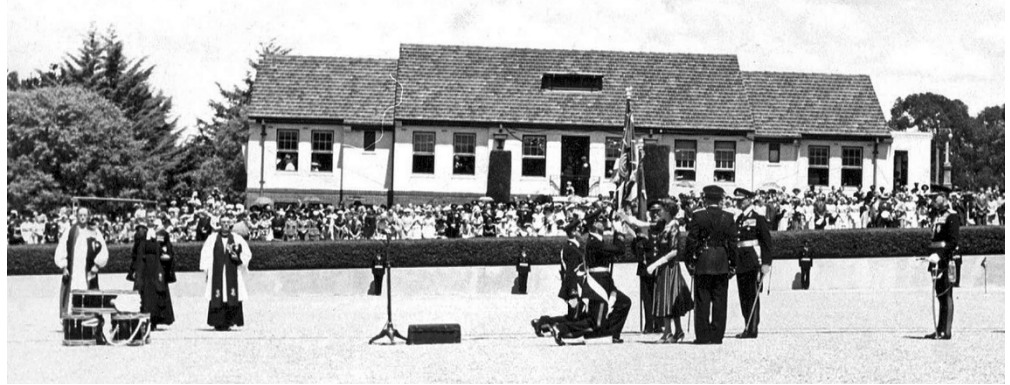
Figure 57 – Presentation of RAAF Colour (1952)



Figure 58 – Queen's Colour of Royal Australian Air Force (1986)

A parade at Duntroon, Canberra was planned for 17 February 1954 where HM The Queen (who is also Head of the Church of England) would present colours to the Royal Military College as a highlight of the Royal Tour.<sup>69</sup> Archbishop Mannix was opposed to the Duntroon ceremony following the RAAF precedent, but he did not want to be seen as upsetting the parade in the name of sectarianism. He was willing to grant a dispensation for Catholics to attend the presentation if the Menzies Government would give assurances that new practices would be introduced to address the concern.

Figure 59 –  
Presentation of  
Colours to the Royal  
Military College,  
1954



The government delayed for almost a year its response and did not reach an agreement with Mannix until a week before the ceremony. Rather than announce the agreement, the dispute was leaked to the press, which spread false claims that Catholics would be banned from the parade and placed this controversy and the possibility of an unspecified solution in a broader national sectarian context.

The Duntroon ceremony proceeded perfectly, but a week later, at another colours presentation of the Queen’s Colour for the Royal Australian Navy by HRH the Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh, some 400 naval officers and men left the parade ground during the Anglican part of the ceremony.<sup>70</sup>

Ultimately, a sensible solution was agreed – there would be three clerics: an Anglican, a Roman Catholic and a Protestant. Each would in turn lay his hands on the Colour and, in order, consecrate, bless and dedicate the Colour. The first consecration using the new procedure was the presentation of colours to 2<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Battalion, City of Newcastle Regiment on 15 April 1956.<sup>71</sup> This joint consecration procedure is apparently unique to the Australian Defence Force and is illustrated by Figure 61: a photograph of the consecration and blessing of the Colours of the Royal Military College, presented by HM The Queen in 2011.<sup>72</sup>

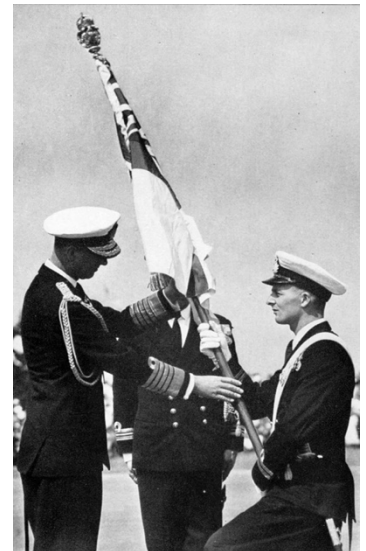


Figure 60 – Presentation of  
Queen’s Colour of Royal  
Australian Navy (1953)



Figure 61 – Presentation of Queen’s Colour for  
Royal Military College (2011)



Figure 62 – Presentation of Queen’s  
Colour for Royal Military College (1970)

Finally, another presentation of colours to the Royal Military College by the Queen, in 1970, established a new tradition with the Queen's Colour being based on the Australian National Flag, rather than the Union Jack (Figures 62 and 63).<sup>73</sup>



Figure 63 – Australian model of Queen's Colour from 1970 - 49<sup>th</sup> Battalion

In conclusion, flags are an integral part of the traditions of the Australian Defence Force and there is a complex and nuanced history of the interaction of the military and Australian flags. If we respect the military, then we should not involve it, and former members of the ADF, in partisan political debates about any decision that may, or may not be made, to change the design of the Australian flag.

