THE XIX INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF VEXILLOLOGY
YORK 23–27 JULY 2001

PROCEEDINGS

FLAG INSTITUTE

Contents

FLAG INSTITUTE

The Revd John Hall FFI
Chairman

Dear Fellow Vexillologist,

It is with the greatest pleasure that the Flag Institute publishes the proceedings of the 19th International Congress of Vexillology, held in York, England in 2001.

The event was a memorable time, to renew old friendships and make new ones, set as it was, in the beautiful surroundings of the Yorkshire Museum, deep in the heart of one of the United Kingdom's most historic cities.

The site and timing were important to us students of flags, situated merely yards away from the very site that Constantine was proclaimed Roman Emperor, we were reminded of the symbolic roots of the eagle and the cross in flags today, and in the 200th Anniversary year of the creation of the modern Union Jack, we considered one of the most widespread, influential, and instantly recognized symbols in the world today.

As you will see the quality of the presentations was superb, and goes a long way to the advancement and deepening of the study of vexillology as a serious geo-political topic.

I would like to thank all those who were involved in the organization of the congress; all those who contributed or attended and it is with the greatest of delight that I commend the following publication to you:

Yours in flags and friendship

The Revd John Hall RD BA FFI
Chairman
The Flag Institute

THE XIX INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF VEXILLOLOGY
YORK 23-27 JULY 2001
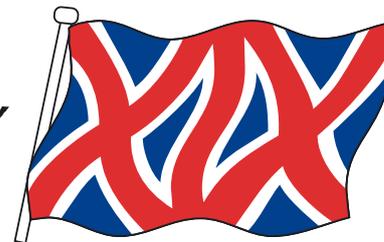
On the evening of Sunday, 22 July, 2001, in the mediæval splendour of the restored 15th Century Guildhall in the ancient city of York, amid the flags of 28 countries and more vexillological associations, Councillor Irene Waudby, Lord Mayor of York, welcomed delegates to the XIX International Congress of Vexillology at a civic reception. The following morning, in the same impressive setting, the Vice Lord Lieutenant of North Yorkshire, Colonel Edward York, declared the XIX ICV open. He was introduced by Robin Ashburner, President of the Flag Institute, who spoke of York's historical significance and thanked those who had worked to prepare the Congress, both in York and elsewhere.

After the opening ceremony the participants and accompanying persons paraded with their flags through the streets of York, led by Mr John Redpath, the Town Crier in full 18th Century costume, ringing his bell to attract attention of the citizens and, with his cry "Oyez, oyez!" telling of the reason for the parade and naming the countries taking part. This colourful spectacle attracted much interest from York residents and visitors. The procession passed York Minster, and went on into the gardens of the Yorkshire Museum, where the Congress itself was to take place. Outside the Tempest Anderson Hall, the venue of the Congress proper, the flag of the XIX Congress was hoisted by João Lourenço of Zimbabwe, the youngest delegate present.

A total of 106 delegates from 28 countries attended the Congress, many with accompanying spouses and other family members. Five countries, Croatia, Egypt, Israel, Japan and Zimbabwe were represented at an ICV for the first time. The flags of participating countries and associations were displayed around the conference hall.

Congress began with a presentation on British naval flags by Cdr Bruce Nicolls. As the Congress was in Britain to commemorate the bicentenary of the Union Flag, each session was planned to begin with a British topic. 31 presentations covered a wide range of subjects from all over the world, almost all of them brilliantly illustrated with computer-generated images, produced by Graham Bartram, General Secretary of the Flag Institute.

Notable among presenters was 93-year-old Teodoro Amerlinck from Mexico on early Mexican flags, and teenage delegates Lorenzo Breschi on Analysis of Flag Colours and Mason Kaye on Maps on Flags. Lorenzo could not attend the Congress in person and his paper was delivered for him by Dr Peter Orenski.

Other papers covered Tudor flags, flags of Argentina, political flags in the Czech Republic and Slovakia, Royal Standards of Southern Africa, attempts to change the flag of New Zealand, flags of Cornwall and the International Brigades in the Spanish Civil War, signalling flags, flag tattoos, Ottoman decorative finials, "One Nation under God" - an analysis of religious aspects of the US Flag, flags of the Canton of Vaud and of Italian states, Dutch military colours, 100 years of flags in Ohio, British sledge flags of polar explorers, political flags in Senegal, flag stamps of Australia, flags of Scotland and Wales and porting Flags. The last paper was an interesting and amusing coverage of Flags in Comics, the Case of Asterix, the Gaul, by Dr Marcus Schmöger, in which York was shown on the map of England as a stronghold of vexillology in an otherwise vexi-ignorant wilderness.

Flags parade through York's streets

Over 100 vexillologists attended

During Congress, breaks for tea and coffee were held in the Hospitium, a 14th Century building, formerly the guesthouse of St Mary's Abbey. In the same room was a display of some 20 British Royal Standards, adding glorious swathes of colour to the splendour of the building. These included the actual Royal Standard and Standard of the Prince of Wales which flew at the opening of the first Welsh Assembly. Also in the room was a set of the newly-designed gonfalons of the city of Assisi, seen outside Italy for the first time, and historic military flags loaned by the Imperial War Museum.

The main flag displays were in yet another historic building, the 14th Century Merchant Adventurers' Hall, the largest timber-framed building in York, home to what was once the most powerful and wealthy trading company in the city.

The Great Hall had a display of British and British-derived flags and ensigns, especially to commemorate the bicentenary of the Union Flag. The nearly 100 flags in the display showed the influence of British design in naval, civil and civil air ensigns in former British territories throughout the world.

The Undercroft had a more general display, with flags of Africa, Imperial Germany, Asia and Albania. Most of the flags were known to vexillologists from books and charts, but few of them had been seen in reality before.

More unusual flags included German Imperial colonial designs, approved by Kaiser Wilhelm II in 1914, but not made at the time, due to World War I. Many of the flags displayed were from the collections of Bruce Berry of South Africa and Clay Moss of Mississippi, to whom the Flag Institute is greatly indebted for providing and displaying their flags.

The social aspect of Congress included visits to the Minster Embroideries (not normally open to the public) for accompanying persons, and the Jorvik Viking Centre, a dramatic recreation of York over 1000 years ago, on the actual site and based on archaeological finds. There was even a Viking Raven Banner!

The all-day trip on Wednesday was to Hartlepool Historic Quay, 60 miles north-east of York. The Quay is an impressive recreation of 18th-19th Century marine life. Hartlepool has a fine reputation for restoring old ships. At the centre of the Quay was the frigate *Trincomalee*. This ship was built in India in 1817 and is now fully restored to her original condition.

Accompanying persons also visited Lotherton Hall, a stately home with a deer park and bird garden. The highlight was a picnic prepared by Ethel Faul, wife of Michael, principal Congress organizer, and two friends.

At the FIAV General Assembly on Monday evening, the Vexillological Association of the State of Texas, the Japan

Top-left clockwise: the Guildhall decked in flags for the Civic Reception; João Lourenço shows his flag to the Lord Mayor of York & her consort; Mrs & Col York, FIAV President Michel Lupant, FIAV Sec-Gen for Congresses Graham Bartram & FI President Robin Ashburner; the Town Crier

Vexillological Association, the Confederate States Vexillological Association, Flags of the World, Vlaggendokumentatie Centrum Nederlands, Heraldic and Vexillological Institute (Poland) and the Moldovan Heraldic, Genealogical and Archivist Society were admitted to membership. The officers of the FIAV executive were re-confirmed in their positions for a further two years, Professor Michel Lupant of Belgium as President, Mr Charles Adkin Spain of the United States as Secretary-General and Graham Bartram as Secretary-General for Congresses. Miraculously, the entire meeting was completed in one 3-hour session.

The Congress ended with the final banquet in the York Moathouse Hotel, overlooking the River Ouse. This excellent dinner was the setting for the Congress awards. The Flag Institute President thanked all who had contributed to the success of the Congress, particularly Michael Faul, editor of Flagmaster and Membership Secretary.

Cdr Bruce Nicolls, past President of the Flag Institute thanked Robin Ashburner for the leadership, drive and practical contribution (in flags and flagpoles) which he had made to the Congress. He paid tribute to the oldest and youngest contributors, and referred to the debt which all vexillologists owe to Dr Whitney Smith the "father" of modern vexillology.

The Vexillon, for the greatest contribution to vexillology in the past two years, was awarded to Capt Armand du Payrat of the French Navy, for his work with the *Album des Pavillons*. The award for the best presentation at the Congress went to Dr Philippe Rault of Brittany for his paper on *"New Flags for an Old Country"*, outlining the work of the Breton Vexillological Society in encouraging the design and use of flags in Brittany.

FIAV recognized as Fellows of the Federation Teodoro Amerlinck y Zírion, Barrie Kent, Bruce Nicolls, Christian Fogd Pedersen, Lucien Philippe, Whitney Smith, Aldo Ziggioto and Alfred Znamierowski. Michael Faul was recognized as a Fellow of the Flag Institute. Ethel Faul received a bouquet for her work in assisting with Congress, presented by her grandson, João Lourenço. She and her assistants also received bouquets in appreciation of their work with the Accompanying Persons Programme.

In closing the Congress, FIAV President Michel Lupant thanked the Flag Institute for organizing the XIX ICV and commented on the high quality of the presentations. After describing the event as an example of the universality of vexillology, he expressed the hope that we would all meet again in Stockholm for the XX International Congress 2003. So ended a memorable and at times emotional evening.
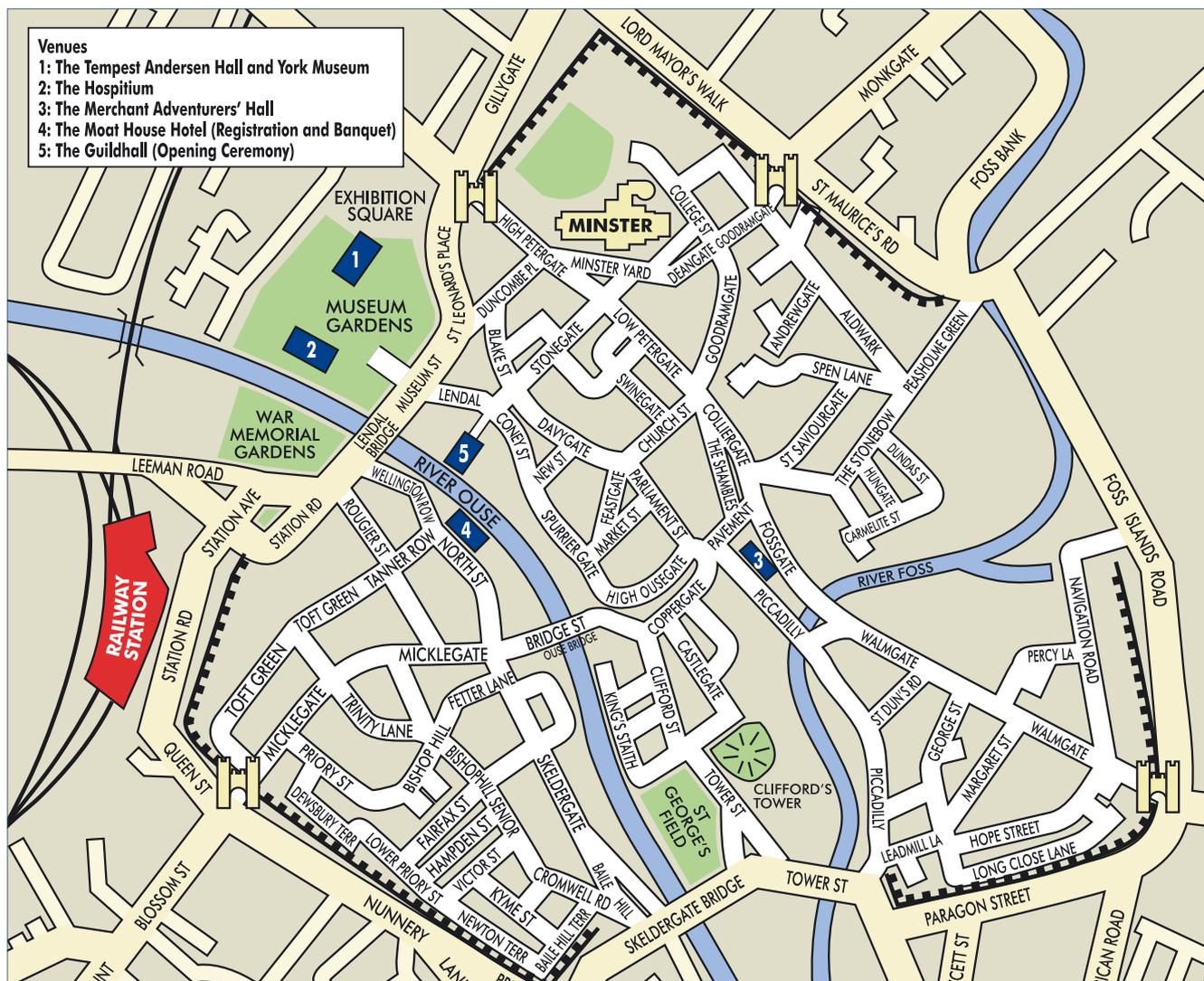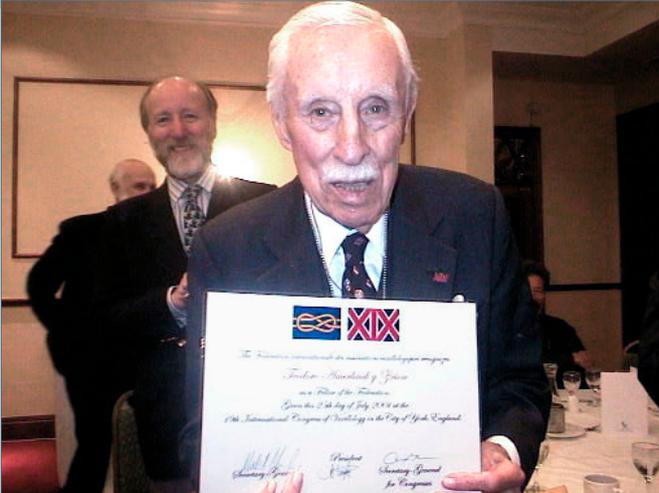
Top-left clockwise: British flags in the Merchant Adventurers' Hall (including ensigns from Sarawak, Bermuda and North Borneo); Breton flags in the Merchant Adventurers' Hall (including those of Bigouden, Dinard and Le Juch); Flags of the World (FOTW) attendees; silk kimonos at Lotherton Hall; Alfred Znamierowski receives his FIAV Fellowship from FIAV Secretary-General Charles 'Kin' Spain; Teodoro Amerlinck with his FIAV Fellowship; Michael Faul with his Fellowship of the Flag Institute; Royal Standards (courtesy of HM The Queen) in the Hospitium display (from left to right, Other Members Standard, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the now obsolete Trinidad & Tobago)

Britannia's Banners - A Brief Outline of the Development of the Principal British Naval Flags

Bruce Nicolls FFIAV FFI

The Bayeux Tapestry, portraying the Norman invasion of England in 1066 and the events leading up to it, shows us that, at that time, flags flown in ships were of no particular significance. The important flags were those of the principal personalities in the event, notably that of Duke William himself, the banner presented to him by the Pope as a sign of his blessing upon William's invasion of England.
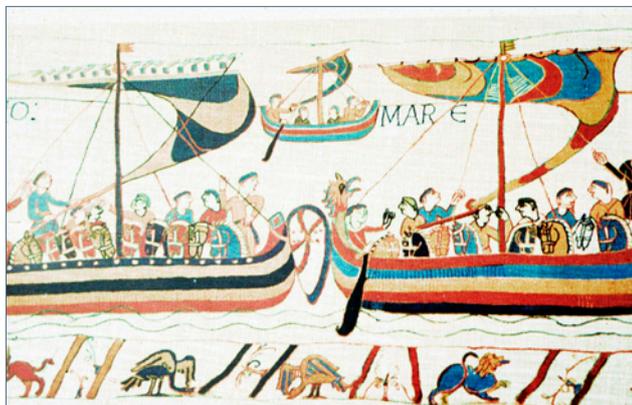
The Bayeux Tapestry

The tapestry also shows us that there was a great need for a better means of identifying the leader, who in this case had to show his face to his troops to reassure them that he was still alive after a rumour went round that he had been killed.

The Bayeux Tapestry

It was in the Crusades that this need became critical, with kings, nobles and knights of several nationalities fighting together, and now in all encasing armour. Banners with bold, simple and distinctive devices were adopted, playing a major part in the development of what became known as heraldry.

A Crusader

In an era of increasing maritime activity, these banners also became the means of identifying ships. The three gold lions on a red field, adopted by the English king in 1198, became the banner of the king's ships, and the red cross of St George, widely adopted by the Crusaders, became the colours of English ships generally.

Seal Showing the England & Cinque Ports Flags

The Three Lions of England

The Flag of England

Seals Showing Banners on Ships

The next important early English maritime flag was that of the Cinque Ports, a group of five ports in south east England which, in return for certain privileges, undertook to provide the king with ships and men in time of war. It was created in the 13th century and combined the fore parts of the king's lions and the after parts of three ships, in a somewhat unsatisfactory practice known in heraldry as dimidiation.

In the 14th century, when the English king claimed the thrown of France, he followed the improved practice of quartering when combining the French fleurs-de-lis with the three lions, and when the fleurs-de-lis were

reduced to three in 1405, the royal banner thus created lasted for nearly two centuries. For a while the English king did rule more of France than the French king, but Joan of Arc ended that situation.

Flag of the Cinque Ports

Royal Banner of 1405

Towards the end of the 15th century, in what became known as the wars of the roses, there was conflict between the Houses of York and Lancaster, both claimants to the throne, and each supported by the private armies of powerful nobles. In 1485 Lancastrian Henry Tudor prevailed and became Henry VII. He married Elizabeth of York, and combined the Red rose of Lancaster with the White rose of York to create a new royal badge, the Tudor Rose.

Henry VIII Deck Banners
Photographs of Banners supplied to the
National Geographic Society, Washington DC

Royal Banner   **Tudor Rose**

Fleur de Lis   **Portcullis**

This badge, and other royal badges, principally the portcullis of Henry's mother's family, and a single fleur-de-lis, adorned the deck banners of ships in the King's service in place of the banners of the nobles. Henry had banned their private armies. During this period enormous streamers flew from mastheads, bearing St George's cross and, often, the green and white Tudor royal livery colours.

Henry and his son, Henry VIII, between them built up a strong navy, in which the major new development was the advent of the heavy gun. Gradually, naval tactics evolved, and sea battles began at a much greater distance. There was a need for big, bold simple flags to identify ships at this distance. In 1574, during Elizabeth I's reign, a big, bold, simple, striped flag was introduced, the first naval ensign.
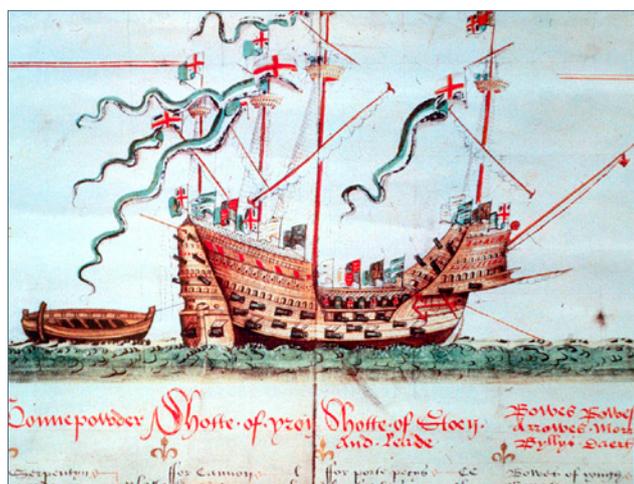
A Tudor Warship

This flag combined the cross of St George, in the canton, with stripes of green and white, the Tudor royal livery colours. Stripes of other colours were also used, and in some flags the St George's cross was placed overall.

A Tudor Ensign

With Elizabeth's death in 1603, James VI of Scotland was invited to become James I of England as well. His banner, combining the English and Scottish arms and the harp for Ireland continued in use in the King's ships, but now only as the Lord High Admiral's flag.

The new king of Great Britain also decided that he should symbolise the union by combining the national flags, although the parliaments, and the peoples, remained distinctly separate. He apparently felt that he needed an excuse for doing this, and his Royal Proclamation in 1606 started with the words: "Whereas some difference has arisen between Our subjects of South and North Britain, travelling by sea, about the bearing of their flags..." James instructed his heralds to combine the crosses of St George and St Andrew in a flag which was ordered to be flown by all ships at the main masthead, with their own country's flag at the fore. It was described simply as the "British flag": the first recorded use of the term "Union Flag" was in 1625.

The Lord High Admiral's Flag of James VI & I

The First Union Flag

An English Ship Flying Both Flags

James was now in London, and it was the English heralds who designed the flag, quite naturally placing St George over St Andrew. Equally naturally, the Scottish shipmasters objected to this, and petitioned the King, offering alternative designs, but the King paid no attention. The Scots rarely used the new flag, and on land adopted their own design.

A Scottish Union Flag on Edinburgh Castle

In the early years of the Stuart Kings striped ensigns remained popular, but in 1621 a plain red ensign was introduced. Although the crosses of St George and St Andrew had now been combined in the British flag, St George's cross was still used in the canton of the ensign, probably because the navy was almost entirely English. White and blue ensigns followed in about 1633, and were used to distinguish the three squadrons into which the fleet was now divided. At this stage the white ensign was also a plain flag. Merchant ships began to adopt the red ensign, and this was authorised by Royal Proclamation in 1674.

An Early Stuart Ensign

The First Red Ensign

Early Ensigns

Red

White

Blue
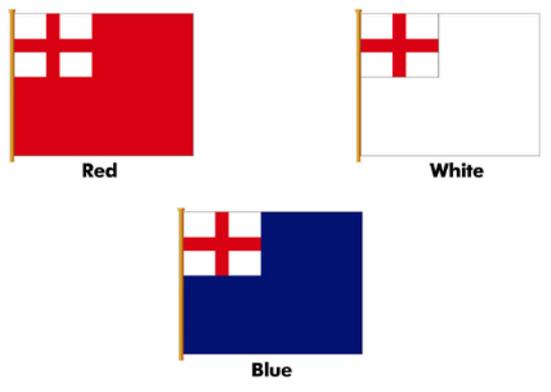
The First Squadronal Ensigns

Admirals of the three squadrons used plain flags of the appropriate colour, the Admiral himself at the main masthead, the Vice Admiral at the fore and the Rear Admiral at the mizzen. At first the order of seniority was red, blue, white, but the red, white, blue sequence was adopted in 1653. Private ships flew pennants of the appropriate colour at their main masthead, or a pennant of red, white and blue if they were on detached duty.

A Dutch Ship and the Admiral of the Blue Squadron
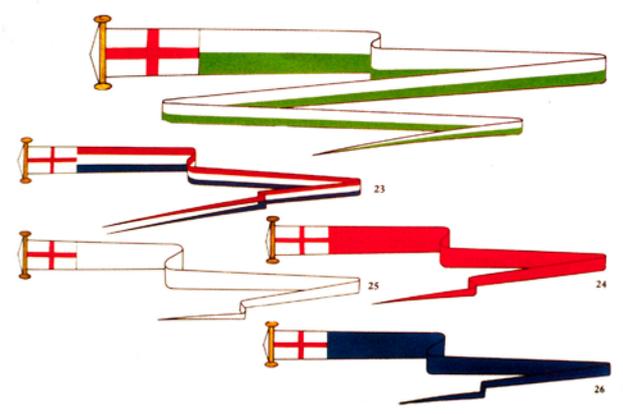
Various Pennants

Late in the 16th century a new flag had been introduced for the use of the Lord High Admiral with a yellow anchor on a red field, a badge which had been in use for some time. After the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1660 it was more formally used to distinguish the Lord High Admiral when the King was afloat and flying the Royal Standard himself, especially after 1702 when the Royal Standard became the Sovereign's personal banner. For

much of the time from this date the office of Lord High Admiral was vested in the Board of Admiralty until this body was dissolved in 1964 with the unification of the Ministry of Defence, and the Queen became the Lord High Admiral.

The Lord High Admiral's Flag

HMY Britannia Flying the Lord High Admiral's Flag

The Union Flag had been in use for nearly thirty years when, in 1634, a new Royal Proclamation confined its use to the King's ships, and instructed merchant ships to revert to flying just their own country's flag. This was partly because they were masquerading as warships and evading harbour and pilotage dues, but also because foreign ships were failing to salute British warships in the "English" channel on the excuse that they were indistinguishable from merchant ships. In fact, it was because James II had allowed the navy to become weak, and it no longer commanded respect.

The First Union Flag

At about the same time it became the practice in warships to fly a smaller version of the Union Flag at the small mast on the bowsprit instead of a large flag at the main masthead. At that time the word 'jack' was used as a diminutive, and this smaller flag was described as: "the King's Jack" or "His Majesty's Jack". The name 'jack' became associated with a small flag in the bows of a ship, and the term "Union Jack", which came into use later, became the name by which the Union Flag was and is generally known.

A Jack on a Jack Staff

Another Example of a Jack

When Queen Anne came to the throne in 1702, use of the royal standard as an Admiral's flag ceased, although, probably by omission, it remained in use as the signal for calling a council of flag officers for nearly another century. Also in that year, a very wide red cross was added to the plain white ensign to distinguish it from the white ensign recently introduced in the French navy. At the same time, a red cross was added to the hitherto plain white Admirals' flag.

The 1702 White Ensign
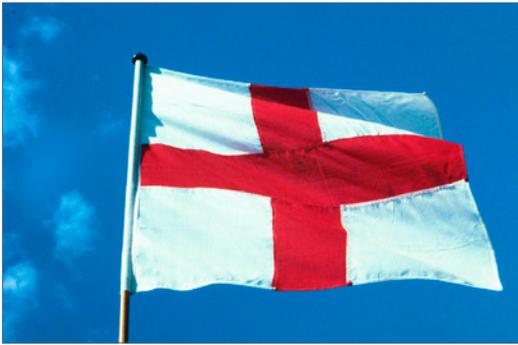
The 1702 White Admiral's Flag

In 1707 an Act of Union combined the English and Scottish parliaments, and the Union flag replaced St George's cross in the cantons of the ensigns. The width of the large red cross in the white ensign was reduced to provide more room for the Union flag.
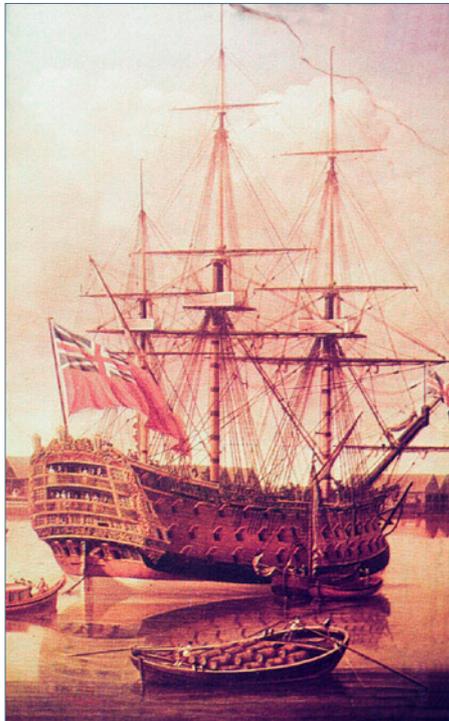
The 1707 Red Ensign

After this change the principal naval flags remained the same until 1801, when the red diagonal St Patrick's cross was added to the Union flag following the abolition of the Irish Parliament and the imposition of direct rule from London.

The 1801 Union Flag

At about this time it became the practice for warships to hoist the Union Jack as the signal for a pilot. Merchant ships began to follow this practice and, as they were forbidden by Royal Proclamation from flying the Union Jack, the Admiralty became concerned. Following discussions with the shipping industry, and with a Captain Marryat, who had introduced a 'Code of Signals for the Merchant Service' in 1817, a new 'Signal Jack' was introduced in 1823 as the signal for a pilot. This was a Union Jack with a white border, one fifth of the breadth of the Union Jack, which was strictly for use only as the signal for a pilot, and certain other signals, and a fine of up to £20 was later introduced for improper use of this flag.

The Pilot or Civil Jack

Despite these strict instructions, and encouraged by ambiguous wording in the flag regulations of subsequent Merchant Shipping Acts, the Signal Jack was widely adopted by merchant ships as a 'jack' in the bows of the ship. Now, it is no longer used as the signal for a pilot, and has been authorised for use as the civil jack.

In 1864 the Admiralty decided that the system of squadron colours was outdated, inconvenient and expensive, and that it had become a 'matter of importance' to distinguish warships from merchant ships, and also desirable to distinguish merchant ships in public service. They therefore allocated the red ensign, already used by merchant ships, to their exclusive use, the white ensign to the Royal Navy, and the blue ensign to ships in public service, usually with their badge in the fly.
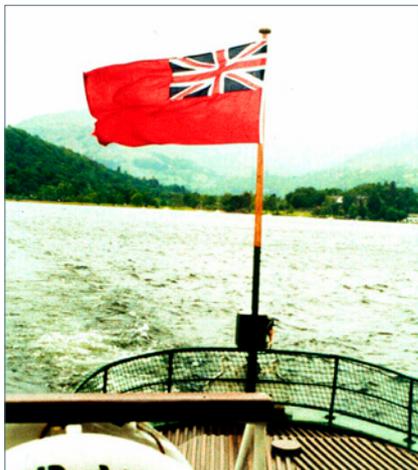
The Merchant or Civil Ensign

Exceptionally, the Royal Yacht Squadron was permitted the privilege of continuing to use the white ensign, and some other yacht clubs were granted the right to display the blue ensign, or the red ensign with a badge in the fly. The blue ensign was also authorised for use by Royal Naval Reserve officers in command of merchant ships which also met certain other conditions. It should be noted that the blue ensign is not the ensign of the Royal Naval Reserve as such, as is stated in many flag books. RNR ships are ships of the Royal Navy, and wear the white ensign.

The White Ensign on HMS *Victory*

The Blue Ensign of the MoD Police

With the reduction to the the white ensign alone for the Royal Navy, the white Admiral's flag, now with St George's cross throughout, became the one Admiral's flag. Towards the end of the century the change from sail to steam brought the two masted battleship, and it was no longer possible to use the masts to distinguish the three ranks of Admiral. These two developments brought into being the present Admirals' flags. For centuries, vice and rear admirals afloat in small boats had been distinguished by the addition of one or two balls to their flags, and this practice was adopted for ships.
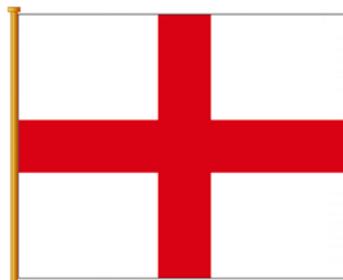
The Admiral's Flag
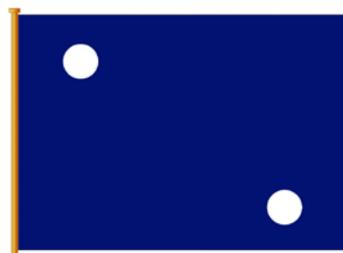
The Old Small Boats Rear Admiral's Flag
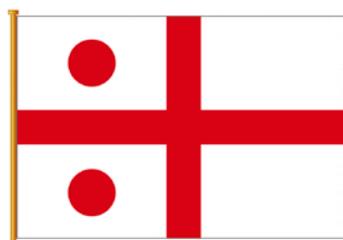
The Flag of a Rear Admiral

Finally, as a footnote, or should it be a headnote, the mast-head pennant, once the main distinguishing flag for a warship, has become a barely visible little strip of material with a minute St George's cross, flown continuously while the ship is in commission. The only occasion on which a pennant worthy of comparison with the splendid Tudor streamer is flown is when a ship pays off, as I am doing now.
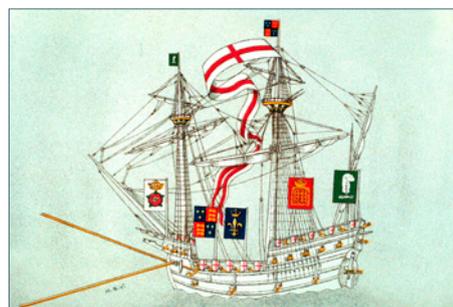
Chart: "Flags in Argentina"

Gus Tracchia FFIAV

Flags in Argentina could also be called Flags of Argentina and both titles could be used very nicely since the flags in Argentina were also flags of Argentina. All belong to the Argentine-Hispanic-American patrimony.

This type of work will never be finished since many other flags could have been included, and many other presently illustrated flags will experience changes. Furthermore, after the completion of this work, I am sure that many other new provincial flags are bound to be introduced.

Any reader will agree that historical studies of any kind are not necessarily a look at the past but the means to take advantage of past experiences to improve the future. The spirit of this work is to rescue the past using flags as the medium, and by that, enabling new generations to understand this from a different and visual perspective.

Michael Faul, suggested that the work be divided in three parts: Hispanic period, Independence and revolutionary period, and provincial and cities flags as the third period.

I will comment on the second period because during a long interval, the idea of an Argentine nation was very much in doubt. Furthermore, for those that clearly had a vision of an Argentine nation, the form this nation will take as a legally constituted state, was very much under discussion. For that reason, you will find some flags described as the flag of the United Provinces of the River Plate, or the flag of the United Provinces of South America, and sometimes the word "*of*" is substituted by the word "in" South America. The flag adopted in 1816 was at that time a transitional flag. It was known as "*the lesser flag*," which serve as the "*greater flag*" until legal constituted authorities decide on a permanent one. You will read words which are evidence of the process of the formation of a modern state. Words like: "*The Head of the Government*,"which was not the president. "*The Assembly*," and "The Congress," which were two separate bodies and sometimes competed with the authority of the Head of the Government. "*The authorities seated in Buenos Aires*," which is not the same as "*The Government of Buenos Aires*," or "*The President of the Nation*." whom not always resided in Buenos Aires.

Belgrano hoisted a flag of national character in 1812. However, still doubtful as to what function that flag played. Was it an "Argentine," flag? Did the flag represent a constituted form of government, a state, a nation, or just an ideal. (The term Argentina begun legally and officially in 1826.)

Belgrano's intentions seem to indicate the desire of having a flag of permanent character with an agenda of becoming the flag of a State. On the other hand, the statehood aspired by Belgrano and his flag did not spell out the required control of a populated territory and sovereignty. It seems that this flag of "national" character was supposed to be the flag for The United Provinces of the River Plate, which included present Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay and Uruguay. The Government was appalled by the idea of a "national flag," but at the same time tolerated the display of the color blue and white not as a national flag of permanent character but as a party/ideological flag of temporary character and function. Furthermore, the Government had neither political or military control over the whole of the territory and population it proclaimed to preside and represent.

The teaching of history in Argentina is vertical and monolithic perhaps as a result of being a young nation with a past of civil war and unrest. Argentine children are taught one official history, of one father of the country, and one creator of the flag. Therefore, for Argentines, the idea of many flags as part of their patrimony is new , somehow foreign, and resisted by some. Works of this kind are trying to achieve in the conscience of the people the idea of belonging to a greater culture whose understanding is of the utmost importance for the future of any nation. Knowledge of this heritage will produce cultural dialogue enabling the explanation of misunderstandings which kept people apart from each other.

Two types of sources have been used to complete this work; Direct Source- a) visiting museums and collections where the actual flags can be seen, as well as contemporary drawings or paintings. b) Using coins, medals, and uniforms. The second source of information are documents which we could sub-divide in official documents and publications, and work published by private individuals. The bibliography consulted is of public domain; however, the author has researched public and private archives from vexillologists of Argentina, Spain, France and the United States. Much of the information provided in this work are from previous essays by this author given in International Congresses of vexillology, or in vexillological publications. Some of these works are: "*Provincial Arms of Argentina*," "*Federal Flags*," "*The Flag of the Argentine Confederation*," "*The Flag of the Andes*." The corresponding bibliography is noted on each of these works.

For better understanding we have used Italics indicating actual quotes from official documents, names and titles of protagonists, and descriptions of flags.

Few works of this kind are written alone. You must often rely on the assistance of many individuals. In this particular case the assistance giving generously by individual and institutions I received from The Museum of National History of Buenos Aires, The Argentine Association of Vexillology, headed by Alberto R. Perazzo, and The Interdisciplinary Center of Cultural Studies, whose director is Professor Anibal Gotelli. The grateful assistance and constant contributions provided by Captain Mario F. Penzotti, must be acknowledged. To Dr. Carlos Fernandez y Espeso and Dr. Jose Luis Brugues y Alonso, from the Sociedad Española de Vexilologia, I thank both for their clarification on historical aspects and scholarly contributions.

In technical matters, coaching outside the ringside, Dr. Whitney Smith of the Flag Research Center past experiences in this type of work was considered invaluable by the author. My thanks to Professor Maria I. Decandido of the Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, for the historical guidance provided, clarifying and or confirming many political Argentine events connected to flags.

One last person remains to be acknowledged; Dr. Peter Orenski of TME Corp., whose professionalism in the artwork is commendable. Dr. Orenski's understanding of the importance of accuracy in details, color shades and proportions, pleased this author's perception of how to achieve a job well done.

Without his knowledge and experience this work would have lacked the required professional standing. Finally, I would like to record my gratitude to the staff of libraries and curators of museums whom, without exception, I have found very helpful and a pleasure to deal with. To these men and women that store books and documents, preserve flags and uniforms, and make all these artifacts and documents available for us to enjoy, learn and disseminate, we are all in debt.

Flags in Argentina

Royal Standards in Southern Africa

Bruce Berry FFIAV

Secretary-General Emeritus of FIAV

The use of royal standards in Southern Africa is not widespread despite the predominance of monopolistic hereditary chieftainships on the sub-continent. A tradition of royal flags and banners did emerge in the Kingdom of Madagascar and since independence in Lesotho and Swaziland. A more recent development has been the adoption of a personal royal standard and a flag by certain ethnic groups in South Africa. The use of such flags is now more widespread in the region than ever before.

The first indigenous royal standards in Southern Africa, in the commonly accepted meaning as being those flags or banners symbolising the presence or authority of a monarch,[1] were those used by the monarchs during the Kingdom of Madagascar in the late 19th century. Prior to this there is evidence that a flag had been used by the Kongo Empire during the 17th century,[2] but this was to represent the "empire" as a whole and was not solely for the use of the monarch. Red flags were also used by the Sultan of Oman on Zanzibar from the 18th century.

In the Kingdom of Madagasacar, however, the situation seems to have been different. The Hova dynsasty first ruled on Madagascar in the 15th century and by the 19th century their influence extended to two-thirds of the island. According to *Les Drapeaux de Madagascar*[3] Queen Ranavalona I, who occupied the throne from 1828 to 1861, used a white flag with her name in red and the word "*manjaka*" (for Queen) below. A more precise description of the use of a royal standard is given when King Radama II and his Queen ascended to the throne in an impressive ceremony in Antananarivo on 23 September 1862. In a description of the ceremony, the *Illustrated London News* (repeated in *Ifulegi*) said, "The road ... was lined with soldiers in red coatees, shakos &c. presenting arms. The line was marked by poles at every ten yards with banners, white ground and red border, with Radama II, and a star". The photograph accompanying the description of the coronation shows a number of swallow-tailed vertical banners is shown as Fig. 1.[4] From the description and the photograph, the banner has been reconstructed as shown in Fig. 2.

The royal flags were red and white banners bearing the cipher of the monarch and sometimes even their full names, and were accompanied by a crown and occasionally a star. In the later years of the kingdom red began to occupy a portion of the white field as seen in the flag of Queen Ranavalona II. Queen Ranavalona II succeeded King Radama II, who was assassinated after

having been only two years on the throne. Several flags are also quoted as being used during the reign of Queen Ranavalona II (1863 - 1883) and again they are white with the name of the monarch in red, edged in black. Queen Ranavalona III (1883 – 1897) used a flag of diagonally white over red with her royal cipher (crown over RM) over all. The flag was illustrated on a German cigarette card in reverse as is shown here in Fig. 3.[5] Red and white were the royal colours and seem to have been used in the royal flags of Madagascar since at least the reign of Queen Ranavalona I. Lucien Philippe refers to a history of Madagascar by H. Deschamps which states that the colours are derived from the Sakalave Ménabé, two princely families who occupied parts of the island. Red is for the Volamena Prince and white for the Volafotsi Prince. Philippe finds it strange that these colours should be united on the Hova royal flags. He offers another hypothesis, that the red and white refers instead to the Indonesian origin of the Hovas.[6]

The Hova royal standard appeared in three forms, namely in an elongated banner form of the type shown in Fig. 1, a triangular form as shown in Figs. 2 and 3, as well as in a rectangular version. In the latter, the flags were divided diagonally red over white with the letters RM, for Ranavalona-Manjaka, embroidered in the center under a crown.

1. Royal Banners at the coronation of King Radama II

Although most references seem to confirm the description of Queen Ranavalona III's flag, there has been at least one dissenting view. Karl Fachinger, responding to a description of the flag similar to that given above in D. Ruhl's *Die Flagge des Kriegs und Handelsmarinen*, says this is incorrect, and in fact, the royal standard was the French *tricolore* with a golden crown in the white stripe and the letters RM below.[7]

2. Banner of King Radama II
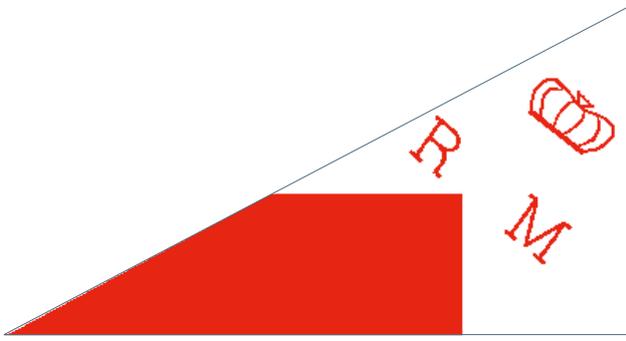
3. Royal Standard of Queen Ranavalona III

The New Treaties with Britain (1865) and with France (1868) recognised the Queen of Madagascar but provided economic concessions to Europeans trading on the island. However, France claimed territories in the north west and "to enforce their claims in June 1862, the French removed the Queen's flags from the north-western territories … a clear denial of Malagasy sovereignty in that region".[8] Following a later agreement with Britain whereby the latter agreed to recognise a French protectorate of Madagascar in return for French recognition of a British protectorate over Zanzibar, French forces landed on the island in May 1895 resulting in the island becoming a colony annexed to the French Empire. The monarchy was overthrown and Queen Ranavalona III was later exiled to Réunion.

In the period between the overthrow of the monarchy in Madagascar and the second half of the 20th century there appears that there were no indigenous royal standards being flown in Southern Africa. The entire sub-continent was under colonial rule and local royal standards only started to reappear with the granting of independence to Lesotho and Swaziland, each becoming a constitutional monarchy.

Prior to independence in October 1966, Lesotho was the British Protectorate of Basutoland. The local Basotho inhabitants had resisted successive attacks by invading Zulus in the 18th century and emigrant Boers during the first half of the 19th century with Paramount Chief Moshoeshoe I eventually asking Queen Victoria for British protection "under the great folds of her flag". On 12 March 1868 the British High Commissioner in South Africa issued a proclamation declaring the Basotho to be British subjects and their territory to be British territory. Despite the brief annexation to the Cape Colony between 1871 and 1883, Basutoland remained under direct British rule until internal self-government was achieved following the first general election held on 29 April 1965. Independence followed on 4 October 1966 when the country became the Kingdom of Lesotho. Under the independence constitution, the Paramount Chief (since 1960) became King Moshoeshoe II of Lesotho and a new national flag and royal standard were adopted.

The royal flag (Fig. 4) was based on the new national flag and is somewhat ambiguously described in the *Gazette Extraordinary* (No. 3548, effective 4 October 1966) which led the standard to be incorrectly illustrated in Smith's *Flags through the Ages and across the World* (1975). In this illustration the national arms are placed directly against the Basuto hat symbol as shown in Fig. 4.[9] A correct illustration is given in *Flags and Arms across the World* (1980) where the national arms are placed below the Basuto hat in the centre of the blue field (Fig. 5).[10]

Following the seizure of power in a coup by troops of the Lesotho paramilitary force on 19 January 1986, the new ruling Military Council called for suggestions from the public for a new national flag. The previous national flag was considered objectionable to many because of its close association with the ousted prime minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, and his Basutoland National Party, which had ruled the country since independence and whose colours of horizontal blue, white, green and red had obviously influenced the design of the country's national flag. On the first anniversary of the military coup, a new national flag was adopted in Lesotho. A new royal flag was also adopted (Fig. 6) and continued in the tradition of being a modified version of the national flag. This flag is described in the Second Schedule of the Emblems and Public Seal Order (Order No. 2 of 1987) as being:

4. Incorrect illustration of the first Lesotho Royal Standard
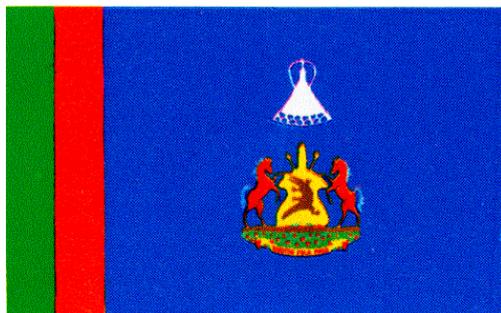
5. Royal Standard Lesotho (1966–87)

"A rectangular tricolour proportion three by two (3 x 2), per bend reversed, white, blue and green, the white occupying half the surface area of the flag and charged, with the center line, one quarter (¼) of the distance from the hoist with the coat of arms of the Kingdom of Lesotho proper; the blue and green each occupying the remaining surface of the flag."[11]

6. Royal Standard of Lesotho (1987-)

Unlike the official description of the first royal standard where no illustration was provided, the new royal standard is illustrated in this Order. The Order also provides an heraldic description and illustration of the Lesotho Arms in Schedule 1. The Order also specifies that any person, without the authority of the King of Lesotho, who uses the royal standard in any manner except for the purposes for which it is intended, is committing an offence and will be subject to a fine or imprisonment, or both.