The military has a duty to defend its country and our values, and the national flag is merely one of the symbols of our country. If the symbol of our nation were to change in the future, the substance of loyalty and patriotism would remain undiluted.

Figure 64 – Presentation of Colours for Royal Military College, 2011



Figure 65 – Trooping of Colours Royal Military College, 2011



***The military has duty to defend Australia and our values. Loyalty and patriotism is to the nation, not just to its symbol***



## END NOTES

- 1 Painting is *The Founding of Australia*. By Capt. Arthur Phillip R.N. Sydney Cove, 26 January 1788, a sketch in oils painted in 1937 by Algernon Talmage (collection of the State Library of New South Wales ML 1222). There were two larger finished versions of the painting: in the Tate Gallery London dated 1938 and another 1939 copy hangs in the NSW Parliament House, Sydney. A flag-pole that flies the pre-1801 Union Jack is located in Loftus Street next to Customs House, Sydney and this is believed to be the location of the proclamation in 1788.
- 2 The Chief of Army Lieutenant General David Morrison hands the ceremonial Army Banner to Lieutenant General Angus Campbell to signify the change of command at a ceremonial parade, 14 May 2015. Image from *The Canberra Times*, 15 May 2015. The Army Banner was originally presented on 10 March 2001 to mark the centenary of the Australian Army.
- 3 The Australian Defence Force Ensign is a “flag of Australia” proclaimed under Section 5 of the *Flags Act 1953* on 14 April 2000 (the official adoption was restated in 2008 due to a technical issue relating to the legal validity of legislative instruments). Image of ADF ensign is a drawing by the author.
- 4 “Southern Cross Down Under” by Ralph Kelly, included in the *Proceedings of the 24<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Vexillology: Washington, D.C., USA 1-5 August 2011*, pages 640 – 668, Scot M Guenter, Editor and Edward B Kaye, Managing Editor.
- 5 The Melbourne Harbour Master in September 1856 had suggested that the *Victoria* use a red ensign with a crown above the letter V, similar to the Victorian Customs flag of 1855, which was a red ensign with a crown above the letters H.M.C. Captain William Norman rejected this proposal, believing his ship was entitled to fly the same coloured ensign as Royal Navy ships and it was customary that the flag include “the seal or crest of the colony placed under the crown” (Public Records Office Victoria VPRS 1189 Box 690 56/8028). Royal Navy vessels in Australia at the time flew the White Ensign. My reconstruction is consistent with the gun-raft flag of February 1865 which was illustrated in my Washington ICV paper (at page 655), as the indistinct lower symbol could have been a standing kangaroo rather than the numeral “1”.
- 6 Royal Navy ships on the Australian Station were made independent of the Commander-in-Chief in India on 25 March 1859. Captain William Loring was authorised to hoist a Commodore’s blue pendant, which would result in the ships within his command flying a British blue ensign until 1864, when the squadronal colours system was replaced by the use of the British white ensign.
- 7 The *Victoria* was reported to have hoisted a blue ensign with a crown and kangaroo design during the Royal Visit of Prince Alfred in 1867 (*Victoria: A History of HMCSS Victoria* by Ian MacFarlane, unpublished manuscript, 1989, page 195.)
- 8 The only other Australian colonial navy vessel to serve overseas was the South Australian HMCS *Protector*, which was dispatched to China on 6 August 1900. Whilst the warship left Adelaide wearing South Australia’s colonial ensign, with its elaborate badge, it was temporarily commissioned into the Royal Navy and flew the White Ensign during its service in Chinese waters. On its return trip to Australia, the White Ensign was hauled down on 8 January 1901
- 9 It is significant that the words used by HM The Queen at the presentation of colours at Duntroon in 2011 were: “Many have given their lives in defence of their country and their values”. No mention of dying for the Monarch or the flag.
- 10 Cartoon is one of the illustrations between page 135 and 136 of *Canada’s Flag: A Search for a Country* by John Ross Matheson, G K Hall and company, Boston, 1980.
- 11 Photograph of flags at the Canadian National Vimy Memorial in France, October 2007. Photo is on Wikipedia attributed to Brian Dell. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Vimy\\_Memorial\\_flags.JPG](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Vimy_Memorial_flags.JPG).
- 12 John Key, speech at Victoria University on 11 March 2014. Key went on to say “Organisations like our armed forces have undergone significant changes over the generations. What does not change is their willingness to defend on behalf of all New Zealanders the values that define us and which we cherish. Those values and our commitment to uphold them will not be compromised or eroded in any way by a change of flag.” (<http://www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/speech-victoria-university-0>)
- 13 There was a discussion through the letters pages of *The Times* in 1902 about the proper flag for use on land in Britain, with some, including Major General Robert Baden-Powell saying that private households could not use the Union Jack, but should use the British Red Ensign. In 1908, the Earl of Crewe in a statement to parliament confirmed “A Union Jack should be regarded as the national flag, and undoubtedly may be flown on land by all His Majesty’s subject”. Refer *The Union Jack*, by Nick Groom (2006, Atlantic Books) page 252.
- 14 This quote from the minister, Lewis Harcourt related to the position in Canada, and is quoted by Alistair Fraser in his *The Flags of Canada* (1998, on-line at [fraser.cc/FlagsCan/Nation/Union.html](http://fraser.cc/FlagsCan/Nation/Union.html)). The dispatch was dated 21 May 1912 from Harcourt to the Canadian Governor-General. A similar dispatch was made to the South African