There was no change to the royal standard following the death of King Moshoeshoe II in January 1996 and the new monarch, King Letsie III, continues to use the royal flag adopted in 1987.

In common with Lesotho, Swaziland was also a British Protectorate prior to attaining its independence on 6 September 1968. Swaziland's political history is unique in that its original political structures remained intact throughout colonial period and continue to play a pivotal role in the modern state. The Swazi nation formed in the late 15th century but it was not until the late 18th century that it migrated to the area it occupies today. It was in the 19th century that a coherent nation state emerged under King Sobhuza I. Swaziland became a British High Commission Territory in 1902 and King Sobhuza II ascended to the throne in 1921. Swaziland became independent as a constitutional monarchy under King Sobhuza II on

06 September 1968.

As in the case of Lesotho, a new national flag and royal standard were formally adopted by the Kingdom at independence. The national flag is based on the flag granted by King Sobhuza in 1941 to the Emasotsha Regiment of the Swazi Pioneer Corps which had fought on behalf of the Allies during World War II. Again, in common with the situation in Lesotho, the royal standard was derived from the national flag and was designed by King Sobhuza himself. The royal standard was the same as the national flag with the addition of a gold lion centred on the upper blue stripe. (Fig. 7). The lion, the symbol of the king, is oriented towards the fly and can heraldically be described as passant contourné. The lion has three paws on the ground and one raised (statant) and is yellow with a black eye, claws and outlines, and a red tongue. The lion (*Ingwenyama*) is the symbol of Swazi kingship and also appears in both the national and royal coats of arms. The King himself can also be called *Ingwenyama.* The tassels on the spears and shield of both the national flag and royal standard are called *tinjobo* and are made from the *lisakabuli* (widow bird) and *ligwalagwala* (lourie) birds. These *tinjobo* are only used by the King. [12] The royal standard flew publicly for the first time on 5 September 1968 at the Somhlolo National Stadium at Lobamba during independence celebrations.[13]
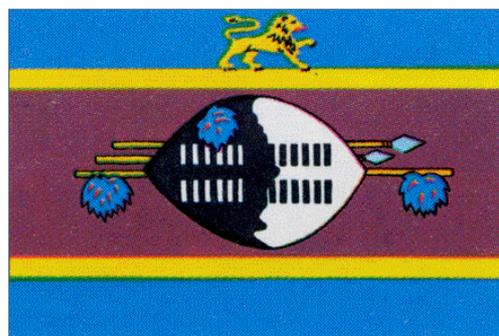
7. Royal Standard of King Sobhuza II (1968–1982)

King Sobhuza's death on 21 August 1982 precipitated a prolonged power struggle within the royal family. Initially the Queen Mother, Queen Regent Dzeliwe, assumed the regency and appointed 15 members to the *Liqoqo*, a traditional advisory body which Sobhuza had sought to establish as the Supreme Council of State. However, due to confusion over the status of the *Liqoqo*, a power struggle ensued between the Prime Minister, who sought to assert the authority of the Cabinet over the *Liqoqo,* and members of the *Liqoqo*. The Queen Regent was pressurised by the *Liqoqo* to dismiss the Prime Minister and replace him with a *Liqoqo* supporter. Subsequently a power struggle revolved around Queen Dzeliwe until she was placed under house arrest by the *Liqoqo* in October 1983. The *Liqoqo* subsequently installed Queen Ntombi Laftwala, mother of the 14 year old heir apparent, Prince Makhosetive, as queen regent in late October, and she

accepted the *Liqoqo* as the supreme body in Swaziland. Prince Makhosetive was subsequently crowned King Mswati III on 25 April 1986.

8. Royal Standard of King Mswati III (1986-)

A new royal standard for King Mswati III replaced that used by King Sobhuza II (Fig. 8). The design follows the same basic pattern of the previous royal standard and national flag. The lion symbol of King Sobhuza has been replaced with another lion, which is now the most prominent feature on the flag. This lion is now orientated to the hoist but faces the observer (statant guardant) on the central maroon stripe. Small Emasotsha Regiment shields, of the same type found on the national flag, are found in the upper hoist and lower fly corners of the flag and traditional Swazi spears are placed in the upper fly and lower hoist corners. The traditional ceremonial head-dress of the monarch (*Inyoni*) is placed in the centre of the upper blue stripe. The royal cipher (M III R) is found in the centre of the lower blue stripe. The new royal standard thus contains many more symbols relating to the monarchy and is easier to distinguish from the national flag than the previous standard used by King Sobhuza.

The situation in South Africa is different in that as an independent republic, the head of state is the President. However, within the country there are a number of ethnic groups falling under various political systems. Probably the most famous of these are the Zulus who were welded into a centralised militarist kingdom by Chief Shaka during the early 19th century and who retained some degree of local autonomy despite the other political developments in South Africa as a whole. During the apartheid era, KwaZulu was the designated area for the Zulus and during the negotiations leading to the first democratic constitution of South Africa in the early 1990s, the role and status of the Zulu monarchy was an important issue. The new Constitution of South Africa recognises "the institution, status and role of traditional leadership, according to customary law …".[14] Accordingly the Zulu monarch has adopted a higher profile in recent years although the province of KwaZulu-Natal has yet to formalise the role of the Zulu monarch with the adoption of its own provincial constitution.

Nevertheless, a personal flag for the current Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini Kabhekuzulu, was unveiled on 21 December 1999. The flag, the first for a Zulu monarch (Fig.9), comprises seven horizontal stripes of black, yellow, red, green, white, blue, and maroon with the royal arms in the centre. The colours symbolise social development factors with black representing the soil, yellow wealth, red defence, green vegetation, white purity and peace, blue religion and maroon royalty.

The blazon of the Royal Arms is described as:

Arms: Argent, in pale the sceptre of the King between four huts, over all in base a representation of the Royal Hut, proper.

Supporters: On a ground sable, two lions Or, armed Argent and langued sable.

Motto: *Ilembe Leqa Amanye Ngoku Khalipha* (Together we shall surmount – is an allusion to the motto on the former South African arms, Unity is Strength).

These arms were registered with the South African Bureau of Heraldry under Certificate number 757 issued on 02 June 1975. The arms were registered without the Royal Crown that is now placed above the Arms on the flag.[15]

The silver (white) shield is derived from the colour of ox-hide of the royal herd and the sceptre or "*Inhlendla*" is the symbol of the King's authority. The Royal Hut never stands alone and the King is the "Lion of the Zulu", hence the choice of supporters.

The new royal flag is flown at all royal households, on all official royal vehicles and on other buildings conducting royal business.
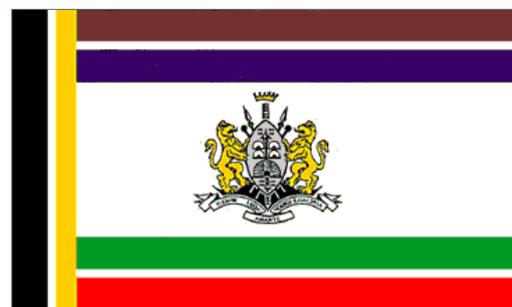
8. Royal Flag of King Goodwill Zwelithini (1999-)

Although the flag for King Goodwill Zwelithini is the only royal standard within South Africa, another ethnic group within the country has recently chosen to fly a flag of its own. What is particularly interesting about this is the use of the term "Royal". So while not being a royal standard in the strictest sense, it nevertheless is worthy of mention as the flag is used by the Royal Bafokeng Administration

and by the King of the Bafokeng.

The Royal Bafokeng occupy an area of some 2 000 km² approximately 200 km west of Pretoria adjacent to the world renowned Sun City resort and comprise a population of 3 million. The Royal Bafokeng are members of the Setswana- speaking indigenous community and rose to some prominence during the 1980s when they demanded compensation and royalties from mining companies who were mining platinum in the area. The world's largest platinum reserves are to be found here and the agreement reached between the mining companies and the Royal Bafokeng Administration has resulted in the Bafokeng receiving considerable amounts in compensation payments and annual royalties.

The present Kgosi (Setswana for King) is Leruo Molotlegi, the 36th recorded Bafokeng king. His father, Lebone Molotlegi II (on the throne between 1996 and 1999) was the designer of the current flag of the Royal Bafokeng Administration, the traditional authority responsible for administration in the area. The flag (Fig. 10) was designed in 1995 and comprises three horizontal stripes of light green, light blue and beige, with the Bafokeng logo in the centre. The green symbolizes the algae found in the water in the area and is a reference to the everlasting nature of the Bafokeng kingship. The blue symbolizes water and the source of life for the community while the beige represents the sand found in the rivers. For the Bafokeng, algae represents a blanket and the sand, a mattress.

The logo of the Bafokeng (Fig. 11) is a modern representation of the Bafokeng totem, the crocodile, hence the symbolism of water in the flag as a whole. The crocodile of peace has long been the recognized totem of the Bafokeng people. A statue at the royal residence at Legato depicts the crocodile of peace and, having a short tail and only two legs, is representative of a human being. The short tail, and closed mouth, also emphasizes non-aggression as the Bafokeng people believe that a long tail would imply aggressiveness. The posture of the crocodile denotes movement towards water, which the Bafokeng believe to be a sign of contentment. This results in a common expression, used at meetings, "*A e wele mo Metsing*", which literally translated means "Let there be peace".[16]

Behind the logo are a crossed pick and shovel, which refer to the common economic activities in the area, namely mining and agriculture. Below the logo, in the center of the beige stripe is a South Africa flag. This symbolizes that the Bafokeng recognise that although they are distinctive, they are nevertheless an integral part of South Africa. [17] This flag can be seen flying at the offices of the Royal Bafokeng Administration in Phokeng and at the royal residence of Legato.
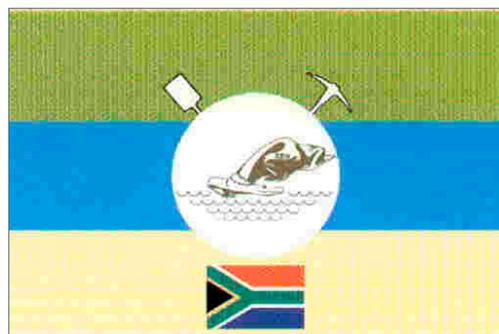
9. Flag of the Royal Bafokeng Administration (1995-)

10. Logo of the Royal Bafokeng Administration

The royal standards used in Southern Africa appear to fall into two categories. Those used during the Kingdom of Madagascar, and more recently, in Swaziland are personal standards, unique to the reigning monarch but containing elements or colours to pertaining the ruling dynasty. The standards used in Lesotho, however, do not follow this tradition as the current monarch continues to fly the standard used by his predecessor, the change in the country's royal standard being determined by political factors rather than by a change in the monarch. It remains to be seen if this standard will continue to be used by the successor to King Letsie III.

In South Africa, the standard of King Zwelithini appears to be for his personal use only, while the flag used by the Royal Bafokeng Administration represents the nation as a whole and should continue to fly unchanged despite future changes in the monarch.

1. Smith, W., 1975: *Flags through the ages and across the world*, McGraw-Hill, p. 24.
2. *Flag Bulletin,*1997: No. 176, p.172.
3. Philippe, L., 1994: Les Drapeaux de Madagasacar, *Sociéte française de vexillologie.*
4. *Ifulegi,* 1998: No. 3, p.2.
5. Crampton, W., 1990: *The World of Flags*, Studio Editions, p.65. Also quoted in Ruhl, D., 1885; 1887: *Die Flagge des Kriegs und Handelsmarinen.*
6. Philippe, L.,1969: Quelques Drapeaux du Musee des Arts Africains et Oceaniens, *Vexillologia*, Tome II, No. 1-2, p.2-5.
7. Submission by Jaume Ollè to Flags of the World (FOTW) website (www.fotw.net) on 7 January 1999.
8. *Africa Today* (3rd ed), 1996, Africa Books Ltd., p.952.
9. Smith, W., 1987: New Flags: Kingdom of Lesotho, *Flag Bulle-*

tin, Vol. XXVI, No. 4, p.174. The error was noticed following a slide of an actual flag being provided to the Flag Research Center by James Croft after a visit to Lesotho.

10. Smith, W., 1980: *Flags and Arms across the World*, McGraw-Hill.

11. Kingdom of Lesotho, 1987: Emblems and Public Seal Order, Order No. 2 of 1987.

12. Swaziland Dept. of Information, circa 1970.

13. Murdoch, G., 1969: The Swazi Royal Standard, *Flag Bulletin,* Vol. VIII, No. 2, p.173-175.

14. *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*, Act 108 of 1996, Chap. 12, p.119.

15. *SAVA Newsletter*, SN: 27/00, April 2000, p.5.

16. Details from the Royal Bafokeng Administration website at www.bafokeng.org and personal communication with the Public Affairs Office of the Administration.

17. Interview with Herbert Mngadi, Public Affairs Executive, Royal Bafokeng Administration, March 2001.

Flags in the Canton of Vaud 1798 - 1848

Emil Dreyer FFIAV

Secretary-General Emeritus of FIAV

The country of Vaud had been conquered from the Duchy of Savoy by the Bernese in 1536. Though living in peace and prosperity under Bernese rule, the Vaudois resented to be treated as second class subjects. The French Revolution obviously had a great impact in this French speaking southern part of the canton, where in 1789 riots against the Bernese authority were severely repressed. Many Vaudois went into exile in France and other parts of the world. The republican new spirit of liberty persisted though and on 14 and 15 July 1791 so-called popular "banquets", a sort of revolutionary pick-nick, were organised by several revolutionary committees to commemorate the fall of the Bastille and the arrest of Louis XVI. At the banquet organised by the Rolle committee people sung revolutionary songs, stuck tricolour cockades on their hats, wore liberty caps and cheered the people of France[1]. In 1792 other banquets took place in Vaud. But only after the massacre of the Swiss guard at the Tuileries on 10 August 1792, which caused a sentiment of mourning and disapproval in all of Switzerland, did the Bernese start repression. More revolutionaries had then to seek exile in France, where a revolutionary "Helvetic Club" had been established in Paris already in 1790. This club prepared directives for the revolution in Switzerland with the goal of establishing a Helvetic Republic[2].

A few years later, the victorious First Consul Napoleon Bonaparte, travelling from Italy to Rastatt, was frenetically cheered in Lausanne on 23 November 1797. On 28 December 1797 the French Republic guaranteed the rights of the people of the country of Vaud, whereupon the struggle to break away from Bernese authority started on a large scale. Civic committees took over power in several towns, many local troops did no longer obey Bernese orders, the castle of Chillon was occupied by revolutionary voluntaries and on 15 January 1798 revolutionaries from Lausanne invited the delegates of towns and communities of the country of Vaud to a general assembly[3].

French troops were closing in to the Bernese territory and on 18 January 1798 they occupied Geneva. The Vaudois assembly opened session in Lausanne on 21 January. On 23 January the French crossed the border and the next day French general Ménard proclaimed the famous words "*Vaudois, the army of Italy gives you cover*"[4]. The very same day revolutionary instructions from the Swiss revolutionary committee in exile under Frédéric-César de Laharpe reached the assembly at Lausanne. These instructions were addressed "*to the assembly of representatives of the Lemanic Republic…, precursor of the Helvetic Republic*", and ordered in its article 13 "*to plant liberty trees, to destroy all the canton's coat-of-arms and to wear the green cockade*"[5]. Green had been chosen by the Swiss revolutionaries as the colour of liberty. They claimed it had been the colour of William Tell[6]. The people of Paris had rallied in 1789 under the green colour of hope, putting green leaves and cockades on their hats, but they abandoned this colour shortly after (may be because green was the livery colour of the count of Artois)[7]. Swiss patriots had retained the colour green, they wore green and tricolour cockades already during the famous banquets of 1791 and 1792.

The whole revolutionary process and the movements of the French army were perfectly orchestrated from Paris. Considering the enormous quest from ordinary people for liberty and renewal and in view of the strength of the French army and the weakness and decadence of the Bernese oligarchy, revolution occurred almost unopposed and almost with no bloodshed.

On 24 January the radical or independence party, which was known as the "*Comité de Réunion*", decided at a meeting in their club at Palud Square N° 21 in Lausanne to declare the independence of the country of Vaud. Eyewitness reports tell us that they hung out from a window of their club a green flag, which on one side had the words "*RÉPUBLIQUE LÉMANIQUE*" and on the other side the words "*LIBERTÉ, EGALITÉ*"[8]. The assembly of delegates got news of this act but preferred to constitute itself as a "*provisional representative of the Vaudoise Nation*", refusing complete independence from the Swiss Confederation.

We do not exactly know how the flag of the Lemanic Republic looked like, except that it was green and had those 4 words stitched on it in white letters. The archaeological and historical museum at the Rumine Palace in Lausanne displays a light green cotton flag with the hand stitched words "*Liberté . Égalité*" in the centre of it (Fig. 1). The almost square flag measures 125 cm x 115 cm and has each a white five-pointed star stitched in the upper hoist and lower fly corners. The stitching goes through the cotton, so that the same emblems appears mirror-image on the reverse side of the flag. The green cotton tissue, which has several moth holes, can be dated to the end of the 18th century. The flag is labelled as

being that of the Lemanic Republic, but this is a doubtful attribution, since the words "République Lémanique" are missing and since contemporary accounts do not mention any stars. Museum documentation reveals that the flag was discovered in 1967 in the community archives of Penet-Le-Jorat.

Fig. 1

The Lemanic Republic, which was not really a republic, had been but a short-lived dream of a group of radical patriots, which after the arrival of the French on 28 January did not develop further. The legal power still lay in the provisional assembly and in local revolutionary committees, which both used only the term "country-of-Vaud" (=*Pays-de-Vaud*, as written in contemporary manner). The psychological effect though of this green Lemanic flag on the patriotic feelings of the Vaudois population was enormous. In those 4 days from 24 to 28 January, when the Vaudois no longer had to be Bernese and the French liberators still had not arrived, the country lived in a joyful frenzy of freedom. Liberty trees were planted everywhere and everybody wore green cockades and green ribbons, also were many Bernese seals and coats-of-arms destroyed.

The original green flag of the Lemanic republic seems to be lost. There are but four green flags in Vaudois museums today, and all of them are attributed to the Lemanic republic. As will be explained further in the text, these green flags can most probably be attributed to the period between 24 January 1798 and the proclamation of the Helvetic republic on 12 April 1798 - maybe even before 15 February 1798, when the new constitution of the canton of Vaud as a part of the Helvetic republic was voted.

The provisional government of Vaud had already on 10 February declared the country as a part of the planned but not yet established Helvetic republic and had the new constitution voted 5 days later. Thus, by 15 February 1798, the term "Lemanic Republic" was superseded by the term "Helvetic Republic".

Berne surrendered to the French army on 7 March, the path leading to the unitarian Helvetic republic was free. After establishment of the Helvetic republic on 12 April no green flags would have been made, since this regime tolerated no other flag but the tricolour green, red and yellow. The flag at the Rumine palace museum (Fig. 1) shows the words "Liberté, Egalité", which allows to date it at the utmost - if we accepted that a green flag would have been made during the Helvetic republic - between 1798 and 1803. The Helvetic republic was officially dissolved by Napoleon on 19 February 1803 (a historic event putting an end to the civil war between confederates and helvetics known as the *Act of Mediation*). The canton of Vaud became an independent canton within the Confederation, adopting on 16 April 1803 a new coat of arms, a new flag and a new motto, which was "Liberté et Patrie".

The historic museum of Vevey preserves a green flag of the Lemanic republic too (Fig. 2): both sides of the flag show with big printed letters in gold the words "*RÉPUBLIQUE*" and "*LÉMANIQUE*" in two rows in the centre of the flag, while the smaller, golden words "*LIBERTÉ*" above and "*ÉGALITE*" below are arranged in a semicircular way. An accent is missing on the word "*ÉGALITE*". Three lead pieces are attached to the flying end of this square flag, which causes me to assume that the flag was intended to be hoisted from a horizontal pole, perhaps to be hanged out from a window. Then, of course, the text would have to be read in an angle of 90°, but when hoisted from a vertical pole, as a flag usually is intended to be flown, the text would have been readable the right way. We do not really know how the text on the original Lausanne flag was placed in regard to the pole.
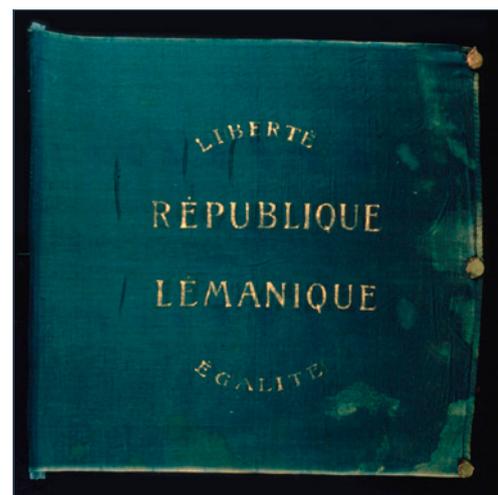

Fig. 2

Most probably the flag at the Museum of Vevey is not the original flag hoisted in Lausanne, but another flag of that period manufactured at Vevey. News of the proclamation of the republic had spread immediately, and several other green flags, manufactured after what had been heard of

or seen in Lausanne were manufactured and hoisted in various towns of the country of Vaud. This explains why different green flags of this short period are still preserved. The original flag of the Lemanic republic had certainly been made in haste and probably would not bear such perfectly arranged letters. Also is the Vevey flag in a very good shape, which supports the thesis that this flag may date from the centennial celebrations of 1898. During those festivities some green flags remembering the Lemanic republic were made. Since documentation is lacking and no textile analysis has been performed on this flag, we do not know its age and origin for sure.

The municipal council in Bex keeps a big green flag with golden inscriptions in a glass case (Fig. 3). This is the only Lemanic flag of which we know the exact date of adoption: 14 April 1798[9]. This green flag measures 205 cm x 160 cm and shows in big golden characters on its front side the words "*LIBERTÉ*" and "*ÉGALITÉ*", arranged one below the other, with a golden garland between them, while the reverse side shows the printed words in gold "*COMMUNE DE BEX*", arranged in three rows. To each side of the word "*DE*" is a tiny golden ornament. Though Bruckner knew this flag, it disappeared and was rediscovered in 1966 in the stone floor of the secondary school in Bex. The little town of Bex, where liberty trees had been planted already on 26 January 1798, sent their delegates to the national assembly of the Helvetic republic in Aarau, where on 12 April 1798 the first session took place. On 14 April the delegates of Bex gave to the community this honour flag "*in recognition of its zeal for the cause and the country and as a sign of gratitude for the adoption of the helvetic constitution by their citizens*"[10].
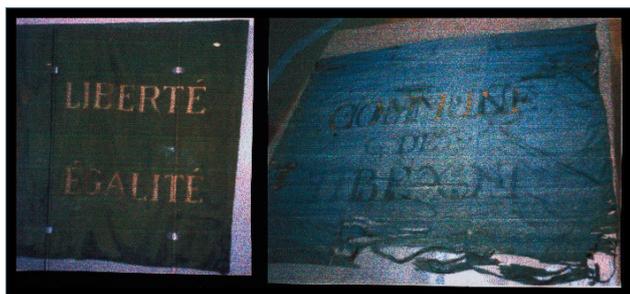

Fig. 3

Considering the time needed to manufacture this flag, it was probably made several days before adoption of the Helvetic tricolour, thus the cloth shows but the colour green. Contemporary sources state that this flag should be flown on public holidays. After the end of the Helvetic republic and the beginning of the new canton Vaud in 1803, the motto "Liberté, Egalité" was no longer politically correct, and hence the flag probably was no longer used.

Another flag of the Lemanic republic, which until a few years was kept at the museum in Moudon, but has seemingly disappeared since, is the old civic flag of the community of Ropraz. It has a rectangular shape of 75 cm height and 85 cm length and is made of green cotton, with the word "*ROPRAZ*" in golden silk letters with a golden ornament in each corner on the obverse, and the words "*RÉPUBLIQUE LÉMANIQUE .1798 LIBERTÉ . EGALITÉ*" on the reverse side. The words are arranged perpendicular to the flag, i.e. parallel to the hoist.

The reverse side of this flag (Fig. 4) is depicted in black and white on page 350 in the fundamental Swiss flag book by Bruckner[11]. He writes that the flag is dark green with golden letters, but mixes up the obverse and reverse sides. The museum records contain black and white pictures of each side of the flag (record number M 2174). Since the term "*République Lémanique*" was no longer used after the Vaudois people voted the Helvetic constitution on 15 February, this flag must have been adopted by the village of Ropraz between end of January and midst of February 1798.

Fig. 4

The French arrived at Lausanne on 28 January, where they were cheered as liberators. The revolutionary government co-operated with the French army in their common fight against Berne and on 20 February 1798 mobilised two half-brigades of some 2000 men each, who then fought in different Vaudois battalions and companies on the French side. About a thousand Vaudois stayed in the Bernese army. While we know the flag of the Vaudois legion loyal to Berne (the Rovérea legion), we do not know if the Vaudois revolutionary troops carried any flags. They probably used French colours, if any. I have not been able to trace any record of such flags so far. The Lemanic or Vaudois Republic, as it used to be indistinctively called by the French, had a seal though (Fig. 5). It shows the republican fasces with an axe, surmounted by the hat of liberty and a star, symbol of the unitarian state, in an oval. Within the oval and beneath the fasces are the words "*LIBERTÉ,*" and "*ÉGALITÉ.*".

Fig. 5

The very first flag of a Vaudois unit we know of (Fig. 6) is a green and white colour of the third company of miners' volunteers from Bex, which is preserved in the cantonal archives in Lausanne. This company had been organised during the first days of April in 1798 by the director of the salt mines of Bex, François Samuel Wild, to fight counterrevolutionary forces in lower Valais, and was not a part of the regular Vaudois half-brigades set up in February. We do not know the flags of the first and the second miners' companies, which Wild had set up 4 weeks earlier (during the first days of March) to help drive out the Bernese from the Ormonts area. But we can assume that they probably looked like the flag of the third company, except for the number of course.

Fig. 6

This flag is the first documented colour of Vaudois troops and the first proof of a combination of the colours green and white to denote Vaudois nationality. The flag follows the triband national pattern of the revolutionary ideal of the time, the French tricolour. The flag has three horizontal stripes of green, white and green, the central white stripe being somewhat larger than each of the green ones and bearing on its front side in black printing characters the words "*VOLONTAIRES*" and "*3me. COMPAGNIE.*", whereas the reverse side has on its white stripe the words "*LA PATRIE*" and "*AVANT TOUT.*" in black. The word

"*patrie*" (=homeland) appears for the first time.

About all other Vaudois units from 1798 to 1803 we only know that they used Bernese equipment and uniforms, except for the red and black cockade of course, which had been substituted by the green one, but my research resulted in no further hint to flags yet.

In January and February 1798 peaceful revolutions had swept away the old regimes in Basle, Zurich, Saint Gall, Turgovia, Shaffhousen and Ticino, while several Argovian towns raised arms against Berne[12]. Liberty trees were planted, new colours superseded the old ones and republican constitutions were proclaimed. After a few small battles Berne had surrendered to the much superior French forces on 5 March 1798[13]. During the following days the rest of Switzerland was occupied by the French, who in some regions were welcome as allies or liberators, but who met armed resistance in central Switzerland and the Valais[14]. On 19 March 1798 the "*independence of the Swiss Nation and its constitution into a democratic and representative Helvetic Republic, one and indivisible*", was proclaimed. The Helvetic assembly decided on 14 April to adopt a tricolour cockade in green, red and yellow. The colour green was chosen - instead of the originally proposed colour black - to honour the country of Vaud, a forerunner of the fight for freedom, and the first canton to choose the green colour of liberty for its flag[15]. The cantons Turgovia and Saint Gall would choose green for their flags 4 years later, as would Neuchâtel some decades later.

Old conservative cantons had been split up and new cantons were created, like the canton of the Leman (=*canton du Léman*), which superseded the would-be Lemanic Republic, or the country of Vaud, as it was called more precisely. These cantons were purely administrative entities and had no individual symbols. On 12 May the Helvetic republic adopted a seal (Fig. 7), showing William Tell with his hat of liberty, standing beneath a tree (of liberty) and receiving in his open arms his jubilant son, who brings him the apple with the arrow in it, symbol of the victory of the Helvetic republic[16]. While Helvetic politicians made an intelligent use of this traditional Swiss symbol, identifying it with their ideals of "*liberty and equality*" in a republic where every citizen is a beloved child of the paternalistic state, opposing conservatives continued with the traditional cross symbol, other religious icons, the flamed flags and the motto "*for God and Country*"[17]. The William Tell emblem figures as well on the reverse side of each of the colours of the 6 Helvetic half-brigades (Fig. 8), which were integrated in late 1798 into the French army[18]. These Helvetic colours follow the pattern of the French half-brigade flags; they measure 163 cm in square and bear a French tricolour cravat at the finial, but they display the Helvetic colours green, red and yellow and show on both sides not only

French but Helvetic emblems as well, like the liberty hat, the arrows or the crossbow[19] (Fig. 9).

Fig. 7
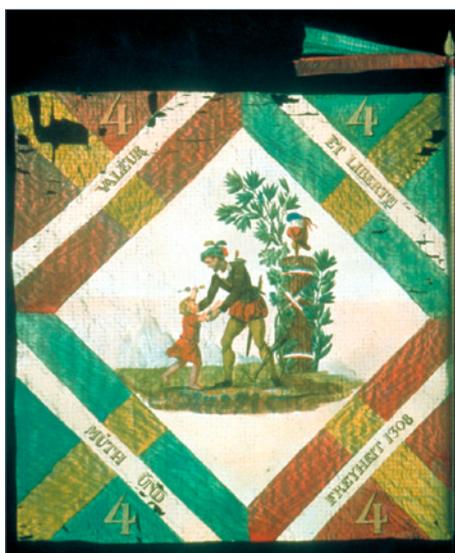
Fig. 8
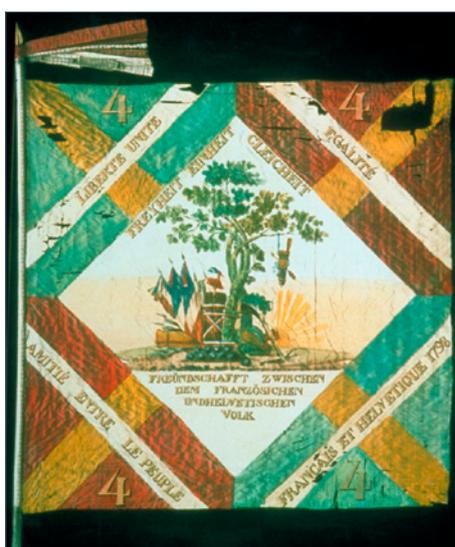
Fig. 9

Though there is no specific law on the flag of the Helvetic republic until 13 February 1799, green, red and yellow horizontal tricolour flags appeared soon after the cockade had been adopted (Fig. 10). The first record of a Helvetic unit with a tricolour flag dates from 10

May 1798 and refers to the guard of the senate. On 13 February 1799 the government ordered "*all flags with emblems of the old regime to be collected and their silk to be sold to the profit of the nation*", and that the old emblems should be replaced by "*colours and emblems of the Helvetic republic, one and indivisible*".

Fig. 10

A contemporary euphemistic allegory of a triumphant France (Fig. 11), which brings the hat of liberty with green, red and yellow feathers to a Swiss, who had fallen asleep on top of his old trophies, distracts attention from the growing weariness and disenchantment of the Swiss, who suffered from the heavy burden of war imposed on them by the French and their puppet, the Helvetic government. The only loyal forces of the republic were the Vaudois soldiers, who manned most of the Helvetic battalions, which partly were also known as Vaudois battalions.

Fig. 11

The military museum in Morges keeps three Helvetic silk flags with gold inscriptions on both sides of the red stripe (Fig. 12). These flags are in such a fragile condition, that

it was not possible to remove them from the depot, so I had to rely on the black and white photographs taken some 40 years ago by the museum staff. On the front side of the tricolour is an inscription in embroidered hand writing characters which reads "*Helvetische RépûblicK*", while the reverse has stamped on its red stripe the inscription "*RÉPUBLIQUE HELVETIQUE*" in printing characters. The flags have golden letters and must have been manufactured in Vaud or in France, as I deduce from the French-like wrong spelling of the German word "*RépûblicK*". These flags are not quite square, they measure 170 cm x 154 cm, 166 cm x 154 cm and 167 cm x 154 cm respectively. The flag of 167 cm x154 cm has a tiny label at the upper fly end of the obverse which reads "$B^{\underline{ON}}$ N° 7" (Fig. 13), which almost for sure identifies this flag as the colour of the battalion number 7, of which we know it was composed of Vaudois militia.


Fig. 12
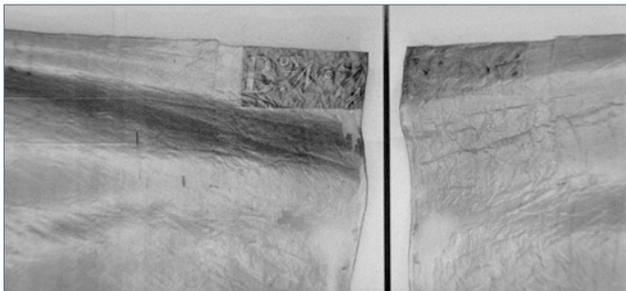
Fig. 13

The year 1799 saw the war on Swiss soil between France, assisted by their Helvetic auxiliary troops and the Allies, until general Masséna succeeded by October 1799 in driving the Austrians and the Russians out of the country. The Helvetic republic then was soon torn in both a political and an armed struggle between radicals (also known as unitarians or Helvetics) and confederates (synonymously called federals or conservatives). After a conservative coup d'état had overthrown the radical government on 7 January 1800 a period of crisis ensued with disorders, various coups-d'état and even civil war.

Napoleon retired all his troops from Switzerland in spring 1802. Once the only forces capable of maintaining law and order in the country were gone the cantons of central and oriental Switzerland raised arms against the government in June 1802. There were uprisings as well in Argovia, Zurich and the rural areas of Berne. The weak Helvetic government sent a Vaudois company (the *compagnie de carabiniers de l'arrondissement d'Aigle*) and two companies of the Helvetic Legion against the confederate troops in Lucerne, and some Helvetic companies against Zurich, which all were defeated. On 18 September 1802 the confederate troops under general Bachmann took Berne, which was defended only by three Helvetic battalions, two of which were Vaudois battalions (*De la Harpe* and *Bourgeois*). Government troops retired to Fribourg, where they were forced out on 28, and then to Faoug, where the small remains of the Helvetic army of some 1800 men was defeated by an important confederate force of some 12,000 men on 3 October 1802. At this battle the confederate contingent of Schwytz captured a Helvetic flag identical to those at the museum of Morges which have already been discussed, and which is kept at the archives of federal charters in Schwytz. After this defeat the Helvetic army disbanded and the next day the confederates arrived at the doors of Lausanne, where the government was about to flee into exile in France.

At this precise moment French general Rapp arrived in Lausanne (4 October) with a letter announcing the peaceful mediation of the First Consul Napoleon Bonaparte and the words that "*either there was a Swiss government, which was a friend of France, or that there would be no Switzerland at all*". Hostilities ceased and all cantons agreed to send their delegates to Paris in January 1803, where under the auspices of Napoleon they worked out a new constitution, which reverted to the pre-revolutionary confederate state system, but kept the modern civic rights. This new confederate constitution, known as the Act of Mediation, was proclaimed on 19 February 1803.

The old cantons continued to use their traditional flags and coat-of-arms, while the new cantons started parliamentary debates to adopt a new coat-of-arms and flag. The country of Vaud, which during the Helvetic era was the canton of Leman, now became the canton of Vaud. Its great chamber joined in session for the first time on 14 April 1803. On 16 April a first project for a coat-of-arms (Fig. 14) was discussed, which of course had the Vaudois colours green and white[20]. It showed a shield horizontally divided by white over green with two hands holding a sword with a liberty hat on top of it. This motif (which brings into mind the similar national coat-of-arms of Argentina, born under revolutionary circumstances 10 years later[21]) was rejected because its symbols were associated too closely with the defunct Helvetic republic. A second proposal was presented during the same session the same day and then accepted[22]: these coat-of-arms were bicolour, white over green too, with the

words "*LIBERTÉ ET PATRIE*." on the white upper part. The Lemanic motto "*Liberté, Egalité*", considered to be too revolutionary and too French, had been replaced by a more popular and homebound motto.
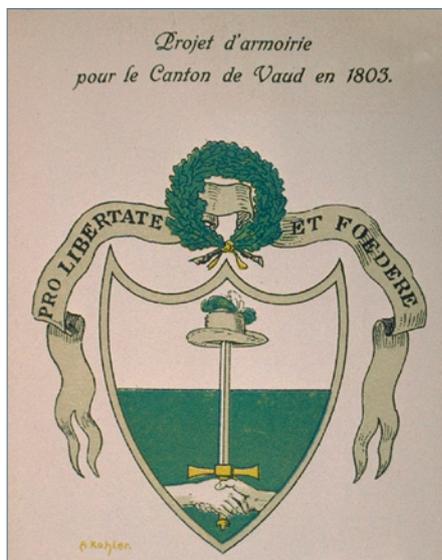
The first issue of the heraldic calendar of Vaud in 1902 contains an artistic rendering of the flag, of the decree and of the seal (Fig. 15). The official decree of 16 April 1803 states in its article 1, that "*the colours of the canton are light green and white*" and in its article 2 describes the seal, which is identical to the arms, but which has a ribbon above the arms with the words "*CANTON DE VAUD*". The decree does not mention the colour of the words, which were originally black, nor does it specifically speak of a flag or a coat-of-arms. In those days the word *colour* was applicable for any symbol, be it cockade, ribbon, coat-of-arms or flag.
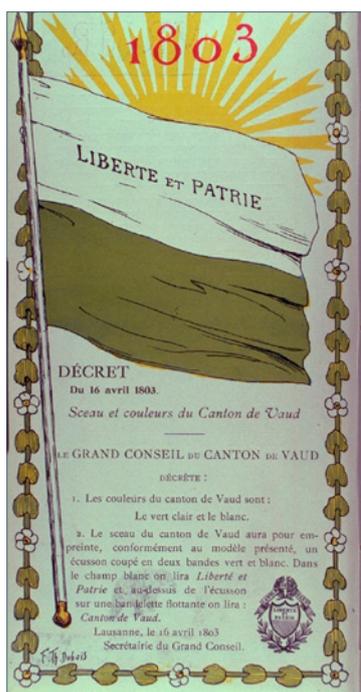
Fig. 15

I have not been able to find out any official design for the very first flags of the canton in 1803, and there are no exact specifications for the cantonal flag to the day. Only in 1916 did the official government gazette officially print the coat-of-arms with yellow letters fimbriated in black[23], this pattern being followed until the present. Early flags were white and green of course, but showed a variety of inscriptions and slightly different designs of the coat-of-arms. Early flags usually showed golden or yellow letters, sometimes fimbriated in black, the smaller coats-of-arms usually showed black letters, though more elaborated arms showed golden letters.

The historic museum of Lausanne has in its depot an undated but early flag of the canton (Fig. 16): it is made of green and white silk, measures 112 cm x 107 cm, and is badly damaged (the figure shows an old archive black and white picture). The arms of the canton are painted on the centre of the flag, so that the partition of the colours of both the flag and coat-of-arms lies on one line. The shield is fimbriated in gold and bears on its white upper part the black inscription "*LIBERTÉ ET PATRIE*.". Below and above the arms there are each a golden wreath, the arms are surmounted by a white scroll with the black inscription "*CANTON DE VAUD*." Such canton flags were in use probably as early as 1803 until approximately the midst of the 19th century, but there were other types of flags as well, like for instance white flags with the painted coat-of-arms, as can be seen on contemporary iconography.

Fig. 16

The military museum in Morges has two silk flags of the canton of Vaud probably dating from the first years of existence of the canton. The first flag measures 151 cm x

127 cm and has the inscription "*LIBERTÉ ET PATRIE.*" on the white band printed in yellow letters and the inscription "*CANTON DE VAUD.*" on the green band, with yellow letters too (Fig. 17). The second flag measures 156 cm x124 cm and has the particularity that there are hand painted yellow letters on the white stripe, the word "*et*" having been replaced by the sign "*&*", while the lower green part carries printed letters in yellow (Fig. 18). Also, a narrow vertical stripe of silk has been cut away from the flying end, so that the letter "*D.*" from "*VAUD*" is missing. The reverse sides of both flags are identical, the text reading normally on both sides.
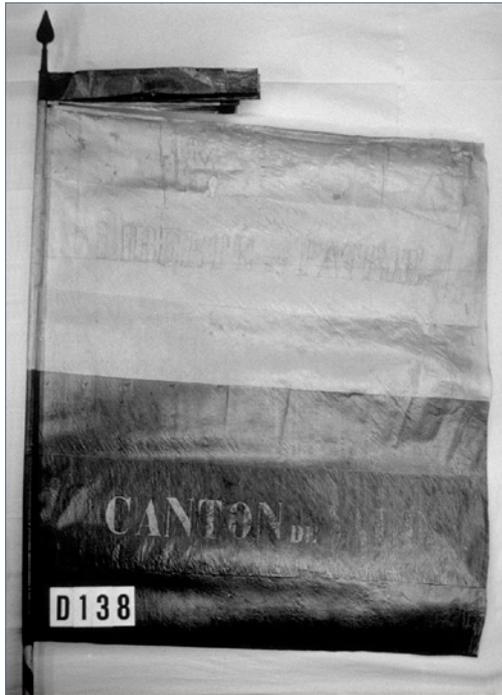
Fig. 17

Fig. 18

One of the very first green and white flags of 1803 is the flag of the miners' corps of the salt mines of Bex, which is preserved in the cantonal archives[24] (Fig. 19). The flag is divided vertically instead of horizontally, green at the hoist and white at the fly, and bears on the obverse the golden inscription "*CORPS DES MINEURS*" and on the reverse "*LIBERTÉ ET PATRIE*". The upper and lower fly show the miners' symbol, two yellow crossed hammers. The flag is in a very bad shape, the partially missing white band has been restored in an amateur way. As we have seen before, the miners were most patriotic and had adopted their own militia flags already in 1798. They probably made this corps flag immediately after 16 April 1803, perhaps not knowing the heraldic term "*coupé*" (=parted per fess) used in article 2 of the law on the symbols of the canton to describe the seal.

Fig. 19

On 4 June 1803 the *gendarmerie* was created, the first armed forces of the new canton, and on 10 June the army was organised into 8 regions (=*arrondissements*) with each two districts, of which each had several battalions and companies of infantry (musketeers, grenadiers and riflemen), as well as a few units of cavalry and artillery. All these units were divided into elite and reserve units. Several organizational laws for the army were passed in 1803 and early 1804, all of them referring to uniforms, equipment, instruction, setting up of new battalions and companies and the like, but none of them has any mention of colours whatsoever.

In October 1803 the military department of the canton of Vaud ordered at a flag factory in Lyon (France) 24 flags for the elite battalions and 16 flags for the reserve units[25]. The original order, which is in the canton's archives, does not contain any picture nor description of the flags.

On 1st February 1804 the government issued a decree establishing that each 14 April would be a public national holiday. A great solemn event was then prepared for the next 14 April, to be celebrated in Lausanne. A detachment of each 20 men and each two officers from all the new military elite units would gather in Lausanne to receive these 24 new battalion colours. Contemporary accounts precisely tell us about this important national ceremony of the young canton[26], but unhappily enough there are

no pictures nor are any flags described, so we only know for sure that 24 new battalion flags were presented to the army on 14 April 1804. Nothing is said about the 16 reserve unit flags either.

Many of the military flags and flags of civic societies dating from the first years of existence of the canton and which are still preserved in museums basically show a white field with a little green flame in each corner of the flag (Fig. 20). We are not sure how the centre of such flags originally looked like, but it probably bore the coat-of-arms of the canton and perhaps had golden inscriptions above and below these arms on the obverse. A golden horn might have been added on some military flags, the horn being the general emblem of the army, while other more specific unit flags might have carried a golden grenade, this being the emblem of the grenadiers.

Fig. 20

So these earliest battalion flags of the Vaudois militia probably were white with a green little flame at each corner and the coat-of-arms of the canton and a golden horn in the centre of the flag, like on the reverse side of the flag of the shooting society of La Sarraz (*abbaye des carabiniers de La Sarraz*). The flag is exhibited at the castle of La Sarraz in a glass case, where only the front side of the flag is visible. I thank Mrs. Kathrin Kocher, a member of the Swiss Society of Vexillology, who sent me a photograph of the reverse side of this flag (Fig. 20), Mrs. Kocher had made this picture during her restoration of the flag in 1994. The flag consists of two pieces of white silk, which have most probably been manufactured at the end of the 18th century and which are sewn together to form the flag. Its size of 126 cm x119 cm, though not exactly square, corresponds to a battalion flag size. Little green flames are inserted in each corner of the flag.