Governor-General on 10 December 1910 where Harcourt stated “the proper national flag to be flown on land by every citizen of the Empire is the Union Jack, which, in the opinion of His Majesty’s Government, should be regarded as the national flag of South Africa as well as of other parts of the King’s dominions. The defaced design is only for use afloat. On government Buildings the Union Jack should be flown.” A similar statement was made on 31 January 1924 by the Australian Acting Prime Minister, Earle Page, in a circular to state premiers that stated: “on shore, the Union Flag can be flown by any subject of the Empire ... and ...the flying of the Commonwealth Blue Ensign is reserved for Commonwealth Government use, but there is no reservation in the case of the Commonwealth Red Ensign.” (Australian Archives 546: 1/61).

- 15 See [www.ausflag.com.au/flag\\_should\\_change.asp](http://www.ausflag.com.au/flag_should_change.asp)
- 16 The Colour has been restored and is in the collection of the Australian War Memorial (RELAWM17162.001). The Colour was presented to Captain Septimus Martin on 2 February 1861 at the Richmond cricket ground by the ladies of Richmond. The making of the Colours is attributed to the seamstress, Mrs Campion, based on a design by George Richardson. Whilst the Volunteer Rifle Corps was disbanded in 1884, the colours continued to be used in parades by later army units raised in Richmond. The Colours were laid up in St. Phillip’s Church, Collingwood in 1928 and transferred in 1967 to the Town Hall, Richmond, and then to the Australian War Memorial in March 1972.
- 17 The Queen’s Colour for the Richmond Company was also made in the form of a silk British ensign of dark bottle green, with R.V.R.C. embroidered on the lower half (RELAWM17162.002). Only four sets of colours were issued to the Victorian volunteer companies – sets were presented to the Castlemaine and Keyneton companies and one other. An account of the conservation of the colours by the Australian War Memorial is at <https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/conservation/conservators/cathy.asp?query=Victorian+Volunteer+Rifle+Corp+colour>. During ICV26, vexillologists visited the conservation annex of the Australian War Memorial where this large flag was displayed and the conservation methods were explained.
- 18 Figure 17 is from a photograph album of a hospital in South Africa circa 1900 in collection of Australian National Library (nla.pic-an 10885576-1).
- 19 Figure 18 is Union Jack carried by Private Frederick James Smith of 5<sup>th</sup> Victorian Mounted Rifles during deployment February 1901 to April 1902. Image on Victorian Collections website, a partnership of Museum Victoria and Museums Australia (Victoria). <http://victoriancollections.net.au/items/4f7b9ec62162ef07203d9083>
- 20 “... the soldiers, nurses and trackers of this conflict, who were the first to fight under the Australian flag.”  
Comment by Mrs Jane Prentice, Liberal MP for Ryan, in speech to Parliamentary 16 June 2015.
- 21 Figure 19 is a photograph from website of Australian National Flag Association. “The Flag Successfully Defended” on the website of Australians for a Constitutional Monarchy ([www.norepublic.com.au](http://www.norepublic.com.au)), 21 April 2010 states: “There is a myth the armed forces did not serve under the Australian Flag, and the Union Flag was effectively the National Flag. Mr Vaughan pointed out that after his execution, the Australian flag was used to cover the grave of “Breaker” Morant.” These views ignore the fact that 3 September 1901 was only the date of the announcement of a winning design in a competition, and hostilities ended in the Boer War on 31 May 1902. The photo was originally published in *Shoot Straight You Bastards!* by Nick Bleszynski, 2002, Random House, Sydney. The photo is privately owned by Bleszynski and it is understood to have been found on a rubbish tip. It may have been “restored” to enhance the flag. Morant was executed on 27 February 1902. The photo shows Major James Thomas, who defended Morant at the Court Martial, standing mournfully over the combined grave of Morant and Peter Handcock in the Church Street Cemetery in Pretoria.
- 22 The King’s Banner continues to be held by the 1st/15th Royal New South Wales Lancers [an Australian Army Reserve Light Cavalry (Reconnaissance) Regiment], and the image is at [http://www.lancers.org.au/site/South\\_Africa.asp](http://www.lancers.org.au/site/South_Africa.asp). The regiment was awarded the Royal title in 1935. Whilst the various regiments were granted the honorary distinction “SOUTH AFRICA 1899-1902” (in lieu of the specific battle honours granted to the British Army regiments) they were not allowed to be added to their King’s Banners.
- 23 *Australian Army Guidons and Colours* by Alfred N Festberg, Allara Publishing, Melbourne, 1972, page 29.
- 24 *ibid.*, pages 31-32. The form of the Australian regimental colours was specified in MO 184 in 1914.
- 25 Presentation of Colours at Moonee Valley Racecourse 16 August 1914, collection of Australian War Memorial P09772.002. Figure 22 from <http://empirecall.pbworks.com/w/file/83158252/Colours%20of%20the%2058%20Inf%20Regt.jpg>
- 26 Figure 23 Image from 1970 film “Waterloo”, in *Daily Mail* 1 June 2012.
- 27 FOTW contribution by T F Mills 20 March 1997 (<http://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/za-wars.html>). The Secretary of State for War, Hugh Childers consulted the various regiments and decided that, whilst colours would be retained, they would not be taken on active service. A Horse Guards’ letter was issued 17 January 1882 (refer *Standard, Guidons and Colours of the Commonwealth Forces* by Major T J Edwards, pages 170-