Shooting societies were composed of soldiers and served both a social purpose and the military training. Their flags often were similar to military unit flags, having other inscriptions for instance. The society of La Sarraz had been established on 27 July 1803[27], so their flag logically displays the very first form of the canton's coat-of-arms with black letters. The visible, obverse side of the flag (Fig. 21), has green flames too and several pieces of white cloth with a brighter shade of white sewn upon the original tissue, which means that these pieces are not as old as the flag itself. The uppermost piece

of cloth has printed letters in gold reading "*14 AVRIL 1803.*", and immediately below is another piece of cloth, which reads "*ABAYE DLS CARABINIERS DE LASARRA.*". Below the central square piece of added cloth depicting a soldier aiming at a target is another rectangular piece of cloth, reading in golden letters "*VIVRE LIBRE OU MOURIR.*". In the shooting scene, which is painted on cloth, the soldier wears a shako. This military head dress was introduced by a decree of 25 May 1815 (in 1803 soldiers wore a two-corned hat).
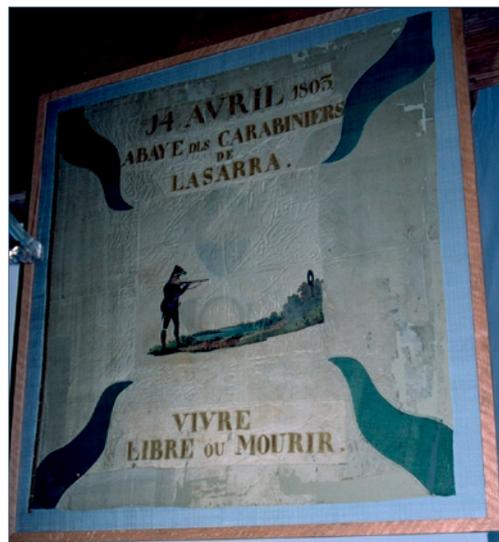
Fig. 21

The museum in Morges preserves a tattered white silk flag of the officers' association of the grenadiers from the third military region, measuring 72 cm x 67cm and dated 14 April 1820. It shows soldiers with such a shako too (Fig. 22). During the patriotic festivity of April 14 usually new flags were presented, a tradition which had been initiated in 1804 in Lausanne. (Fig. 23) shows a fragment of another similar flag of that era, where details on the painted grenadier can be appreciated. The military law of 12 June 1819 had introduced red pompons on the grenadiers' shakoes instead of the red feathers they had worn since 1813[28].
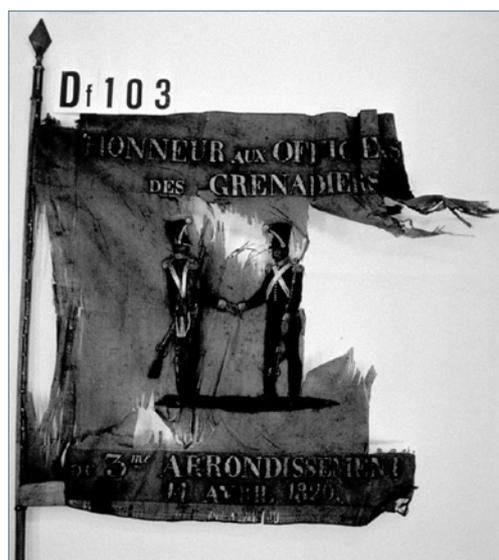

Fig. 22

Fig. 23

The obverse of the flag of La Sarraz (Fig. 24) shows the date 14 April too, but the year is 1803, referring to the founding date of the new canton and not to the founding date of the society. The central white panel covers the canton's coat-of-arms and the golden horn, which are visible through the cloth all the same, exactly as depicted on the reverse. This makes me believe that both sides of the flag originally looked alike and that probably later a possible name and number of the unit was removed and replaced by the actual inscriptions. Adapting military flags to civil use, once the unit had been dissolved, was a common practice of the time. This flag of La Sarraz represents the best fitting key to identification of the original battalion flags of 1804 that the present research has been able to reveal.

Fig. 24

Company flags were smaller in size and probably they were not regulated, for we find several types of company flags dating from the early period. One type is the silk flag of the grenadier company number 1 (Fig. 25), which is preserved in Morges. Due to its bad state of conserva-

tion, the flag could not be handled for picture taking, so a black and white archive photograph is used to illustrate this company flag, which measures 51 cm x 50 cm. The obverse is the canton's flag with the coat-of-arms within a green wreath and a grenade in each corner of the flag. The name of the unit is written above "COMPAGNIE" and below the arms "DE GRENADIERS N°.1". The reverse side is white with a small green flame in each corner and a painted golden grenade in the centre. The date "1803" is written below the grenade, a green and white cord surrounds the flag on all free sides. I haven't been able yet to check the colour of the inscriptions, but on the picture the date, the word "COMPAGNIE" and the motto on the coat-of-arms are very dark and thus seem to be either black or green, while the rest is light and thus could be golden. The date probably remembers the year the canton was founded, or may be the year the company was established.
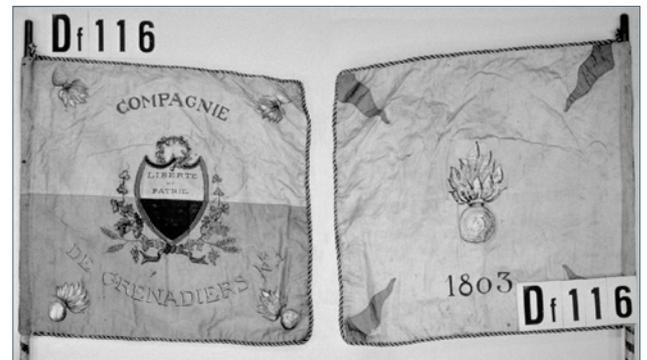

Fig. 25

Bruckner[29] lists on page 9 of his flag catalogue the flag of the society of the militia union of Assens (=société d'union milice d'Assens) and shows a black and white photograph of the reverse side of the flag (Fig. 26). The flag has the battalion flag size of 125 cm x 125 cm and consists on both sides of white silk with each a small green flame inserted in the corners. Bruckner describes the obverse side as having the green and white canton's coat-of-arms and the inscription "A L'HONNEUR DE LA PATRIE" in gold painted on it, while the reverse side bears the legend "SOCIÉTÉ D'UNION MILICE D'ASSENS 1841" in golden characters and a small federal emblem (white cross on red). Still in Bruckner's book a black and white picture of the obverse of the same flag of Assens is depicted on page 274 (Fig. 27), but the author identifies it wrongly as being the flag of the winemaker's guild of 1791 (=confrérie des vignerons). The coat-of-arms in the centre of this flag is identical to the one on the flag of La Sarraz, most probably having black letters on the coat of arms too, as can be deduced from the very dark shade of those letters in contrast to the light shade of the other letters, which Bruckner describes as golden. There is almost no doubt that this former battalion flag dating from the very first years of the canton was later

transformed, probably in 1841, into the flag of the para-
military society of Assens.

Fig. 26
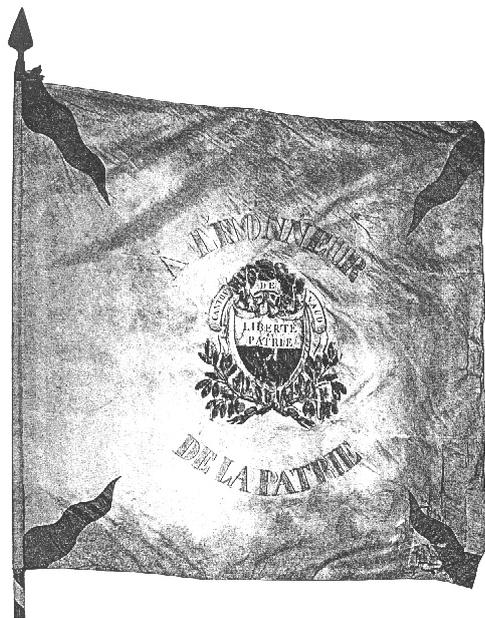
Fig. 27

The peculiar pattern of the flames of these Vaudois flags,
being one little flame in each corner, is unique amongst
all the typically flamed Swiss flags. The origin of this
Vaudois pattern is not known, but I dare to claim that it
is to be found in the 1791 flag of the winemaker's guild
of Vevey (Fig. 28), which is preserved at the winemaker's
guild museum in Vevey and which is the first flag known
with such a type of flames. It was paraded through the
streets for the first time during the very popular wine
festival of 1791 – a festivity, which already had a strong
patriotic Vaudois connotation[30].

Fig. 28

From what has been presented as evidence we can
assume that the basic pattern for all the battalion flags
of the 1803 to 1817 period of the canton of Vaud was
white with the coat-of-arms in the centre and with a
green flame in each corner. Attributes, like the horn or
an inscription, were frequently added.

Company flags though seem to have shown a varied
design, like the flag of company 8 of carbine riflemen
(=*chasseurs carabiniers*), which is at the Morges mili-
tary museum (Fig. 29). It has a size of 54 cm x 52 cm and
is made of green cotton with silver fringes. The black and
white museum photograph shows on the flag's obverse a
horn with the cipher "*8.*" and below of it the text "*HUI-
TIEME COMPAGNIE DES CHASSEURS CARABINIERS.*". On
the reverse side are the cantonal coat-of-arms and below
of them the same text as on the obverse. The horn and
the inscriptions are painted in gold probably.

Fig. 29

A federal military regulation was issued on 20 August
1817, placing the elite troops in Switzerland under
federal command and introducing for each unit under
federal command *a "colour with a white cross and a
red and white cravat"*. Each canton then had such flags
made, generally with flames in the canton's colours.
On 12 June 1819 the canton of Vaud passed a law on

military organisation. Article 171 of this law states that "*each infantry battalion will have a flag with the canton's colours*", and that "*when a battalion will be under federal command a white cross and a red and white cravat will be added to the flag*". The text of this law does not include any flag illustration, nor is it precise enough. Even more, the text gives the impression that the battalions would have different flags depending on whose orders they were. In fact, such green flags with the white cross and with the red and white cravat were introduced to newly created units under federal command from 1819 on, while existing units under the authority of the canton continued to use their old flags until these flags were tattered enough to be replaced.

Strangely enough, only a couple of these new flags have survived, like the one preserved at the military museum in Morges (Fig. 30). It is a green flag with a white cross and 3 small white flames in each corner. An inscription is placed along the horizontal arms of the cross, being "*CANTON DE VAUD*" in printing characters in gold above the cross, and "*LIBERTÉ ET PATRIE*" below the cross. The flag is made of silk, measures 143 cm x 143 cm, shows the same design on both sides and has no unit identification. Though I have seen the actual, badly damaged flag I dared not to remove it for photographic documentation, so the black and white museum picture is presented instead.
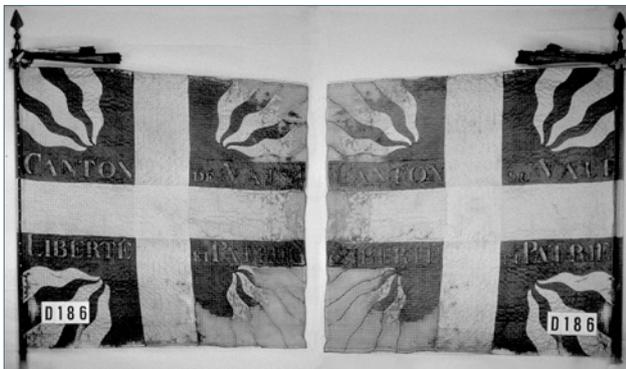

Fig. 30

In those years simple green and white company flags with a red number were introduced too (Fig. 31). They were made of linen and measured 90 cm x 100 cm, showing the same design on both sides. The museum in Morges keeps a set of such flags, which were only used to identify companies during manoeuvres.

As said before, there are almost no green flags with the federal cross throughout. Why? During that period of no foreign threat there were none or almost no federal units. The still existing very few green flags with white cross bear no unit identification at all, which leads me to the assumption, that these flags were stocked in case a Vaudois unit should come under federal command, but seemingly these flags never got into use. May be the cross and flame pattern was not very popular among

the Vaudois military, who preferred their white colours with little green flames, and so they may have ignored the regulation of 1819?
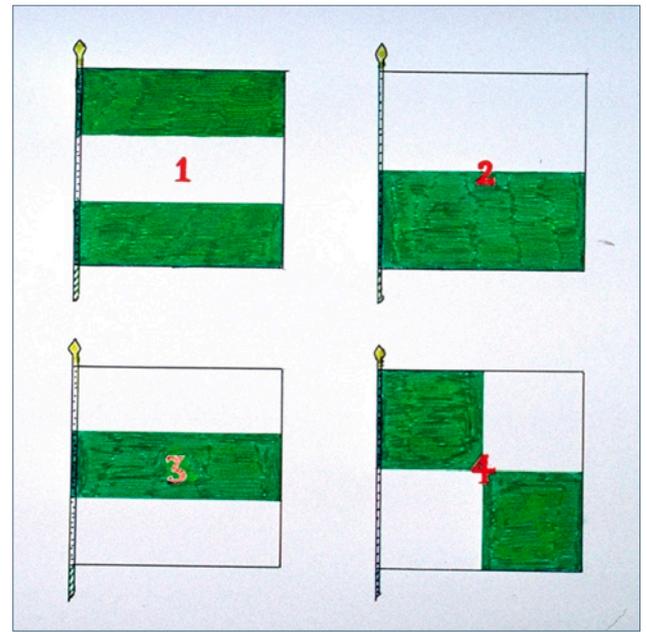

Fig. 31

Popular discontentment with the policy of the Vaudois government judged too conservative finally lead on 20 June 1831 to a new and more liberal constitution. The years around 1830 reveal many white flags with green flames.

The historic museum of Vevey keeps two such flags. They have recently been restored by Mrs. Kocher and Mrs. Sabine Sille. The flags were on a special exhibition at the museum for the first time during the year 2000 under the auspices of Mrs. Françoise Lambert, conservator of the Museum and a member of the SSV too. One of these flags is the flag of the mutual teaching society of Vevey (=*enseignement mutuel*) (Fig. 32), a society devoted to give modern laic teaching to all children according to the method developed by the British Lancaster and Bill at the beginning of the 19th century. The first such public schools were founded in Vaud in 1816, the one at Vevey was established in 1828[31]. The flag most probably dates from that year. It is made of two layers of white square cotton of about 1m and has painted on its central obverse the cantonal coat-of-arms and a green flame at each corner. The arms show black letters. The black letters "*ENSEIGNEMENT MUTUEL*" are placed above the arms and "*VEVEY*" below them. The reverse side (Fig. 33) has an armed William Tell embracing the fasces and beneath him his son holding a green wreath. The fasces have on top a blue hat with a red and a white pompon, while Tell wears a yellow liberty hat with a red, a green and a yellow feather. There can be no misunderstand as to the political credo of this society. The text above the painted central emblem reads in black characters "*NOUS SOMMES AUSSI TES ENFANS*" (=*we are your children too*). This motto expresses on one side the childrens'

aspiration for protection and education by the state and on the other side it reflects the political desire of this society to have the canton of Vaud integrated into a modern Confederation, symbolised by William Tell and his revolutionary attributes, which remind of the progressive goals achieved by the Helvetic republic. This message is underlined by the red federal flames in each corner instead of green ones. In 1834 a law on public schools made the Lancaster schools progressively superfluous.
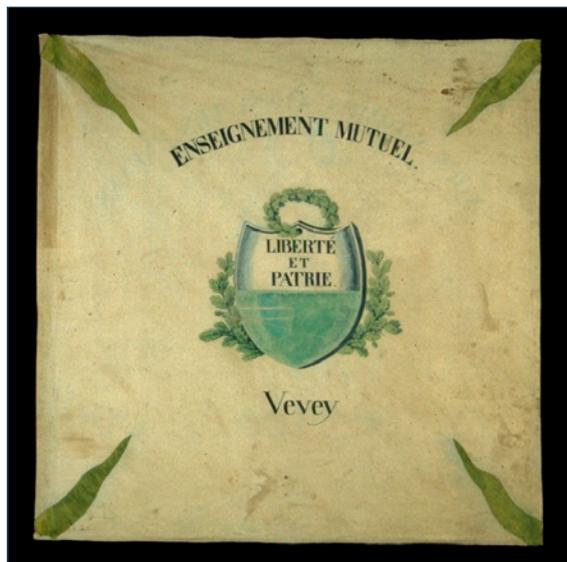
Fig. 32

Fig. 33

Another typical flag of the early years is the white silk flag with inserted green flames of the 'national choir' (=*chant national*) (Fig. 34). The flag has a rectangular shape of about 85 cm x 100 cm and on its obverse has a painted brown and light blue lyre placed above light greyish clouds and surrounded by a green olive and oak wreath with a radiant golden sun emerging from above the lyre. Above the decorative emblem is the golden inscription "*CHANT NATIONAL.*" and below it "*VEVEY. 30 JUIN. 1834.*". The reverse (Fig. 35) is white with green flames too and has a central painted emblem with two

hands emerging from greyish clouds. The hands hold a green scarf with gold tassels and a knot in the middle of it consisting of the red and white federal emblem. The text above the emblem reads in gold printed letters "*SERRONS. PAR NOS CHANTS. LE NOEUD QUI NOUS UNIT.*" (=*lets fasten, by our songs, the knot which unites us*), and explains the meaning of the emblem, i.e. to reach a national Swiss unity through popular songs. The 'national choir' was founded in 1830 by the Vaudois pastor Jean-Bernard Kaupert, who organised popular song teachings in various towns. At the end of such teachings, which lasted for two weeks and were free of cost, a concert was given and a choir society was founded[32]. In Vevey, the concert was given on 30 June 1834 and the flag was adopted on that occasion.

Fig. 34

Fig. 35

Another witness of that era is the flag of the 5th company of the elite riflemen (=*chasseurs d'élite*), which is at the museum in Morges (Fig. 36). This silk flag is preserved within plastic layers, measures 64 cm x 64 cm and is dated 1830. It has the peculiarity of shwoing a small federal canton instead of the usual upper hoist flame. Both sides of the flag, which has green and white fringes, show the same emblem - the horn looking away from the hoist on the obverse and to the hoist on the reverse. The horn has the cipher "*5*" and the inscription "*CHASSEURS D'ELITE.*" painted in gold, the green wreath with red fruits is hold together by a blue ribbon.

Fig. 36

The originally square white flag with a green flame in each corner adopted in 1842 by the military society of peasants of Colombier (=*société militaire des agriculteurs de Colombier*) now measures 132 cm x 125 cm, a longitudinal part at the fly is missing (Fig. 37). A scene in natural colours showing peasants with a plough on the field is painted on the obverse, surmounted by various agricultural tools and the motto "*SOCIÉTÉ MILITAIRE DES AGRICULTEURS DE COLLOMBIER.*", written in gold printing letters above the emblem. Below the emblem is a golden wreath and below the wreath is an inscription in gold characters reading "*UNION. LIBERTÉ. FRATERNITÉ.*". The reverse side (Fig. 38) shows again an agricultural scene but this time it is the bringing in of the harvest with a loaded chariot. The name of the society is painted in gold above the scene while below the scene there is the inscription "*FONDÉE EN 1842.*" in gold.

Fig. 37

Fig. 38

Since about 1830 there was a strong popular movement towards national unity in a federal state (a historical period known as "regeneration"), in contrast to the conservative, confederate constitutions of most of the other cantons, dating from the period of restoration, which followed the fall of Napoleon and hence the end of the Act of Mediation. The struggle of progressive cantons like Vaud, Basle, Zurich, Argovia, Berne, Turgovia, Saint Gall or Ticino to overcome the conservative attitude of the cantons of central Switzerland finally ended in the short civil war of 1847/48, which led to the creation of modern federal Switzerland. The military, students, shooting societies, gymnastic societies and choir societies were the motor of regeneration, and this is told by their flags, which made a profuse use of the white cross on red and Helvetic and other republican symbols as well.

One of those flags is the flag of the society of the green and white ribbon (=*société du cordon vert et blanc*), which is in the collection of the military museum of Morges (Fig. 39). Again, there is no colour image, but a black and white picture from the museum's photographic archive. A piece of the flying end having been lost, the flag measures only 133 cm x 104 cm. It is divided horizontally white over green and on the obverse bears the coat-of-arms of the canton with golden motto and golden wreath in its centre, and crossed behind them are a fasces and a burning torch with the federal cross emerging from the central part above the shield. The cross is surmounted by another fasces, which carries on top a liberty hat with a green feather and with red and white tassels. The white stripe has the semicircular inscription "*SOCIÉTÉ DU CORDON VERT ET BLANC DE*" printed in gold characters. The last word is missing, but probably would be "*MOUDON*", since the only society with that name had been founded in 1806 in Moudon. This flag is not the first flag of the society, since it is dated 1841, the emblems being too modern for 1806 anyway. The reverse shows the inscription "*DIEU PROTÉGE LA SUISSE. 1841.*" (=*May God Protect Switzerland*) within a circular wreath, all painted in gold.

Fig. 39

The flag of the pioneer company of engineers (=*sapeurs du génie*) of 1843 (Fig. 40) is at the museum in Morges and measures 77 cm x 82 cm. Its obverse is made of red silk, its reverse of white silk. The painted emblems on red show the federal arms within a golden wreath, accompanied by a grenade and two crossed axes in natural colours. Above all is the inscription "*SAPEURS du GÉNIE*" in golden printing letters and below the date "*1843*". The white reverse shows the canton's coat-of-arms with golden characters placed within a green wreath and above it the golden inscription "*CANTON DE VAUD*". The flag's reverse looks like one of the canton flag variants mentioned before.

Fig. 40

These last two flags, dating from 1841 and 1843 respectively, bear the canton's coat-of-arms with a golden inscription instead of a black one, and may thus be a hint to the time, when this pattern of arms started to develop more strongly.

On 16 May 1814 the Swiss Confederation had adopted a white cross in a red field - "the banner of the old Swiss" - as its seal[33], and on 3 July 1815 all troops were ordered to wear a red armband with a white cross on their left arm. Red flags with white crosses of a varied design identified the federal cause. Federal flags were widely used at federal shooting rallies, like the one at Lausanne in 1838 (Fig. 41). On top of the coloured engraving the reader may appreciate the coat-of-arms of Vaud with black letters, surmounted by a shooter's (or Tell's) feathered hat on top of the fasces and flanked by a federal flag and by a white Vaudois flag with the coat-of-arms. Another con-

temporary engraving shows the same federal shooting at Lausanne, but other types of federal flags (Fig. 42): in the foreground is a boy with a rectangular flag with quite a modern cross, while the flag poles in the background fly rectangular flags with another type of cross.

Fig. 41

Fig. 42

The canton Argovia introduced the federal flag for its troops as early as 1833, the other cantons followed only after a decree introducing the federal military flag had been issued on 11 October 1841.

The museum in Nyon keeps a plain federal flag with the date "*1842*" printed in golden characters on both sides in the centre of the cross, this being a civil flag (Fig. 43).

Fig. 43

The political controversy about the separation of state from church was going on since the late thirties of the 19th century and led to radical events in both the protestant and the catholic parts of the country. After the canton of Lucerne had called for Jesuit priests to teach in schools in 1844 the situation deteriorated dramatically and eventually led to the civil war of 1847/48. The people of Vaud, of protestant religious denomination, urged its conservative government to vote for immediate expulsion of the Jesuits at the deliberations of the federal government on the matter, but the Vaudois assembly of delegates hesitated. Thousands of people then rallied in protest in Lausanne under the leadership of Henry Druey, and when on 14 February 1845 the Vaudois military took the side of the insurgents, the government had to dismiss. A radical government ensued after this coup-d-état, placing himself at the head of the Swiss forces promoting the expulsion of the Jesuits and the adoption of a new federal constitution.

The historic museum of Lausanne displays two flags of the 1845 revolution, which have been restored in 1989 by Mrs. Sabine Sille, vice-president of the SSV. The white and green silk flag of the patriotic ladies of Lausanne of 1845 (Fig. 44) shows on its obverse within a golden wreath, which at its base is held together by two hands emerging from clouds in natural colours, the inscription *"HOMMAGE AUX DÉFENSEURS DES LIBERTÉS DU PEUPLE."* (=*Homage to the Defenders of the People*) in golden printing characters. Each a green flame in the white corners and a white flame in the green corners are placed on both sides of the flag, which measures 108 cm x 119 cm. The reverse has the same design but for the text (Fig. 45), which reads *"LES DAMES PATRIOTIQUES DE LAUSANNE LE 10 AOUT 1845."* (=*The Patriotic Ladies of Lausanne, 10 August 1845*). All emblems on the flag are oil-painted on the silk, except for the flames, which are inserted.

Fig. 45

The other flag is a white and green silk flag presented in 1845 by the ladies of Lausanne to the patriotic society (Fig. 46). The obverse has an oil-painted circular green wreath in the centre of the flag and a golden decoration along the four borders, which at each corner of the flag includes a green label, of which only three are hardly legible. They read *"Liberté"*, *"Progrès"* and *"Égalité"*. Within the wreath are the golden words *"AU COURAGE CIVIQUE"* (=*To the Courage of One's Convictions*). The reverse (Fig. 47) has the same decoration with green labels at the corners, but a somewhat different green wreath with the golden inscription *"DES CITOYENNES À LA SOCIÉTÉ PATRIOTIQUE 1845."* (=*From the Female Citizens to the Patriotic Society 1845*). Only two of the labels are legible and read *"Constitution"* and *"Vaudoise"* in golden characters.

Fig. 46

Fig. 44

Fig. 47

The political development of the country was paralleled by a social one. In 1846 the Vaudois society of mutual assistance (=*société vaudoise de secours mutuels*) was founded, being the first health insurance society on a co-operative basis. The flag of the Nyon division of this society, established in 1846 too, is preserved in the depot of the historic museum of Nyon (Fig. 48). The white and green silk flag measures 1m square and has the emblem of the society, a beehive with flying bees within a wreath, all painted on gold in the centre of the obverse. On the white stripe above the emblem is a red scroll bearing the golden inscription "*UN POUR TOUS. TOUS POUR UN.*" (=*One for All. All for One*) and above all is the federal emblem with golden rays. On the green stripe below the beehive are the golden words "*HUMANITÉ ÉGALITÉ TRAVAIL*" (=*Humanity Equality Work*). The reverse (Fig. 49) has a circular arrangement of inscriptions around the date "*1846*" within a wreath, all painted in gold on the white and green flag. On the upper part the text reads "*SOCIÉTÉ VAUDOISE DE SECOURS MUTUELS*", while the lower part reads "*SECTION DE NYON*", both parts being separated by a golden flower. The wreath is held together by a thin green ribbon, while a thin golden decoration runs along all the borders of the flag.

Fig. 48

Fig. 49

The times were getting stormy though in 1846, both the federal government and the separate league preparing for war. The museum of Vevey has a very particular military flag of 1847, belonging to the third musketeer elite company of the Vevey military region (Fig. 50). Vevey belonged to the military region (=*arrondissement*) number 1, the musketeers were elite troops, which manned an infantry battalion together with grenadiers. The silk flag, about 80 cm x 80 cm in size, has a broad white cross on green with the Vaudois and the federal coat-of-arms fimbriated in gold within a golden wreath in the centre of the cross. The characters on the Vaud arms, which partially cover the federal arms, are black. The gold inscription with printing characters on the upper part of the flag reads "*CONFÉDÉRATION SUISSE*", while on the lower part it reads "*CANTON de VAUD 1847.*". Little five-pointed golden stars, the emblem of musketeers, are placed in the green corners, but both flying corners have been torn away, so that the stars too are missing, as are a part of the letter "*D*" from "*VAUD*" and the letters "*SE*" from "*SUISSE*". The reverse side (Fig. 51) has a big golden five-pointed star in the middle of the cross and little golden stars in the two hoist corners. Above the central star is the inscription "*ARRONDISSEMENT*" in gold and below the star are the inscriptions "*..SQUETAIRE D'ÉLITE N°3.*" and in a second row with smaller characters "*VEVEY.*".

Fig. 50

Fig. 51

The flag was certainly made for the campaign against the "*Sonderbund*", the league of seven catholic cantons under the leadership of Lucerne opposing the modern laic policy of the federal government. On 20 July 1847 the federal government decided by a majority of 12 cantons that the separate league be dissolved and on 3 November 1847 military operations started. 26 days later, after a few skirmishes, the separate league had ceased to exist and the war was over with only a few casualties.

On 12 September 1848 a new federal constitution was adopted, which in its article 20 specified "*that all troops in federal service will use the federal flag*"[34]. Though the constitution did not mention any national flag, the red square flag with a cubic white cross finally in 1848 became the national flag of Switzerland.

Acknowledgements

Credit of illustrations

Emil Dreyer: 21, 24, 31, 36, 37, 38, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49
Military Museum of Morges: 12, 13, 17, 18, 22, 25, 29, 30, 39, 40
Historical Museum of Vevey: 2, 32, 33, 34, 35, 50, 51
Archives of the Swiss Society of Vexillology: 8, 9, 10, 41
Bruckner, A. & B., "Schweizer Fahnenbuch", St. Gallen, 1942: 4, 23, 26, 27
Desponds, Liliane, "Union et Concorde", Renens, 1998: 5, 6, 7, 19
Calendrier Héraldique Vaudois: 14, 15
Sabine Sille: 1, 3
Casimir de Rham✝: 28
Historical Museum of Berne: 11
Historical Museum of Lausanne: 16
Kathrin Kocher: 20

Notes

1 Hubler, Lucienne: „Histoire du Pays de Vaud", Editions L.E.P., Lausanne, 1991, ISBN 2-606-00526-0, p. 119.

2 „Die Schweiz & die französische Revolution", volume accompanying the exhibition of the Musée Historique de Lausanne at the Strauhof in Zurich, 1989, Editions du Grand-Pont, J.-P.Laubscher, Lausanne, 1989, ISBN 2-88148-010-1, p. 20.

3 Maillefer, Paul: «La Révolution Vaudoise, 24 janvier 1798», Notice historique dédiée à la jeunesse des écoles par l'Etat de Vaud à l'occasion du centenaire de l'indépendance, Lausanne, A. Borgeaud Imprimeur-Editeur, 1898.

4 Flouck, François, Monbaron, Patrick-R., Stubenvoll, Marianne, Tosato-Rigo, Danièle: „De l'ours à la cocarde, régime bernois et révolution en pays de Vaud (1536-1798)", Editions Payot, Lausanne, 1998, ISBN 2-601-03218-9.

5 Chuard, Corinne: „1798: à nous la liberté, chronique d'une révolution en Pays de Vaud", Edipresse Publications SA, 24heures, Lausanne, 1998, ISBN 2-8265-1121-1.

6 Mattern, Günter: „Die Flaggen und Kokarden der Schweiz zwischen 1792 und 1848", <u>in</u>: *Archives Héraldiques Suisses*, Annuaire LXXXVIII, Neuchâtel, 1974, pp. 14-22.

7 Mühlemann, Louis: «Wappen und Fahnen der Schweiz», Bühler-Verlag AG, Lengnau, s.d. (*1991*), p. 139.

8 Desponds, Liliane: „Union et Concorde, la Révolution vaudoise s'empare du Gouvernement d'Aigle et du Pays-d'Enhaut,. Les Ormonts résistent!" Association de l'Académie du Chablais, Imprimeries Réunis SA, Renens, 1998.

9 Tosato-Rigo, Danièle: «Le cadeau des premiers électeurs bellerins à leur commune», in: Revue Historique du Mandement de Bex, N° XXXI, 1998, pp. 58-61.

10 Community archives of Bex, register 6, 1795-1799, pp. 168-169, chapter 14, session of 14 April 1798.

11 Bruckner, Albert & Berty: „Schweizer Fahnenbuch", Zollikofer Verlag., St. Gallen, 1942.

12 Meier, Bruno, Sauerländer, Dominik, Stauffacher, Hans R., Steigmeier, Andreas: „Revolution im Aargau, Umsturz – Aufbruch – Widerstand 1798-1803", AT Verlag, Aarau, 1997, ISBN 3-85502-612-2.

13 Stüssi-Lauterburg, Jürg, Luginbühl, Hans: „Vivat das Bernerbiet Bis an d'r Welt ihr End! Berns Krieg im Jahre 1798 gegen die Franzosen", Historischer Verein des Kantons Bern, 80. Band, Verlag Merker im Effingerhof, Baden and Lenzburg, 2000, ISBN 3-85648-089-7.

14 Moulin, Alexandra, Antonietti, Thomas: „1798: Revolution im Wallis", Kantonales Museum für Geschichte, Walliser Kantonsmuseen, Sitten, 1998, ISBN 2-88426-037-4.

15 Illi, Martin, Reichen, Quirinus: „Zwischen Entsetzen und Frohlocken, vom Ancien Régime zum Bundesstaat 1798-1848", Bernisches Historisches Museum, Chronos Verlag, Zurich, 1998, ISBN 3-905312-70-0.

16 Dettwyler, Walter: „Wilhelm Tell: Ansichten und Absichten", Bildband 3, Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, Zurich, 1991, ISBN 3-908025-22-2.

17 Forster, Hubert: „Pro Deo et Patria - Dieu et la Patrie – für

Gott und Vaterland", in: *Vexilla Helvetica*, Band IX, 1998/99, Swiss Society of Vexillology, Zollikofen, pp. 32-59, ISSN 1424-5841.

18 Mattern, Günter: „Die Fahnen der Helvetischen Halbbrigaden, 1798-1805", in: *Vexilla Helvetica*, Band IX, 1998/99, Swiss Society of Vexillology, Zollikofen, pp. 27-31, ISSN 1424-5841.

19 Mäder, Peter: „Fahnen und ihre Symbole", in: „*Fahnen, Flags, Drapeaux*", proceedings of the 15th international congress of vexillology, Zurich, 1993, edited by: Dreyer, Emil & Müller, Harald, Swiss Society of Vexillology, Zollikofen, 1999, pp. 27-37.

20 Ruchet, Charles: „Les armoiries du canton de Vaud", in: *Archives Héraldiques Suisses*, 1905, Zurich, pp. 37-40.

21 „El escudo nacional", Ministerio de Justicia e Instrucción Pública, Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires, 1933.

22 Dubois, Frédéric Th., Cornaz, Théodore: „Armorial des communes vaudoises", publié sous les auspices de la commission des armoiries communales du canton de Vaud, Editions Spes, Lausanne, 1922.

23 Annuaire officiel du canton de Vaud, Lausanne, 1916, p. 73.

24 Mattern, Günter: „Drapeaux des Mineurs des Salines de Bex", in: *Vexilla Helvetica*, Band VI, 1986, Swiss Society of Vexillology, Zollikofen, pp. 4-10.

25 Mühlemann, Louis: „Armoiries et drapeaux de la Suisse", Editions Bühler AG, Lengnau, 1991, pp. 135-139.

26 Amiguet, Frédéric: „Les Milices Vaudoises", Léon Martinet Editeur, Lausanne, 1914.

27 Mottaz, Eugène: „Centenaire de la Société vaudoise des Carabiniers, notice historique 1825-1925", Imprimerie de la Société Suisse de Publicité, Lausanne, 1925.

28 Amiguet, F., op. cit., p. 354.

29 Bruckner, A. & B., op. cit., p. 9 of the additional volume, „Fahnenkatalog".

30 Gétaz,Emile: „La confrérie des vignerons et la fête des vigneros, leurs origines, leur histoire", Editions SA de l'imprimerie et lithographie Klausfelder, Vevey, 1969.

31 Lambert, Françoise: „Au secours des beaux drapeaux", unpublished catalogue of the flag exhibition of 18.6.2000-7.1.2001 at the history museum of Vevey (*Musée historique du Vieux-Vevey*), Vevey, 2001. To be published soon in Vexilla Helvetica.

32 „La Vie quotidienne", in: *Encyclopédie illustrée du Pays de Vaud*, vol. II, Meylan, Henri, Editions 24heures, Lausanne, 1973, pp. 190-191.

33 Mader, Robert: „Fahnen und Farben der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft und der Kantone", Verlag Zollikofer & Co, St. Gallen, 1942.

34 „Wappen, Siegel und Verfassung der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft und der Kantone", Schweizerische Bundeskanzlei, Bern, 1948, p. 24.
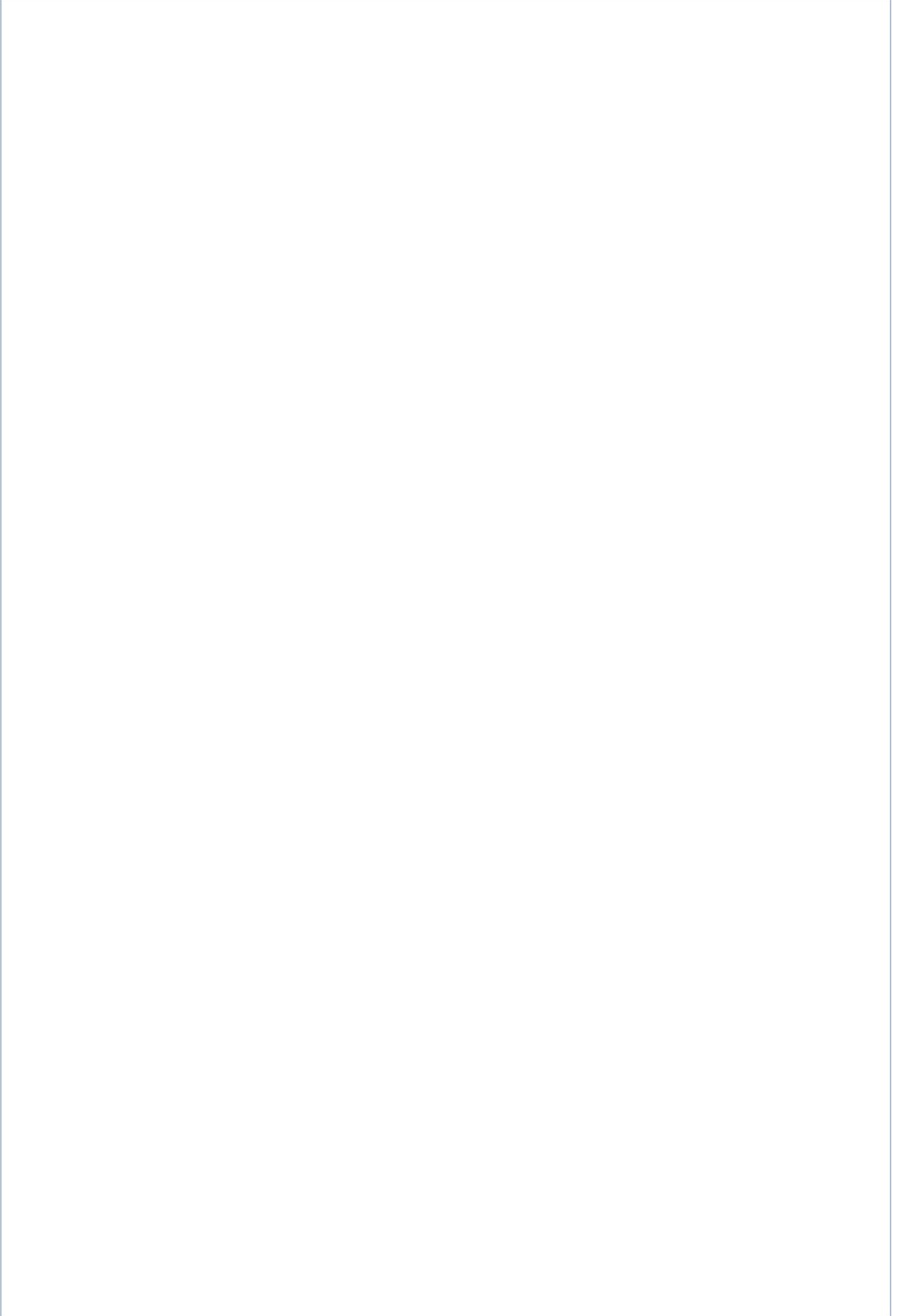
Past Attempts to Change New Zealand's Flag

John Moody

Secretary, New Zealand Flag Association

In this paper I will give you a brief history of the New Zealand Flag,

a. Reasons for wanting to change it.
b. Reasons for wanting to retain it.
c. Past attempts to change it.
d. The current situation.
e. What the flag may be changed to.
f. Concluding by drawing all the above points together.

Brief Background to the Flag

The New Zealand Flag that came into being with the Ensign Act of 1902, in clause 2 of this act the flag was described as follow -

"The New Zealand Ensign shall be the Blue ensign of the Royal Naval Reserve, having on the fly thereof the Southern Cross, as represented by 4, five pointed Red stars with White borders."

NB. Reference to the Blue ensign of the Royal Navel Reserve was later changed to the Blue ensign of His Majesty's fleet.

HM King Edward VII signed the New Zealand Ensign Act on 24th March 1902. The then governor of New Zealand signed this proclamation on 9th June 1902.

In clause 3 of this Act it stated that the "ensign should be recognised of the colony for general use on shore, within the colony and on all vessels belonging to the government of New Zealand."

Because the New Zealand Flag retains the Union Flag as part of its design there have been calls to change New Zealand flag to have a more distinctive indigenous design, more reflective of the unique characteristics of New Zealand.
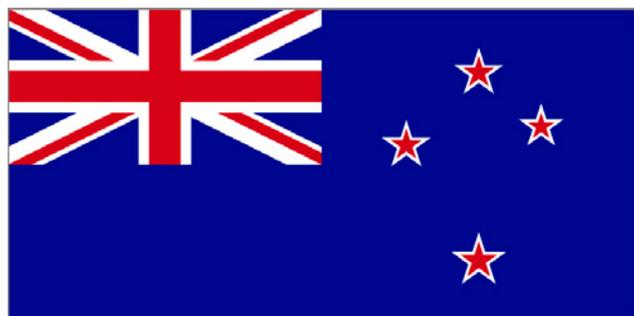
The New Zealand Flag

The Following Reasons Have Been Given to Support Changing New Zealand's Flag

a. The current New Zealand Flag is too colonial and gives the impression that New Zealand is still a British colony and *not* an independent nation.
b. The current flag of New Zealand is too similar to the Australian flag, often creating to unnecessary confusion.
c. The New Zealand Flag does not adequately represent the multi-cultural nature of modern day New Zealand.

Reasons For Retaining The Flag

a. The New Zealand Flag reflects the strong ties between the United Kingdom and New Zealand.
b. There have been no viable, attractive alternative flags put forward to replace New Zealand's current flag.
c. New Zealanders have fought and died under this flag in numerous wars and battlefields through out its history.

Past Attempts to Change New Zealand Flag

Along with calls to change New Zealand flag there have been various flag designs and proposals to replace the flag of New Zealand.

The first noted attempt to change the New Zealand Flag, was made by Mr Clark Titman, in mid-1967. His design was very similar in appearance to the Canadian flag. It consisted of two Red stripes on the hoist and fly of the flag a broad separate blue stripe, separating the blue and red components of the flag are two thin white stripes. In the centre of the blue stripe there are four red Stars with white borders representing the Southern Cross.
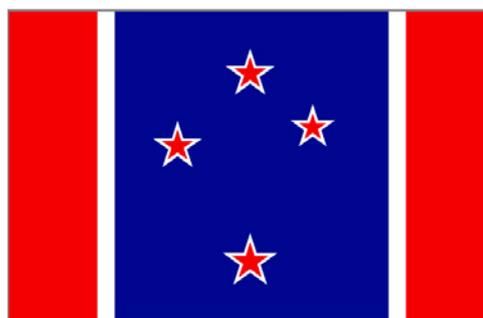
Clark Titman's Design

The red stripe on the hoist is said to represent the highest colour of Maori Manna (Honour). The red stripe on the fly is said to represent the British.

An interesting aside about Mr Titman's ancestry is that his ancestor Abraham Clark signed the declaration of Independence for New Jersey in 1776. In 1777 according to Mr Titman, Abraham Clark was a member of the Continental Congress the day the 13 star flag was adopted for the United States.

In May 1973, at the 57th annual conference of the New Zealand Labour Party, a remit was presented which called for "New Zealand to be declared a republic, change the national flag, and the National anthem" this remit was subsequently lost.

In November 1979, the Minister of Internal Affairs Mr Alan Highet, proposed a flag with a silver fern in the fly replacing the Southern Cross. The New Zealand flag would otherwise be unchanged.

In 1980 the department of Internal Affairs suggested a "New Flag For New Zealand" The department thought it would be appropriate for New Zealand to consider a new flag for its 150th anniversary in 1990.

1980 also, saw a major news article written by Brian MacKrewl, in *The Press* - the Christchurch daily newspaper. The headline read "Flag Wavers ask if It's Time For a New National Banner" This article detailed the history of the New Zealand Flag and what may emerge in the future.

The same article inspired Mr AH Calder to forward his ideas of what an alternative New Zealand flag could look like. His designs used the NZ ZN logo, which was used for the 1974 commonwealth Games, held in Christchurch. It is notable how cleverly this logo includes the Union flag in its design. One flag uses the logo in its entirety; the other uses the logo centred on the hoist with four black five pointed stars, representing the Southern Cross, on a white ground.

AH Calder's Design

Another proponent of flag change was Mr DA Bale, who designed a Canadian-styled flag. It differed from Canada's Flag in that it used blue stripes to replace the red stripes of Canada, the maple leaf was replaced by a blue koru. This flag emerged in the early 1980's.


Canada's Flag

DA Bale's Design

A very serious move to spark debate concerning a new flag was made by Frederick Hundertwasser, in March of 1983. His design was a white/green bi-colour incorporating a green fern spiral, on a white ground. This flag attracted much media attention as well as much controversy.
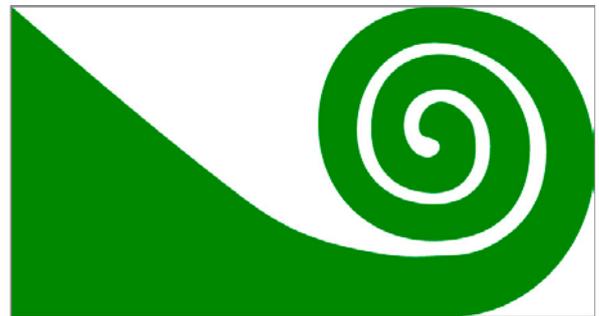
Frederick Hundertwasser's Design

1984 saw a New Zealand Member of Parliament Mr Ken Shirley; propose a black and white flag. This flag had a black ground with a white Koru on the hoist, and four white five pointed stars, representing the Southern Cross, on the fly. This flag was unfurled on the steps of New Zealand Parliament.

1984 also saw the newspaper *The Christchurch Star*, run a competition for a new national flag. Much interest in this was aroused and many entries received from its readers.

A keen supporter for flag change, Mr Mike Rodwell, went for simplicity when he designed his flag. It had a black ground with four, white-bordered red stars, in the centre of the ground each star having five points. The design dates from the mid-1980's.

In December 1988 a controversy arose when Mr Laurence Soljack, promoted his flag design. This flag looked like an elongated version of Mr Titman's flag. Mr Titman

claimed Mr Soljack copied his design, modified it and claimed it as his own.

Laurence Soljack's Design

In 1997 Ausflag promoted a flag very similar to Mr Titman's design. Ausflag is an organisation promoting a more distinctive Australian flag. Mr Titman again claimed that Ausflag copied his design.
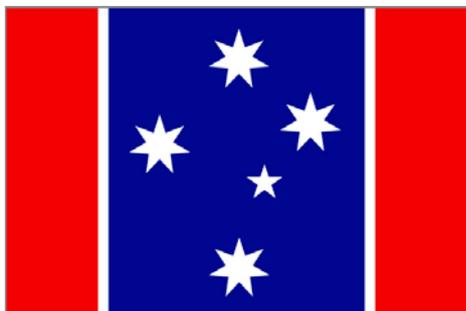
One of Ausflag's Designs

At the Labour Party conference of 1989 there were again calls for a new flag for New Zealand. A remit was forwarded at this conference "Calling for a competition to Redesign the flag that would discourage use of the Union Jack" A hand vote was taken on this remit the remit was lost 144 to 136.

The movement to change the national flag came into greater prominence when the *New Zealand Listener* (a popular national publication) ran a national high profile competition in 1990. This attracted a great deal of attention and once again much debate arose. Interest was high from the general public, with many designs entered. The winning design by Mr David Bartlett was a horizontal tri colour of unequal stripes of blue, white and green, with four white stars being placed on the fly of the blue stripe.

David Bartlett's Design

1992 saw Neil Anderson forward a flag design very similar to David Bartlett's flag again this flag used unequal stripes , this time of blue gold and green. The four stars were white and were placed in the centre of the blue stripe. Mr Anderson said his flag was based on a 1982 concept. In 1999 Mr Anderson again promoted this design for consideration by the general public.

Neil Anderson's Design

In 1993 Mr Bernard Harker presented a flag design with a black ground a white kiwi towards the hoist and four white bordered red stars on the fly. The word *Aotearoa* appeared in white beneath the kiwi and the stars.

1994 saw a flag design from Mr Peter Watson the flag had a white ground with a Maori design in the colours of red, white and blue.

In 1994 Mr James Parr designed a flag with a black ground, the Union flag appeared in the canton. In the fly was a white kiwi surrounded by three white ferns.

1998 was to prove a significant year for efforts to change the flag. This came about with Vexillologist, Mr James Dignan, leading an Internet discussion about alternative New Zealand flag designs. A number of designs came into prominence, with the favoured design being a silver fern with a red diagonal.
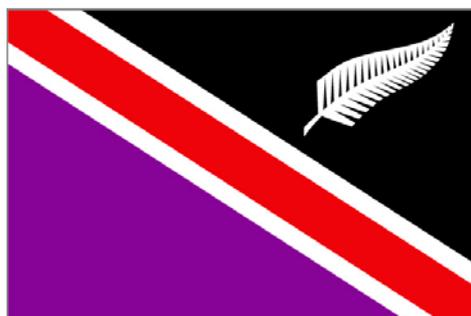
A 1998 Design

In September 1998 the then minister of Cultural Affairs, Ms Marie Hasler, made the following statements "it's time to replace meaningless flag" "flag change inevitable' "chuck out Union Jack". Her proposal was a black flag with a silver fern. The then Prime Minister Mrs Jenny Shipley supported her minister in calling for a new flag. This proposal attracted much media attention and national interest, as well as criticism from such groups as the Return Services Association. This attempt to

change the flag was the most serious seen so far in New Zealand.
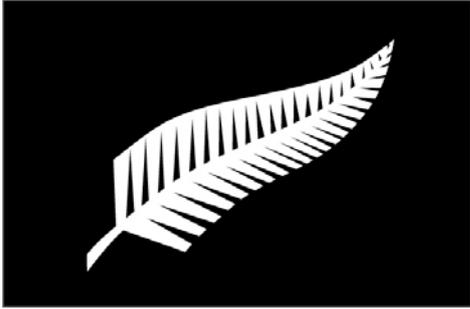
Marie Hasler's Design

The latest attempt to change New Zealand's flag was made by Mr Jason Troup in May 2000. His design again used the colours blue, white and green, with four gold stars representing the Southern Cross and a white koru towards the fly. Gold stars were said to represent wealth. Blue the sky and freedom; white, New Zealand "the land of the long white cloud" and the spirit of the people; green for the land, the koru for rebirth and new life.

The Current Situation.

a. Changing the flag in New Zealand is meeting resistance and ingrained conservatism. This can be seen by the campaign launched by the Returned Services Association with the slogan "Keep it this Way" featuring the current New Zealand flag on decals and bumper stickers. These can easily be found on car windows.

b. There was also "the flag, anthems, and names protection bill" which was proposed by the then Member of Parliament Mr Graeme Lee, who wanted a 65% majority in parliament to favour changing the flag, instead of a bare majority of 51% . This bill was lost.

c. There is also a timidity from those who would like to see change, but do not dare risk a backlash from the general public. Such as our Prime Minister Helen Clarke, who although an avowed Republican has stated that she thinks New Zealand's relationship with the British monarchy is absurd. She has said "she considered any re-design of the New Zealand flag to be well into the future" she further stated "as with the question of becoming a republic she thought it unwise to push things to far ahead of public opinion".

d. Opinion polls continue to show the majority of New Zealander's are opposed to changing New Zealand's flag, as was shown by the latest poll held in the *National Business Review* of August 1999, where 64% of those polled opposed changing New Zealand's flag, with only 24% favouring change. Interestingly, these percentages changed when an alternative flag design was presented in this case the black flag with the silver fern (Ms Marie Hasler design) with those opposing flag change dropping to 60% and those favouring change rising to 33%.

e. Opinion opposing flag change is in slow decline with those in favour of flag change gradually rising, especially if presented with an attractive alternative design.

What The Flag May Be Changed To

In my opinion the New Zealand flag will be changed within the next 10 -15 years for the following reasons:

• The declining influence of Britain in New Zealand's affairs.

• New Zealand's increasing self-awareness as an independent South Pacific Nation.

• New Zealand's inevitable move to republican status

I think the flag could feature the kiwi, the koru, the silver fern or the Southern Cross. The flag that is in increasing evidence and use is the black flag with the silver fern. This may well be the model for New Zealand's future flag.

Two significant occasions which saw the display of this flag were celebrations in Auckland when New Zealand retained the Americas Cup and the march past of the New Zealand Team at the Sydney Olympics. Team members were holding this flag with only the official flag bearer carrying the official New Zealand Flag.

It seems that this silver fern Flag is gaining defacto acceptance by the public of New Zealand, surely the first step towards it becoming a future New Zealand flag.

Therefore, in conclusion I have walked you through a history of the New Zealand flag to date, both historical and current. The many reasons for changing the current flag and reasons to retain the current flag. Past attempts to change the flag and some suggestions as to what New Zealand's flag will become in the future.

Small and Very Small States in Italy that Lasted Beyond 1700 - A Vexillological Survey

Roberto Breschi FFIAV

Noli, Senarica, Cospaia, Seborga, Piombino, Massa, Torriglia and Masserano, were small residual principalities from the old feudal system, or free republics under the protection of a larger state. They lasted until 18th or 19th century. Their history is briefly described and several symbols and flags are discussed and illustrated in 24 figures. Most of these flags have been little-known until now.

Introduction

During several centuries a wide belt in the middle of Europe, from Denmark to Sicily, was divided into a moltitude of small self-governing states. Two high authorities - the Pope and the Emperor - ruled over them from a distance. Germany and Italy, today's major states in this region, achieved national unity in the second half of 19th century (Italy in 1861, Germany in 1870), much later than Spain, France, United Kingdom, or Russia. This fragmentation of Italy stimulated the appetite of greater powers and attracted foreign conquerors. As a result, through the 16th and 17th centuries the number of the separate states in Italy was dramatically reduced. The smaller (and weaker) ones were rubbed off the map so that around 1700 there were about 20 of them left in Italy while in Germany there were 300 or 400.

Nevertheless some very small states survived far beyond 1700, and a few still exist, such as the Republic of San Marino or, just across the Italian border, the principalities of Monaco and Liechtenstein. They owed their survival to the patronage of a larger power or even to their small size. In fact some of them passed undamaged through wars, agreements and treaties, much like small fish escaping through the mesh of a net.

From the vexillological viewpoint, it is necessary to distinguish between two different types of governement, no matter the size of the state. Duchies, principalities, kingdoms, etc. belong to the first type. They were ruled, just like private estates, by families that had been granted special privileges by an emperor or pope. The flags they hoisted usually followed *jus feudalis*, that is, they were modeled on the coat-of-arms of the ruler house and did not pay any attention to the local symbols or traditions.

The second type of government was present in the so-called republics where the people had more or less a say in the matter of public affairs. Their flags were more popular and anticipated in every sense the modern national flag.

Examples of both types will be considered here. Some of these states are now forgotten, by history as well as by geography. Nevertheless, they did in fact exist and do not belong to the category of the suppositious or conjectural states. They are shown on the map of Fig. 1. Let us start with a small maritime republic.


1. Map of Italian States

The Republic of Noli

The Republic of Noli, in Liguria, was established toward the late 12th century. Soon Noli made an alliance with Genoa and fulfilled it up to the very end, that is, until 1797, when Napoleon occupied Liguria. In spite of its small size, Noli had a safe harbour and an efficient shipyard and reached the status of a good naval and commercial power.

The flag of Noli (Fig. 2) dates to the 13th century. It was red with a white cross, in other words, it had the reverse colors of Genoa[1]. An original exemplar of the flag is still preserved at the city hall. At sea the flag was rarely hoisted because the more authoritative and protective Genoese was usually preferred. Sometimes, as on the sundial of Fig. 4, the cross appeared shortened. This was probably done to avoid confusion with other similar flags of maritime states, such as Savoy, Malta or Denmark. Moreover, as you can discern in Fig. 4, there were some figures in the first quarter,

They represenred three saints - the patron St. Paragorio, St. Eugene and St. Peter - sometimes placed on the flags to obtain protection. Today the city of Noli claims the historical right to be considered the fifth Maritime Republic in Italy, and it claims as well the privilege of placing its coat-of-arms, which is similar to the old flag (Fig. 3), on civil and naval ensigns, as well as on the jack of Italy, just like Venice, Genoa, Amalfi and Pisa. If this privilege were practiced, it could represent a severe test for flag designers!
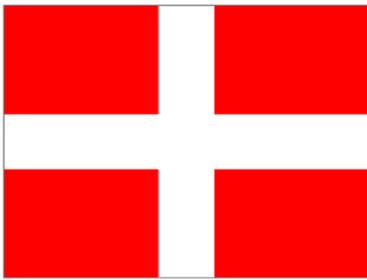
2. Flag of Noli

3. Arms of Noli
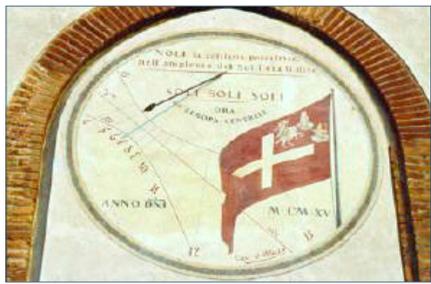
4. Sundial showing the Flag

The Republic of Senarica

Let me now speak about another tiny state leaning on the broad shoulders of a powerful Maritime Republic. The story of the Republic of Senarica[2], hid in the hard mountains of the province of Teramo in Abruzzo in central Italy, is interesting and curious at the same time.

In 1350, Giovanna I d'Angiò, queen of Naples, grateful to the villagers of Senarica and Poggio Umbricchio for their brave resistance against the raids of the Visconti soldiery from Milan, granted them the right of self-rule. The highlanders declared their territory a republic, and though they had no coastal outlet, took as a model the *Serenissima* Maritime Republic of Venice. Imitating the Venetians, they elected a *Doge*, a Senate and a Noble Order. Moreover they drew up a solemn alliance treaty with the *Serenissima*. In case of war, Senarica had to send a good two soldiers!

Venice used to call tiny Senarica *La Serenissima Sorella*, "the Most Serene Sister". This little sister of Venice lasted over four centuries. No one invaded it. But eventually, this small independent state collapsed from the inside, worn out by divisions and legal quarrels. By the end of 18th century - following Venice in its decadence - it disappeared.

Obviously, the Republic of Senarica had some state symbols. Its coat-of-arms was a silver lion on a black field. It was a more modest beast than the Venetian one; it had no wings, no book, no sword, but was represented seizing a snake, a probable allusion to the *Biscione* of the Visconti, the common enemy to both leonian republics. We can deduce the exact design of this coat-of-arms from the state seal in Fig. 5 and from a fresco in the church in Senarica, the "capital". We also know that the arms were placed on golden fabric, but unfortunately the exact shape of these flags is unknown. Surely there was a gonfalon, more or less as represented in Fig. 6. It is likely that a standard echoing the Venetian one was hoisted at important ceremonies (Fig. 7), while a simple flag, as in Fig. 8, would have been commonly used. It is important to note that the last two flags, though logical, are only conjectural. In my opinion the question of the flags of Senarica deserves further investigation. I have approached the comune of Crognaleto, of which Senarica is only a fraction, but without any results so far. Unfortunately, the Republic ceased to exist without leaving any archives or annals. A possible way could be the State Archives of Venice.
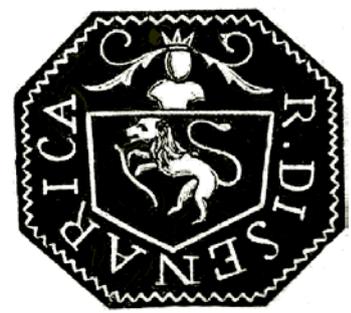
5. State Seal of Senarica

6. Gonfalon of Senarica (supposed)

7. Standard of Senarica (supposed)

8. Flag of Senarica (supposed)

The Republic of Cospaia

The history of the Republic of Cospaia is even more unusual[3]. Cospaia is a tiny village on a green hill in northern Umbria close to the Tuscan border. For four centuries it was an independent republic. In 1440 the boundaries between Tuscany and Papal States were redrawn, and a measurement error excluded from the new map a strip of land about half a kilometer wide, and Cospaia village found itself in a no man's land. Finding themselves without written laws, or army or, above all, taxes, the inhabitants hastened to proclaim their independence. What did it happen? Just on the border there was a river. Neither geometers from Rome, nor those from Tuscany realized that the river splitted up in two branches; so each one measured up to the branch on his side. The miniature state owed its survival to the excellent duty-free business which the neighbouring states did there, expecially when in the 16th century the villagers started to grow tobacco[4]. Unfortunately the republic started to attract all sorts of smugglers, and so, in 1826 Florence and Rome agreed to put an end to the independence of Cospaia. As a compensation for their lost freedom, the villagers were granted the franchise to grow half a million tobacco plants. Even today the best quality tobacco grows in this area.

The vexillology of this state is quite poor because of the almost absolute lack of public institutions. We know that quite simple flags were hoisted, black and white, usually diagonally divided, with ornamental tails (Fig. 9)[5]. They did not exibit any meaning but the primordial simplicity of the colors as well as of the drawing. There was even a black and white gonfalon with a lion and the inscription "Repubblica di Cospaia" on. Obviously, there are no documents about these symbols. However they are based on a quite solid tradition (if you consider that the republic

lasted until 1826, so that the father of the granfather of some older Cospaiese was theoretically able to see these flags). Even today, they are hoisted in the village during the *festa* of the ancient Republic, a popular costume evoking.


9. Flag of Cospaia

The Principality of Seborga

Let me now come back to Liguria and visit quite a peculiar principality. Seborga[6], the ancient *Castrum Sepulcri*, later *Sepulcri Burgum*, is a tiny scenic village in the province of Imperia in western Liguria, near the French border. In 954 it was ceded by the Counts of Ventimiglia to the monks of Lerino and in 1079 it became a principality of the H.R. Empire. For over six centuries Seborga was a rare example of sovereign abbey state. In 1729 it was acquired by the Kingdom of Sardinia, despite strong opposition from the Republic of Genoa.

Seborga's flag (Fig. 10) was white and blue, diagonally divided. The colors were taken from the coat-of-arms which had a white cross on a blue field (Fig. 11). Seborga's current claims of independence, based on a conjectural lack of legality of the conveyance of 1729, are in my opinion insubstantial, and its modern symbols, badly copied from the ancient ones, are without interest to the vexillologist. To tell the truth, neither the old symbols are quite sure. Perhaps the flag is correct, but, regarding the shield, I suspect it was copied from the Savoy's one, changing red to blue, *after* the end of the principality. Any way the colors of Seborga - white and blue – are surely correct, being those original of the Lerino abbey.
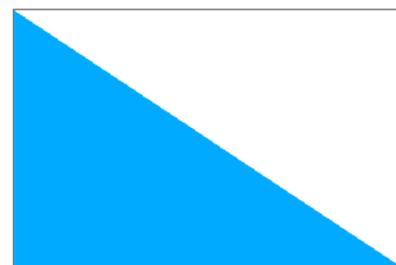
10. Flag of Seborga

11. Arms of Seborga

The Principality of Piombino

The Principality of Piombino[7], today part of the province of Leghorn in Tuscany, offers an example of flag strictly related to a sovereign house.

The imperial feud of Piombino, wich also included the island of Elba, became a principality in 1594 and was first ruled by the Appiani family, followed in 1634 by the Ludovisi. In 1701 the latter house went to an end, and a branch of it, Boncompagni-Ludovisi, took over the state. Their coat-of-arms was placed on white flags. The last one (Fig. 12), adopted in 1701, had the Boncompagni-Ludovisi blazon, bearing the arms of the individual families. Note the dragon of the Boncompagni, wich came from the original family name, Dragona. The umbrella with the keys of Saint Peter, in the middle of the escutcheon, was the symbol of a Gonfalonier of the Holy Roman Church, a family privilege.

The Principality of Piombino lasted until 1801, when it was occupied by France. The Congress of Vienna did not restore this state.

Sometimes the design of the coat-of-arms on white fabric reflected lucky and unlucky events of the ruling family's life, chiefly wedding and death, as in the case of the Duchy of Massa.


12. Flag of Piombino

The Duchy of Massa

The Duchy of Massa and Carrara, roughly corresponding to the modern province with the same name in northern Tuscany, was an independent state from 1473 to 1829. It was initially ruled by the Malaspina family (whose symbol was the thorn tree, in Italian *spino*). In 1519 they became related to the Cybo family (whose symbol was the chess, or cubes, in greek *kybos*) and later to the Este, which had the eagle as its symbol. A new maritime flag (Fig. 13)[8] was introduced in 1741, when Maria Teresa Cybo Malaspina married the duke D'Este of Modena. The coat-of-arms had the twin escutcheons of the Este and Cybo-Malaspina families (the shape was rather variable). This flag was abolished in 1796 and restored in 1814 after the Napoleon era, to be hoisted only on land. It remained in use until the end of the Duchy, in 1829.

In 1790 Maria Teresa died and her daughter Maria Beatrice ascended to the throne. The new duchess modified the blazon and placed it on coins, letterhead, seals

and flags[9]. However the new flag (Fig. 14) was not very used. The duchy continued to fly the flag of Maria Teresa, probably to avoid the expense of changing to a new flag.
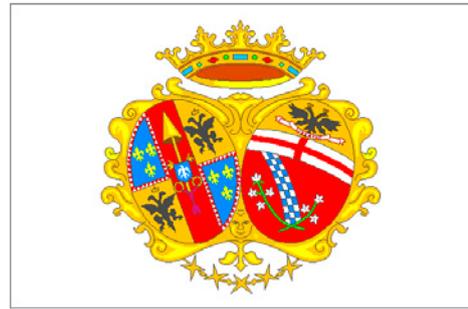

13. Maritime Flag of Massa 1741

14. Flag of Massa 1790

Let us now move only a few miles to the northwest.

The Principality of Torriglia

The Principality of Torriglia[10], located on the mountains of Genoa's hinterland, was a classic example of an imperial feudal state. There was a castle, the prince's residence, dominating the borough (Fig. 15)[11]. Today it is in ruins, but several furnishing have been preserved. All around the castle 22 small villages were located in a wide valley, up to the border with checkpoints garrisoned by local militia. The feud had its own laws, mint, soldiers and so on, and the emperor's authority was nominal and remote.
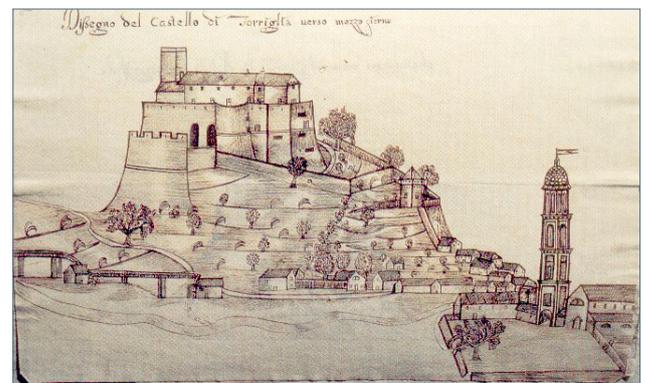
15. Castle of the Prince of Torriglia

The Fieschi family ruled Torriglia from 1252. In 1547, after the failed *Congiura dei Fieschi* (Fieschi Conspiracy) in Genoa, the house of Doria took over the power. In 1760 the marquisate became a principality and in 1797 it was

occupied by Napoleon and united to the Ligurian Republic. That was the end of the Principality of Torriglia; however by that time the entire feudal system was at death's door.

Sometimes one is induced to imagine the ancient castles decked with flags and banners on every side. Actually, flags were raised quite rarely on land, and just one flag waved on the top of the castle of Torriglia. As one might expect, it was the standard of the Doria family, the coat-of-arms on a white background (Fig. 16). It is reported[12] that a special fabric was locally made for that flag, "white, soft, sumptuous and brilliant silk". The arms of the Doria family (Fig. 17 shows a seal of Torriglia) were a black eagle with red beck and claws on a field of gold and silver. They were the same for all branches of the family, according to a resolution dating to the 14th century. A conjectural armorial flag (Fig. 18) is also mentioned, but I have not found any evidence of its existence. From rare residual documents, it would result that the local colors were red and white, but they did not appear on any flag. They were the colors of milita uniforms and perhaps of the sentry boxes.

16. Standard of the Doria Family

17. Seal of Torriglia

18. Armorial Flag (supposed)

The Principality of Masserano

Masserano, today part of the province of Biella in Piedmont, northern Italy, was a principality ruled by the Ferrero-Fieschi house[13]. It was established in 1598 on the old feudal marquisate and lasted until 1767, when it was ceded to Kingdom of Sardinia.

Its first flag was the armorial banner of the Fieschi family, white and blue diagonally striped (Fig. 19). In 1614, the emperor Rudolf II granted the princely family a new coat-of-arms, quartered by the arms of the Ferrero house (a blue lion in a silver shield) and the imperial eagle. This coat-of-arms was placed on the striped flag (Fig. 20). At the beginning of the 18th century, the flag was changed (Fig. 21): it was white with a centered coat-of-arms similar to the previous one, except for the superimposed Fieschi escutcheon. The design was more or less complicated, depending on the use of the flag. As already noted, this type of flag was very common at that time, primarily celebrating the ruling house and usually having little relevance to local traditions and symbols. In fact, in the case of this principality, the coat-of-arms of the comune of Masserano had little in common with the state flag (Fig. 22). On the contrary Crevacuore, the second city of the old state, put its symbol (a heart, in Italian *cuore*) on a Fieschi-type escutcheon (Fig. 23). Both coats-of-arms date back to the 16th century and are still in use.

19. Arms of the Fieschi Family before 1614

20. Flag of Masserano 1614

21. Flag of Masserano 18th Century

22. Arms of the Commune of Masserano

23. Arms of the Commune of Crevacuore

Finally, let me show the great blazon of the Fieschi[14], a family I have mentioned several times. All around the escutcheon we can observe a panoply of white flags bearing the arms of various branches of the house (Fig. 24).

24. Great Blazon of the Fieschi

Notes

* CISV, Centro Italiano Studi Vessillologici.

1 A. Ziggioto, "Le bandiere degli Stati Italiani", *Vexilla Italica*, III, 1, 1976, 1-3.

2 P. Marcozzi, "La Repubblica di Senarica", *Le Vie d'Italia*, XLIII, 12, 1937, 863-866.

3 Comune of San Giustino (Perugia). Tourist promotion.

4 G. Diana, "La storia del tabacco in Italia", *Il Tabacco*, 7(2), 1999, 55-62.

5 M. Dalceri, personal records. I am indebted to Mario for his kindness.

6 A. Ziggioto, "Le bandiere degli Stati Italiani", *Vexilla Italica*, III, 1, 1976, 6-7.

7 A. Ziggioto, "Le bandiere degli Stati Italiani", *Armi Antiche*, 1971, 109-110.

8 P. Di Pierro, *La Marina di Avenza tra Vele e Bandiere*, Carrara, 1997.

9 A. Ziggioto, "Le bandiere degli Stati Italiani", *Armi Antiche*, 1971, 45-51.

10 M. Casale, *La Magnifica Comunità di Torriglia*, Genova, 1985.

11 M. Casale, *Castrum Turrilie*, Genova, 1995.

12 *Ibidem*, pag. 69.

13 M. Dalceri, "Il Principato di Masserano", *Vexilla Italica*, 2, XVI, 1990, 43-47.

14 Courtesy of Mr. Mauro Casale. My gratitude to Mr. Casale, a deep expert in history of Torriglia.

Cornwall – The Mysteries of St Piran

Phil Rendle

I thought of calling this piece "The Perils of Piran", or "Vexillological Vexations". However, I have decided on "Cornwall – The Mysteries of St Piran"!

Cornwall's flag, the flag of St Piran, is a plain white cross on a black field.

St Piran's – The Flag of Cornwall

St Piran was a sixth century holy man who is said to have floated to Cornwall from Ireland on a mill-stone.

He has become the patron saint of Cornish tinners and of Cornwall itself, with his Saint's Day – 5th March – being celebrated as Cornwall's national day and his flag considered by many as Cornwall's national flag.

Cornwall occupies a peninsula at the far south west of the island of Great Britain, with the River Tamar forming the historic border between it and the English county of Devonshire.

Cornwall is one of the six Celtic countries, three of which – Scotland, Wales and Cornwall – share this island with England.

Scotland has its Parliament, Wales its Assembly but Cornwall is considered to warrant only a County Council.

At present there is a strong campaign for a Cornish Assembly. The Cornish Constitutional Convention, which has gathered 50,000 signed declarations calling for such an Assembly, uses 5 active St Piran flags in the form of a cinquefoil as its emblem.

From its first reference in the 1830s St Piran's flag has now become *the* emblem of Cornwall.

The flag has, as it were, passed through the hands of the antiquarians, the Celtic revivalists, the political nationalists into those of the people themselves.

I am trying to piece together the history of that passage. Unfortunately, many of those who were active in popularizing the flag in the early part of last century are no longer with us.

Others have forgotten those days. And those who are neither dead nor forgetful believe that I know everything about the flag that they do – but I don't!

So, there is my difficulty in getting this history together. But, as well as dealing with fact, vexillologists need also pay attention to theories, inventions, myths, legends, misidentifications, misattributions and mistakes concerning the flags they study

There are many of these – because the facts about the Cornish flag are few.

It almost seems necessary to invent a new science – paravexillology – to accommodate them!

I am briefly going to look at three areas where I feel it is necessary to record such "mysteries" and finish with two brief case-studies to show what we have to put up with.

The three areas are:

1. Creation Myths,
2. Misidentifications and
3. Misattributions.

Possibly what links these three together is patriotic wishful thinking.

Origin

The first time that we know of anyone writing about St Piran's flag was in 1835.

Davies Gilbert (1767-1839), towards the end of his life, finally got round to editing the histories collected by two previous writers Hals and Tonkin. He added some statistical and geological details and a few notes of his own for each of the over 200 Cornish parishes.

He was writing about the parish of Perranzabuloe (St Piran in the Sands) in 1835 – he gives the date in his book – which was published in 1938.

Here we find the first know reference to St Piran's flag: "A white cross on a black ground was formerly the banner of St Perran and the Standard of Cornwall; probably with some allusion to the black ore and the white metal of tin"[1].

But where did he get his information from? He gives no references and apparently has left nothing behind in his papers to help us. I am not the only one who has looked. What happened to the notes he made while compiling his *History*? I believe there were no notes. He says in his preface that as well as editing Hals & Tonkin's work he added "under each parish, such matters as happened to occur to my recollection".

At the time he wrote about Perranzabuloe, St Piran's 9th/10th Century Oratory was once again uncovered by the shifting sands. It is possible that that event was what brought the banner back to his memory.

Clearly he and other nineteenth century writers believed it to be a thing of antiquity.

In the absence of a known origin, theories are rife. Here are a few, without comment:

1. Invented by Davies Gilbert himself [2][3][4].
2. A modern invention[5].
3. Invented by the great Cornish language scholar R Morton Nance (1873-1959)[6].
4. Invented by Helena Charles one of the founders of the nationalist party Mebyon Kernow who did much to popularize the flag in the 1950s [7][8].
5. St Piran made a fire which melted tin in the rocks. He made a cross of the tin which became the basis of his banner [9].
6. Based on the arms of the Earl of Cornwall or the later Duchy of Cornwall [10].
7. Based on the many black and white family arms in Cornwall [10].
8. Linked to the Breton black cross (Ar Groaz Du) – because of the colours [11][12][13][14].
9. Linked to a Breton Admiralty flag – for the same reason [15].
10. Derived from St George's flag and given Cornish colours [16].
11. Linked with the black and white livery of the Knights of St John [17].
12. Originally derived from the Banner of Victory [18].

Misidentifications

If the Cornish flag had a recognizable emblem on it – say a Cornish pasty! – there would be no difficulty in spotting it in old photographs and even paintings.

Because it is such a commendably simple design, patriotic wishful thinking sees it flying in black and white photographs where it may not be.

Many times such 'discoveries' are brought to my notice. Here are a few candidates of flags misidentified as St Piran's – some more obvious than others.

1. Denmark – white Scandinavian cross on red.
2. Signal flag 'R' – yellow cross on red square.
3. Signal flag '4' – white cross on red triangle.
4. Isles of Scilly Steamship Co house flag – white cross on blue with red letters I S S Co in the cantons.
5. Italy – a version with the Savoy Arms draped over a wall seen as St Piran draped over a white wall!
6. Greece – a photo of the Duke of Edinburgh's standard on his car visiting Truro. The 2nd quarter for Greece (white cross on dark blue) mistaken as a St Piran flag [19].

Misattributions

From time to time assertions are made of the flag flying before its first known reference – Davies Gilbert 1838.

I take this as due to :
1. patriotic wishful thinking, or
2. artistic licence, or
3. just plain mistakes.

Again a few examples, working back into the past:

1. 1737 Queen Charlotte's funeral – misinterpretation of reference to the Duchy Arms in an old newspaper.
2. 1694 Queen Mary II's funeral – the same source.
3. 1690 The Battle of the Boyne.
4. 1642/51 English Civil War – recreationists like the Society of the Sealed Knot use banners based on St Piran's flag.
5. 1549 Prayerbook Rebellion in Cornwall – artists producing work for commemorations show St Piran's flag.
6. 1497 An Gof Rebellion in Cornwall – same thing. One writer identified St Piran's flag in the words "they do paynt the Image of a cross in a rag with the words 'Hoc Signo Vinces'" [20].
7. 1415 the Battle of Agincourt.
8. 1346 the Battle of Crécy.
9. 312 the Battle of Milvian Bridge. This is the most flamboyant of wishful thinking – "On the eve of the battle of the Milvian Bridge [Constantine the Great] had a vision of a white cross on a black ground... Hence Constantine's Cross is claimed as the origin of the *Crows Wyn* or St Piran's Cross." A spectacular theory only spoiled by the fact that, as I believe, Constantine saw a sign of the Chi-Rho not the cross!

Finally I want to close with two anecdotes or object lessons. The first shows how a passing suggestion can be brought into serious print.

I mentioned before the allegation that Helena Charles invented the flag. This was stated recently in a letter to the *West Briton* newspaper: "The so-called Cornish or St Piran's flag is neither Cornish nor St Piran's. It was seen by Helena Charles being used in German mines as a warning of explosives and she brought it back for similar use in Cornish mines."

I couldn't resist sending an answering letter: "Would you wave a black flag in a coalmine to warn of danger? Even with the lights on?" and challenged the writer to supply his evidence – none came.

Subsequently, in an article in a journal devoted to Cornish language studies, referring to the flag, I read "It has been suggested by some that a white cross on a black ground was used as a warning before blasting in German mines." However the writer continues: "There are many links between the mining industries of Germany and

Cornwall, but that a predominantly black flag waved in the cramped and dark conditions underground appears fanciful to say the least". So why mention it? [21].

I finish with what appears to me to be the sanctification of a myth.

In 1969 the so-called "Falmouth Incident" occurred. A petty government official demanded that a pleasure boat skipper "get that load of rubbish down" – referring to the St Piran's flag he had been flying for weeks during the summer holiday season.

This insult to the national flag caused a good deal of resentment. The ensuing publicity led to correspondence between Cornwall and both William Crampton of the Flag Institute and Whitney Smith of the Flag Research Center.

A Cornish nationalist councillor wrote a long letter on the flag to William Crampton giving much valuable information. He also asserted, giving an *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article on Cornish wrestling as his source, that the St Piran's flag flew at Agincourt with Henry V.

A banner said to have flown at Agincourt is known only from the poet John Drayton in the line "two wrestlers the Cornish had for theirs".

The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article referred to a banner flown at Agincourt which is still used by the Cornish Wrestling Association today.

The Cornish Wrestling Association banner is gold with the black outline of two wrestlers in a hitch and the mottoes *Kernow Bys Vykken* "Cornwall for Ever" and *Gwary Wheg yu Gwary Teg* "Fair play is good play".

The Councillor's information was given in good faith, and has been used in Vexillological material ever since.

Its latest manifestation being "The Cornish flag is black with the white cross of St Piran, patron saint of Cornwall, and dates back to the beginning of the 15th century" – The World Encyclopedia of Flags [22] [23].

These are the mysteries, perils and vexations of *Baneronieth Kernewek* – Cornish vexillology.

1. Davies Gilbert (1838) *Parochial History of Cornwall* Vol III p 332.

2. M C V Stephens (1960) (Untitled article) *New Cornwall* 8(3) pp 4 & 6.

3. Gwlascarer Kernewek (1960) (Untitled letter) *New Cornwall* 8(4) p 7.

4. M C V Stephens (1961) "Some Notes on the Flag of St Piran" *New Cornwall* 9(4) p 9.

5. Colin Gregory (1997) "Is Cornwall lost in a Celtic Myth?" *Western Morning News* 21 November 1997. Review of *The Celts, The Construction of a Myth* by Malcolm Chapman.

6. Anon (2000) "The Breton Flag" *Gemini* The Magazine of the Twinning Committee for Cornwall. Spring 2000 p 4.

7. J W Reid (2000) "Let us all shout 'Cornwall Forever', but scrap all this fake paraphernalia" *West Briton* 27 July 2000.

8. Phil Rendle (2000) Critic wrote from England" *West Briton* 3 August 2000.

9. Revd W S Lach-Szyrma (188?) *A Church History of Cornwall and the Diocese of Truro* p 16.

10. See 4 above

11. Perig Keroad (196?) "Le Drapeau Cornique" *Sturier Yaouankiz* .

12. William G Crampton (1973) "Lesser Known British Flags" *Flag Bulletin* XII (3) pp 68-73.

13. Philippe Rault (1998) *Les Drapeaux Bretons de 1188 à nos jours* Coop Breizh pp 86.7.

14. Divi Kervella (1998) *Emblèmes & syboles ds Bretons et des Celtes* Coop Breizh pp 41/2.

15. See 11 and 13 above.

16. See 4 above.

17. Joan Gill (2000) letter dated 24 April 2000.

18. Royston Green (198?) *The National Question in Cornwall. A Historical Review* Communist Party of Great Britain p 5.

19. Philip Hosken (1998) "Nationalism or plain common sense?" *Cornish World/Bys Kernowyon* Sep/Nov 1998 p 6/7.

20. See 7 above.

21. Pol Hodge (2001) "Was Piran Really Kieran? A Cornish Speaker's View" *Agan Yeth* Cornish Language Studies 3 April 2001 p 43.

22. Alfred Znamierowski (1999) *The World Encyclopedia of Flags* Lorenz Books p 237.

23. Alfred Znamierowski (2000) *Encyclopédie Mondiale des Drapeaux* Manise p 237.

Decorative Motifs Used on the Ottoman Flag Finials

Jaroslav Martykán

President of the Czech Vexillological Society

Introduction

While doing research on the forerunners of modern flags I have realized that fabric flags apparently originate in the enlargement of till then merely decorative ribbons. They were attached to the standards or vexilloids in order to facilitate their better identification from distance due to their colour. The ribbons also contributed to greater decorativeness of the standard when more colours were used. The signs used as standards' emblems started to be painted or embroidered on that piece of cloth. However, its shape lost previous feature of a ribbon and it was fastened to the staff laterally in order to enable better visibility of the painted sign.

While the main element of a flag, ie. field of cloth, developed from the ribbons during the history, those elements characteristic for ancient standards – ie. staff and emblem – lost their significance gradually and the emblem was transformed to the finial on the flagpole. As flags proved their greater practicality and aesthetic appeal than standards they spread all around the world during the 1st millennium. They displaced other forms of this symbol, including the standards as defined above. This development happened in China and was so strong that the use of standards has almost disappeared except for rare cases. And there were the Huns, the Mongols and other nomadic people living around China who adopted this new symbol and brought it as far as Europe.

The same images standing for strength and victory and being earlier engraved or cauterised in the spearheads were later weaved-in, embroidered or painted on the banners' cloth. This fact bears witness to the continuity of ornaments and their symbolism in case of both spears, spears adorned with a banner, and banners themselves.

However, the victory of fabric flags was not overwhelming at all. There are symptoms in some societies that "perfect" silk flags were used simultaneously with their primitive predecessors – standards made of horsehair or feathers (eg. in China). The parallel existence of more advanced flags did not exclude a dignified approach toward their forerunners, because their symbolism was probably not identical with that one attached to the flags. Even when I met the ceremonies during which both staff and banner were handled as two equivalent components of one symbol in the present time, I was notwithstanding taken by surprise when I realized the importance attached to the flagstaffs and especially to their metal finials in Turkey. Many of these technically excellent artefacts are exhibited in the Ethnographical Museum in Ankara, in the Military Museum in Istanbul, but first of all in the museum of the former Imperial Palace Topkapı.

For that reason, when the first comprehensive publication about collection of the finials in the Topkapı Palace Museum got into my hands thanks to the book *Türk Sancak Alemleri* (Turkish Flag Finials) written by Dr. Hülya Tezcan and Turgay Tezcan, I decided to prepare a short overview on decorative elements used on the Ottoman finials exhibited in the said collection.

Ottoman finials in the Topkapı Palace Museum

There are forty-eight Ottoman finials in the weapons collection of the Topkapı Palace Museum. They are made of various metals, especially of tombac (gilding on copper), and there exist those made of gold or silver, too. Unlike the Mamluk finials, the use of the Ottoman finials in the armed forces was limited to the symbolical one – as a decoration of banners. Therefore, they show a great variety of shapes, eg. the flat ones, spherical, in shape of leaf etc. and plasticity; in general, they are hollow.

Main features of the Ottoman metal handicrafts

Expanding Turks were regularly affected by the culture of people living in their newly conquered territories. The impact of the Sassanide arts can be seen in the metal handicrafts of the early Islamic era. The hey-day of the Islamic metalwork comes together with the Seljuk Turks. Primary Central Asian features mixed on the Seljuk metal objects with local characteristic elements that originated in the antique period and transformed during the Christian rule. As a result, there appear several novelties in materials, techniques, forms, and decoration used on them, and also a wider choice of metal products available.

The Seljuk contribution as for the material used is brass poured since the middle of 12th century. The colour of this alloy that is suitable for malleableizing is lighter and brighter than that of bronze. The novelty among

techniques used during the processing of metal is an ornamental inlaying and perforation (*ajouré*). One of the contributions provided by Seljuks to the metal handicrafts is an increase of variety of the tent finials. No Seljuk flag finial survived till now. However, the sources inform us about finials either in the form of crescent or horn. Moreover, the heart-shaped and gilded finials placed on the top of tents as depicted on the Seljuk miniatures resemble the early Ottoman finials surprisingly. Geometric design and Sufistic idea of infinity are essential for the decoration of the time. Moreover, the friezes inscribed in calligraphic styles of *kûfî* (Cufic script), *nasîh,* floral *kûfî,* floral *nasîh* and knitted *kûfî* are very important novelty brought to the Islamic metal handicrafts by the Seljuks. Fig. 1 shows an example of the use of ductus known as floral Cufic script (finial of the flag belonging to the Akkoyonlu ruler Hasan The Tall /1453-1478/).

1. Hasan The Tall

Moreover, the presence of the motif of *Selçuklu geçmesi* or crossing with knots, which is characteristic for Seljuks, in the decoration of the Ottoman flag finials supports an idea that the Seljuk tent finials had been their predecessors.

The influence of Iranian arts coming from the East is visible in the Ottoman metal crafts, too. Through the work of artists brought from Tabriz by Sultan Selim I The Cruel after his victorious battle against Iran in Çaldıran (1514) the decorative style of adornment born in Herât during the last years of 15th century influenced the Palace arts. Curved branches form another influential style in the Ottoman metal works and jewellery. They are threadlike thin so as the ornaments known as *Rúmí* - an arabesque decoration, that has been known at least since 17th cen-

tury. It came to refer from traditional Seljuk arabesque decoration because the Rum Sultanate was the biggest state established by the Anatolian Seljuks in the Asia Minor. *Rúmî* ornaments were found both on weapons of the Royal collection and on the finials presented in the museum. The *Rúmî* decoration is used on the central medallion from the finial of Sultan Selim II from 1567, as given in Fig. 2. In addition to many inscriptions (Quranic verse II/255, names of Muhammad and four caliphs and *Kelîme-i Tewhîd*) this floral design is present, too.

2. Sultan Selim II

There existed also *a Western impact* on the Ottoman arts. The clear influence of the Byzantine metal handicrafts, of the goldsmith's trade in particular, is visible after the conquest of Constantinople. The most eye- striking example of this influence is opening rose calyces inlaid with stones. The Western influence appears in the middle of 17th century. Besides the classical motifs in decoration the new ones appeared – bunches of flowers, but also single blooms or bouquets sprinkled among inscriptions fascinate us when examining the finials from this period. Roses in plastic relief, floral garlands, fluttering ribbons and bowknots prevail among the decorative motifs during 18th century.

The *Ottoman metal handicrafts* produced finials individual in their shape and decoration by making the synthesis of all influences they met. Typical motifs of

decoration in the classical period (16th century) are naturalistic tulips, carnations, roses, peonies, *çintemanî* pattern. Fig. 3 exemplifies the existence of more floral and leaf patterns used later in the bordure and central medallion. This finial from 1573 belongs to Sultan Mehmed III and shows also many winding lines and *Hatâyî* motifs. The *çintemanî* motif is finely represented on Fig. 4 that depicts detail of a golden flag finial manufactured in 16th century for Selim II. A cartouche with inscription *Kelîme-i Tewhîd* is placed over central medallion adorned by this decorative design.

3. Sultan Mehmed III
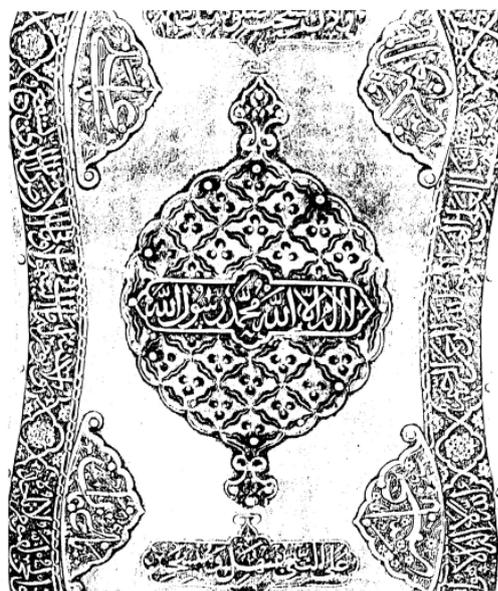
4. Sultan Selim II

Decorative elements on the Ottoman flag finials

Techniques of decoration: The most frequent techniques in decorating finials are engraving, relief, perforation, gilding and, rarely, nielloing. Those techniques were sometimes applied separately, sometimes together with others.

The richness of Ottoman decoration is eye-striking – naturalistic flowers like tulips, cauliflowers and motifs known as *Saz, Rúmî* and *Hatâyî.* The last mentioned motif is shown on flag finial of Sultan Murad IV (Fig. 5,17th century). Inscription *Kelîme-i Tewhîd* is situated in the upper and lower cartouche, while another cartouche bearing verse LXI/13 is incorporated into central medallion decorated with *Hatâyî.* Generally, the motifs of writing and naturalistic flowers are the most frequent among **decorative elements** used on the finials.

5. Sultan Murad IV

The **inscriptions** in *sülüs* (one of the styles of Arabic script), that were more popular, are sometimes freely dispersed over background and sometimes written in form of regular lines of writing inside the sections marked off by lines. They are used in the bordure or inside the cartouches, too. Knotted inscriptions present on the Seljuk crossings are found on one of the earliest examples.

Verses from Quran (verse LXI/13 of the as-Saff sura, II/255 and *Kelîme-i Tewhîd* - the verses promising victory and telling that God is one and Muhammad is his Prophet) are the most frequent quotations on the flag finials. However, names of Allah, Muhammad and four caliphs, names of sultans and *vefk* inscriptions (ie. a kind of talisman composed of a written formula) can be found on the finials, as well.

Motifs of ***naturalistic flowers*** are either sprinkled among the inscriptions or they are used to fill up the plain background. These motifs are usually small verbenas, peonies, *Rûmî* design, and palmettos appropriate to the period of their origin. Sometimes the space surrounding an inscription is sprinkled with bouquets of flowers. The use of those bouquets spread among the letters of an inscription is a characteristic feature of the era of Sultan Ahmed III (1730-1754).