- 173, Gale & Polden Ltd, 1953). Restrictions on the British use of colours on the battlefield had begun with the Crimean War of 1854, due to the undue vulnerability of the officers carrying the colours to enemy fire. The Battle of Alma (Crimea, 20 September 1854) was the last appearance of British colours in a European battle and an action at Laing's Nek, South Africa on 28 January 1881 was the last battle use of colours by the British Army.
- 28 Festberg, *op.cit.*, page 43.
- 29 The decision was made by Major-General William Bridges, the first commander of the AIF (refer *The Oxford Companion to Australian Military History*, edited by Peter Dennis, Jeffrey Grey, Ewan Morris and Robin Prior, page 69, Oxford University Press, 1995). The British also used the term British Expeditionary Force for the soldiers sent to France at war's beginning, and the term was also applied to the forces sent by India and South Africa. The United States sent the American Expeditionary Force to Europe in 1917.
- 30 *Come on Boys: Follow the Flag!* lithograph poster by William Hackett and James Northfield, for State Recruiting Committee of Victoria, circa 1916. Source of image – collection of the National Library of Australia, Canberra (7930795).
- 31 *The Coo-ee March* by John Meredith, Kangaroo Press, 1986. The flag given to the marchers by wounded soldiers at Woodford, in the Blue Mountain, is now on display at the Coo-ee Heritage Centre, Gilgandra (Figure 26; source: <http://cooemarch1915.com>.)
- 32 Figure 27: Banner in collection of Australian War Memorial REL/15959.
- 33 Letter from Department of Defence to Prime Minister dated 1 June 1904 (Australian Archives, ACT - A461: A336/1/1 Part 1). The Australian Military Regulations were published in the Commonwealth *Gazette* of 25 April 1903.
- 34 Commonwealth *Hansard* of 2 June 1904
- 35 *Commonwealth Military Regulation 35* published in Commonwealth *Gazette* 7 March 1908. The change took effect from 1 June 1908. See *Flag and Nation* by Elizabeth Kwan, pages 31, 32 and 41, UNSW Press, 2006.
- 36 The Australian Naval and Military Expeditionary Force consisted of Royal Australian Navy Reserve men and volunteer infantry. It was dispatched from Sydney on 19 August 1914, with the first landings on 11 September and the German troops at Rabaul surrendered two days later (refer *The Oxford Companion to Australian Military History*, pages 267-268). A military government was set up and continued until 1921.
- 37 Figure 29; Collection of Australian War Memorial REL/18151. The specific use of this flag is not explained, though perhaps it was raised as part of the military administration. Lt. Holmes also retained a German Colonial Government Flag captured at Kaewiang (Reichsdienstflagge im Bereiche des Auswärtigen Amtes), also in the Australian War Memorial; RELAWM16039.
- 38 Red Cross photo is view of Mount Achi Baba from the Gallipoli Peninsular; Australian War Memorial H10347. Headquarters flag of 2<sup>nd</sup> Light Horse Regiment, Quinn's Post; Australian War Memorial RELAWM00369. Semaphore flag held by Signaller McIntosh, 4<sup>th</sup> Australian Field Ambulance; AWM P1116.066
- 39 Figure 33 is photo of Sir George Reid, High Commissioner for Australia in Britain, standing on dais addressing the 1<sup>st</sup> Australian Division on 31 December 1914. Taken at Mena Camp, near Cairo, Egypt. The colour of the flag is unclear, but seems to be an Australian blue ensign.
- 40 AWM P11190.001 and P02194.009. Ryrie's Post was a command post on the right of the Australian line; named after Brigadier General Granville Ryrie, 2<sup>nd</sup> Light Horse Brigade.
- 41 AWM REL33224. The small cotton flag is mounted in a frame that states that Sergeant Percy Virgoe, 4<sup>th</sup> Light Horse Regiment, carried the flag from Australia to Egypt and Gallipoli, and it had flown on trenches at various locations at Anzac Cove. Another, larger flag was carried to Gallipoli and later to the Western Front by Lieutenant C S Cooling; it was a Union Jack. (AWM REL30203)
- 42 Whilst there was no legal restriction on the use of the Australian blue ensign on land, its use was discouraged by the Federal Government and it is understood that Australian flag manufacturers would refuse to sell the blue flag to the general public. The use of the red Australian flag was seen as the "normal" version of the Australian national flag.
- 43 *The Anzac Book* was edited by Charles Bean, the official war historian, and originally published in 1916 by Cassall and Company Ltd. Two facsimile editions were issued. The 2<sup>nd</sup> edition was published by Sun Books in 1975, with the current third edition edited by the Australian War Memorial and published by UNSW Press in 2010. Whilst the cover shown is that of the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, the 1916 edition had the same illustration. There are no mentions of flags in any of the text or illustrations other than the cover.
- 44 Field Marshall Sir Douglas Haig reviewing the 5<sup>th</sup> Australian Division at Eblinghem, Northern France, 29 August 1917. AWM E00680.
- 45 Officers of the 41<sup>st</sup> Battalion in Belgium circa 1917. AWM H00250.