I would like to demonstrate various motifs as used in the ceramics and pottery that is, unlike monochromatic metal finials, decorated in colours. Their characteristics become more evident in this case.

In order to fill a plain field two designs were used: the *saz* design formed by naturalist flowers with large leaves and a motif known as *çintemanî*. *Saz* design (Fig. 6) is defined as floral motif including tiny serrated leaves. However, it also represents many designers´ extravaganzas of overgrown foliage in combination of the rotational movement of the leaves from the tree known due to the shape of those leaves as *khanjar* - short curved dagger. This movement is contrasting with the static role of rosettes, which often act as pivot in the design. The *Çintemanî* (Fig. 7) is a popular motif through Ottoman art in the 16th century. It consisted of two elements, a broad stripe which has been identified either as a cloud or a tiger-stripe, and three balls, often shaped like crescent moons.
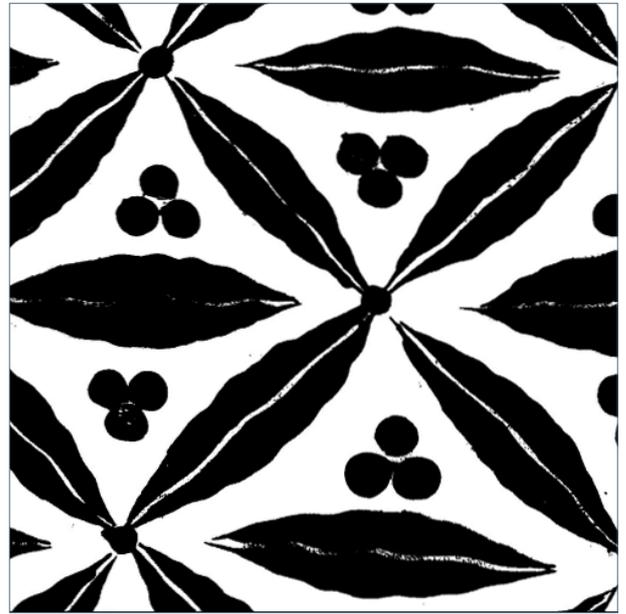

7. Çintemanî design

Rúmî is already known as a traditional Seljuk arabesque decoration (*Fig. 8*), while another style known as *Hatâyî* represents chinoiserie in Ottoman art, that was called traditionally "from Cathay – Hatayi", China (Fig. 9). Both terms are useful as they distinguish between scrolling Ottoman floral elements inspired by the taste for abstract, geometrically arranged Islamic motifs of Western Asiatic origin on the one hand, and for chinoiserie on the other.

8. Rúmî design

Another popular decorative motif used on the finials is a big knot known as *Selçuklu geçmesi* (the Seljuk crossing). Those crossings with knots had been already used in calligraphy, architectural decoration or on the metalwork in the Seljuk times. The motif of crossing with knots (Fig. 10) is depicted on some Mamluk finials and reflects the use of this traditional motif in the metalwork, as well.

6. Saz design

9. *Hatayi* design

10. *Selçuklu geçmesi* design

Conclusion

The flags played an important role during the Ottoman era. Until the reign of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent the number of the official flags of the Sultanate called *livâ-î saâdet* was four. It rose to seven in March 1529. Every Sultan had to have seven flags with inscription of his name made when acceded to the throne. Flags of the Sultanate were displayed behind the Sultan in the time of war. Since the sultans did not personally attend the war campaigns from the 17th century any more "their" flags were carried at the presence of the Commander-in-Chief of the army. From the fact that the Ottoman flag finials were found on the top of those flags of the Sultanate, we can presume that they represented the Sultan himself. This is the reason why they were worthy to be made of gold, silver and other precious metals and that their workmanship shows a high level of care provided by jewellers. Their religious background becomes evident.

The religious mysticism (Sufism) expresses a specific thinking, behaviour and creation; it leads a believer to the direct rapprochement or even fusion with the divine substance. It has been reflected mainly in the Islamic poetry, music and decorative arts in an extraordinary manner. An abstract ornament and various calligraphical ducti of the Arabic writing are the basic elements of the decoration used in the Islamic world. While the ornament introduces an order and regularity, the writing forms an asymmetric factor. Combinations of both elements constitute a perfect harmony in a whole. It is associated with an Islamic doctrine of Monotheism.

The way the Ottoman flag finials are decorated supports an idea that Sufism lies in the foundation of Anatolian art in general. Sufism has symbols expressing the eternity of God, the reflection of many images of God. Symbols of the light like a candle, the sun, the moon and stars are a reminder of burning with the love for God. The Central Asia Turks also used the sky (clouds), trees (floral motifs) and birds as forms related to their former religion - shamanism. Geometrical, plant and figure examples were organized according to these common characteristics. This common point is concerned with the infinity and eternity variety. The element of ornament ongoing beyond their limits, creating new and various images at the same time and all of sudden by continuous intersection, gaining meaning due to these continuous changes and regenerations explain the reflection of God by various and innumerable images of the Earth.

Literature

Hülya Tezcan, Turgay Tezcan: *Türk Sancak Alemleri (Turkish Flag Finials),* Ankara, 1992.
Semra Ögel: *Anadolu´nun Selçuklu Çehresi (Seljuk Countenance of Anatolia),* Istanbul, 1994.
Nurhan Atasoy, Julian Raby: *Iznik. The pottery of Ottoman Turkey,* Alexandria Press London, 1989.
Slovník judaismus-krestanství-islám (The Dictionary of Judaism, Christianity and Islam), Mladá fronta Publishing House Praha, 1994.

"One Nation Under God"
The Crusade to Capture the American Flag

Whitney Smith PhD LFIAV FFIAV FFI

Secretary-General Emeritus, FIAV

Since earliest times fetishes, relics, icons, and other objects believed to be imbued with sacred power have provided the social cohesion that guarantees the success of a government, an army, a social system, and the country as a whole. Understandably, symbols associated with those holy objects came to be incorporated in the battle standards, royal banners, and modern national flags of countries in all parts of the world. The tattoo of the Polynesian, the amulet of the Ashanti, the scapular of the European, the *sanjak sharif* of the Afghani, and the Blood Banner of the Nazis are all linked together in essence and in function, if not in form. Each is the embodiment of the highest principles of a given society, justifying the power of life and death which the rulers demand over all citizens, on the premise that they represent an ineluctable force of the universe.
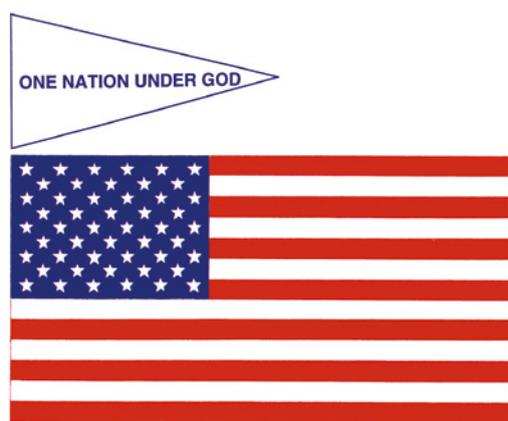
When the Constitution of the newly formed United States was drafted in 1787, its provision that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States" therefore constituted one of the most revolutionary and far reaching of its provisions. The exact opposite idea — namely that the fundamental qualification for every public servant was defined by his profession of faith in the state religion — had always been, in practice if not in law, the operating principle. Even mere citizenship or participation in the society depended on adherence to the religious faith of the ruler.

The premise of this new secular state was that domestic harmony could be achieved by having the government avoid either supporting or suppressing religious sects, allowing each individual and each group to pursue its own vision of the "true faith" or to abjure religious beliefs and practices entirely. In this way truth would presumably evolve from the free intercourse of ideas, the most successful religions being those capable of convincing others of the correctness of their tenets and interpretations, yet leaving the unconvinced to pursue their own beliefs. In return the government was to provide an even-handed administration of the whole society, free from the fanatical attempt to promote belief among unwilling converts which had characterized so much of the past in Europe and elsewhere. This principle was embodied in the terse phrase in the 1791 First Amendment to the US Constitution stating that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof…"

Americans slowly established myths about the meaning of their country and of citizenship. Over time the Stars and Stripes, the highest and most widely beloved of its symbols, came to be the embodiment and focus of that Americanism. While the flag was and is a statement about the meaning, the origins, the future, and the principles that Americans adhere to, the adulation, reverence, and respect associated with the flag has in no way replaced or dimmed the religious fervor of American citizens. Indeed among developed countries today few match the United States in the percentage of citizens who profess an active religious belief and a faith-based lifestyle.

The importance of the flag to the country has, however, meant that many religious organizations and individuals have sought to co-opt the meaning of the flag, to achieve in the eyes of the entire citizenry an ineradicable association between the spirit and meaning of the flag and the specific religious principles which they hold dear. This sectarian campaign to "capture the flag" under the slogan "One Nation Under God" forms the theme of this presentation.

The first national flag of the United States, the Continental Colors, was intentionally chosen to incorporate two concepts in its design and colors. The 13 stripes, by referring to the number of colonies participating in the Continental Congress, made a political statement. The colors — red and white or red, white, and blue — were the traditional ones of England and Scotland and thus of the British American colonies. The Union Jack was associated with the mother country and, appropriately, indicated the status of the colonists prior to the Declaration of Independence as British subjects united in demanding respect from the sovereign for their rights. In this context its crosses did not have religious significance per se but were a symbol of the state and the Crown.

The adoption in 1777 of the first Stars and Stripes

provided Americans an opportunity to express military, political, religious, ethnic, or other characteristics of their new republic. Instead the design chosen focused on the constitutional structure of the country by symbolizing the 13 states (as the colonies had been renamed), united in a confederation as free and equal units. The distinctive American national color, blue, formed the background of the canton which replaced the Union Jack. The thirteen stars "representing a new constellation" referred to the same units already symbolized by the stripes. It would not be until 1818 that the present flag pattern — with the stripes representing the original colonies and the stars representing all the current states — would be established. While a ring of stars has, among other uses, long been a Marian symbol, in the first Stars and Stripes it clearly made a secular reference to the 13 states. As Preble[1] pointed out, "Thirteen crosses would have shocked the sentiments of a portion of the people, who looked upon the cross as an emblem of popish idolatry."

This secular symbolism was reinforced with the adoption in 1782 of the Great Seal of the United States. The original explanation of the design and symbolism of the obverse, while having no legal validity, indicates the direction of thinking at the time. It states that[2]

> the colours of the pales are those used in the flag of the United States of America; White signifies purity and innocence, Red, hardiness & valor, and Blue, the colour of the Chief signifies vigilance perseverance & justice... The Constellation denotes a new State taking its place and rank among other sovereign powers.

While the eye over the pyramid and the motto *Annuit Cœptis* ("He Has Favored Our Undertakings") on the reverse of the seal are said to "allude to the many signal interpositions of providence in favour of the American cause," it is significant that the reverse of the seal has never been cut and put into use, nor has it ever played any significant role in American national political symbolism. Moreover, the source of the motto *Annuit Cœptis* was Virgil's *Aeneid*, where reference was made not to the Judeo-Christian deity but to the Roman god Jupiter.

Many proposals for the Great Seal contained very explicit references to the Judeo-Christian God, all of which the committee rejected. William Barton recommended a Latin motto meaning "With God's Favor"; others suggested inclusion in the seal of the "God of Liberty," the "Eye of Providence," a representation of Moses and the pharaoh at the dividing of the waters in the Red Sea, the "Children of Israel in the Wilderness," or the motto "Rebellion to Tyrants Is Obedience to God." Religious sentiments were also largely absent from the battle flags carried by the Patriots during the American Revolution. It might be imagined that the slogan *Appeal*

to Heaven appearing both on a Connecticut regimental color and on the flag of the Massachusetts Navy[3] was a religious sentiment. In fact it was a cynical statement, referring in that era to the use of weaponry in the event that logical argumentation should fail in some dispute. In contemporary usage to "appeal to heaven" simply meant to resort to warfare to obtain one's ends, the presumption being that the victor would have achieved his success because of divine favor.[4] Indeed that phrase was routinely inscribed on cannon barrels.

Part of the modern sectarian campaign to define the United States government and political system in avowedly Christian terms involves the misinterpretation of historical symbols in order to imply that it had been overwhelmingly the intention and practice of those who established the nation to organize it as a Christian rather than a secular country. In this spirit the symbols and colors of the Stars and Stripes are repeatedly defined as being Christian and the assertion is often made that divine inspiration was responsible for its choice.[5] Given the exalted role that the flag plays in American nationalism, culture, and history, these claims about the origin and meaning of the flag are highly significant.

Lawrence Phelps Tower advanced the thesis in several publications[6] that the Stars and Stripes was based on Dutch precedents of which the central theme was the advancement of religion, specifically Protestant Christianity. According to Tower, the red and white stripes of the flag were presaged in *Isaiah 53:5*, the phrase "with his
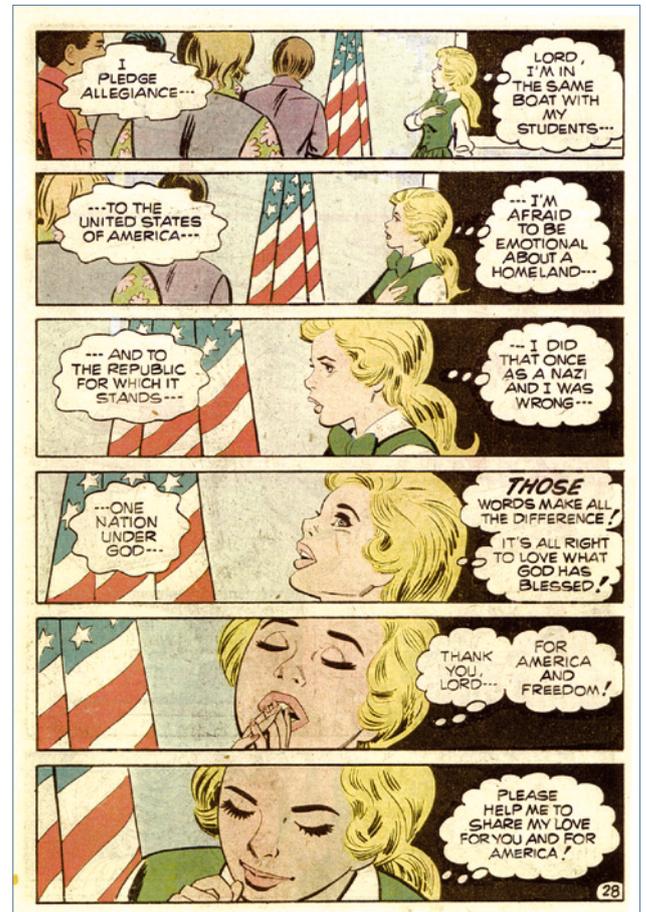
stripes we are healed" being interpreted as meaning that Christ's favor was shown those who honored his sacrifice on the cross by manifesting it in their striped national flag. Tower claimed that the Dutch used red and white striped flags throughout their struggle for independence against Roman Catholic Spain. English dissenters living in the Netherlands then adopted that flag and brought it to the New World where the 1643 New England Confederation is said to have flown a flag of four red stripes on a white field. The number of stripes was then increased at the time of the American Revolution.

An Explicitly Christian Variant of the Stars & Stripes

Tower hypothecated that the stars in the Stars and Stripes "symbolized the Star of Bethlehem which guided the wise men to the manger in which the Christ Child was born."[7] The "Star of Bethlehem thesis" had been advanced decades earlier by Schuyler Hamilton,[8] who said of the Patriots: "They cast their eyes to the Star of Bethlehem, and saw the stars singing together in God's blue heaven. They looked to God rather than man [for inspiration in the flag design]." The National Flag Foundation[9] speaks of "possibly providential" events during the Revolution which were to lead to the success of the free enterprise economic system under the direction of "those men of extraordinary vision who were America's Founding Fathers [and who] saw even in 1776 and 1777, that their nation would have many states and their flag many stars." The new constellation referred to in the Flag Act of 1777, according to the Foundation, had been intended by them to represent "a new relationship of man to government, government to man, and both to God" and not simply a union of 13 states.

One religious leaflet[10] explains the colors of the flag as referring to "the spotless throne of God" (white), "the blood-drops of Christ which one day dripped on Calvary's hill for the sin of the world" (red), and "the color of the heavens" (blue); "the shining stars remind us that those who are saved shall shine as the stars forever." This salvation theme is reinforced in a handbill,[11] where the Stars and Stripes appears in color, which directly associates the promise of the Crucifixion with the United States flag. Its text proclaims "Your freedom pass to heaven,

at no cost to you — for God paid the charge in the red, white, & blue."

"British Israel" adherents — who insist that Anglo-Saxons rather than Jews are the true descendants of the original Israelites — have made the Stars and Stripes a part of their own theory. One of their publications states:[12]

It was [George] Washington[13] who described [the flag] in these words: "We take the star from Heaven, the red from our mother country, separating it by white stripes, thus showing that we have separated from her, and the white stripes shall go down to posterity representing liberty." It was destined to be! This separation and the new nation had been on the agenda of God…

That we should have a flag at all is found in the early days of our Israel forefathers… When the United States selected their flag it was chosen of the Israel colors of old, only new in arrangement and design to conform to their national destiny.

This flag of ours is a testimony in emblazonry of the history and destiny of this servant nation in Israel — *and therefore it is of God*. This is the Bible-based story of Old Glory… The climax chapter — titled "The Kingdom of God on Earth"… is to be written with the peoples of the world as His manuscripts and, under the direction of the Author himself, Old Glory will take on a new glory as America becomes dedicated to the glory of God!

An official booklet issued by the US Marine Corps[14] takes a more ecumenical point of view in describing the supposed divine origins of the Stars and Stripes:

The star, a symbol of the heavens and the divine goal to which man has aspired from time immemorial, and the stripe, symbolic of the rays of light emanating from the sun, have long been represented on the standards of nations, from the banners of the astral worshippers of ancient Egypt and Babylon and the 12-starred flag of the Spanish Conquistadors… to the present patterns of stars and stripes…

Not all the attributions of symbolism and origin for the flag are based on the predominantly Protestant segment of America's Christians. Professor J. C. Monahan wrote:[15] "A feature of our flag, long neglected… is the fact that a red, white, and blue flag is a Catholic Flag." The red, he claimed, is for St. Joseph, blue for the Blessed Virgin Mary, and white for Christ. Colonel James A. Moss[16] insisted that "the colors red, white and blue may trace their ancestry back to Mount Sinai, when the Lord gave

Moses the Ten Commandments and the book of the law and they were deposited in the Ark of the Covenant within the Tabernacle whose curtains were of scarlet *(red)*, *white*, *blue* and purple."

It is a small step to take from the flag having been divinely inspired to its having been designed by God himself. There are many poetic expressions of this concept, including the poem *"The Flag's Birthday"* by Mary A. P. Stansbury:[17]

> Now, as the stars above us together show His praise,
> Who set them in their courses and marked their
> trackless ways,
> Let us upon our banner our states united shine,
> And a new constellation proclaim the hand divine!

There are also many who hint that the whole world will eventually be united under the Stars and Stripes:[18]

> I'll bear thee up, thou dear old flag,
> Of origin divine,
> Until upon they azure fold
> A hundred stars shall shine.
> Float on, old flag, until they stripes
> Shall all the nations heal,
> And tyrants over all the earth
> Shall thy just vengeance feel.

The nation's Manifest Destiny, which many Americans believed in especially following the Civil War of 1861-1865, led to widespread expressions of that sentiment of the heavenly mission of the Stars and Stripes. Explaining national success in terms of divine approbation was characterized by such poems as Kate Putnam's "Our Flag:"[19]

> Oh, symbol-hope of all the world!
> The pledge of Liberty!
> A stronger hand than ours unfurled
> Thy mighty prophecy.
> Let all thy starry splendors shine!
> Chime, bells, in sweet accord!
> Earth cannot harm that holy sign, —
> The banner of the Lord!

Franklin B. Ham, a chaplain of the Civil War (Union) veterans' organization, the Grand Army of the Republic, told students of the Vineyard Street Grammar School in Providence, Rhode Island,[20]

> And so I say to you to-day, and I solemnly declare it to be my honest belief, that that flag was created by a mind which was directed by God Himself Now if the Creator inspires men to write and think, is it not just as reasonable to assert that He inspired men to make our flag, which has proved a boon to the searchers for freedom and liberty?

Many members of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints (Mormons) hold traditions regarding "the standard of the nation" which is to be raised as the flag of "the Kingdom of God and his Laws."[21] The design of the flag of the Earth under that future universal republic to be known as Zion America has not yet been revealed but it may prove to be the Continental Colors since, according to the claims made by High Priest Francis M. Darter of the Kingdom of God, a Mormon dissident, that design had been presented by a divine messenger to a committee of Congress meeting on 13 December 1775 to decide on the first American flag.[22]

The Stars and Stripes has been widely vaunted as a flag symbolizing both the will of God and the divine mission of America, yet paradoxically there are a number of circumstances where attempts have been advanced to modify the national flag of the United States, in order to reflect its presumed Christian orientation more clearly. Although similar modifications made by others, such as the imposition of the figure of a Native American or of the peace symbol on the Stars and Stripes, have frequently led to charges of flag desecration, the use of a cross on the flag or as a finial for its staff or as a shape into which the stars may be rearranged does not seem to engender similar public opposition, nor has non-military usage of a religious pennant over the Stars and Stripes, although such is forbidden by the Flag Code.
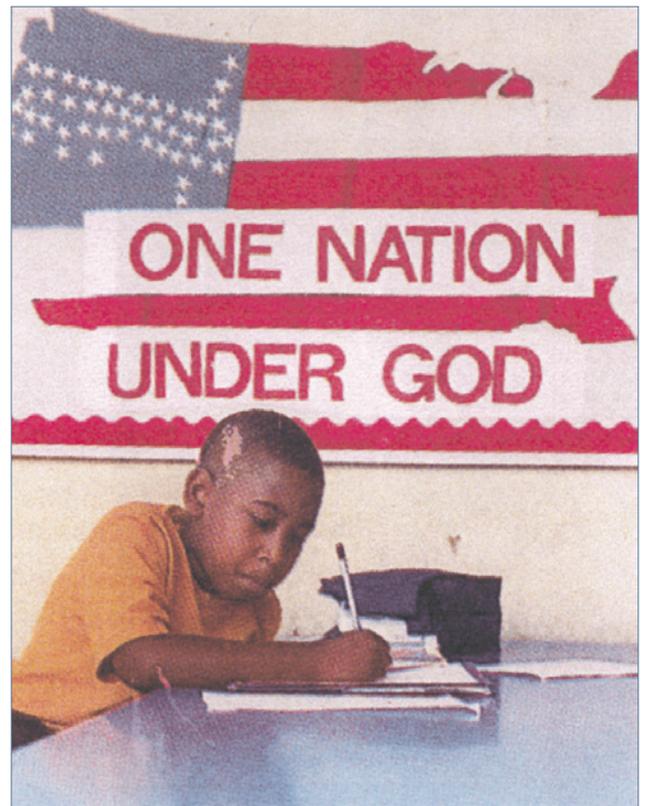
In 1964, for example, following a decision of the US Supreme Court that group prayers in public schools were unconstitutional, religious organizations in New Jersey, New York, and Connecticut started a campaign to fly a pennant inscribed *One Nation Under God* above the Stars and Stripes. The Knights of Columbus and the Holy Name Society of the Corpus Christi Roman Catholic Church were successful in getting not only private homes and businesses to fly that pennant but also a number of public buildings. The American Civil Liberties Union, the Americans for Democratic Action, and a number of Jewish and Unitarian groups resisted use of the pennant on public buildings under the same provision of the US Constitution which had been cited by the Supreme Court in the school prayer cases — the First Amendment prohibition of state-promoted religion. In rejoinder Mayor John Knowlan of Hasbrouck Heights, New Jersey, stated that:[23]

> The pennant is a reminder that we have Almighty God looking out for our national welfare. It is in the Declaration of Independence, it is in the flag salute, it is part of the history and tradition of our country. This is not a specific religion. The great things in our history have been done acknowledging God.

In 1985 the Flag Research Center received a letter from the Reverend Charles L. Abraham Cayton of Trinity World Mission in Maysville, Missouri, concerning his proposed alteration of the Stars and Stripes. Based on his Biblical studies, he had come to the conclusion that the star which attracted the Magi to Bethlehem when Jesus was born must have been a six-pointed star, since it was to symbolize the Messiah. He therefore concluded that six-pointed stars should be incorporated into the Stars and Stripes "out of respect, honor, and reverence to the Christ of our Salvation… the flag of a Christian nation." He further insisted that
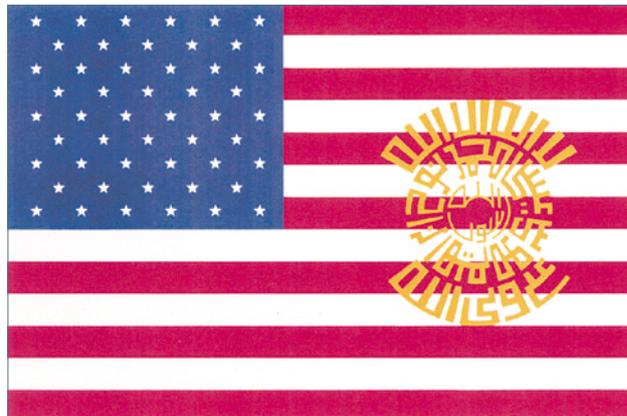
our beloved Christian *president* George Washington commissioned Betsy Ross to use the six pointed star in the American Flag [and] she talked him out of it. It occured [*sic*] to me, that she may have been another Madeline O'Hara [*sic* for Madalyn Murray O'Hair, self-described as the "most hated woman in America" for her role as president of American Atheists].

Cayton's proposal for changing the flag included the statement that "our constitution, which states that we are one nation under God, having the inscription through out our monitary [*sic*] system, in God we trust, then it follows that the American flag should be graced with the biblical six pointed stars."

While Cayton erred in his claim about the Constitution — nowhere does it include the word God — his argument is a widespread one in the community of those seeking to promote official recognition for Christianity in public institutions, procedures, ceremonies, and publications. Every victory in a legislature or court allowing the encroachment of religion on public property such as courthouses, other government buildings, military bases, and vehicles, and every new medium of expression for religious sentiments such as coinage, postage stamps, or documents becomes the basis for a claim to the legitimacy of further encroachment. Legislators generally support those demands because it is clear that opposition could mean potential loss of a future election. Defending the constitutional principles which protect the secular character of state-supported institutions is disvalued by a significant portion of the American public. Even judges frequently feel great pressure to find justifications for allowing the spread of religious symbolism within government.

One of the difficulties faced by opponents of religious symbols in public life is the fact that many familiar examples go back for a century or more. Not surprisingly in a country characterized by strong local political autonomy and with a population that has always had a professed majority of Christians, many graphic and written expressions of religious beliefs were adopted decades ago when

minorities which might have felt them unacceptable did not protest. One of the widest areas of usage was in the civic heraldry of American cities, counties, and states. The number of instances and the detailed legal arguments and proceedings involved in legal challenges to them would require an extensive separate study.

One of the great difficulties for those who have attempted to maintain America's constitutionally-mandated secularism by objecting to public-arena use of symbols that are clearly sectarian is the recent development of two arguments which turn all traditional definitions and understandings on their head. Secularism, the strict neutrality of government in all matters relating to religion, neither favoring nor disfavoring it, has itself become a "religion" according to the sectarian argument. In other words, those who insist that religion is a personal matter which governments should not interfere with and that no religion should be allowed to control public institutions and practices, simply form one more sect in a country known for constantly inventing new religions and cults.

At the same time symbols which for hundreds or even thousands of years have been considered essentially religious in meaning are now often designated by sectarian forces as non-religious "cultural artifacts." According to this argument, to display (as in the seal of Bernalillo County, New Mexico) a cross with the slogan "In This Sign Conquer" — the well known Constantinian symbols of militant Christianity — is no more a religious act than displaying a photograph of the Statue of Liberty while quoting the well-known poem by Emma Lazarus. Therefore those in opposition to that cross and slogan are identified by the sectarians as adherents of a perverse anti-American cult they refer to as "Secular Humanism."

In this spirit Justice Sandra Day O'Connor of the US Supreme Court in *County of Allegheny v. ACLU, 492 US at 630 (1989)* — a court case concerning the utilization of public land for religious displays — referred to a certain class of religious practices as "ceremonial deism," suggesting that their religious significance had been so

diluted that one could reasonably label them simply as American cultural traditions. The fraudulence of that argument is revealed in the aggressiveness of those sectarian forces who seek by every avenue to maintain and expand the frequency and venues of such actions.

Practices supposedly "grandfathered" into national life by the concept of ceremonial deism — even though all were instituted long after the adoption of the Constitution — include the use of paid chaplains for legislative bodies and for the armed forces, public invocations of God (at presidential inaugurations, in the opening of court sessions, and in the taking of public oaths), presidential proclamations of prayer, and use of the slogans "In God We Trust" and "One Nation Under God." Thus the courts found no problem with the prayer offered by the Reverend Billy Graham at the inauguration of President George Bush in 1989:

> We recognize on this historic occasion that we are a nation under God. This faith in God is our foundation and our heritage all this we pray in the name of the Father, The Son, and The Holy Spirit. Amen.[24]

Proponents of state-endorsed religion constantly use these supposedly harmless exceptions in their attempt to enlarge the sphere of their privileges and activities. When the city of Zion, Illinois, for example, in revising its civic seal under court order introduced *In God We Trust* into the new design, the US Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit determined that that phrase had "no theological significance."[25] In 1959 the state of Ohio adopted the motto "With God All Things Are Possible," which is quoted directly from Matthew 19:26 — "but Jesus beheld them, and said unto them, With men this is impossible; but with God all things are possible." On 16 March 2001 the same US Court of Appeals voted 9 to 4 that the Ohio state motto was constitutionally acceptable, so long as no reference was made to the source.[26]

The main thrust of the "One Nation Under God" campaign began in the 1950s during the Cold War era when many believed that Americanism and Communism were the only possible alternatives for a world under the threat of nuclear war. Since the Soviet Union was avowedly atheistic, many believed that the United States needed vigorously to support religion — specifically Christianity — in order to be successful in the titanic struggle. "One Nation Under God" was added to the Pledge of Allegiance in 1954 and "In God We Trust" was made the national motto of the United States in 1956. Several amendments to the US Constitution were submitted to Congress which would have recognized the country officially as a Christian nation.

In 1968 flag desecration for the first time became a federal offense and 20 years later, following two Supreme Court decisions determining that such laws were uncon-

stitutional, a campaign began — which is still active today — to add an amendment to the Constitution giving Congress the power to enforce anti-desecration laws. In 2001 "In God We Trust" was added to the new state flag of Georgia and it has been proposed as an addition to the state flag of Tennessee.

The history of the flag desecration movement and the use of the mottoes "In God We Trust" and "One Nation Under God" are only part of many facets in the political struggle between sectarians and secularists. Religious symbols, including sectarian flags displayed in the armed forces, aspects of the Pledge of Allegiance ceremony in schools, use of crosses, mottoes, and the Ten Commandments on public lands and buildings, and the "See You at the Pole" movement are all deserving of extended study.

These symbols and ceremonies are only a small part of a wider campaign aimed at capturing legal recognition for Christianity — largely but not exclusively fundamentalist Protestantism — throughout the civil and military structure of the nation, its subdivisions, its schools, and court systems. As has been indicated, in some cases documented history has been misrepresented and supernatural claims have been advanced relative to the design and symbolism of the Stars and Stripes. In a free country it is the right of all individuals and groups of citizens to hold and promote any philosophy, political agenda, or religion they favor and to seek success in the electoral arena for those points of view by all legal means. Victory for the "One Nation Under God" partisans would, however, radically alter the political and social life of the United States.

Symbols have no inherent meanings. They are void of any content of their own but rather reflect the beliefs and actions of the people who interpret and use them. Thus over time the cross flags of the Scandinavian nations have lost most of their religious symbolism, essentially becoming purely national symbols for countries which are largely secular in their orientation. Likewise despite the clear historical and legal precedents which exist in the United States for considering the Stars and Stripes a secular symbol, there is nothing to guarantee that the "One Nation Under God" adherents will not be successful in converting the flag to an avowedly Christian emblem, both legally and in the minds of the majority.

Notes

1. George Henry Preble, *History of the Flag of the United States of America…* (Boston: Williams, 1880), p. 264.

2. Quoted in Richard S. Patterson and Richardson Dougall, *The Eagle and the Shield…* (Washington: Department of State, 1976 [1978]), p. 85.

3. The design is misrepresented in a contemporary British engraving of Commodore Hopkins as having the motto *An Appeal to God.*

4. For example, General Nathaniel Greene wrote on 20 December 1775 during the siege of Boston (quoted in American Archives, IV, p. 367):

    There are great preparations going on in England, to prosecute the war in the spring… we can no longer preserve our freedom and continue connection with [England]. With safety we can appeal to Heaven for the necessity, propriety, and rectitude of [resisting the British by armed force].

    In 1834 William Ladd in the Pacificator (quoted in Devere Allen, *The Fight for Peace* [New York NY: MacMillan, 1930], p. 34) stated:

    The "appeal to heaven" by duel has long since been condemned by all true Christians, but the "appeal to heaven" by war, a much greater barbarism, still remains sanctioned by the Church, and is preceded by fasting and prayer.

5. There is an apparently unnoticed incongruity inherent in attributing Christian symbolism to a flag which contains 13 stars and 13 stripes, given the traditional Christian triskedekaphobia.

6. The best statement appears in *The Untold Story of Our Flag* (New York: United States Flag Foundation, 1956), passim.

7. Harry Millican, "Historian Believes Stars and Stripes Were Filched from the Early Dutch," *The Milwaukee Journal Green Sheet*, 26 August 1955, p. 1, based on an interview with Tower released by United Press. Tower made several major factual errors in the flag-related information he presented, vitiating his religious interpretation of their origin and symbolism.

8. In his article "The Stars in Our Flag," *The Magazine of American History*, Volume XIX, No. 2 (February 1888), pp. 150-153.

9. *The New Constellation, the Story of America As Told Through Its Flags…* (Pittsburgh PA: National Flag Foundation, 1977), passim.

10. *The Flag I Love* (Westchester IL: Good News Publishers, circa 1971).

11. Les Cox, *This Is Your Freedom Pass* (Indianapolis IN: the author).

12. C. S. Warner, "The Story of Old Glory," *Destiny* (July 1943), pp. 9, 252-253, and 255.

13. There is no evidence that Washington ever made this statement attributed to him. The earliest citation of the quotation

apparently is in Wayne Whipple, *The Story of the American Flag* (Philadelphia: Altemus, n.d. [1910]), p. 46. It has often been quoted — and misquoted. On www.smn.co.jp/gallery/amano/flag.html on 10 August 1999 it appeared in this form: "The first President of the United States, George Washington, said 'On the Stars and Stripes, the Stars represent the heaven, the red our homeland, Britain, and the white stripes intersecting over the red background the independence from Britain.' "

14. *How To Respect and Display Our Flag* (Camden NJ: Alpha Litho, 1942).

15. *American Catholic Historic Researches*, Vol. 28 (January-October 1911), p. 257.

16. *The American Flag: Its Glory and Grandeur* (Washington: United States Flag Association, 1929), p. 25.

17. Quoted in Reverend George W. Gue, *Our Country's Flag* (Davenport IA: Egbert, Fidlar, and Chambers, 1890), p. 44.

18. R. Tompkins, "The Soldier's Pride" as quoted in *Gue*, p. 33.

19. Quoted in Julia A. M. Furbish, *The Flower of Liberty* (Cincinnati: White, Corbin, Bouve, 1869), p. 48.

20. *Our American Flag, Unique Features of its Conception and Adoption…* (Providence: Snow and Farnum, 1901).

21. Francis M. Darter, *Ensign of the Nations, Kingdom of God…* (Salt Lake City: the author, 1946), p. 10.

22. Francis M. Darter, *The Kingdom of God, the USA British Empire…* (Salt Lake City: the author, 1941), p. 19.

23. Quoted in "The Pennant on a City Flagpole Stirs up a Growing Religious Storm," *The National Observer*, 16 November 1964.

24. *135 Cong. Rec.* S67 (daily edition of 20 January 1989).

25. United Press and Associated Press reports of 7 and 8 January 1993.

26. John Nolan, "Ohio Motto Given Stamp of Approval," *The Boston Globe*, 17 March 2001.

Trip Around the World

Michel R. Lupant

President of FIAV
& Director of the Centre Belgo-Européen d'Études des Drapeaux (CEBED)

The dream I had had for years to travel around the world came true in July and August 1999. I had to preside the XVIIIth International Congress of Vexillology in Victoria, capital of British Columbia on the Pacific coast of Canada. It was the occasion to organize that trip and come back to Belgium through Oceania and Asia.

For many months I organized my itinerary, writing many letters to all the countries I expected to visit and I received plenty of information from officials, I hoped to meet some people to complete my research on flags, and as a teacher of Geography I wanted to see the beautiful landscapes of these countries and to take photographs and video films to show to my students. I wanted to see many things in a short time and I had to make choices. I decided to stop in small islands and some cities where visits were possible in a short time and to select some sites in particular. Jiri Tenora came with me.

My meetings with local authorities gave me plenty of material (books, booklets, pamphlets) about flags and coats of arms, also orders and decorations and I discovered many unknown emblems. Everywhere the reception was friendly except in the United Arab Emirates and I received special authorizations to photograph flags.

The goal of that lecture is to tell you about my hobby, vexillology but also to describe my personal feelings, some friendly relations established during my meetings with generally unknown people and which I thoroughly enjoyed.

As it is impossible to show all the flags I have seen, I have chosen to present in that lecture some of them discovered after I have left the XVIIIth International Congress of Vexillology of Victoria in Canada.

Hawaii

I arrived at Honolulu airport on 3 August. I was welcomed by a representative of the tour operator, we changed airports, the internal flights take off from another place. We received a garland of orchids as a sign of welcome, the « *Aloha* » of the Hawaiian. Our correspondent didn't know the timetable had been changed two days before and we missed our flight to Hilo. 3 hours to wait, we left Honolulu to Hilo in Hawaii island commonly called the Big island because the name is similar to the State's name for the full archipelago.

After our arrival we took off in a small helicopter for a spectacular flight around the volcano *Pu'u O'o'* cone.

The following day we visited the landscape: falls, orchid gardens, and specially the volcanoes national park, it was grand.

In Hilo I only discovered the seal of the County of Hawaii on the door of a public car, a red and white emblem showing volcanoes, the sun, palm trees, the sea and a traditional boat, the motto "Ola na Moku", and around, in black and yellow, the name of the county and of the State.

Honolulu

Kamehameha the Great was born on the Big island in 1758. In 1782 he emerged as the ruler, after local wars with two other chiefs of Big island. *Kamehameha*'s ambitions extended well beyond sharing control of the islands. In 1790 attacked and conquered the island of Maui, after that he conquered Molokai and over the next few years he conquered all the islands and became the only chief in Big island. He was the first King of a united kingdom. His dynasty was overthrown by the Americans and the Republic was proclaimed on 4 July 1894. The last Queen died in 1917. The satue of *Kamehameha* the Great is near the Royal Palace and regularly decorated with flowers. The old Royal Palace called *Iolani* is now restored and opened to the public, it is emotional to visit it and to discover the Royal Thrones, decorations, paintings, and furniture listening to the guide's speech. I even saw the decoration of the Order of Leopold given by King Leopold II of Belgium to the Hawaian King at end of last century when he paid a visit to Europe.

The Royal coat of arms appeared on the grids of the Palace and its evolution around a small pavilion in the garden.

The visit of the Hawaiian Archives allowed me to discover lots of information on obsolete Royal flags I was guided in my quick research by a friendly imposing American woman.

The Governor's House flew the American, Hawaiian and Governor personal flag, a bicolor blue over red,, a circle of white eight stars and in the centre the word "Hawaii", also in white.

By bus we crossed the city to visit the Bishop Museum, the biggest in Hawaii specialized in Hawaiian and Polynesian culture. The most impressive thing I saw was a feather cloak made for *Kamehameha I* and passed down to subsequent kings. It was created entirely with the yellow feathers of the now-extinct *mamo*, a predominently

black bird with a yellow upper tail. Around 80,000 birds were caught, plucked and released to create this cloak. Together with that cloak the kings wore a feather hat.

I tried to find information about the Ka Lahui Hawaii sovereignty movement. It was not easy but, by chance, I met a policeman at Waikiki beach who gave me an address and some months later I receive the constitution of the movement.

I couldn't leave Hawaii without visiting the memorial of Pearl Harbor. On December 7,1941, a wave of more than 350 Japanese planes attacked Pearl Harbor, home of the US Pacific fleet. Some 2,235 US soldiers were killed during the two-hour attack. 1,177 of them died in the battleship *USS Arizona*, which sank in less than nine minutes. Twenty other ships were sunk and seriously damaged and 188 airplanes were destroyed.

Over 1,5 million people 'remember Pearl Harbor' each year with a visit to the *USS Arizona* memorial The memorial, built in 1962, stands right on top of the Arizona without touching it. It contains the ship bell and a wall inscribed with the names of those perished onboard. The average age of the ship's enlisted men was 19. Looking through the water from the Memorial you can see the ship which is still losing oil. You can see a lot of people throwing flowers and praying inside. In the hall preceding the wall there are some flags: USA, Hawaii, Defence Forces and some States are displayed.

Date-line

If you remember the trip of *Phileas Fogg* in the novel « The trip around the world in 80 days » written by *Jules Verne* you know he thought he had lost his bet. He thought he had arrived on Monday but in fact it was Sunday in London. At that time there was no date-line. It is a convention adopted a century ago. The conference chose the meridian 180° to change the date because there are not many people in that area. When you cross the line to the East you lose one day but when you cross to the West, you add one day. The change does not depend on the hours. To prevent some small states or islands being cut into two different days, the date-line doesn't follow the meridian on all its way but follows the boundaries of the countries.

Fiji

The country was granted its independence on 10 October 1970. The total land area is 18,300 sq km and there are 300 islands. I visited the main island, Viti Levu. The country is 12 hours ahead the Greenwich Mean Time. The population is the most multiracial of the South Pacific countries. There are 50% of Indigenous Fiji and 45% of Fiji Indians. Indigenous Fijians are predominently of Melanesian origin, but have a strong Polynesian influence both physically and culturally. Darker Melanesian features

and afro hair are mixed with lighter Polynesian features and straight hair.Most Fiji Indians are the descendants of indentured labourers. Race relations on an everyday basis between ordinary people are generally harmonious, however racial division is entrenched in Fijian history, language and politics. Underlying concerns and fears have been deliberately plied upon and exploited for political, and religious reasons and consequently reinforce differences. The extremist slogan « Fiji for Fijians » is still used, and Fiji Indian and Chinese shop owners in remote areas protect themselves behind barricades.

I arrived early in the morning and I rented a car to travel inside Viti Levu. There are two main roads from Nadi Aiport to Suva, the capital. The Northern one is called King's Road and the Southern one, Queen's Road, each of them are around 200 km, the southern one is more used because the northern one is not yet fully asphalted, part of it is a gravel road.

Along King's Road, in a small village I discovered the Police flag flying in front of a small post. After friendly discussion the policeman agreed to lower the flag to take a photograph of the flag but also of himself. It's the traditional blue flag with a crowned badge.

Our stay in Suva was quiet, in Pacific countries everything is closed on Sunday, the day of God ! We walked in the rain, the tropical rain, to discover the city, a small business and harbour centre with many bungalows around. It is one of the biggest city in those small Pacific islands and the city is the seat of different Pacific organisations.

On Monday we had to meet a lot of people of South Pacific Organizations. The welcome was friendly. At first I visited the South Pacific Forum Secretariat, their flag is blue with the logo in a white canton, yellow Southern Cross and waves on a blue circle and a green and yellow palm tree (Fig. 1). That white canton, alone, is used as car flag by the Secretary, its size is 15:28 cm.

The South Pacific Commission has its main seat in Noumea, New Caledonia, but some offices are in Suva. The traditional light blue flag with a white atoll and a ring of 27 six-pointed yellow stars and a white and yellow palm tree. The blue of the car flag of the South Pacific Commission Deputy Secretary is medium but there are only 26 stars and the palm tree is white. The South Pacific Commision had changed its name to Pacific Commission due to the admission of States from North of the Equator. A new emblem was under discussion during our visit and was adopted some months later. We saw the proposition which must be submitted to the meeting of the Organization. I discussed with Mr Blumel Detlef, a German, working at the South Pacific Commission about the competition for a new Fijian flag. He said a competition was held some years ago but it had no success and there was no plan to change in a near future.

1. The South Pacific Forum Secretariat

I had asked in advance permission to photograph inside the Museum, there is a reconstruction of the King Cakobau flag, white with a crowned shield (Fig. 2) and an exhibition of the Fijian decorations. Finally because the Museum was closed on Sunday, I didn't see the original flag.

2. King Cakobau

I met the only Ambassador of Tuvalu (an independent state of 10,000 inhabitants) in the world. We discussed over a cup of tea and he showed us the Government flag, which is the national flag with the coat of arms (Fig. 3). I had to wait the return of his chauffeur from the car wash and I took a photograph of the Ambassador's car flag. Its size is 15/30 cm.

3. Tuvalu State Flag

I also researched the Presidential flag of Fiji which was unknown. I arrived at the gate of the residence. A big Fijian flag flew in front. I discussed with the guard who called the Secretary of the President. I waited a short time

outside and received permission to meet the Secretary who explained the President used a car flag but I had to come again in the afternoon or next day because he was at the airport to welcome the Governor General of New Zealand. A short time later I heard sirens and the presidential car arrived quickly with the Presidential flag and the New Zealand flag. I went out of my car, ran to the gate, asked the officer to meet again the secretary. Prohibition to enter! But he called her and after some time she received the presidential permission to show the car flag, I entered the residence and the car came to park in front of me! (Fig. 4) The flag is blue with the Fijian arms drawn in gold and a scarved whale tooth with a size 20.5:32.5 cm.

4. Fijian President's Flag

As I had delivered a lecture at Barcelona in 1991 about the flags of New Hebrides/Vanuatu I looked for the photograph of a flag of Na'Griamel movement of New Hebrides published in the local Fiji Times dated January 1976. I had written many letters at the time of the publication asking for a better photograph because the flag was cut on the newspaper but I had never received an answer. As I was in Fiji I wanted to have a look at the archives. After three meetings in the day, the woman responsible arrived and she showed me negatives from that time, they were in a bad state due to humidity. She promised to print and send it in Belgium and I paid for that. After three months as I had not received the photograph, I wrote again and finally after ten years of research I found that flag with all the details, there is really a white star beneath the shield!

At the Army National Headquarters, after some discussion and half an hour wait, I was granted permission to photograph some military flags, a soldier accompanied us with an umbrella, it rained so much and he lowered the flag, it was the Army Defence Force flag, a gold emblem on a green field. I asked to photograph a flag flying at the top of the main building, but as it was impossible, he took us into a small room where he showed a big Army flag red over green, the emblem in dark yellow (Fig. 5) but also the former Governor General flag with the Royal Crest and a light brown whale tooth bearing the word "Fiji" in black, unusual on such a flag.

5. Fijian Army Flag

Before leaving I remembered the Fijians had Colours: it meant new calls to the chief, a new wait and a new authorization. We saw the 3rd Fiji Infantry Regiment Presidential Colour, it was a square red flag, in the canton, the Fijian national flag, in the upper part of the fly, the gold cifer III, in the lower part of the fly, the badge of the Regiment in colour, and beneath the national flag, a gold scroll bearing the word "Solomons" reference to the Second World War (Fig. 6). A second flag is the Colour of the Regiment itself, it differs from the previous one, it is red, the cifer III in the upper canton, the badge and scroll in the centre. In front of the building flew another flag, red over green with the badge on a white shield having the shade of a shell.

6. Fijian Regimental Colour

I also tried to photograph the car flags of the Ambassador of Micronesia but it was lunch time and the post of Ambassador of Nauru was vacant and no flag was available.

Before leaving Suva for the airport I stopped in front of the main jail looking for the administration office, it was not easy but I received permission to photograph that particular flag, green with a yellow shield (Fig. 7).

7. Fijian Prison Service

Samoa

We left Nadi airport (Fiji) early in the morning on board an Air Pacific flight. It was a dream to visit the Pacific countries, my head was full of wonderful pictures but our first visit in Fiji didn't meet my expectations. I would discover the Pacific landscape in Samoa.

For the second time we crossed the d*ate-line* but to the east and we had to substract one day. We left Fiji on Tuesday for a 3-hour flight but we arrived on Monday in Apia.

On our arrival, a representative of our hosts welcomed us at the airport with a big 'malo', the local hello. We travelled to the city centre by local bus. The landscape we flew over before landing was wonderful, the real image of the Pacific. Western Samoa was granted its independence by New Zealand on 1 January 1962 and changed its name to Samoa in 1999. It was a German colony until the First World War when the country was occupied by New Zealand.

The population, estimated at 161,300 in 1996, is mainly Polynesian. During our first walk in the city I discovered the Samoan Olympic badge in front of a building, a big representation of the national arms in front of the Government building built by the Chinese. We tried to obtain some information about the national flag, knocked at some doors, but nobody was able to help us.

In Apia, I discovered the Police flag flying in front of the Headquarters. I asked permission to take a photograph, an officer advised us to come in the evening at the lowering of the flag. I arrived on time but the policeman who lowered the flag wasn't in a good mood and forbid to take the photo but it was possible some time later when another policeman showed us the flag in the building (Fig. 8). It is a light blue flag with the emblem in white and the word "Western Samoa Police". These words have, now probably been changed because the country's name is now "Samoa".

8. Samoan Police Flag

The following day at sunrise we attended the hoisting of the National and Police Colours in front of the Government building and the Police Headquarters Office. The Police, the only military organisation, have a spectacular uniform. The men wear a light blue uniform: the jacket with silver buttons is of a modern style together like the kepi, but in place of trousers they wear a 'lavalava' the traditional skirt together with bared footed in sandals. As the Polynesians are generally fat you can understand the parade was spectacular !

After that ceremony I met the Commissioner of Police, who offered me a metallic badge from the kepi, and the Chief of the Fire Brigade who promised me a patch I never received. He advised me to meet a responsible of the Fire Brigade about the Fire flag. We searched a long time in the industrial estate to learn the flag was in such a bad state than they send to Australia to manufacture a new one. He promised to send a photograph but I have not yet received it.

We went to *Aggie Grey's* hotel, the best in the country, to see the famous '*fiafia*' with spectacular dancing, drumming and singing, an extraordinary show with dinner. On the stage here was a big Samoan flag to promote the pride to be a Samoan.

Our last drive was a discovery of the Milinu'u Peninsula, west of Apia. It more than anything else it seems to be a repository for political monuments. One of those is interesting for a vexillologist: the German Flag Memorial, erected in 1913 just over one year before the New Zealand takeover of Western Samoa. It commemorates the raising of the German flag over the islands on 1 March 1900. It's a small conical monument with a plate: "Hier wurde am 1.Maerz 1900 die deutsche Flagge gehisst" "O inei Lava na sisi ai le Fua Siamani I le aso 1.Mati 1900" "Errichtet 1913". It translates: "here the German flag was hoisted on 1st March 1900". A stamp was issued by Western Samoa in 1980 to commemorate the 80th anniversary of the raising.

American Samoa

We left Apia to Pago Pago on board a small 20 seater plane. For the first time in my life I was considered as luggage. Before getting into the aircraft I had to be weighed! The Polynesians are generally fat (it is a genetic heritage) and it is necessary to distribute the seats in relation with the weight. Generally one person uses more than one seat and it is necessary to adapt special larger seat belts! When people were seated it was impossible to walk in the aisle! I entered the last and it was difficult to reach my seat!

American Samoa is covered by a big tropical forest, it was wonderful to see it from the sky. It is an American unincorped territory, the formal annexion took place on 17 April 1900 when a deed of cession was signed by all the chiefs of all the islands involved.

The population is around 58,000 mainly on Tutuila island (95%). The land area is only 197 sq km. There are some 1,500 foreigners who reside there, most of whom are Koreans or Chinese involved in the tuna industry.

We took a taxi to visit the island.

In front of the Fono, the parliament building, a big representation of the seal, in wood. A similar seal, but metallic, decorates the Government building where I met the Acting Governor who was very friendly and gave me some material about the emblems researched. The Acting Governor promised to send material specially the law about the flag's adoption but he wrote he has not found that information and gave the address of a specialist on Samoan flag living in Hawaii, Mr Joseph Theroux who sent me one of the ten copies of a booklet he had published some years before (it was probably the last copy available) about historical American Samoan flags. It was interesting because I discovered some unknown flags from 1858 until the present flag, specially about the German period like the flag of King Malietoa circa 1899 showing a boat landing the King. Some flags have been reconstructed and I am not sure colours and design are correct like Manu'a and Swain islands flags.

The Chief of Police gave me a patch and the Police star adorns the police cars but there is no special flag.

At the airport I looked at the badge of the American Samoa Immigration.

New Zealand

On arriving at Auckland airport I rented a car to visit the North Island. My goal was to visit the geysers and to discover the Maori culture.

The weather wasn't very good because in the southern hemisphere it was winter.

My first stop was in Ngaruawahia, the residence village of *Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu,* the Maori Queen who is the Chief of the *Tainui Confederation*. I saw her palace with wonderful carved red wooden gates and by chance I went to Hopu Hopu campsite where was organized a meeting of the *Tainui Parliament*. At the arrival of the Queen I had to leave, people did not want white people in the neighbourhood, probably for

religious reasons. In front of the gate the flag of Hopu Hopu Site, white with a turquoise-blue sun, a dark blue bird and name and a gold constellation of 7 stars. I tried for one hour to film and photograph the flag but it was so big and heavy it was imposible to fly. I met the guard asking for information about the symbolism, after discussion he proposed to lower the flag and I took a very good photograph! (Fig. 9).

9. Hopu Hopu Site

My friend Christopher Reed from Wellington wrote to me later, he thinks "Hopu Hopu" means respect for a person of high dignity or rank, "a person who has performed great deeds", or even "a brave enemy" but probably it refers to a Maori King, possibly the first Maori King – Te Wherowhero who was elected by Waikato, Taupo and some other tribes and took the title Potatau I.

I drove to Rotorua, the city centre of the geyser district. It was a big surprise to see a lot of smoke coming from gardens, parks. At first I thought some people were making fires to burn scraps from their garden ! But it was hot springs, there were a lot of them.

The flag of Te Arawa was displayed in an exhibition organised in the Rotorua Museum. Later I received more information about that flag from the head of Curatorial Services. It is a British flag bearing a seal, the words Tuhourangi and Arawa 1870. That flag was presented to Tuhourangi of Te Arawa in 1870 to acknowledge his loyalty to the Crown of England. Te Arawa had recognised the Treaty of Waitangi as the binding document partnership between the Maori people and the crown of England, in the 1860s.

Wellington

The city, 400,000 inhabitants, is built around a wonderful bay. I stayed a while to visit a New Zealand vexillologist Christopher Reed, who welcomed us with his wife and children, for a dinner which was delicious and we tasted local white wine. The reception and discussion were great.

The city flag flew on the top of some buildings. It is a yellow flag with a black cross and the city arms. That flag was registered by the College of Arms by letters patent in August, 1963.

700 km and a one day trip to go back to Auckland with a flat tyre just before driving along the *Desert Road.*

We stopped again at Ngaruawahia hoping to find more information about the flag discovered a few days before. I heard the flag was that of the Tainui people and I received a sheet with the symbolism of the Maori coat of arms. It is difficult to receive information about the symbols of the Maori Queen because of its religious meaning.

Auckland

It is the biggest city and the economic capital of New Zealand. I visited the city centre, the Maritime Museum with Polynesian canoes and material about the ships sailing between Australia and Britain. Inside some Ship Companies flags as the Union Steam Ship Company, the Subritzky Shipping Line and the pennant of the TSS Awatea, a ship launched in 1936.

I discovered some books in a shop and asked permission to take photographs because there was only one maori flag in each books!

We visited the *Domein*, a big museum with sections of geology, botany, animals and history. I was specially interested in the *Moa*, the extinct ostrich and tallest bird in the world and the historical section with flags, orders, decorations, military expeditions in Africa and wars against the Maori Tribes last century. We saw :

- the 1st New Zealand Mounted Rifles Association flag

- the Parade flag and banner of the South African War Veterans: the flag bears the Union Jack over the colours of the ribbons of the Queen's and King's South African Medals.

- the "Our Soldiers Flag": this flag raised a substantial sum for the Auckland Wounded Soldier's Fund, it is hung as a tribute to those who, with courage and devotion, served the Empire in the cause of truth and freedom in 1914/1915.It is the New Zealand flag with a hundred names.

- The flag which flew on the fortifications during the battle of Gate Pa (warriors Ngai-te-Rangi and Koheriki) in April 1864. The flag is red with a white cross, crescent and star. - Te Porere – the flag of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turiki from the 1860s (795:1940 mm) which is white with a red and black crescent, red star, red letters.

At the top of the Museum there is a war Memorial with flags and references to the First and Second World Wars in Europe and in the Pacific. There are a lot of national flags and New Zealand Regimental flags like the flag of the Auckland Regiment NZ Infantry

Australia

That country is so large it was impossible to visit it in such a short time. I chose to stop in Sydney and in the capital of the Federation, Canberra.

Sydney

Sydney is a glittering, lively city with a fabulously beautiful harbour at its centre. It is the largest Australian city with a population of 3.7 million.

Our Australian friends, Tony Burton and Ralph Kelly were waiting for me at the airport and organized a few activities for me the following days. Their welcome was great.

My friends organized a meeting with the New South Wales chapter of the Australian Vexillological Association. I enjoyed the meeting and discussions specially about the proposals for a new Australian flag. The discussions continued later during the dinner.

The Council of the City of Sydney erected a flag mast to commemorate the first saluting of the British flag on 26th January 1788. A plate bears the following words:

The Council of the City of Sydney

This flag mast was erected to commemorate the location at which the first ceremony of saluting the flag by Captain Arthur Philipp.R.N. and his company took place to mark the foundation of Australia on 26th January 1788

The location was determined by a committee of enquiry comprising

The Chief of Justice of the Supreme Court of N.S.W. The Hon.L.J.Herron. C.M.G.

The Surveyor General of N.S.W. Mr C.Elphinstone

Mr J.W. Forsyth

The Director of Parks Mr C.S.Garth, A.R.A.I.A. M.A.P.I.

And appointed by the Council of the City of Sydney at a meeting held on the 5th August 1965

J.H.Luscombe   John Armstrong
Town Clerk   Lord Mayor

26th January 1967

The flag which flies is the former Union Flag without the Irish St Patrick cross.

Canberra

When the separate colonies of Australia were federated in 1901 and became states, the decision to build a national capital was part of the constitution. The site was selected in 1908, diplomatically situated between archrivals Sydney and Melbourne. In 1911 the Commonwealth Government bought land for the Australian Capital Territory (ACT) and in 1913 decided to call the capital Canberra, believed to be an Aboriginal term for 'meeting place'.

Tony Burton picked us up at the hotel for a 600-km journey. He had organized receptions and meetings in the capital.

Canberra, population 298,000, has a beautiful setting, surrounded by hills.

Our first reception was at *Parliament House,* a special guided tour had been organized. It is a very modern new building. You can see the four-legged flagpole on top of

Capitol Hill from all parts of Canberra, that flagmast is one of the major designs elements of Parliament House. It is 81 metres high and weighs 220 tonnes. The flag is very big, 6.4 by 12.8 metres, weighs 15 kilogrammes and is floodlit during the night (Fig. 10).

Opened in 1988, it cost AUS$ 1 billion, it took eight years to build. It is built into the hill and the roof has been grassed over to preserve the shape of the original hilltop. The interior design and decoration is splendid. A different combination of Australian timbers is used in each of its principal sections.

In the hall the Australian Women's Suffrage Banner which is the work of an Australian artist, Dora Meeson. It shows "Young Australia" (where women had the vote for the Commonwealth) appealing to "Britannia" to grant the same rigt to British women.

After that visit we were welcomed at the office of National Orders where a briefing was organized showing us the medals and decorations of Australia. Another meeting took place along the Lake with a representative of the Protocol. Along the road there is an alley of 60 flagpoles with the flags of the countries having a diplomatic representation in Canberra.

10. Australian Flag at Parliament House

All the buildings of the capital are modern, specially the Ministry of Justice where a tapestry commemorates the birth of the nation in 1901, showing the coat of arms of each state.

We had a guided tour of the *War Memorial* displaying a lot of flags from Regimental Australian Units having participated in different wars from the 1st and 2nd World Wars to the Pacific, Korean and Vietnamese wars. Specially two Viet Cong flags, one captured at Binh Gia in Phuoc Tuy Province on December 24, 1967 the other captured by a South Vietnamese in January 1969. The car flag of the Commander of the Resistance Force in Toulouse (France) is also exhibited. Standards of the Royal Australian Regiment are also displayed

There was a visit to the War Memorial Reserve and Conservation Building where women familiarized us with the restoration of flags. We saw some flags and particularly a flag of FRETILIN (East Timor independent movement), of APODETI (East Timor, pro-Indonesian movement), and the restoration of the Rifle Victoria Volunteers Corps, Richmond Cy, a beautiful embroidered flag. During that visit I met Dr Elisabeth Kwan specialized in the study of Australian flags who invited us for a cup of tea in her home. Finally we also stayed for dinner, a delicious dinner prepared by her Chinese husband.

Before leaving Canberra I went to see the illuminated flag on top of Capitol Hill and the illuminations in the city. We arrived at Sydney after midnight. I could not leave Australia without buying a *boomerang* as a souvenir!

Bali (Indonesia)

I was disappointed with my visit in Bali (2,900,000 inhabitants; density 520 inhabitants per square kilometre). I had to leave Sydney airport with an ANZUS flight and a stop in Darwin. But the flight was delayed for hours and finally cancelled. I was supposed to arrive in Denpasar at 1am and I arrived at 2 pm. I had organized a full day trip to visit temples, rice fields and volcanoes with a taxi.

We only saw some national Indonesian flags and political parties flags.

Brunei Darussalam

Brunei is a small country in the northwest corner of the island of Borneo along the shores of the South China Sea and is 5,765 square kilometres. 70% of Brunei's land is covered by unspoiled rainforest. The population is only 300,000, of which nearly 100,000 are temporary immigrant workers. The country has one of the world's highest per capita GDPs, around $20,000 a year. Its Sultan is probably the richest man in the world.

In fact my visit to Brunei was my main goal about flags during that trip. At Victoria I discovered many unknown flags presented by my friend Scot Guenter from the Coronation of the Sultan book. I wanted to visit Bandar Seri Begawan, the capital city to continue my research on local flags. I knew the country used a lot of flags but many of them were unknown. When I entered, without my shoes,

the *Royal Regalia Museum* for the first time, my heart was beating fast, 119 flags were displayed in the museum and it was forbidden to take photographs! You can imagine how I felt at that moment, a lot of unknown flags in front of you and you can only look! (Fig. 11-12-13).

11. The Royal Regalia Museum

12. The Royal Regalia Museum

13. The Royal Regalia Museum

I knew my predecessor as FIAV President, William Crampton had visited the Museum and had not received permission to photograph. When you have been looking for such information for a long time the stress is big. I stayed a few hours to visit but also to note all the references of those big flags and draw some. What to do to get special permission to photograph? After hours of discussion with the Director of the Museum and representatives of the government at the Parliament, I received the book on the

coronation of the Sultan including the flags shown by Scot Guenter at Victoria but all the flags displayed in the Museum were not printed in the book. The gift of that book was similar to a movie! After discussions with the Director of the Museums of Brunei, he said he had probably one more copy of the wanted book. He searched the cupboards and shelves for a long time. During that time, which was so long for me, I felt very tense! He did not find the book and said he had probably given it to the National Library before his retirement. I was disppointed but he called the Library and by chance they agreed to send one copy by taxi! The director suggested I should visit the national museum while waiting the book, which I did trying not to show how impatient I was to receive the book, one hour later I came back to the Director's office. He told me he had received the book but he could not give it to me immediately because the secretary had to stamp the book but she had left sooner to pick up her children at school! I saw the book through the window but the door was locked and the Director did not have the key! Please come back this afternoon. I came back around 4pm. The Director had left the office! New stress! But the secretary was present and she finally gave me the book! I was so happy, I had been looking for that material for years!

Leafing through the book in my room, I discovered many flags shown in the Regalia Museum were not published in the book. I called the Director again and we organized a meeting two days later. I hoped I would receive permission to photograph in the Regalia.

When I came I received a friendly welcome and had breakfast with the Director and other people. The Director asked a colleague about other flag books, the colleague left the room a short time and came back with 4 small books, one flag a page and on each colour design a transparent paper with the size of each detail of the flag. He said I'd better photograph these illustrations rather than the flags in the Regalia. In fact the illustrations were good and it was easier, I went out with a servant who helped me and I took photographs in the sunlight. Returning to the main office I made some xerox copies but I did not recognize a lot of the flags in these four small books which were different from the book received two days before. I only saw that when I developed my films in Belgium! It was too late to print all the pages!

I discussed again with the Director asking for permission because the official flags of the Sultan, Sultanah, Heir of the throne, Army, Police….were not published in the books he had shown. Finally he agreed and asked a car and driver with a servant to go with me to the Regalia. I had become a "guest" and I entered the Regalia through the main gate and with my shoes on! I photographed the flags, and also a part of the regalia as the coaches, royal symbols like crowns, uniforms. I had asked my friend to wait me at the Regalia but when he arrived he did not see my shoes outside and he went back to the hotel but I was inside!

You can imagine, I was wild with delight. I had been waiting for a long time and the dream had come true, you enjoy that moment so much! I thanked the Director who said he remembered I had written letters a few months before,… but he had never answered!

Before leaving the national museum, I took photographs of the different crests used by the country since the beginning of the XXth century. Walking in the streets of the capital I also discovered many coat of arms and badges.

On board of a very fast bus-pirogue we travelled on the Brunei river through the rainforest as far as Temburong to walk in the forest. Brunei is a country divided into two parts separated by Sarawak (Malaysia) and in the forest some Malaysian flags flew in front on houses built on piles It was a hard journey. I had to walk along a path with lots of steps under big trees (more than 20m high). It was so hot (40°!) and so humid (95%)

Arriving at the small port, I saw a military vessel flying the ensign of Brunei. After some discussion I received permission to go on board to photograph the Ensign. It was prohibit to lower the flag and there was too little wind. Finally a sailor displayed an Army flag similar to the canton of the white Ensign!

At the mosque I also discovered an unknown flag of Brunei, it was the religious flag. I asked an old man permission to take pictures. He refused to lower the flag but showed me a piece of cloth with a similar design but it was not so interesting. A few minutes later our guide asked a young man who agreed to lower the flag. I was very happy because it difficult to photograph flags with crests flying at the top of high flagpole, the flag is always folded and you cannot identify the details. And for a religious flag it was more difficult because of Arabic inscriptions.

In the port I visited the Customs Office where they showed the Customs flag, a blue flag with the crest in the middle and the Immigration flag, a light blue flag with the Brunei flag in the canton and the word "Imigresen" in white in the middle of the fly. On the river, some police canoes flew the Police flag I photographed later at the Police Headquarters.

For my last day in Brunei I went by taxi to have a look at the Royal Palace. It is one of the most impressive sites in the capital. It is the largest residential palace in the world with around 1,000 rooms but you can see the Istana Nurul Iman from the river. On the top of the palace a big dome with golden leaves and a flagpole with the Sultan's personal standard!

A short after I came back home I have received a photograph showing the correct flag used by *Raja Isteri Dan Isteri-Isteri Kepada Sultan*, the two wifes of HM the Sultan (Fig. 14).

14. Wife of HM The Sultan

Malaysia

I arrived in Kuala Lumpur with Malaysia Airlines very late. The new airport of Sepang is 70km from the city centre and I had to pay a lot for the taxi.

Kuala Lumpur, population 1.1 million, is the capital of the Federation of Malaysia. Malaysia has 55% Malayan, 35% Chinese, 10% Indians.

I have visited the city centre, specially *Merdeka Square* (Independence square) where independence was proclaimed in 1957. A flag pole with a big flag is erected on the grass. It was a few days before independence national day celebrated on 31st August and many flags were displayed through the city. Along the square there is the *Sultan Abdul Samat building* a mixture of Victorian and Moorish styles ; in the past it was the Secretariat Building of the British colonial administration, now it is the Supreme Court of Justice. In front of that building a giant flag was built with small plastic rulers, there were 83 vertical "line" each with 140 rulers (Fig. 15)!

15. A Plastic Ruler Flag

Next to the square, the National Museum displays the first national Malayan flag hoisted on independence day on 31th August 1957. Slightly different from the present flag, it has only 11 stripes and an 11 pointed star for the 11 States of the Federation of Malaya. That flag was hoisted on 24h01 in the night of 30 to 31st August 1957 at Selangor Club Playing Field now Dataran Merdeka (Independence Place).

In the streets there were a lot of vertical banners of the national flag.

We rented a taxi with a driver for a one day trip to Shah Alam, the capital of Selangor, and the suburbs of Kuala Lumpur.

Shah Alam, the new capital of Selangor, is a very modern and new city. In 1978 it was still a hevea and palmtree plantation. In 1974 the Sultan of Selangor gave Kuala Lumpur to the government and it was established as a federal territory. It was necessary to build a new capital for Selangor. Around a lake were built government buildings and a museum specially dedicated to the Royal family with flags, crowns, jewels, decorations and local furniture.

In the street, there are a lot of banners from different colours.

In the museum are displayed the State flag together with the Sultan and Royal family's.

The *Sultan Salahuddin Abdul Aziz Shagh Mosque*, white with blue domes, is the biggest in Malaysia. It welcomes 24,000 believers.

Along the roads, in the cities and villages, a lot of political parties flags flew on the tops of houses and buildings.

I was disappointed with my visit at the Army Museum. We had to leave our bag and cameras before entering that Army Camp. In front of the museum the Army flag flew, a crimson flag with the badge in the middle, a Joint Defence Force Flag, B-,R,B+ (horizontal stripes) with a badge, the National flag and the "Imbasan Regimen Semboyan Diraja" : B-/Y/B+/R/V with a badge. 4 unknown flags but no photographs. Inside the museum the "Panji-Panji Regimen Askar Melayu Diraja", a former regimental Malayan flag, green with emblems. You can also see communist flags from the time of the communist rebellion in the 50s.

The Police Museum is a very nice new erected building and the exhibit of flags, uniforms, badges, medals and other police materials was great. It was forbidden to take pictures but I met an Officer who showed me a diary book with a manuscript history of the Police flags from the British rule until the present time together with illustrations or photographs of all the Police flags used since 1957. After a friendly discussion he agreed to ask permission to the Director of the Museum to copy these photographs. I paid some ringgit (Malaysian currency) and I received them six months later.

The last stop was in front the Royal Palace, the flag of the King, the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, flew on the top of the Palace: it is a yellow flag with the State Arms in the centre.

Singapore

Singapore has a population of 2,95 million, of which 77,5% are of Chinese descent. The port is the biggest in South East Asia and works day and night. It is a strict

state with plenty of regulations that you must respect. Not only for the speed but you cannot cross if the light is red, you can't cross outside the zebra crossings, you cannot throw paper on the streets... it's a kind of sterilized city with a lot of laws you must respect.

At the mouth of the river, there is a statue of the *Merlion,* the city mascot, which appears on all touristic documents. It is a half-lion, half-fish creature which spits water.

The city is divided into areas as *Little India* where I looked for flag, arm and currency posters a friend had shown me in Paris, it was at Mustafa shop and I found them!

In the city streets there were a lot of vertical coloured banners from the flag or showing the coat of arms or the merlion.

I discovered two historical political party flags in the Historical Museum, the Barisan Sosialis Party, red star and circle on white and the People's Action Party, a red flash on blue disc on white (Fig. 16).

16. People's Action Party

We paid a half day visit to Johor Bahru, the nearest Malaysian city on the other side of Johor Strait. We crossed the border with the Mercedes and I visited the *Royal Abu Bakar Museum* located in the old Sultan's Palace. The collection of jewels (crown), flags, furniture, China crockery, arms, gold plates… show the wealth of the Royal family. We look at former regimental flags and a plate with all the Johore flags but weren't allowed to take pictures.

The palace and the *Sultan Abu Bakar Mosque* are built in white and blue. We had a quick lunch in a shopping centre, but it was too hot and after the purchase of a Malayan-English dictionary to try to understand some words, we returned to Singapore.

Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka is an island at the Southern point of India. The capital of the Republic is Colombo, 66,000 sqkm and a population of 18,2 million. There are two main ethnic groups, 74% of Cinghalese and 18% of Tamil. For many years there has been a conflict between the two communities. The Tamil live in the North East and want to create an independent Republic : Eelam. There has

been a war for twenty years ; many people have been killed and there have been many bomb attacks, specially in Colombo.

I arrived at Colombo airport at 3 am. A taxi driver picked us at the airport for a 115-km drive to Kandy. 3h30' to cover the distance between the two cities. You have to know the roads in the Indian world are very bad and it is not necessary to reduce the speed with laws and signs. It's really impossible to drive quickly, the roads are dangerous, there are a lot of cars, trucks, rickshaws, animals, even elephants !, we only slept two hours and we began the visit of Kandy, the old capital of the Kingdom of Kandy which resisted conquerors for 300 years.

The present flag of Sri Lanka is designed from the last Royal flag of Kandy. The authorities added two stripes, orange for Hindouist and green for Muslims.

Kandy

I looked for information on flags and I only discovered a Singhalese printed book on flags of the world with a lot of errors

The city has 100,000 inhabitants and is at an altitude of 500m, the climate is better than in Colombo along the coast. The artificial lake was built in 1807 by *Sri Wickrama Rajasinha*, the last King. I visited *Dalada Maligawa*, the temple of the *Tooth*. It is the most important relic of Sri Lanka. Referring to the legend, the sacred tooth of Buddha was saved from his pyre in 543 AC, it arrived in Ceylon in the 4th century, hidden in the hair of a princess. Before entering the temple, we walked through a gallery where on both sides, a procession with elephants and flags is painted.

Peradeniya was a royal park. The British developed the park into a botanical garden, the biggest of Sri Lanka with 60ha. You can see orchids, a Java fig tree which is very large. The best is the Royal Palm trees drive. I rented a rickshaw for the visit. At the top of a tree, there were hundreds of big bats. In front of the main gates of the Botanical Gardens, there is a reproduction of the Ceylonese arms adopted in 1948.

Colombo

I was awaited by my Canadian friend who had organized my trip in Sri Lanka. He is working at the Canadian High Commission and with his diplomatic plate we drove and parked easily in the city. His welcome was great with a dinner at home and a meeting with the president of the Sri Lanka Vexillological Association, Mr Kumaran Fernando. His family name is very strange: it is a Portuguese name given to many people in the XVIc during the Portuguese colonization. My friend organized a visit of the capital.

During that visit we discovered the flag of the city of Colombo, historical Ceylonese badges on the gates of

a college and my friend showed us a beautiful and rare book published in 1913. In a very old military post I discovered the flag of the last King of Kandy painted on the wall. He was imprisoned in 1815 there before being exiled to south India by the British, he died in 1832. That small room is now used as a guard house for an office building.

The police uses a flag divided into four triangles, blue at the hoist and fly, white at the top and bottom, in the centre the police badge in blue and white which bears an elephant (Fig. 17).

I received a table flag representing the Western District of Sri Lanka flag (Fig. 18). It is a very complicated flag, like many historical Ceylonese flags, in white, green and yellow, with leaves, the Kandy lion, a bird and a snake. It seems the districts have adopted flags but I did not see anything.

17. Police Flag, Sri Lanka

18. Western District, Sri Lanka

Maldives

A technical stop at Male airport on the road to Dubai.

The United Arab Emirates

The United Arab Emirates (UAE) is a federation of 7 Emirates with a large autonomy. The foundation was on December 2, 1971. When the British left the so-called Trucial Coast, there were many villages and the first oil fields were discovered shortly after. The capital, Abu Dhabi, was a small village in the 60s, with the Sheikh fortress, some houses and some boats on the shore, now it is a big modern city with plenty of buildings. The square area is 83,000 for a population of 2,41 million (180,000 in 1968!), 60% are foreign workers! These workers are like slaves, they have no rights and have to come without their family.

The country lies along the shore of the Persian Gulf. It is a desert but they discovered a lot of oil and gas.

Immediately after we had left the air conditioned airport, it was the blaze: 41°, 95% humidity!

Outside the main building of the airport a lot of flags, specially air flight companies flags, were lowered at half-mast. I think it was to honour the death of a Saudi Arabian prince. We took a photograph of the flag of Dubaï Department of Civil Aviation, a white flag with words in Arabic and English, UAE and the Dubaï flags crossing a falcon.

We wanted to exchange dinars. It was so hot I walked drinking water along the way! The view on Dubai inlet was beautiful. In front of the opposite bank, there are a lot of modern architecture buildings. With a local boat I rented I made a short trip in the creek. There were a lot of *dhows*, local wooden boats, many were taxis to cross. All these boats flew the UAE national flag

We rented a taxi with a driver for a one-day visit of the main cities and the desert. We first visited the port and suburbs of Dubai, a lot of residences for Western engineers and workers, private clubs with swimming-pools, big motorways... but 43°. When I left the car to photograph, it was a nightmare, it was like a sauna and I had problems with the cameras because of condensation on the lens.

Along the road to Abu Dhabi, there is a big 5-star hotel without any clients, because it is too far from cities. Before our arrival in Abu Dhabi we crossed some new modern villages, with shops, mosques, flats: everything is empty, it is too far from the city centre and local people do not live there. The villages were built by the Emir for his people.

At the entry of the city, I stopped in front of a police station to take the photograph of the Police badge. It was prohibited and I was arrested. There were some discussions and I was sent to another police station to meet an officer, new discussions with a translator who told me the police officer had written I had taken a photograph of the police building which was not true, and I had to sign papers in Arabic. I did not like it but I had no choice, hoping to be discharged. No food, no drink but the chauffeur bought me some things. I was sent to another police station, the police headquarters. By that time I had lost my friend and the taxi in the traffic, they found me hours later. Then I began to feel worried, I had to leave the UAE in the evening for Belgium, it was the last day of my world trip ! Finally the last police officer called a judge of the Court of Justice who told him to take my negative . I had to give it and also to discuss to recuperate my camera. 5 hours lost and I had paid a lot of money for the taxi. Immediatly afterwards I left Abu

Dhabi: it is the worst memory of my trip. We stopped to eat a pizza. At sunset we arrived in Dubaï, the driver and guide showed us the big racecourse of the Emir, extraordinary to see that in a desert! First meeting with camels walking along the road. Our last visit in the evening was an excursion through the Emirates of Sharjah and Ajman. In fact kilometers of buildings, shops with furniture and other things, there is so much money in the Emirates.

In fact I had the copy of the badge on my visa application form and I could reconstruct the flag, the Police flag is blue with a white badge (Fig. 19).

19. UAE Police Flag

Along the streets of Abu Dhabi I saw the city (or Emirate) coat of arms displayed along the way with banners but as I was in the Police car and without my camera it was impossible to take a photograph!

We took a night flight to Amsterdam with a connection to Brussels. I arrived at 11 am and I was at school at noon to work !!!

An unforgettable trip and no health problem ! I hope to travel once again around the world in a few time!!!

I tried to work out how many kilometers I had covered. It was not easy because I do not know all the air and sea mileage.

I think I flew 44,000 km, I did 410 km by ship, 5,500 km by car, a total of around 50,000 km in 57 days. A record!

Maps on Flags

Mason Kaye

Introduction

My goal in this study was to find as many flags with maps on them as possible, then to see what could be learned from them. I searched for any flag depicting a map of a specific territory as a graphic element. I called them "mappy flags".

1. Examples of Mappy Flags

Researching flag literature and consulting with my vexillological colleagues in NAVA and around the world, I have documented over 370 such mappy flags. They show wide variety across geography, types of entities represented, and design styles. I will show about a third of them during this talk. I concluded that maps appear to be used on flags for two major reasons: they are unique symbols, and they are neutral symbols.

Thank you's

Finding so many maps on flags would have been extremely difficult for one person to accomplish alone. The task was made less daunting with the help of many friends and colleagues around the world:

Luc Baronian	Donald Healy
Portland Flag Assoc.	Ralph Bartlett
Ron Hesson	John Purcell
Roberto Breschi	Rich Kenny
Philippe Rault	Frederick Brownell
Albert S. Kirsch	Ural Wayne Raymond
Jim Croft	Michel Lupant
Whitney Smith	Peter Edwards
David Martucci	Ron Strachan
Michael Faul	Philip Nelson
Theodoulos Stylianides	Erwin Günther
Peter Orenski	Gustavo Tracchia
Kevin Harrington	Truman G. Pope
Larry Wentworth	

I would like to thank all of them for aiding me in my research. The *Flags of the World* web site proved to be an extremely valuable source of information and images; I thank those who are responsible for it. Thank you also to FIAV and the Flag Institute for providing me with a forum to share my research today.

Survey Results

Now let me describe what I found. I was able to compile images and descriptions of over 370 "mappy flags". In my research, I used many different sources of information. I asked my flag colleagues to help me in this task. Many responded, with information and flag images from all parts of vexillology. I read through all of the flag books and periodicals in my family's library. Then I looked on the Internet, which provided about a quarter of my data.

I made a page for each flag that I found, with the flag's image and a description, and placed them in a binder. I created a database to keep track of all of the maps on flags I had documented, especially the ones for which I had descriptions but not images. For each flag, I listed ten data points: the name, geographic location, type of entity (for example: county, municipality, political party, or organization), the date of adoption, source, territory depicted, political level, colour (with or without outline), position on flag, an atlas reference of the geographic coordinates, and any additional comments.

This project took a year and a half. After this Congress, I will make a copy of my binder for the library of the Flag Research Center in Massachusetts.

Yes & No Examples

My guideline was to accept: "any flag that depicts a map of a specific territory as an identifiable graphic element of the flag". Flags that meet this criterion are Chatham Island, a dependency of New Zealand, Wayne County, in Ohio, and the Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada, an Indian organization. However, such flags as the Earth Flag and the Commonwealth of Nations may have globes on them, but do not depict a specific territory. The flag of the South East Asia Treaty Organization features a globe with the southeastern quadrant shaded, but again, it does not portray a specific territory. Another rule that I followed was "no highly stylized maps". A few prefectures of Japan stylize their maps when on a flag to make them more graphically appealing. This rule meant that flags like Kagoshima were excluded from this analysis.

2. Chatham Island, New Zealand

3. Wayne County, Ohio, USA

4. Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada
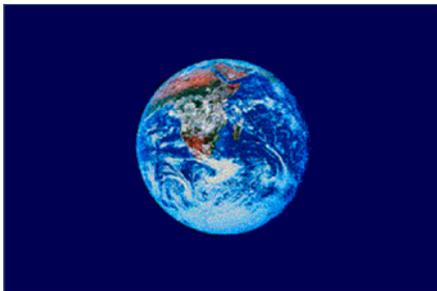
5. Earth Flag

6. Commonwealth of Nations

7. South-East Asia Treaty Organization
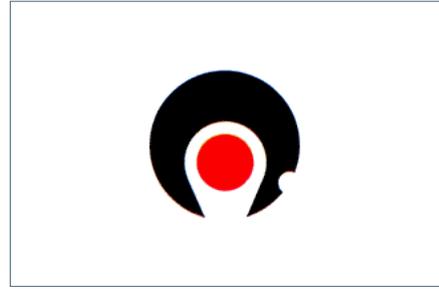
8. Kagoshima, Japan

Types of Flags with Maps

Different kinds of flags depict maps. They vary across *types of entities*—such as governments, political parties, organizations, military groups, and American Indian reservations, and across *the entire world*—from Anzoategui in Venezuela to Zamboanga in the Philippines. Two-thirds of the mappy flags I found represent some level of government, and approximately one-fourth represent organizations and political parties.

9. Anzoategui, Venezuela

10. Zamboanga, The Philippines

By Entity

Governmental entities at all levels such as cities, counties, provinces, states, and nations use maps on flags, as well as political parties, and international organizations. Cities around the world, like Södermalm, Sweden, use maps on flags. Cities in the United States are great users of maps on flags. In fact, almost one third of all the maps on flags I found are United States city flags, like Sharonville, Ohio. Many counties in the United States use maps on flags, such as Chippewa County, in Michigan. A recent example of a provincial mappy flag is a design for Manitoba, Canada, proposed this month. Many provinces in the Philippines use maps on their seals as part of their flags, like Sorsogon. Cyprus is the only country that currently has a map on a national flag, although other countries have had mappy flags in the

past. Some countries use maps on their arms, such as Belarus. There are many international mappy flags, like the Interlingua language movement, and of course, the United Nations. A few military groups use maps on their flags, such as the Eurocorps, a first step to a European army. American Indian reservations in the United States often use maps on flags, including the Nez Perce, in Idaho, as do organizations, such as the Affiliated Tribes of Northwest Indians, based in my home town of Portland, Oregon. Political parties use maps on flags as well, such as the Madagascar Socialist Union.

11. Södermalm, Sweden

12. Sharonville, Ohio, USA

13. Chippewa County, Michigan, USA
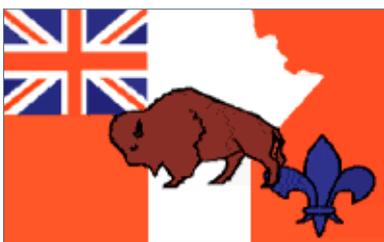
14. Manitoba, Canada (proposal)

15. Sorsogon, The Philippines

16. Cyprus

17. Arms of Belarus

18. Interlingua Movement

19. United Nations

20. Eurocorps

21. Nez Perce, Idaho, USA

22. Affiliated Tribes of Northwest Indians

23. Madagascar Socialist Union

By Geography

Maps on flags fly above all seven continents of the world (if we include Graham Bartram's proposed flag of Antarctica), but some continents fly more than others do. North America accounts for about half of the world's maps on flags. This is due to the large number of counties and cities that use maps on flags in the United States and Canada, as well as Native American Tribes. Europe has about an eighth of the maps on flags. About a tenth of the maps on flags are from Africa, many depicting the map of Madagascar, Namibia, or the continent itself. Asia holds less than 10% of the maps on flags, the majority of which are from the Philippines. Relatively few come from Australia or Latin America.

24. Antarctica

50%	North America
15%	Europe
11%	Africa
8%	Asia
7%	Other Continents
9%	Not Applicable

25. Table of Usage by Continent

26. Paulatuk, NW Territories, Canada

27. Frederick County, Maryland, USA

28. Doubs, France

29. Highwall of the Democracy of Madagascar
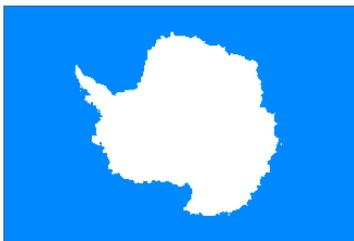
30. Basilan, The Philippines
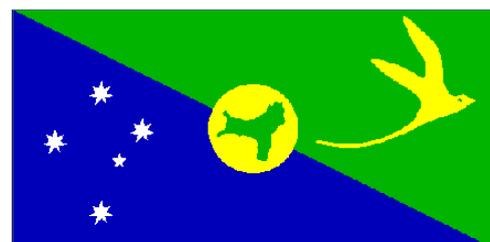
31. Christmas Island Workers' Union, Australia

32. Alta Verapaz, Guatemala

Cross-Use

Most maps on flags are of the same political level as their geographic location. For instance, Cyprus is a country, and the map of that country is on its national flag. This is a nation-nation correspondence. The flag of Caroline County, in Virginia, depicts the map of the county. This is a county-county correspondence. However, some flags use a different and larger territory as an image than the entity whose flag it is. For example, the flag of the city of Amarillo, Texas depicts a map of North America, a city-continent correspondence, while the flag of Lubbock depicts a map of Texas, a city-state correspondence. The state of São Paulo has a map of Brazil in its canton, a state-country correspondence. As would be expected, no flag depicts a map of a lower political level than its geographic location. However, in an unusual design, the arms of the nation of Colombia depict a portion of the country that no longer belongs to it: the Isthmus of Panama.

33. Cyprus

34. Caroline County, Virginia, USA

35. Amarillo, Texas, USA

36. Lubbock, Texas, USA
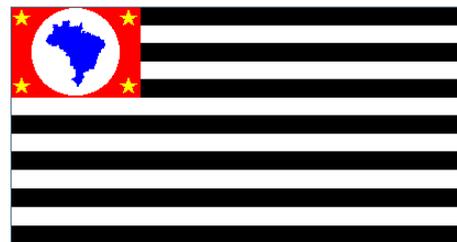
37. São Paulo, Brazil

38. Arms of Colombia

Nearly all county flags use county maps, and most city flags use state maps. About 25% of the political entity flags with maps depicted a map of a greater political level than that of the flag, while about 75% depict a map of an equal political level.

Presentation

Maps on flags are presented in many ways. Some are in outline form, and others are in a solid block of colour, sometimes with fimbriations. The placement of the maps is usually in the center, but varies. Some maps are partially covered, and some are simplified. Some maps are not complete, and the level of detail differs widely (some even show longitude and latitude). All flag colours seem to be used for maps, and at times, maps are shown at an angle or in three dimensions, or appear as part of arms or seals.

Outline versus Solid

About two thirds of maps on flags are a solid block of colour, such as the Orcas Island Yacht Club, or the Guainia Department in Colombia. Some, like a proposed flag of Bosnia and Herzegovina, are often outlined with a fimbriation, to separate the map from the background or to make it stand out. About one third of the maps

on flags have such outlines. There is no predominant colour used as an outline—all colours are common. An unusual outlined map is the Bierzo Party of Castille and Leon, Spain, which has only a counterchanged outline, the background of the map is the same as the field of the flag.

and it is simple, then the whole flag will share the map's simplicity. Some flags with centred maps are the Defence Corps of Cantabria, the Sakhalin Territory in Russia, and the Pan-Africanist Congress. Almost one third of the maps are shown within a circle, such as the Guadeloupe 7th Communist Congress and the Sulawesi Separatists in Indonesia.

39. Orcas Island Yacht Club, Washington USA
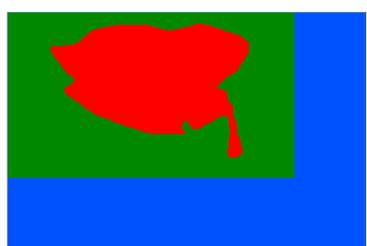
40. Guainia, Colombia

41. Bosnia & Herzegovina (proposal)

42. Bierzo Party, Castille and Leon, Spain

43. Dallas 1916-67, Texas, USA

44. Charente, France
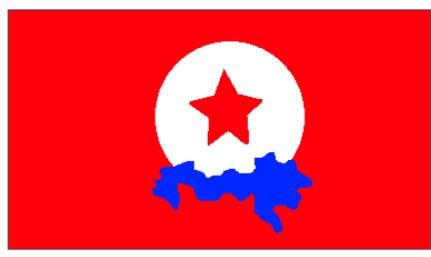
45. Presumed flag of Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia
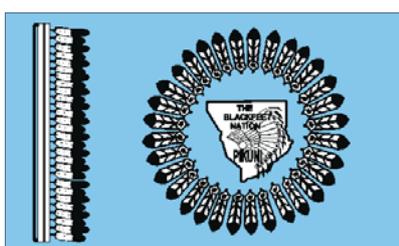
46. Blackfoot Nation, Montana, USA

47. Geographic Sailing Club

Placement

More than three-fourths of the maps are centred on their flag, because it is usually the main graphic element, such as on the old flag of Dallas, Texas. Very few are in any corner. Most of the remaining maps on flags are centred either in the flag's top (Charente, France), bottom (Armenian Secret Army), fly (Blackfoot Nation), or hoist (Geographic Sailing Club). On a few flags, the map is practically hidden, making it hard to notice, as on the flag of La Gomera Island. The map is there, up in the canton. An image of a map must be kept simple (that is, few colours and no words) to be recognizable. If a map is in the center (Australian Aboriginal Variant),

48. La Gomera Island, Canary Islands, Spain

49. Australian Aboriginal Variant

50. Defence Corps of Cantabria, Spain

51. Sakhalin Territory, Russia

52. Pan-Africanist Congress
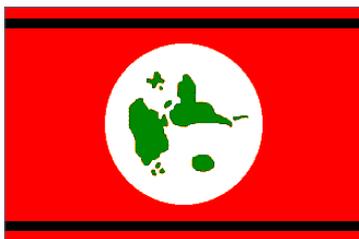
53. Guadeloupe 7th Communist Congress

54. Sulawesi Separatists, Indonesia

Partially Covered

On some flags, the maps are not completely shown, or have objects covering parts of the maps. One quarter of the maps on flags are partially covered. Arctic Bay, Nunavut, has one map covered up by another. The Bluewater Windjammers Association has a blue map of the state of New Jersey partially covered by a ship. Many of the maps on flags are plain, or have nothing on them. But one in every four maps has other objects on it, such as sun rays, stars, logos, tools, or components of seals. I believe Chester County has all of these, and more!