- 46 Australian War Memorial RELAWM01068. Improvised flag made from cardboard by the staff of 7<sup>th</sup> Infantry Brigade Headquarters for visit of Prime Minister W M Hughes, France 2 July 1918.
- 47 Australian red ensign presented to Imperial Reservists by then Attorney General W M Hughes on their departure in 1914, in custody of Corporal Edward Watson of the East Lancashire Regiment. Watson had served with the British Army and he and similar reservists were sent from Australia to England on the first troop convoy to re-join their units. It was claimed by Watson that this would have been the first Australian flag to fly in France during the First World War. RELAWM08019.001.
- 48 The story of the Birdwood flag's origin and its rediscovery are on the website of the University of Newcastle at <https://uoncc.wordpress.com/category/events/page/2/>
- 49 AWM REL/01258.
- 50 The erroneous image was unfortunately used to illustrate the cover of *The Story of Australia's Flags* by Major General Gordon Maitland, Playbill Military Publications, Moore Park. This important book has extensive records of Australian military flags and was published on 3 September 2015, coinciding with ICV26. Maitland however does correctly describe the story in his text at pages 221 and 247.
- 51 Sketch from *Sydney Mail*, 3 October 1917, page 10. The image was created to illustrate a report by Percival Phillips of the UK *Daily Express*. The report also appeared in *The Age*, 24 September 1917, page 7. The report appears to have been creative writing embellishing to an official report. After the battle, a signal was sent to Corps Headquarters stating: "Objective reached. The Australian flag flying on Anzac House." The use of the term "flag flying on Anzac House" in the original report may have been figurative rather than a literal fact.
- 52 The postcard is in the Australian War Memorial (H0056), though it is not known what happened to the original painting by Alfred Pearse, an English illustrator for *Boy's Own Paper*. The battle was mis-described; it was the Battle of Menin Road. The war photographers Frank Hurley and Hubert Wilkins were at the Menin Road battlefield and took a number of photographs, including the Anzac pillbox, but there were no flags in these photos. The story is recounted at footnote 112 of Volume 4 Chapter 18 of Charles Bean's official history. The Australian War Memorial reproduced an article in the June 1930 issue of the *Reveille* journal of the RSL by Joe Maxwell, who was at the battle (who subsequently won the Military Cross twice and the Victoria Cross). Maxwell stated that the small flag had been stuck on a tin of bully beef and placed on a corner of the pillbox until it was blown to pieces by a shell later in the day. See *The Flag on Anzac House* at <http://www.awm.gov.au/blog/category/exhibitions/to-flanders-fields-1917/>
- 53 RAAF Lancaster No. 463 Squadron at RAF Station Waddington, Lincolnshire on 6 December 1944. The flag is clearly a blue Australian National Flag. AWM UK2288
- 54 Flag raised by Lieutenant K McKittrick at capture of Sadau Island on 30 April 1945 by 2/4 Commando Squadron. AWM 090925.
- 55 Press Release by Prime Minister's Department. (Australian Archives A461/1: A336/1/1 Part 2). Menzies was in London at the time and the press release was actually issued by Acting Prime Minister Arthur Fadden.
- 56 *Australian Women's Weekly* cover of 26 April 1941 issue.
- 57 Imperial War Museum, London (Art.IWM PST 16541)
- 58 Sergeant Thomas "Diver" Derrick DCM, VC led a successful attack against the Japanese village of Sattleberg, New Guinea and was photographed hoisting an Australian flag. The original photograph is in the AWM (016246).
- 59 The doctored image has a blue flag overlaid on the original photograph for *Five Fighting Years: The Australian Army at War Official Record of Service 1939-44*, published by the Director General of Public Relations, Australian Military Forces, published by HMSO, London 1944. It is understood that the coloured flag overlay occurred with the original publication. The colourised image appears on the website of the Australian National Flag Association.
- 60 Flag pole flying United Nations Flag, Union Jack and Australian flag at Camp Casey, South Korea, 1952 (AWM P00969.002) The Australian military units were part of the British Commonwealth Forces Korea.
- 61 The United States allies consisted of a large force from South Korea and smaller forces from Thailand, Philippines, Australia and New Zealand. The main Australian forces were deployed in Vietnam from June 1965 to December 1972. Information on the Vietnam safe conduct pass is at <http://www.psywarrior.com/VNflagSCP.html>.
- 62 Photo of changeover to Resolute Support mission by coalition in Kabul, Afghanistan on 28 December 2014. Photo at website of United States Army: [http://www.army.mil/article/140565/Operation\\_Enduring\\_Freedom\\_comes\\_to\\_an\\_end/](http://www.army.mil/article/140565/Operation_Enduring_Freedom_comes_to_an_end/).
- 63 Image from Department of Veterans Affairs at <http://at-ease.dva.gov.au/veterans/resources/defence-factsheets/>