55. Arctic Bay, Nunavut, Canada
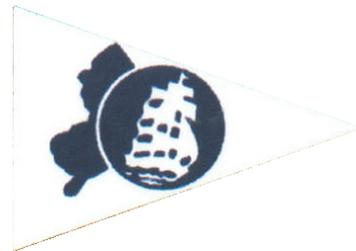
56. Blue Water Windjammers Association, New Jersey, USA

57. Chester County, Pennsylvania, USA

Simplification

If one wants to make a simple flag, an option is to put a map on it, such as on the 1971 flag of Bangladesh. But sometimes even the map is simplified, instead of the true representation of the territory. A simplified version of a map is often easier and better to put on a flag than the

actual map. For example, the map of France could be represented at different levels of simplification (Centre and Franche-Comté). However, if a map were so highly simplified that it became a logo or symbol, I excluded it from this analysis. For example, this Japanese prefecture's logo is the Katakana character "ku" and also expresses a map of Kyushu Island in white, with the circle representing Kumamoto.

58. Bangladesh 1971

59. Centre, France

60. Franche-Compté. France

61. Kumamoto, Japan

Partial Maps

One solution to the problem of complexity, if one does not want to put a simplified map on a flag, is to exclude parts of the territory. For example, the island of Tasmania is sometimes not included on flags showing the map of Australia, such as on the flag of Bumbunga. The outline of continental Australia is still recognizable without Tasmania. For the same reason, Madagascar is often excluded from the map of Africa. The African-Americans' flag has two maps: one of the continental United States, which does not include Alaska or Hawaii, and Africa, which does

not include Madagascar. The flag of the 25th Annual All-American Grooming Show has a map of the United States, without Alaska or Hawaii. A handful of mappy flags have more than one map on them, such as the Gila River Pima & Maricopa Indian Reservation, which shows a map of the reservation as well as the state of Arizona.
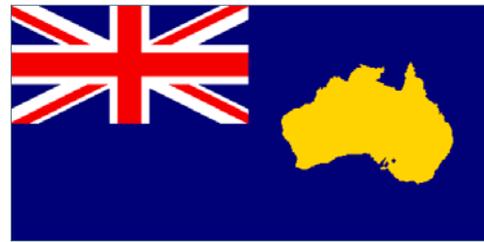
62. Self-declared Province of Bumbumga, Australia

63. African-Americans

64. 25th Annual All-American Grooming Show

65. Gila River Pima & Maricopa, Arizona, USA

Level of Detail

Some maps are more detailed than others. The Defence Corps of Kosovo is just a red background with a solid black map of Kosovo. The flag of Dunbar, West Virginia, is a plain yellow map on a white background. On the other hand, Torrance, California has a map on its flag that even shows freeways and streets. The flag of Jacksonville, Florida shows a river. More than 10% of the mappy flags show a star that marks a city or county on a larger map, like the Coquimbo Region in Chile. The French Department of Poitou-Charentes shows lines of longitude and latitude, as do a few other mappy flags.

While there is a lot of variation in the level of detail on maps on flags, only about a tenth have details <u>on</u> them, like the ones above. One in seven maps has writing on it, like the Bolivian United Left Party.

66. Defence Corps of Kosovo

67. Dunbar, West Virginia, USA

68. Torrance, California, USA

69. Jacksonville, Florida, USA

70. Coquimbo, Chile
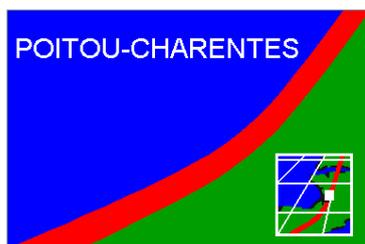
71. Poitou-Charentes, France

72. Bolivian United Left Party

Colour

The colours on maps on flags vary from the traditional red, white, blue, green, yellow, and black to purple (Georgetown, Texas), orange (Yacht Kookaburra), gold (Coral Harbour, Canada), gray (Dekalb County, Georgia) and brown (Mojave Tribe, USA). More than two thirds of the maps I found had more than one colour. The colours seldom seem to have any meaning. However, maps of rivers and lakes are mostly depicted in blue, such as on the flag of Webster, Massachusetts.

73. Georgetown, Texas, USA

74. Yacht Kookaburra, Australia

75. Coral Harbour, Nunavut, Canada

76. Dekalb County, Georgia, USA

77. Fort Mojave Tribe, USA

78. Webster, Massachusetts, USA

Other–Angle, 3-D

Most of the maps on flags are two-dimensional. But a few give the appearance of having three dimensions, or are depicted at a slant or angle, such as the flag of the Bersatu Sabah Party in Malaysia, or the Morena party flag in Panama.

79. Bersatu Sabah Party, Malaysia

80. Morena Party, Panama

Arms and Seals

Sometimes maps appear on coats of arms or seals rather than flags, such as Cameroon, Burma, Carson City, Nevada, the North American Vexillological Association, or the Breton Vexillological Society.

81. Arms of Cameroon

82. Arms of Burma

83. Seal of Carson City, Nevada, USA

84. Seal of North American Vexillological Association

85. Seal of Breton Vexillological Association

Popular Uses

Maps on flags are used throughout the world in diverse places. But in some areas their use is very common, like in French departments, United States cities & counties, the Philippine Islands, American Indian Tribes, Political Groups, International Organizations, and Sports Organizations.

French Departments

The French departments have many maps on flags. A good unique representation of any group of people is the shape of their political boundary; and in France, there are many political boundaries. Of over 100 French departments, at least 14 are represented by flags with maps.

86. Bas-Rhin, France

87. Cher, France

88. Haute-Corse, France

US Cities & Counties

The state of Texas has a seventh of all the maps on flags in the United States (Tarrant, San Antonio and Richland Hills). A possible reason is the Texans' well-known self-image; they love Texas, and the state's outline is a common symbol there. Texas is also the third most populous state in the United States. California is a close second (Alpine County and Santa Clara County), with more than 10% of the maps on flags, perhaps simply because it _is_ the most populous state. The state of Massachusetts uses many maps on flags (Rutland and New Braintree), which are very well documented on the state's official website. Other states with a significant share of the maps on flags in the United States are New Jersey (New Jersey Ratification), Ohio (Celina), and Oklahoma (Sapulpa).

89. Tarrant, Texas, USA

90. San Antonio, Texas, USA

91. Richland Hills, Texas, USA

92. Alpine County, California, USA
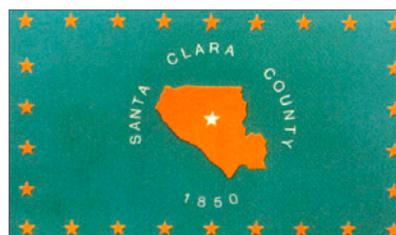
93. Santa Clara County, California, USA

94. Rutland, Massachusetts, USA

95. New Braintree, Massachusetts, USA
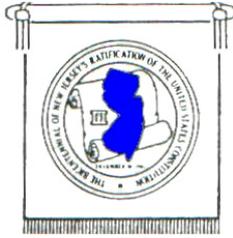
96. New Jersey Ratification, USA

97. Celina, Ohio, USA

98. Sapulpa, Oklahoma, USA

100. Northern Samar, The Philippines

101. Tawi-Tawi, The Philippines

102. Lanao del Sur, The Philippines

103. Surigao del Norte, The Philippines

Philippine Islands

The Philippines has many, many islands; it also has many maps on flags. All provinces consist of islands or parts of islands—a natural shape for a symbol. This could be because there are so many islands in the Philippines, and each is unique. And a way to make a flag a good and unique representation of a province is to put a map of the island on the flag. The flag of Lanao del Sur has a map of both North and South Lanao, possibly because they share the same island. It is the same case for Surigao del Norte, which has a map of Surigao on the island of Mindanao.

99. Romblon, The Philippines

American Indian Tribes

Many American Indian tribes in Canada and the United States are represented by maps of their reservation or state, such as the Cheyenne and Arapaho of Oklahoma, or the Colville Confederated Tribes in Washington. Many Indian tribes may use maps on flags because they have a strong connection with the land, particularly the land that they're occupying. Another reason could be pride; the Indians are proud of their land, and may want to symbolize that pride by putting an outline of their land on their flag (Klamath). A third reason may be that they want to distinguish themselves from the states in which they are located, since they are legally nations at the same governmental level as the United States (Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux). In fact, among American Indian reservation flags with maps on them, more than twice as many depict the reservation itself as depict the state in which they are located.

104. Mille Lacs Band, Ojibwe, Minnesota, USA
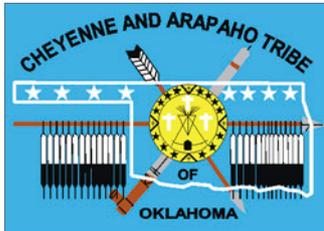
105. Cheyenne and Arapaho
of Oklahoma, USA

106. Colville Confederated Tribes,
Washington, USA

107. Klamath, California, USA

108. Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux,
North & South Dakota, USA

Political Groups

Political groups around the world use maps on flags as symbols, especially in Africa. For example, in Namibia, many are illiterate, and cannot read the ballot in order to vote … like in Florida, in the United States, during our last election! Parties in many countries choose symbols that all people can identify with in a non-written format, such as the outline of Namibia, or the island of Martinique in the Caribbean. A map is both a neutral symbol, and can be understood and recognized by all voters. And if

the party opposes the government, the country's map is a perfect symbol, because it identifies with the people and the country, not the ruling government. In Madagascar, many political parties have maps on their flags – all of which depict the island of Madagascar.

109. Namibian Political Flags

110. Martinique Worker's Party

111. National Party for the Independence of
Madagascar
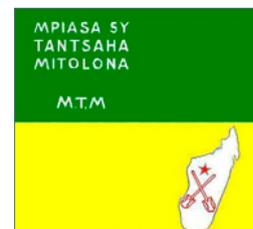
112. Madagascar MTM Party

International Organizations

International organizations use maps on flags because maps can be powerful symbols of cross-border cooperation. Such groups as the World Health Organization use a map of all continents on their flags because it includes everyone on the planet. International organizations that span a continent can use the map of the continent

as a symbol, since it does not favour one country over another, like the flags of the Common Market for Eastern and South Africa (COMESA), or the Inter-Governmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD). Both flags have a map of Africa, with certain countries highlighted in a different colour.

113. World Health Organization

114. Common Market for Eastern and South Africa

115. Inter-Governmental Authority on Drought and Development

Sports Organizations

Sports organizations often use maps on flags because, as international organizations, they should be unbiased and neutral. Worldwide sports organizations that use maps on flags almost always show a map of the entire world. For example, FIFA, the international soccer association, shows two globes in the form of soccer balls. The International Basketball Federation also shows a globe. The European Union of Football Associations uses a map of Europe.

116. International Dance Sport Federation

117. Fédération Internationale de Football Association

118. International Basketball Federation

119. Union Européenne de Football-Association

Dates of Adoption

The use of maps on flags seems to be a recent development. Among the very few whose adoption dates I could determine, most were designed after the Second World War, such as the burgee of the Nantucket Sailing and Wireless Association in Massachusetts, adopted in 1972. However, the earliest mappy flag I found dated to the end of the 19th century, a United States military flag from the Spanish-American War depicting the Philippine Islands.

120. Nantucket Sailing and Wireless Association, Massachusetts, USA

121. Spanish War and Philippine Insurrection

Research Pitfalls

Sometimes it wasn't easy finding mappy flags! I was fooled into thinking that I had hit the mother lode of maps on flags when searching for the word "map" on the Flags of the World website. I found over 500 references to Canadian flags. Unfortunately, this was because of the *map*le leaf on the Canadian flag. Because the word "maple" has the word "map" in it, many, many references to Canadian flags came up. Another one that fooled me was the *Map*uche people in Chile!

122. Canada

123. Mapuche People, Chile

I also want to thank Jim Croft for pointing out two US states whose flags themselves are in the shape of their map: The states of Colorado and Wyoming. Each state has a flag in the shape of its territory!
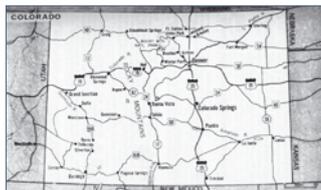
124. Colorado, USA

125. Wyoming, USA

Analysis

What did examining these 370 maps on flags tell me? It seems that there are two major reasons why maps appear on flags: First, a map is a *unique* symbol of a geographic territory that can be used by *any* group or organization. Second, a map is a *neutral* symbol that does not carry the bias that nearly all other symbols might have.

Uniqueness

The outline of a territory is very recognizable—especially to the people it represents, making the map a natural symbol to put on their flag. Also, a map is nearly always a distinctive shape. The possibilities are unlimited when depicting a territory, therefore *any* entity can be represented by its map, making this form of flag design accessible to entities from large to small.

Distinctive

A map's unique silhouette can make a very distinctive symbol. A New Zealand political party uses a white map of the country on a black background. The French department of Ariège uses a green map of its territory outlined in white. Also, the location of a city, for example, on a state map, is unique to that city, such as Republic, Missouri.

126. New Zealand First

127. Ariège, France

128. Republic, Missouri, USA

Recognizable – Popular Symbol

Many places use the outline of their territory as a common image, making the map an instantly recognized symbol. For instance, the flag of the city of Keller uses a map of Texas, a very popular and well-known shape. The *Union Africaine et Malgache* has a red map of Africa outlined in yellow. The flag of the Commander in Chief of UK Forces in the Falkland Islands has a yellow map of the islands outlined in black.

129. Keller, Texas, USA

130. Union Africaine et Malgache
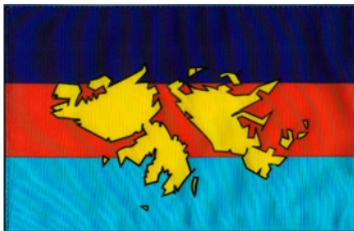
131. Falkland Islands, C-in-C UK Forces

Accessible to Any Size

Every group of people has a distinct map that represents it, therefore any group—no matter the size—can use its map as its symbol. Because the map is accessible to any group, it is often used by the lower political levels, like Howard County, in Maryland, which uses a dark green map of the county. Jura, a French department, uses a blue and green map of its territory. The flag of Aomori, a prefecture of Japan, uses a slightly simplified map in green. The island is actually very close to this shape.
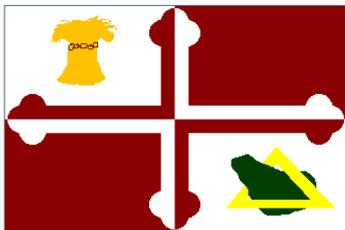
132. Howard County, Maryland, USA

133. Jura, France
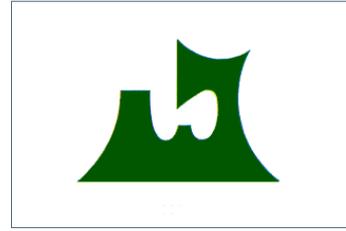
134. Aomori, Japan

Neutrality

A map is also a *neutral* symbol. As a representation of a territory - rather than of an idea, party, or religion - a map is the ultimate symbol without bias. For example, the flag of Cambodia under United Nations administration from 1992-1994 showed a white map of Cambodia on United Nations blue. This was used because it represented only Cambodia; not the Khmer Rouge, not Prince Sihanouk, just Cambodia. Another reason for maps on flags being popular with international organizations is that a map does not favour one country over another. The International Maritime Organization, a United Nations agency, uses this principle of neutrality in its flag.

135. Cambodia (UN Administration 1992-94)

136. International Maritime Organization

A very real and recent example of this is the Korean Olympic Parade flag used in the 2000 Olympics in Sydney, Australia. North and South Korean athletes marched hand in hand, waving a flag with a blue map of Korea on a white background. It was not a map of North Korea, nor one of South Korea, but a map of the entire Korean peninsula. For the Koreans, the map is a common symbol, as well as a unifying symbol. Another example is the flag of the United Nations, which was adopted in 1947 explicitly to be neutral. It is in no way biased, except perhaps in which way the map is turned. The difference between the original unofficial United Nations emblem of 1945 and the current flag is that the map is turned 90 degrees. The Prime Meridian is now vertical, rather than the earlier design that favoured North America.
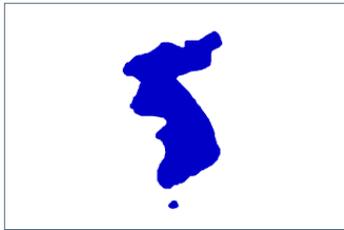
137. Joint Korean Olympic Flag

138. United Nations Badge 1945

139. United Nations Badge 1947

The designers of mappy flags have rarely left explanations of why they chose a map as a graphic element on the flag. However, here are three examples. [Old Cyprus] Whitney Smith has written, "Composed partially of Greek and partially of Turkish populations, Cyprus chose a flag of neutral design and colours when it became independent in 1960."[1] The colour of the map, first in outline and then in solid, represents the copper for which the island has been known since antiquity. [Antarctica] Graham Bartram's proposed flag of Antarctica, likely the most widely known design for the continent, since it is now used in over 1.5 million atlases, was created specifically to have "…no political bias, as to not get into the disputes between the United Kingdom, Chile, and Argentina".[2] [OAU] When designing the flag for the Organization of African Unity, the multinational committee designed a flag which "ignored personal, political, and national jealousy and worked on the symbolism of the flag regardless of the colour or patterns within the individual states".[3]

140. Cyprus – Pre-Independence
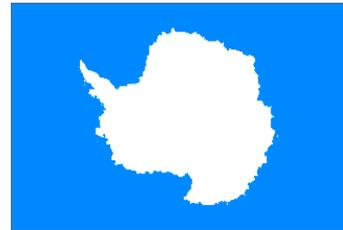
141. Antarctica

142. Organization of African Unity

Favourites

People have asked me what my favourite mappy flags are. One that I especially like is the flag of the fictional Land of Oz. The country itself is rectangular, divided diagonally into four parts, with the capital, The Emerald City, in the centre. The flag of Oz is simply a depiction of the country's map. Among real places, I would say either the Bierzo Party, or the Australian Aboriginal Movement, both for their interesting colour choice and colour placement. But a certain city in Iowa takes the grand prize – Mason City! It happens to be my favourite tribar, too.
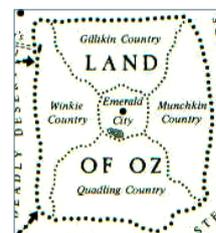
143. Map of Oz

144. Flag of Oz

145. Bierzo Party, Castille and Leon, Spain

146. Australian Aboriginal Movement

147. Mason City, Iowa, USA

Conclusion

My goal in this study was to find as many flags with maps on them as I could, and to see what I could learn from analysing them. I documented over 370 such flags, finding a wide variety in their use across geography, entities represented, and design styles. I concluded many things, but most importantly that maps on flags appear to be used for two major reasons: because they are unique symbols, and because they are neutral symbols.

Acknowledgments

Many people aided me in my search for maps on flags. Such people as the members of the Portland Flag Association, Luc Baronian, Ralph Bartlett, Roberto Breschi, Frederick Brownell, Jim Croft, Peter Edwards, Michael Faul, Jim Ferrigan, Erwin Günther, Kevin Harrington, Donald Healy, Ron Hesson, Rich Kenny, Albert S. Kirsch, Michel Lupant, David Martucci, Philip Nelson, Peter Orenski, Truman G. Pope, John Purcell, Philippe Rault, Ural Wayne Raymond, Whitney Smith, Ron Strachan, Theodoulos Stylianides, Gustavo Tracchia, and Larry Wentworth contributed in many ways. I would also like to thank my father, Ted Kaye, for his inspiration and encouragement of my research, analysis, and preparation for this project and for his generous support for my interest in flags.

Notes

1. Whitney Smith, *Flags and Arms Across the World*, 1980. p. 121.

2. Graham Bartram, http://www.fotw.net/flags/aq!.html

3. Bruce Berry, http://www.fotw.net/flags/oau.html

New Flags for an Ancient Country
Bannieloù nevez evit ur vro gozh

Dr Philippe Rault

Vice-President of la Société Bretonne de Vexillologie (KVV/SBV)
Councillor of the Confederate States Vexillological Association (CSVA)

Introduction

The Breton Vexillological Society (SBV) celebrated five years of existence on 23 June 2001. The XIX International Congress of Vexillology will be the opportunity for us to display to our colleagues from the five continents the results of the efforts made by our society in the matter of vexillological innovations in Brittany.

According to its constitution of 23 June 1996, the SBV determined several objectives in its rules. Besides "assembling the most exhaustive compilation possible of the flags of the towns, countries, associations and institutions in Brittany, past and present" the SBV would devote itself above all to the object of

♦ proposing the creation of vexillographically acceptable flags to the municipalities and institutions of Brittany,

♦ striving with all our force against 'logomania', a true cancer in the vexillography of our country,

♦ to make our contribution to the safeguarding, development and promotion of the Breton national cultural heritage.

If the first of these objectives corresponds to an idea of Vexillology which may be described as passive or contemplative, the others conform to the notion of "vexillologie engagée" or "pro-active vexillology" following the term adopted by our friend and theoretician of our science, Dr Peter Orenski.

Brittany was effectively an independent state for more than a millennium. Victim of the military aggression by the Kingdom of France in 1488, conquered by blood and iron, pillaged and ruined, our country was forcibly annexed as an autonomous province of France in 1532. Then our autonomy itself was unilaterally and illegally abrogated by the revolutionary government in 1789, After more than five centuries of French domination, in spite of, or possibly because of the oppression of Breton nationality and culture under French domination, the last decade has seen a renaissance which can only be described as spectacular. It was in this context of the cultural renaissance of the Breton nation that the SBV was established.

Our objective was to show our compatriots that it was possible for them to provide our countries and communities with flags and emblems, inspired by our national cultural heritage, while also conforming to the graphic rules of Vexillology. We immediately insisted on the need to resist the idea of logos. These are not just harmless graphics. In this context they have the effect, for those in power and who are at best indifferent to. and at worst actively hostile towards. the Breton identity, due to cosmopolitanism and so-called "political correctness", to sever our people from their national roots and supplant their emblems and traditional symbolic foundations by replacing them with designs lacking soul and completely divorced from tradition.

To this we may add that in Brittany (following the example of France proper) 90% of the communities, and towns in particular, lack correct flags, and are more and more afflicted with the imposition of logo-monstrosities, printed on white bed-sheets and covered with illegible inscriptions. In the reverse case of their Spanish, Swiss and (luckiest of all!) Czech counterparts, who live in countries where each town already has a vexillologically perfect flag. Breton vexillologists can do no other than fling themselves, body and soul, into pro-active, militant Vexillology, in an attempt to remedy such an emblematically disastrous situation.

The practical aim of national, pro-active Vexillology on the part of the SBV, is to give Brittany an historically-rooted vexillological iconography. This is summarised in the battle-cry of our society: "Towards an ever-increasingly and better be-flagged Brittany!"

This XIX International Congress provides the occasion to present to you our first achievements in this field.

The Flag of the Bigouden Country

The first success in the matter of good quality vexillological innovation pre-dated the creation of the SBV. This was the design and launch of the flag of the Bigouden Country (*Bro-Vigoudenn*) by Bernard Le Brun, the highly talented vexillographer and heraldist, member of the heraldry commission of the General Council of Finistère and designer of the arms of some fifty communes of that département. It was only natural that at the foundation of the SBV, he assumed the presidency.

If the success of the Bigouden flag is not, strictly speaking, an achievement of the SBV, dating as it does to before our foundation, the fact that it was the work of our future president, and that this achievement is a perfect example of pro-active Vexillology as we conceive that to be, it is only natural to include it in this account,

in so far as, for our society, this episode constitutes the archetype of a well-realised project from which we continually draw inspiration.

The Bigouden Country is part of the province of Cornouaille (*Kernev*). In essence it is a purely cultural unit, defined by a form of traditional dress, characterised by shimmering yellow and orange embroideries on black costumes. It comprises twenty communes, six of which are fishing ports and six holiday resorts. This area has Pont-l'Abbé (*Pont an Abad*) as its capital, and derives its name from the traditional headdress of the women. It has a population of 50,000 strong-minded and enterprising people.

To symbolise this country, at the end of the 1980s, the Association for the Promotion of the Bigouden Country (APPB – an official association of elected local people) chose a disastrous logo-monstrosity (Fig. 1). This was a white background, charged with a sketch of a ship in blue, rigged orange, accompanied by the inscription "PAYS BIGOUDEN" in red. Oddly enough, the sketch of the ship showed it travelling in the direction opposite from that indicated by the billow of the sail. Even among members of the APPB, this design, which appeared on stickers and as a flag, was heavily criticised. In an article entitled "Nil Points for the Bigouden Country Logo", Mr Michel le Roy, member of the cultural commission of the APPB, expressed himself in these terms:

"This Bigouden logo might as well represent Grande Motte (a port on the Mediterranean coast of France). Is the intention to extirpate any reference to Brittany in this sketch? In bowing to modernity, everything resembles everything else. Why single out only the sea as the symbol for the region? No regard is shown for the inland areas, nor for any offence which may be given to them. Who decided on this new emblem?"
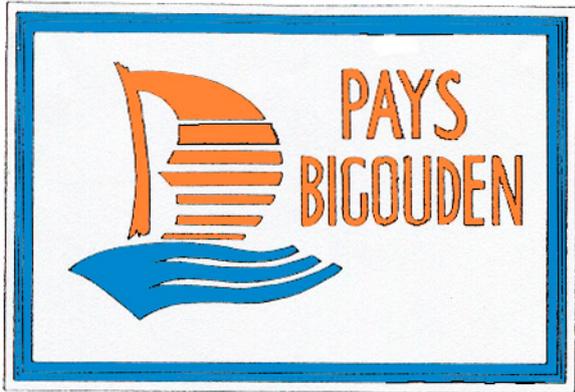
1. First Bigouden Flag

Following on this declaration, Mr Bernard Le Brun was approached by officials of the APPB, to invite him to investigate the creation of a proper flag for the Bigouden Country.

In choosing the colours for the new flag, Bernard Le Brun referred to the livery colours of the arms of Pont l'Abbé (*or a lion gules armed and langued azure*), hence yellow and red. Then he sought the best way of portraying the twenty communes, divided among three cantons.

Bernard had already designed two projects. The first (Fig. 2) was a simple checked field of twenty squares in yellow and red, representing the twenty communes of the area. The other (Fig. 3) was a yellow flag, charged with the red lion of Pont lAbbé towards the hoist, with above and below two red bands each charged with ten spots of yellow counter-ermine. These projects served him as a starting point for further research.
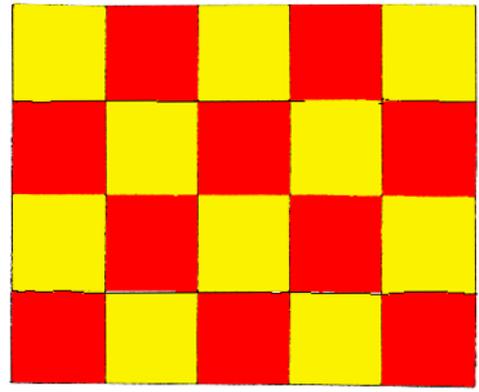
2. Initial Bigouden Idea
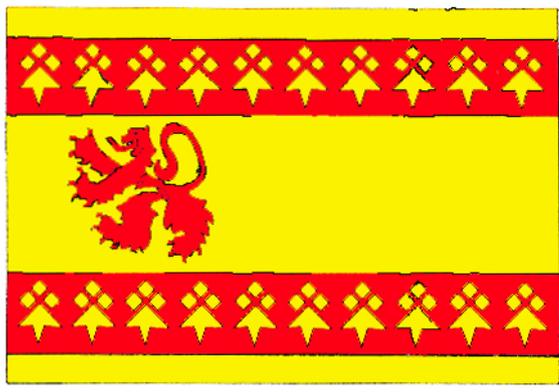
3. Initial Bigouden Idea

In April 1992, three sketches were submitted to the cultural commission of the APPB. The first (Fig. 4) consisted of a yellow flag with three red horizontal stripes, the centre one being broken near the hoist by a red lion passant, girdled by twenty ermine spots also red, arranged in quincunx formation on two circles. The second (Fig. 5) was a yellow flag charged with a red lion girdled by twenty red ermine spots, the entire emblem encircled by three red rings representing the three cantons of the Bigouden Country. The final design (Fig. 6) was a yellow flag in the ratio of 2:3, the hoist third charged with twenty red ermine spots in quincunx, arranged in eight rows of three and two, the remaining two thirds being divided into five horizontal stripes alternately red and yellow. The three red stripes represented the three cantons of the country and the two yellow the two "communities of communes".

4. APPB Submission
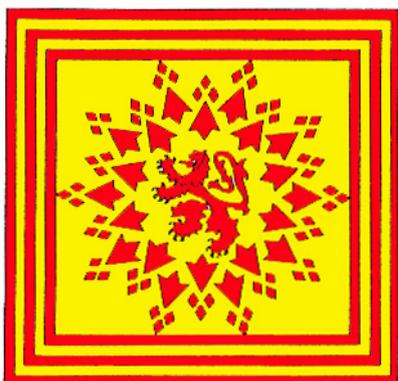
5. APPB Submission
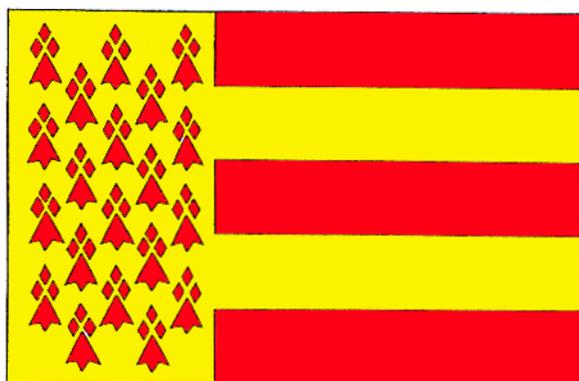
6. APPB Submission

At the end of October 1992, the APPB accepted this final suggestion, but some of the elected members made known their wish to show twenty-three ermine spots. This would have annexed the communes of Guiler, Plonéïs and Gourlizon which, though lacking the Bigouden culture, belonged to the canton of Plogastel Saint Germain, 90% of the territory of which was in the Bigouden Country. The president of the APPB having declared There will be twenty-three ermine spots or there will be no flag, this rapidly became the accepted view. In the general hubbub, other members of the APPB succeeded in demanding that the colour red, which appeared on the arms of Pont lAbbé, be replaced on the flag by orange, taken from the famous embroideries on traditional Bigouden costume.

From this moment there developed a full-scale controversy between the partisans of red and those supporting orange. We should also note that all these happenings were occurring without any consultation with Bernard Le Brun. Nor was he invited to the official conference of November 1992, where the new flag was unfurled and adopted.

This first Bigouden flag (Fig. 7) was produced in 250 copies measuring 1.20 x 1.80m and at first won great success with the local population. Often in company with the Gwenn-ha-Du, the modern Breton national flag, it took part in all the festivals and fairs, flew in front of town halls and many Bigouden businesses, accompanied local folklore groups across France and the wider world, and won its labour credentials on the barricades of the Breton fishermen during the riots of 4 February 1994 in Rennes, where it covered itself with glory. Filmed by the cameras of the world television services on this occasion, it challenged the vexillologists who saw it on their screens. It was mentioned in Flagmaster; it became accepted as something new in Breton vexillology.
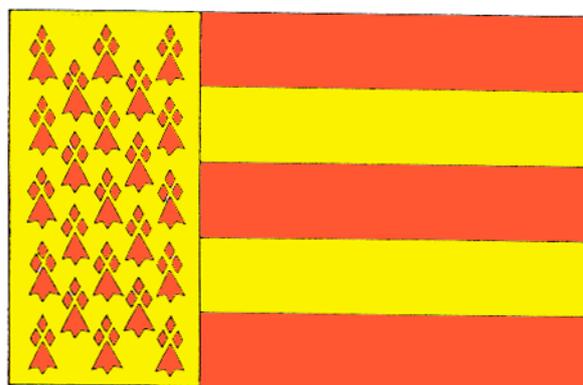
7. November 1992 Flag

Meanwhile, Bernard Le Brun had taken steps regarding the directors of the APPB, to have certain of the decisions revised. On 24 June 1996 (the day after the foundation of the SBV), a meeting of officials of the APPB with Bernard Le Brun, newly invested with the weight of his position as President of the SBV, provided agreement on several points for the development of a second version of the Bigouden flag (Fig. 8).

♦ The red, used in heraldry, would replace the orange, inspired by clothing. Besides it had become evident after two years' experience that the juxtaposition of the orange and yellow provided poor contrast and that this combination was not successful in resisting the ravages of sun and rain.
♦ The unnecessary vertical stroke which divided the field of the flag arbitrarily into two portions 1/3 and 2/3 was removed.
♦ The number of ermine spots would be decided by agreement after consultations with the non-Bigouden communes within the canton of Plogastel, as to whether they wished to be represented on the flag.

Thus was born the present flag of Bigouden (Fig. 8), which has the ratio of 2:3 and is yellow and red. The first third from the hoist is charged with twenty-two ermine spots (the commune of Plonéïs having declined to be represented on the flag) which are arranged in quincunx, in eight rows of alternate numbers of spots, two and three. The remaining two thirds of the field are occupied by five equal horizontal stripes alternating red and yellow.

8. The Flag of the Bigouden Country

We may note for the purpose of this short history, the use at one local festival of a flag simply halved in yellow and red, by an individual who no doubt had been unable to procure a Bigouden flag, due to their having been sold out.

The Flag of Trégor

The creation of flags for the nine traditional Breton countries or bishoprics, none of which possessed one, constituted a major vexillological event, and was the first wide-ranging task to which the young Breton Vexillological Society committed itself at the moment of its foundation.

These nine traditional bishoprics which comprise historic Brittany, constituted provincial divisions, in a country where the life of the inhabitants was centred upon the church: parish, diaconate, archdiaconate, bishopric.

This grand idea took root at the beginning of 1996, in the fertile mind of Yoran Delacour, sales manager of the publisher Coop Breizh in Spézet (*Speied*) Cornouaille. In order to bring back into popularity the idea of the traditional Breton province, as opposed to the French revolutionary *départments*, which were the arbitrary, colonial impositions of an occupying power, Yoran had decided to produce table-top flags, 12 x 18cm of those provinces, and to make them available for sale to the public. They did not exist? So what? Nature abhors a vacuum, as does vexillology. So he invented them!

However, five of these new flags were vexillologically questionable, because they were in fact the heraldic banners of the capitals of the provinces (St Brieuc, St Malo, Vannes, Nantes and Rennes) which really repre-

sented only those towns, rather than the whole of the province. The flag suggested for Trégor (Fig. 9) was just a simplified version of the flag of St Yves (Fig. 10), the armorial banner of the national saint of Brittany, where the engrailed cross had been replaced by a straight-armed cross. St Yves being the patron of all of Brittany, he could not be limited to represent only Trégor, whose patron saint was St Tudwal.
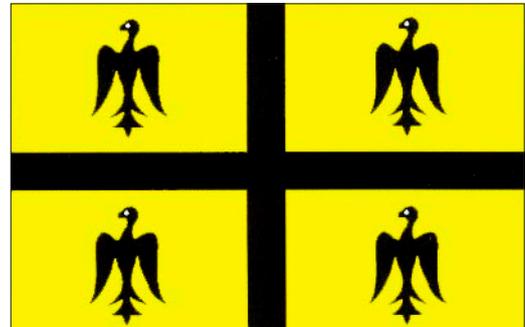
9. Suggested Trégor Flag
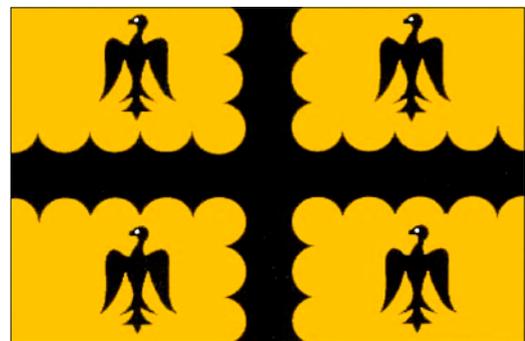
10. Flag of St Yves

The SBV twice assembled a vexillographic commission which, with the collaboration of Yoran Delacour, provided each of the Breton provinces with its own special new flag on 12 January 1997[1]. They would next be produced as table-top flags by Coop Breizh. To the present time, only the flags of Trégor and Léon have been manufactured full-size 1 x 1.50m, the latter by an initiative separate from the SBV. Here we shall present the history of the flag of Trégor.

The suggestion by Yoran Delacour (Fig. 9) was rejected as an inappropriate variation on the flag of St Yves, which is a purely religious flag.

Bernard Le Brun had made an original suggestion (Fig. 11), inspired by the flag of St Yves, very popular in Trégor. He added a charge of a black triple papal cross, with four black ermine spots in the canton. In fact Tudwal, whose surname was Pabu had been called the Holy Father or "*le Pape*" (the Pope) by his flock, hence the papal cross.

11. Le Brun's Suggestion

The SBV preferred another of the suggestions (Fig. 12). This flag was yellow, charged with a black centred cross, with a red wyvern placed overall. The yellow and the black cross were taken from the flag of St Yves, who was a native of Trégor, and the red wyvern was the emblem of St Tudwal, Trégors patron. Later on the design of the red wyvern was revised by the great artist Jakez Derouët, which in turn gave birth to the definitive flag of Trégor (Fig. 13).

12. SBV's Preference

13. Jakez Derouët's Wyvern

Very soon our Trégor-based colleagues in the SBV undertook the mission to produce Trégor flags in 1 x 1.50m size, and to make them available to the public, an indispensable condition if the new emblem were not to be stillborn. At the time of the first Congress of the SBV in Dinard, November 1997, a subscription was initiated, then relayed to the local press and the *Mouvement Breton*. When the number of subscribers was sufficient, a first run of 50 flags was produced.

The inauguration of the new flag was organised under the auspices of the SBV, and forms a perfect example of propaganda for forward-thinking, militant, pro-active Vexillology. A meeting was held in the Festival Hall of Trézélan (Trégor) on 21 March 1998. This was the greatest crowd-drawer of all the SBVs demonstrations. More than 60 participants crowded into the hall, decorated with dozens of flags. The new flag of Trégor was presented to the local press and television. The following day the event was front-page news, complete with colour photograph in the weekly newspaper *Le Trégor*. At midday, the flag was solemnly hoisted on a flagpole 6 metres tall, outside the hall and in public, to the sound of the Breton pipes playing *Hymn to the Flag of Trégor* for the occasion.

This excellent launch certainly contributed to the success which this flag has had among the public of Trégor. The Trégor flag is now well-known and rooted in Breton cultural life.

The burgee of the Yacht Club of Tréguier/Landreger, the capital of Trégor is based on the design of the Trégor flag (Fig. 13a). It consists of a white triangular pennant with a black cross, recalling the ancient Breton marine ensign, with a yellow canton charged with the red wyvern of St Tudwal. This too was a great success with the public. It measures 30 x 50cm.
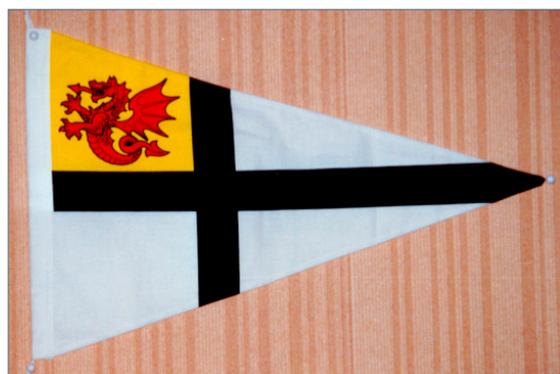
13a Yacht Club of Tréguier/Landreger

Another interesting initiative by the SBV was to have produced in flags of 1 x 1.50 m the armorial banner of Brittany, the Simple Ermine (Fig. 14) which until then had been unavailable, and which also enjoyed great success. This historic flag, the personal banner of our Dukes is used to render them homage on many occasions, for example to commemorate in flags the birthday of our glorious Duchess Anne (25 January 1476).

14. Simple Ermine

The Flag of the Town of Dinard

Dinard "Pearl of the Emerald Coast", "the most beautiful coastal site in Europe" was in origin simply the port outlet for the parish of Saint-Enogat, situated in the Country of St Malo on the left bank of the estuary of the river Rance. This particularly enchanting place, blessed by the Gulf Stream with a micro-climate of sub-tropical type, was noted during the Second Empire for several wealthy business-men, who built sumptuous, Victorian-style villas there. Within a few decades a great spa, famous internationally, had been built. Until 1914, this was the most celebrated (and the most expensive!) seaside resort in Europe, well before Deauville and St Tropez became famous.

It was in 1996 that my friend, Dr Marius Mallet, mayor of Dinard, asked for a meeting with our Society, to launch a new flag for his town. The only requirement was that the flag must include a bear, commemorating King Arthur, who was the origin of the town's name: The Fort of the Bear (*Dinarthù*) which came to be in Breton successively *Dinarth* and *Dinarzh* and then in French *Dinart*, transformed alas in the XIX century into *Dinard*.

The work of the SBV developed in three phases. The Society first presented the municipality with an initial series of nine suggestions. True to his reputation as the premier vexillographer of Brittany, our President, Bernard Le Brun submitted seven of them.

The first two had been designed before M. Mallet made his request, and did not include a bear. The first (Fig. 15) reproduced the armorial banner of the Priory of Dinard, green with a cross ermine and with a yellow castle in the canton, representing the Din Arthù. The other (Fig. 16), a simple variant on the first, placed the yellow castle in the centre of the cross.
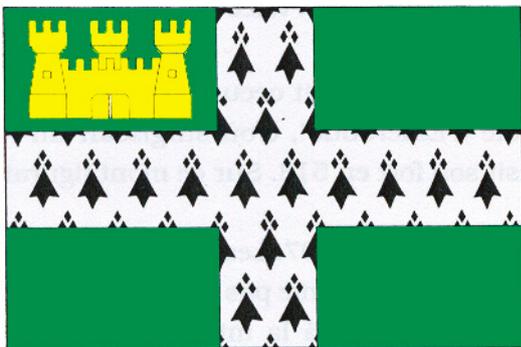
15. Initial Idea
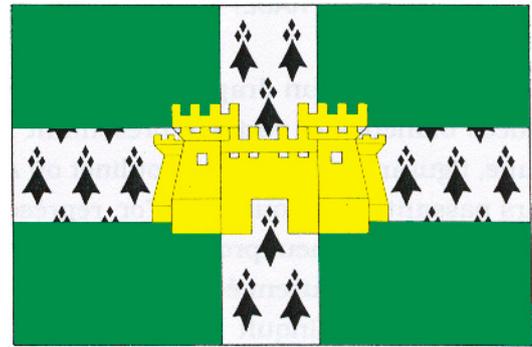
16. Initial Idea

The third suggestion (Fig. 17) charged the same armorial banner with a black bear rampant, having yellow claws and surmounted by a yellow mural crown. The crowned bear represented King Arthur. Placing the black bear on the ermine cross was an unfortunate choice, as it visually mingled with the black ermine spots. Changing its colour to ochre was considered.

17. Initial Idea

The next suggestion (Fig. 18) reversed the arms of the Priory of Dinard into an ermine flag with a green cross. More precisely, it consisted of a white flag with a green cross and charged with five black ermine spots in each quarter, the cross in turn charged with a yellow bear rampant surmounted by a yellow mural crown.