- 64 Image is parade of Colours of 5<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> Royal Victoria Regiment on Anzac Day 2000. Source: photo by Paul Anderson, on-line at <http://aussiepaul.com/2000/05/the-army-years/anzac-day-parade-2000/>
- 65 The consecration of the Colours by Rev. John Mathew was reported in *The Argus*, 11 April 1927. The ceremony had been delayed as the award of Battle Honours for the First World War did not occur until 1927.
- 66 Festberg, *op.cit.*, page 53. Regimental Colours of the 59<sup>th</sup> Battalion, Coburg-Brunswick Regiment at page 88.
- 67 Newspaper report of presentation in *The West Australian*, 18 September 1952, page 3. Note that the RAAF Colour in 1954 bore the cypher of King George VI (GVIR), who had approved the Colour in 1950, however the King died prior to it being presented. The Queen consented to the original colour being presented as a Queen's Colour, which was presented by the Minister for Air, William McMahon, as the Governor-General had been delayed in Canberra. A new RAAF Queen's Colour was presented by HM The Queen on 5 March 1986.
- 68 The information on the Duntroon controversy about Roman Catholic participation in the Consecration Service is sourced from "Sectarianism's Last Stand? Mannix, Menzies and the 1954 Colours Controversy" by Wing Commander John Steinback, *Australian Defence Force Journal*, No. 146, January-February 2001, pages 18 - 26. Festberg also refers to the dispute at page 92 of his book.
- 69 Presentation of new Queen's Colour to Royal Military College, Duntroon, 17 February 1954. Australian Defence Image Library (<http://images.defence.gov.au/11120974>)
- 70 The incident was reported in *The News*, dated 2 March 1954. The presentation on the previous day was of a new Queens Colour for the Royal Australian Navy at HMAS Cerberus, Flinders Naval Depot. This is the Establishment Colour for all shore naval establishments, one of the two colours granted to the RAN, the other being the Fleet Colour held by the Maritime Commander on behalf of fleet units. Photo at page 62 of *Royal Visit 1954*, Australian News and Information Bureau, Department of the Interior, published by Angus and Robertson Ltd, Sydney, 1954.
- 71 Achieving a compromise for this consecration was helped by the fact that the regiment was scheduled to use a Catholic priest, Father John Morgan for the ceremony. Father Morgan refused to participate unless clergy from the other two faiths had a role in the ceremony. See "Error of judgement or outright bigotry? The colours controversy of the 1950's" by Graham Wilson, *Sabretache*, journal of the Military Historical Society of Australia, 1 September 2003.
- 72 Photo of service chaplains blessing the Colours in 2011. Australian Defence Image Library: <http://images.defence.gov.au/11120982>
- 73 Figure 62 is presentation of Colours to the Royal Military College in 1970 by HM The Queen: <http://images.defence.gov.au/11120974>. Figure 63 is Queen's Colour 49<sup>th</sup> Battalion, the Royal Queensland Regiment. Figures 64 and 65 are photographs from presentation of Queen's Colour and Regimental Colour to Royal Military College in 2011: <http://images.defence.gov.au/11120982>.

## BIOGRAPHY



Ralph Kelly is an Australian vexillologist in Sydney. He has presented papers at nine previous International Congress based on his research into the history of Australian flags, his involvement in the Australian flag debate and a general interest in world flags. At the Berlin ICV he was made a Fellow of FIAV. Ralph is Treasurer and a former President of the Flag Society of Australia (Flags Australia). He is webmaster for the [flagsaustralia.com.au](http://flagsaustralia.com.au) website and Chair of the Organising Committee for the 26<sup>th</sup> ICV.

Ralph is also a Director for Ausflag where he provides a vexillological perspective on that entity's promotional and political lobbying for a new Australian national flag. By profession he is a former investment banker and is now a company director. He is currently a trustee director of the NSW state government's superannuation fund, First State Super.

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