18. Initial Idea

The fifth offering (Fig. 19) returned to the traditional armorial banner, with the addition of a gold bear rampant in the first quarter, and a gold castle in each of the other three, evoking the three crowns on the attributed arms of Arthur. These were blue with three gold crowns, because he was king of the "Three Britains" – "Lesser Britain" (Brittany), Great Britain and Scotland.
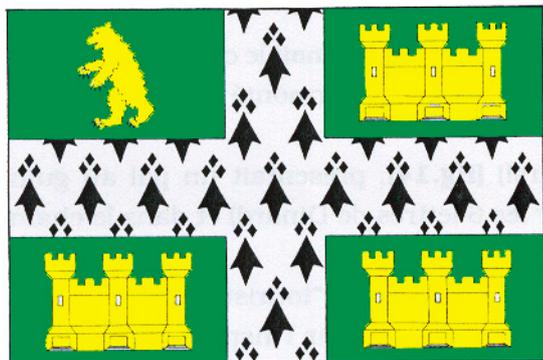
19. Initial Idea

Bernard Le Brun's last two suggestions (Figs 20 and 21) offered a modernised version of Dinard's armorial banner. This was a green flag with a white cross off-centred to both hoist and upper edge and bearing nine black ermine spots, with a yellow castle in the second quarter and a bear in the fourth. As the polar bear in Fig 20 was incompatible with the subtropical climate of Dinard, a preferable alternative was in Fig 21, with the bear made yellow , and passant in the style of the bear of the Canton of Berne.
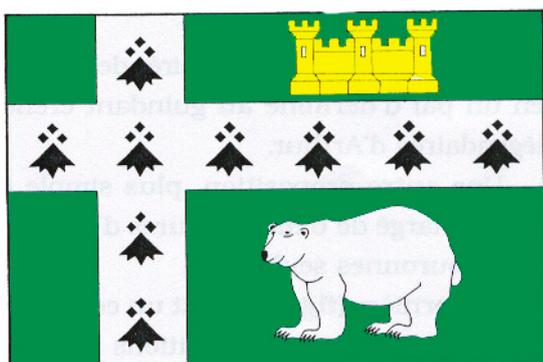
20. Le Brun's Final Ideas
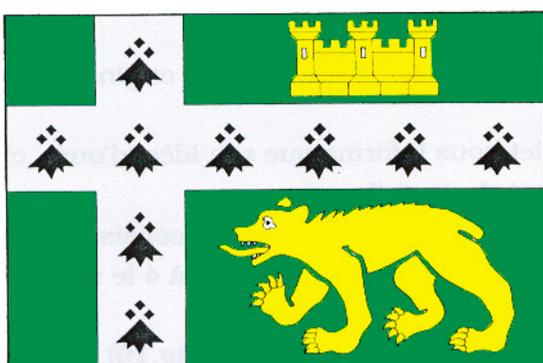
21. Le Brun's Final Ideas

Yet another suggestion was offered (Fig. 22). This had no bear, but rather the constellation of "The Great Bear", also known as "Arthur's Chariot". This is what Arthur used to cross the sea and come to Dinard, which he liberated from the Freisian pirates in the spring of AD 513. The stars were made into ermine spots, the figure of seven referring also to the seven letters in the name "Dinarzh," and the six waves representing the six letters

of "Dinard". More prosaically, the Great Bear symbolised the north (in this case the north of Brittany) and the waves showed the sea, the pride of Dinard. The yellow and blue colours recalled the assigned arms of Arthur.
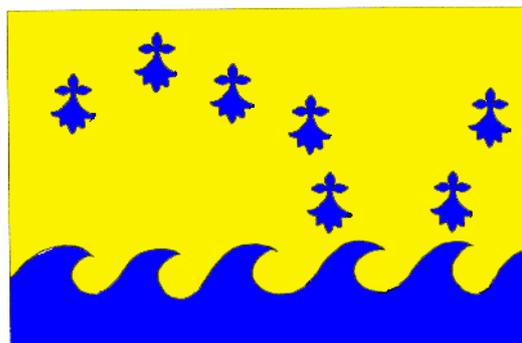
22. Arthur's Chariot Design

I offered a personal suggestion (Fig. 23) which attempted to symbolise the etymology of Dinard. This was a sky-blue flag, the lower third of which consisted of four wavy horizontal lines in white and green, symbolising the sea and the "Emerald Coast", from which arose a yellow mountain, representing the Point du Moulinet where Arthur built his fort in AD 513. On this mountain appeared an ochre bear *passant*, symbolising Arthur.

23. Author's Design

I submitted these nine suggestions to the mayor of Dinard in the spring of 1997. The seven suggestions of Bernard Le Brun were set aside with the comment: "At any rate, I do not like green." Divi Kervella's offering did not convince M. Mallet, who still preferred his bear. As for mine, he summed it up with the remark, "This one is a flag for a carnival!" At the end of this first phase, we were right back where we had started.

Later, two new ideas occurred to me. The first, which I called the "tourist inspiration" was to give Dinard a flag of blue and white stripes, in the style of the beach tents, sunshades and awnings of the town. In an attempt to create uniformity, since his arrival in the post of Mayor in 1989, Marius Mallet had made the blue and white stripes which appeared on all these textile items the new colours of the town. Blue and yellow were the (admittedly legendary) colours of Arthur, so a crowned black bear rampant should appear at the hoist on a yellow field. As

the number of blue and white stripes had no meaning, I chose an even number, to avoid any suggestion that they were a specific number, and framed them with two dark stripes. A striped field of ten seemed to me the most aesthetic, otherwise the stripes would be too fine. The striped field also symbolised the sea, while the yellow hoist section stood for the magnificent sandy beaches at Dinard, and also the sun which gilds them in summer. For the sake of originality, I suggested a wavy line to separate the yellow hoist and the stripes of the fly (Fig. 24) as an additional reference to the sea. Alternatively the separation could be arched (Fig. 25).

24. Author's Design

25. Author's Design

The other idea, which I called the "historic inspiration" came to me in considering the flag of the town of Dinan, which is red with a yellow castle and an ermine chief (upper horizontal stripe). I thought of a blue flag charged with a crowned yellow bear passant, and an ermine chief "embattled" (Fig. 26). The embattling recalled the legend of Din Arthù.

26. Author's Design

Bernard Le Brun, who had been kind enough to draw all these suggestions, added three more to them. The first, (Fig. 27), inspired by my last suggestion, changed the ermine chief embattled into an ermine pale at the staff, with a crenellated edge; the bear was crowned with three legendary crowns of Arthur.
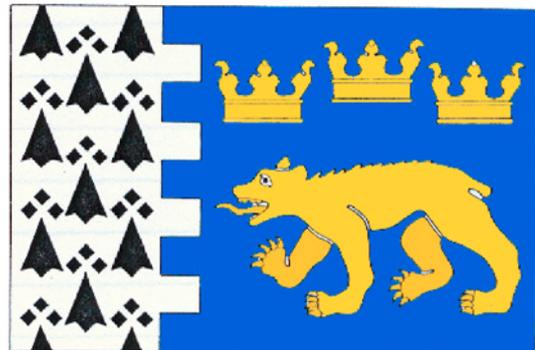
27. Bernard Le Brun's Design

Another suggestion, simpler but without the bear (Fig. 28), offered a white pale at the hoist charged with six black ermine spots (for the six letters of "Dinard"), and with the field bearing only the three crowns. The last suggestion (Fig. 29), was a compromise between the "tourist" and "historic" inspirations.
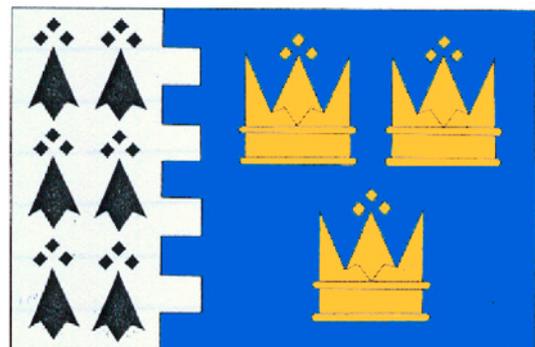
28. Bernard Le Brun's Design

29. Bernard Le Brun's Design

I offered these suggestions to M. Mallet in the summer of 1997 and he chose the "tourist inspiration", to be precise, Fig 24. He asked that the separation between the yellow field and the striped fly be straight, that the crown be placed above the head of the bear, rather than directly upon it, and that the bear itself be redrawn. The upshot of this phase was that the SBV had succeeded in

selling an acceptable design to the mayoralty of Dinard.

The third phase, which consisted in the restatement of the details of the bear, was entrusted to our colleague and friend, Jakez Derouët, a professional stylist. His first bear (Fig. 30) had the advantage of being unique, dynamic, thoroughbred and original, but it was judged as too frightening and aggressive. It had to be made a bit more "smoothed out" (Fig. 31) but M. Mallet told us that his ideal bear was that of the city of Berlin. We would have to delete its "virile" attributes. Thus, inspired by the Berlin bear (designed by Dr Ottfried Neubecker)(Fig. 32) the final modifications consisted in giving the animal a less curved form, in eliminating the white lines and reducing the number of points on the crown from 5 to 4.

30. Jakez Derouët's First Bear

31. Smoother Bear

32. Final Bear

At this juncture, the town of Dinard found itself the possessor of a truly successful flag (Fig. 33), of which it could truly be proud. It was hoisted for the first time on the seafront on 8 July 1998 and received great popular acceptance thereafter. It thus replaced the old municipal flag (Fig. 34), derived from the armorial banner by the addition of four red pales in each quarter, which was un-heraldic and for which no-one could provide an explanation. Moreover the unfortunate ermine spots on the cross were weirdly halved black and white, giving the impression of "half-spots". The Celtic Circle of Dinard itself, used a true armorial banner (Fig. 35) or more precisely a green flag with a white cross charged with eleven black ermine spots.

33. The Flag of Dinard
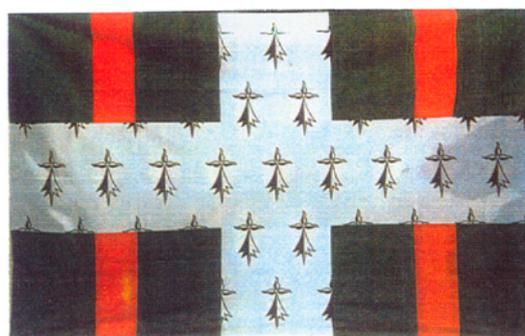
34. The Old Flag of Dinard
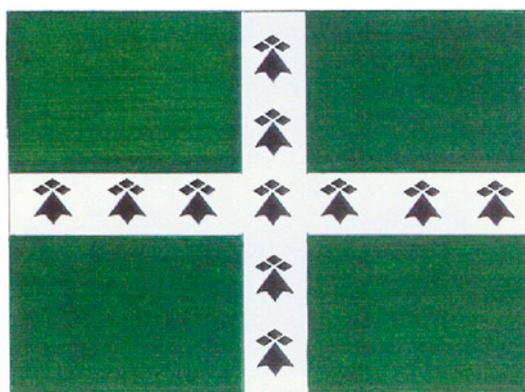
35. Celtic Circle of Dinard

The concept and the creation of the flag of Dinard was the first great victory of the SBV in its attempt to endow the Breton collectivities with identity-giving flags, as opposed to the logo-monstrosities then in fashion.

The Flag of Breton Youth

On 8 June 1997, some of our colleagues who were participating at Bains sur Oust in the commemoration of the battle of Ballon[2] were struck by the presence at the time of a hand-made flag, reproducing the Flag of

Breton Youth (*Banniel Yaouankiz Breizh*), of the old Breton National Party (Fig. 36). This flag, painted on cloth, was nevertheless incorrect, in terms of the black cross being placed centrally and the left-hand rotation of the triskell[5]. The idea occurred to some of us to revive this flag, fallen into oblivion, yet which remains one of the most attractive successes of Breton vexillography.

36. Hand-made Breton Youth Flag

It was in 1941 that the Breton National Party (PNB) created a youth movement, which would function at the behest of the party. It was named *Bagadoù Stourm* (BS – Combat Units). They were under the command of Yann Goulet, a fine-arts student and future well-known sculptor, who in the 1970s in Ireland, would become the spokesman for the Breton Liberation Front (FLB).

The flag of the *Bagadoù Stourm* (Fig. 37) was an off-centred black cross, in the centre of which appeared a right-hand rotating triskell in yellow-orange, placed on a black, white-bordered disc. The black cross was cotised with a narrow yellow-orange line (at least that is how we thought of it originally). The entire design was placed on a white field. Yann Goulet and Célestin Laine, who designed this flag, may have been inspired by the *Reichskriegsflagge* of the *Wehrmacht*, hence the off-centred cross.
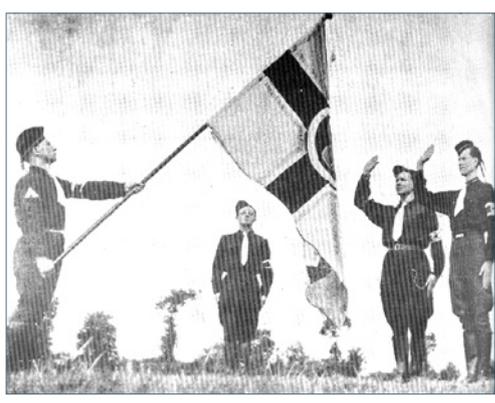
37. *Bagadoù Stourm*

This "Flag of Youth" was officially adopted and presented on 7 September 1941 at the time of the Congress of the activists of the PNB. Contemporary photographs show the home-made character of these flags, which were certainly painted. The size of the cross arms, the discs and the triskells differ from one flag to the next. In addition in the depiction of the triskell, the branches spiral to a greater or lesser extent. The yellow-orange colour on these flags, original to Breton Vexillology, could have been inspired by some Breton Costumes, notably those of Bigouden.

The central disc on the flag, bearing the triskell, was in fact an exact reproduction of the reverse of the badge of the PNB (Fig. 38). This badge was 15cm in diameter.

38. Triskell

As was the custom among most of the political parties in Europe in the 1930s and 1940s (and not only among the fascist-style parties) the *Bagadoù Stourm* wore a complete uniform also designed by Goulet and Lainé. Despite appearances, neither the PNB nor the BS was a fascist group. Throughout the war, the PNB tried to walk the line of neutrality between the German Army and the French Resistance.

Before proceeding to the resurrection of the flag, so aesthetic in form and so charged with emotion for many Breton Nationalists, it was necessary to redefine the design, a difficult task which was entrusted to a talented professional designer. Taking as a starting point the contemporary photographs, the exact proportions of the flag were re-created. The details of the triskell were derived from the badge of the PNB. The result more than matched our hopes (Fig. 39). Regarding the shade of yellow on the triskell and the cotising of the cross, some sources referred to "yellow" and others to "orange", so it was decided to strike the happy medium and accept "yellow-orange", Pantone PMS 123.
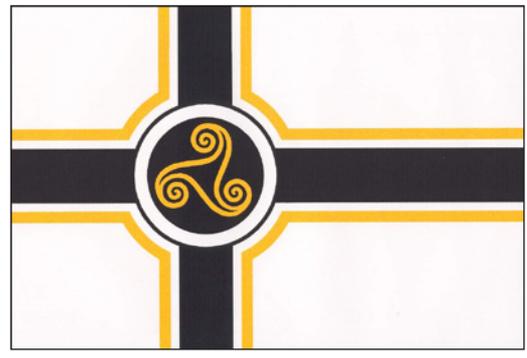
39. Redesign Breton Youth Flag

More recently a doubt has intruded regarding the exact shade of colour of the cotises. We first thought that it should be identical with that of the triskell, basing this on the colour plate published by Bernard Frelaut in his book *The Breton Nationalists 1939-1945* (1985), and also on more indirect pieces of evidence. In his recent work *The Breton Nationalists Under the Occupation* (January 2001), Kristian Hamon quotes an article from the PNB weekly journal *L'Heure Bretonne* (Brittany Today), published on 13 September 1941, which reported on the presentation of this flag during the Congress which had occurred six days previously. It states: The *Bagadoù Stourm* now have their own flag, besides the already popular *Gwenn-ha-Du*. This flag of our youth, with a black cross, a yellow triskell and blue stripes is eye-catching." So finally, was the cotising yellow-orange or blue. An historic investigation is now in progress, the result of which will be published in a future issue of *Ar Banniel*.

Be that as it may, a subscription was launched to produce a first issue of 140, in June 1999. This flag is today enjoying a second youth, especially among the militants of the Right-wing Breton nationalist party Adsav! (Rebirth). At least the flags of the Breton Youth now seen at the commemoration of Ballon (Fig. 40) are historically and vexillographically accurate (at least so we hope, while awaiting more complete evidence).

40. Commemoration of Ballon

Notes:

2   Ballon - the great victory of the Breton King Nevenoù over the Frankish army of Charles the Bald in June 845 AD, which established the independence of Brittany for seven centuries.

3   Cf the article "Aerial views of Ballon" in *Ar Banniel* No 4, page 8.

The Flag of the Commune of Le Juch

Wanting to give its centenary a degree of pageantry, the little commune (600 inhabitants) of Le Juch/*Ar Yeuc'h* in western Cornouaille, near Douarnenez, decided to organise a series of festivities, over seven days, the starting point of which would be Sunday, 4 April 1999, the first day of this memorial week. The high water mark of these festivities would be the presentation and consecration of a flag representing Le Juch. But this flag had yet to be created.

The idea originated with M Yves L'abbé, municipal councillor of Le Juch and director of the prestigious Breton cultural review *Ar Men* (The Rock). He telephoned me to my home to ask me to create a flag for his commune. I at once put him in contact with Bernard Le Brun, and things progressed rapidly, thanks to the excellent cooperation which existed between these two citizens of Lower Cornouaille.

Le Juch, a very ancient and important barony had for long used the arms of its feudal lords, who had disappeared around the end of the 15th century. The arms were blue with a white lion rampant, with red claws and tongue. This heraldic animal was retained unchanged as the basis of the future emblem.

The first idea presented (Fig. 41) took the whole of the local arms, off-setting the lion towards the hoist. The second (Fig. 42) adopted the principal that if the lion rampant fitted the form of a shield, a lion couchant might better suit the horizontal format of a flag.
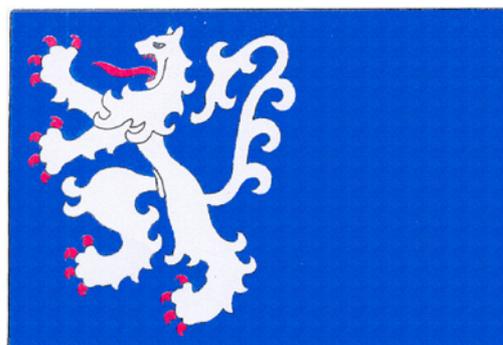
41. Initial Idea
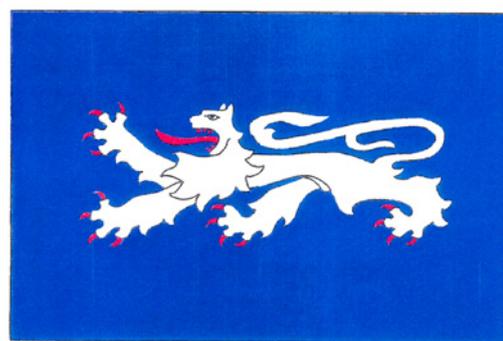
42. Initial Idea

The last two ideas (Figs 43 & 44) allowed themselves rather more imagination, in particular by the use of the cross and the introduction of black ermine spots, originally with no special meaning on the part of the designer.

43. Initial Idea
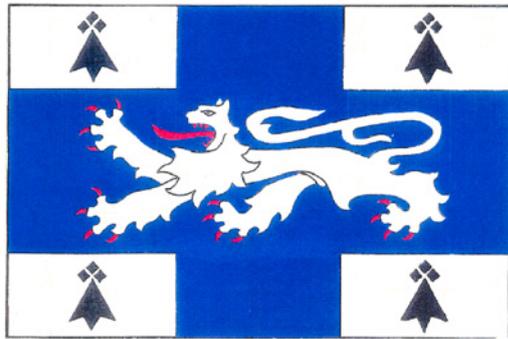
44. Initial Idea

Finally the municipal council, presided over by M. R. Cloarec, the mayor, chose the third suggestion which embodied, in their opinion the most local symbols. This was the commune's shield superimposed on a cross which evoked (the council considered) the participation of the Barons of Le Juch in the first Crusades The blue cross was blue, to conform with Le Juch belonging to the Glazik country (where the men wear a traditional costume of blue). The number of ermine spots which flanked the cross indicated the four quarters which comprised the commune. (That was lucky!)

We should mention here that, when Bernard Le Brun designed the future flag of Le Juch, he allowed himself to be guided solely by his artistic flair, without allotting specific symbolism to the various elements of the flag:- municipal shield in the centre (classic positioning), a cross (why not?) in blue (from the field of the arms) and four ermine spots (because there were four quarters to fill and the ermine spot is Bernard's graphic signature). What was remarkable was that afterwards the municipal council were able to find a local meaning for each of these elements.

The wish of a great number of the inhabitants to possess the communal emblem and to make it known, urged the municipality to request Bernard to provide the pattern for a vertical banner, 12 x 18cm, which could be used to decorate the interior of the cars of the inhabitants (Fig. 45). The first convincing result of this initiative was seen on the day of the flag's inauguration, when the streets of the town appeared beautifully decorated with garlands formed by these banners.

45. Vertical Banner

On the day of the inauguration, the new flag was the pivotal point and the star of the festivities. Solemnly carried by eight small children of the commune, it was borne through the streets of the town, before being hoisted in front of the Town Hall amid scenes of great emotion. The first output of these 1.20 x 1.80m flags was soon sold out, so successful was its reception by the population. The Le Juch flag also flies proudly before the Town Hall in the city of Périgord, France, which is twinned with Le Juch. We may hope that it will make the Périgordians jealous and give them some good ideas for a flag of their own.

The matter of the flag of Le Juch was a model of its type. There was perfect cooperation between the elected representatives (highly motivated!) with the experts, speed and quality of decision-making, an excellent introduction and the active involvement of the population. It was a most successful example of pro-active vexillology. It was a total success largely due to the presence of a patriot who was competent in the field right in the municipal council – the opposite of the flag of Winchester, Massachusetts, USA.[4].

Note:

4   See the article by Peter Orenski in No 200 of *Flag Bulletin* for the incredible story of the flag of this town where Dr Whitney Smith lives.

The Raga Breizh

In September 1996 a movement of young Bretons was established, with the name of *Breizh Positive*. Its ambition is to "raise high the colours of a Brittany which ultimately will be free, equal and fraternal" with a programme based on "defence of the language, federalism, interdependent economy, collective enterprise". One of its slogans was "Give colours to the *Gwenn-ha-Du*." This is why the members adopted as their emblem the *Raga Breizh*, also called *Breizh Liesliv* (Multicoloured Brittany), which had already been used since 1994 by the Breton student association *Dazont* (The Future).

It consisted of a *Gwenn-ha-Du* in which the five black stripes were replaced by bands of different colours. From top to bottom these were yellow, red, violet, blue and

green (although this order was variable). Yellow symbolised the richness of the Breton language and culture; red was for the struggles for social equality and solidarity; violet represented equality between the sexes; blue was for democracy and Europe; green symbolised ecology. This flag was inspired by that of the Basque party, *Herri Batasuna*, in which the original red and green of the Basque flag is replaced by the colours of the rainbow.

To the present, this flag exists only on stamps and as home-made flags, rough and ready, painted onto cloth (Fig. 46). There is one exception, a giant *Raga Breizh* of 6 x 9m, used in demonstrations (Fig. 47).

46. Example *Raga Breizh*

47. Giant *Raga Breizh*

During its 3rd Congress held at Dinard in October 1999, the SBV launched the idea of a small subscription for the making of sewn flags. The creation of eleven flags 1.20 x 1.80m was entrusted to our friend Robin Ashburner, owner of Flagmakers of Abertawe, Wales, who was present at Dinard with a delegation from the Flag Institute. Breton flag-makers seem not to stock violet material. This allows me to show a flag which is vexillographically successful and which deserves its success (Fig. 48).

48. The *Raga Breizh*

The Flag of Poher

Le Poher/*Poc'hêr* or Upper Cornouaille is an ancient subdivision of the former bishopric of Quimper. It has had no legal existence since 1789 and its territory is divided among three *départements*.

Bernard Le Brun originated the idea for a flag of Le Poher, three months before the SBV was even founded. Shortly after the great success of the launch of the flag of the Bigouden Country, he had the idea to repeat the exploit in favour of Le Poher, situated in the centre-west of Brittany.

On 15 March 1996 he sent a letter to M. Jean-Pierre Jeudy, former mayor of Carhaix, the historic capital of Le Poher. In this, taking the example of the success of the Bigouden flag, he considered "that it would be a good thing, helping to re-group all the local energies, if the entire region, at the time suffering difficulties, were to group around a flag of Le Poher." With this he offered two designs, which he explained in these terms:

"In these two sketches, the starting-point of the designs is the arms of the lordship of Le Poher, endowed by the Kings and Counts of Cornouaille, blazoned red, with two gold lions passant having red claws and tongues. The remainder of the design elements conform to the colours of the arms, and affirm the unity of this region with the whole of Brittany.

"Suggestion 1 (Fig. 49): lions *passant* of Le Poher occupy the field of a red flag, augmented at the hoist with a yellow triangle, the height being half the base, charged with an elongated ermine spot. Symbolism: two lions, one country.

49. Suggestion 1

"Suggestion 2 (Fig. 50): on a yellow field, three rows of six red ermine spots are partly overlain by a red triangle, the base of which is the hoist and which extends to the centre of the fly, charged with two gold lions *passant*. Symbolism: Le Poher is a region set in the centre of Brittany."

50. Suggestion 2

Despite a polite answer from M. Jeudy, this suggestion was shelved, as with so many others offered to our elected representatives.

Shortly after the establishment of the SBV, Bernard presented me with his numerous and talented vexillographic projects and, as a native and resident of Le Poher, the idea of a flag for my region attracted me. For me this was not simply a vexillological exercise, with the idea of creating a new flag to further enrich Breton symbology, but also, and above all, an act of militant Breton culture, so as to participate in the renewal of a 15-century-old country, abolished de jure by the French state since 1789 and chopped up between three *départements*, which had not been without negative impact on local life. We wanted to join in the rebirth of our true identity as citizens of Le Poher and as Bretons, and also to oppose the idea of the '*département*', a French-imposed arbitrary, colonial division, and an unnecessary subdivision, obsolete and incompatible with the development of the European structure.

The name Le Poher derives from the old Pou Caer, or "Country of the Fortress"; the fortress being Carhaix/Karaez. It was an ancient possession of the Counts of Cornouaille, a former archdiaconate of the bishopric of Quimper, and so has a rich history. Le Poher was for long the vital, prosperous and active centre of Breton culture. The area has also been faced with a whole series of quite specific problems, the solutions to which can only be found in the recognition of a local identity. These have included rural desertification, the threat of loss of employment and others. Reason enough to see the flags of Le Poher flying in all the aspects of this ancient country, to crystallise this renewed identity and to give it a strong emblem.

Of Bernard's two offerings, the second (Fig. 50) was for me a case of love at first sight. It was more original and of more appropriate symbolism than the first, which I thought too banal and looking far too much like the Norman armorial banner of two gold leopards on red. Coop Breizh had already produced table-top flags of Le Poher in 1997. It remained to launch the flag in full-size so as to endow it with a more realistic existence. During the III Congress of the SBV, we decided to organise a subscription to enable the production of the flag in 1 x 1.50m size. I was the chief organiser of the whole operation, and found inspiration in the success of the launch of the flag of Trégor.

My first step was to organise a press conference at the Tourist Information Bureau in Carhaix, to present the project and to find subscribers. Held in the presence of Bernard on 25 November 1999, this presentation had excellent coverage in the local press. Despite the tens of thousands of readers of these newspapers and a report on local radio, the net catch of the operation was only three subscribers. With a great deal of difficulty, the target of 50 subscribers was reached at the end of January 2000, and we decided to have 100 flags made. The colours chosen were PMS 032 red and PMS 116 yellow.

On Sunday, 19 March 2000, the official launch of the flag of Le Poher took place in Rostrenen (Fig. 51). The new flag was hoisted in the central square on a seven-metre flagpole, erected in front of the press office, with the permission of the owner. Facing a score of SBV militants, I delivered a speech in Breton, in which I recalled the import of this initiative. The speech was broadcast the following day on Radio Kreiz Breizh in the course of a full report on the event.

51. Launch in Rostrenen

Despite all this media exposure, the take-off of the new flag was decidedly slow. Local societies did not see fit to associate themselves with the idea, which was a pity. This resulted in a very modest start for this new emblem, among a population which had largely forgotten its history and which as yet did not see the interest and usefulness of this initiative.

"Nothing great has a great beginning" – William of Orange

The *Melen-ha-Gwer* & *Gwenn-ha-Ruz*

The great advantage of the modern striped Breton flag called *Gwenn-ha-Du* is that, while retaining the essential form but employing different colours, it is possible to create a whole series of new flags representing specific causes and bearing precise messages. One such example is the *Raga Breizh*. There is also a Breton flag in the colours of the European Union, yellow ermine spots on a blue canton and nine stripes alternating blue and yellow, thus showing a clear message (Fig. 52).
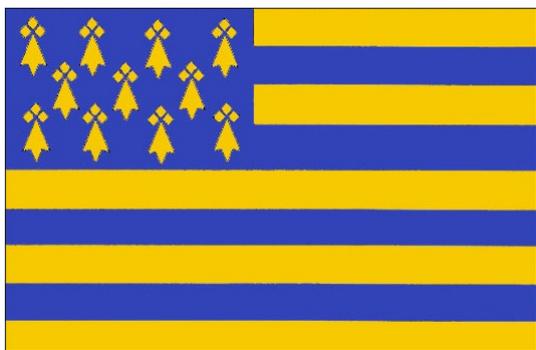
52. European Breton Flag

The *Melen-ha-Gwer* (yellow and green) (Fig. 53) was invented some years ago by a group of supporters of the Football Club of Nantes, whose colours are yellow and green, and whose football shirts have vertical yellow and green stripes. This flag existed only on stamps. Not only was this perfect as an emblem for the supporters of FC Nantes, but it served also as a battle flag for the return of the city of Nantes to the Region of Brittany.
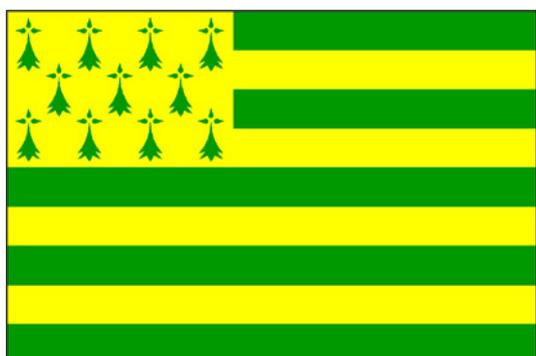
53. The *Melen-ha-Gwer*

In fact Nantes, the historic capital of the ancient and sovereign Duchy of Brittany, had been arbitrarily severed from the Region of Brittany by the French State in 1941, to become the capital of an artificial region, created out of a hotchpotch of territories and called the "Pays de la Loire".

In the summer of 2000, our SBV colleagues from the Nantes Country took the initiative to give real life to the *Melen-ha-Gwer*. After contacting numerous Breton cultural and political associations in the Nantes area, they organised a subscription to produce a first print of 200 *Melen-ha-Gwer* flags in 1 x 1.50m in size. These were made by our friend, Yann Le Mée. This initiative was rapidly crowned with success, as the first 200 flags sold like hot cakes, and a second batch was produced.

The eleven ermine spots in the canton could here symbolise the eleven players in a football team. This flag satisfied a real need on the part of the supporters of FC Nantes, who were not satisfied with just the *Gwenn-ha-Du*, common to the whole of Brittany. Nor was the *Gwenn-ha-Du* recognised in the official FC Nantes shop, which was completely commercial and downright hostile to everything Breton. Since the coming on the scene of the *Melen-ha-Gwer*, hundreds of supporters go to the stadium with a personal flag which answers the slogan: "Brittany is yellow and green!" This flag effectively answers, with a powerful symbol, those in the so-called "Pays de la Loire" who seek to use FC Nantes as a tool of anti-Breton propaganda.

Through its form (that of the *Gwenn-ha-Du*) and its colours (those of FC Nantes), the *Melen-ha-Gwer* is not only the flag of the FC Nantes supporters. It is the best vexillological indication of the Breton character of Nantes and the fact that the département of Loire-Atlantique belongs by right to Brittany. Thanks to the initiative of the SBV, it will soon be visible in football stadiums, showing to millions of television viewers the indisputable fact that the Nantes country belongs to Brittany.

The *Gwenn-ha-Ruz* (white and red) is the emblem of the Breton trade union *Labour e Breizh* (Work in Brittany). It consists of a modern Breton flag, in which the ermine spots and black stripes are replaced by red, symbolising social claims. Several hand-made flags, painted on white cloth were seen in demonstrations. An artist captured the graphic significance of this flag (Fig. 54) and gave it a canton of the ermine plain, semé of ermine spots, symbolising the unnumbered mass of demonstrators following the trade union.
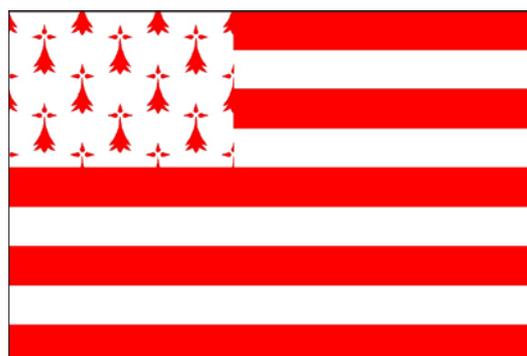
54. The *Gwen-ha-Ruz*

The Flag of the Retz Country

Situated just south of the Loire and bordered in the west by the Atlantic Ocean, the Retz country was conquered from the Frankish Kingdom by the Breton King Erispoù in 851 after the Breton military victory at Beslé. It was ceded to the Kingdom of Brittany by the Frankish King, Charles the Bald in the Treaty of Angers in 851 (which remains legally binding). The local population, comprising Gaulish Picts, closely related both culturally and linguistically to the conquering Bretons, had no problem integrating with the Breton nation, of which it formed part for eleven centuries. In 1941 the French State separated the département of Loire-Atlantique (which includes Retz) from Brittany, but the Breton feeling of the inhabitants remains strong, considering that in 2000 during a poll, two thirds of them declared themselves to be Bretons and demanded their reunion with the Breton region.

The Retz country possesses very ancient arms, gold

with a black cross and a banner of yellow with a black cross centred on the field. This was never much used. In 1996, Breton cultural militants of the Retz country decided to create a new flag for their country, which would permit them to reaffirm that Retz belonged to Brittany. At the end of that year, this flag was produced as a table-top flag 12 x 18cm, by the publisher Coop Breizh. Inspired by the flag of Nantes, it was a white flag, charged with a black fimbriated cross, with a canton of the arms of Retz and in the three remaining quarters four black ermine spots placed in a lozenge (Fig. 55).
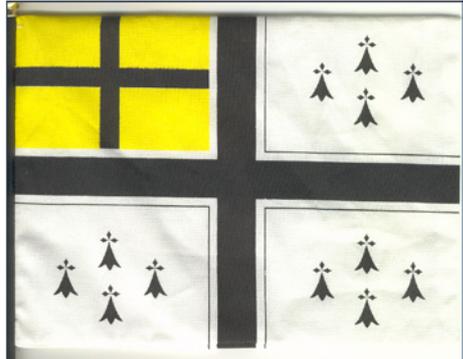
55. 1996 Retz Flag

At the same time, a young and dynamic Breton militant of the Retz country, Romuald Renaud, treasurer of the Celtic Cultural Circle of Pornic, conceived a flag corresponding to the same objective, but which proved to be a vexillographic disaster (Fig. 56). On a white field the banner of Retz and the simple ermine appeared side-by-side, underscored by the black legend "PAYS DE RETZ". No points for that one! Having read my book, where he learned of he table-top flag of the Retz country, which he had not known existed, he made contact with me and undertook to provide his country with a new, vexillographically suitable flag. With our colleagues in Nantes we focussed on a first attempt (Fig. 57). This was identical with the Coop Breizh design, except that the four ermine spots in the second, third and fourth quarters thereafter became five, arranged three and two, symbolising Brittany whole, with five *départements*.
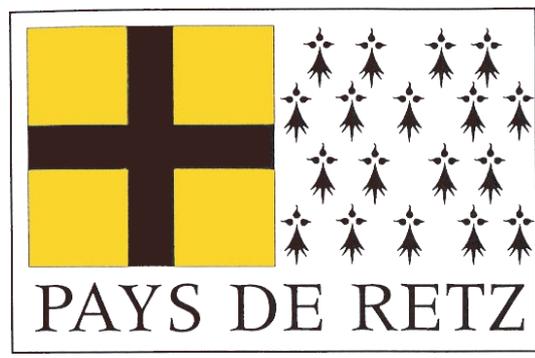
56. Romuald Renaud's Design
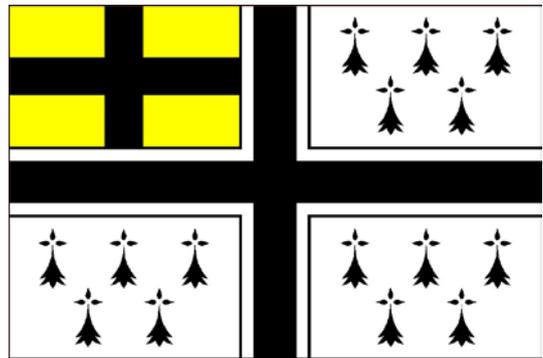
57. SBV's Design

Romuald Renaud then undertook a lobbying campaign among the local associations of Retz and all the mayors of the area. Bolstered by the support of the mayor of Pornic, the largest town in Retz, he succeeded in persuading the majority of the communes of Retz to adopt this flag officially as the local emblem. This was a real coup! The only change was that the fimbriated cross, regarded as too "Prussian" would be replaced by a simple black cross (Fig. 58).
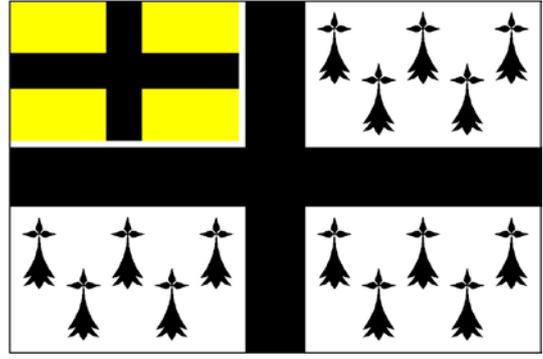
58. Revised Version

On 14 September 2000 the newspaper *"Courrier du Pays de Retz"* wrote under the headline:

"AN EMBLEM FOR THE BRETON COUNTRY OF RETZ"
"Historically uncontested and incontestable thus is presented the brand new, first ever flag of the Retz country, created by Romuald Renaud, on the initiative of the Celtic Cultural Circle of Pornic.

"From the drawing-board to the issuing, a year and a half elapsed and in May 2000, this flag with its historic character and uniquely identifiable appearance has received the approval of the Breton Vexillological Society, the Heraldic College of Brittany, the Breton Cultural Institute and the Honorary President of the Society for Historical Studies and Research in the Pays de Retz. Furthermore, its design is protected by patent. Besides this historic recognition, the new flag also gains from the approval of the Combined Tourist Information Centre of the Pays de Retz Atlantique. In fact, thought of as a federating symbol, this flag will be equally a tool of communication and promotion of the Pays de Retz and its land."

Produced in sizes 1 x 1.50m and 1.50 x 2.25m this flag was presented by Romuald Renaud to the IV Congress of the SBV in Nantes, 23 October 2000, where M. Renaud did us the honour of joining our society – a very valuable recruit. It is already used in Retz on shops, hoisted by individuals and associations and, following on its inauguration in October 2000, it flies in front of town halls, tourist offices, cultural centres and businesses who have already accepted this development.

Romuald Renaud explains the symbolism of the flag in these terms: "The black cross on a white field represents the oldest flag common to all parts of Brittany, dating from the 12th century. Its link with the three ermine quarters is borrowed from the flag of Nantes, dating from the 18th century. The five ermine spots specify that the Pays de Retz historically forms part of the bishopric of Nantes, one of the five Gaelic-speaking Breton bishoprics. The Retz country equally is an integral part of Loire-Atlantique, one of the five départements which sprang from the dismemberment of the Province of Brittany in 1789. The armorial canton (gold with a black cross) of the Pays de Retz shows the importance of its rank and position as playing a full part in the history of Brittany.

A great victory for Breton vexillology.

Taking the same inspiration, there exists today the flag of the Quadrille Sèvre et Maine of Vertou (Fig. 59). Vertou is a small town south-east of Nantes, at the confluence of the Maine and Sèvre Nantais rivers, a little to the east of the Pays de Retz. The Quadrille of Vertou is a Celtic Circle of Breton vineyards south of the Loire, which had lacked a personalised parade flag. This has now been rectified with this black cross on its ermine field in the fashion of that of the Pays de Retz. The canton is yellow, charged with a yew tree of noble proportions, flanked by two bunches of grapes and wavy descending and ascending diagonals, all in green. The yew tree is the principal charge in the arms of Vertou, while the grapes symbolise the vineyards and the diagonals the rivers Sèvre and Maine. The yellow climate symbolises the sunny climate south of the Loire.
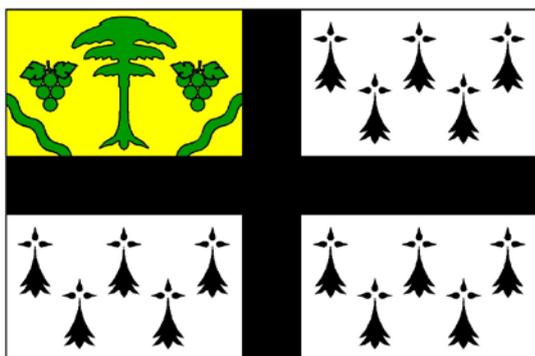
59. Vertou's Flag

A first example of this flag was made (by Robin Ashburner) in the size 1.20 x 1.80cm and approved by the SBV at its meeting in Brest on 25 March 2001. It remains to convince the town hall of Vertou to adopt this as the official municipal flag. This alas was a setback for our colleague in the area.

The next flag is that of the Pays de la Brière (Fig. 60). La Brière is a marshy area situated between Nantes and Guérande/*Gwennran*, also known as the Black Country, because of the colour of the marsh turf, as opposed to the White Country of Guérande, where salt is produced.
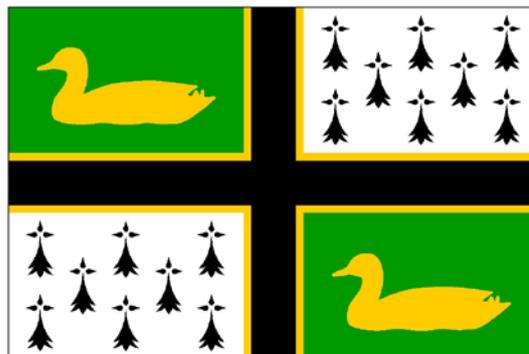
60. La Brière Flag

This is the history of this flag by its re-discoverer, Jean-Michel Mahé: While watching a video cassette concerning the work of the painter René-Yves Creston, my attention was drawn by the characters in one picture. They were dressed in Breton costumes and carried flags. Among them was a Breton in the costume of the Pays de Guérande, holding a flag with a yellow-bordered black cross, with the first and fourth quarters green and charged with a yellow duck, and the second and third quarters showing eight ermine spots arranged 3-2-3. Considering Crestons birth in St Nazaire as well as the numerous works which he devoted to the Black Country, it seems clear that this standard symbolised the Brière district to which he was so attached.

Inspired with this description, the SBV accepted the basic design, and only reduced the number of ermine spots to five. The SBV was successful later in popularising this flag and in giving the Pays de Brière a new symbol of identity, which has gained great success with the local population.

Flags, Flags, Always Flags!

Before ending, and having reviewed these successes of pro-active vexillology on the part of the SBV, we shall mention a few other works of our society.

The Flag of the SBV : This was the first flag produced by the society, in November 1996. It resulted from an internal competition which produced 28 suggestions. The black saltire on white was inspired by the flag "Victor" in the international signals code, white with a red saltire. "V" in black and white symbolised Breton Vexillology. The ermine triangle at the hoist recalled our history.

A Flag for the OBE: The Organisation of Bretons Abroad (OBE) asked us officially for suggestions to bring about a flag of its own. We politely delivered about ten designs of excellent vexillographic quality. Three years later, the OBE has not yet deigned either to make its choice, nor even to thank us. Ah well…

A Flag of the POBL: A similar request was received from the Party for the Organisation of a Free Brittany (POBL). Nine suggestions were provided and finally the POBL decided that it did not need a flag after all. But at least it thanked us. Among the suggestions was one of mine, which I named "the Flag of Breton Liberation" (Fig. 61). It comprises three unequal horizontal stripes of white, orange and black, in the ratio of 3:1:2. Black and white are the traditional Breton colours. Black also stands for the dark past of the Breton nation. White symbolises the bright coming of independence. Orange is for the brightness of national liberation, which, little by little, is overcoming the dark past. The Celtic sun symbolises the new dawn of Brittany, while its nine rays are for the nine Breton provinces. The triskell evokes the Celtic civilisation to which Brittany belongs.

61. Flag of Breton Liberation

This flag was officially adopted during 2001 by the new Breton nationalist party *ADSAV!* (Rebirth), which represents the Right-wing Breton nationalists, and which made several hundred examples of it. This flag is very popular among the militants of Adsav and has proved to be an excellent propaganda tool, waved by many during demonstrations of the nationalist party, where by virtue of its aestheticism and colours a strong impression on observers. This flag of Breton liberation, re-named by the *"Tarzh-an-Deizh"* (The Dawn), is also seen on t-shirts, caps, post-cards, stickers and stamps of the party. In short it is the greatest vexillological success of the Breton Movement of the 21st century.

The Pan-Celtic Flag: This charming patchwork was publicised in 1998 by people outside the SBV (Fig. 62). It immediately found great success and the initial production was soon sold out. At the end of 2000, the design was revised in a new production (Fig. 63), notably in eliminating the useless black lines, and in the correction of the Trinacria of the Isle of Man. It was produce

in large numbers in sizes 1 x 1.50m and 12 x 18cm and it is already a success. It will be a very fitting decoration for the traditional Inter-Celtic Festival in Lorient, which takes place there each year at the end of August.

62. Pan-Celtic Flag

63. Revised Pan-Celtic Flag

The Flag of the Commune of Pace: Our colleague, Bernard Parage, thanks to his indefatigable militant proselytism, succeeded in convincing the council of the small town of Pace (very close to Rennes) to ask the help of the SBV in the creation of a municipal flag. The council has already made an advance payment of 2000 francs to the society for our services, but has not yet decided among the ten or so suggestions offered. This matter is not yet resolved, but is moving forward.

The Renewal of the Black Cross Flag: (Figs 64 and 65) One of the effects of the publication of my book "The Breton Flags from 1188 to the Present Day" in June 1998, has been the very sympathetic renewal of the traditional flag of the ancient Breton State, the Kroaz Du. It has begun to reappear almost everywhere, and made its presence felt at the International Festival of the Sea in Brest 2000, whereas at the Brest festival of 1996, only a single one was seen. So much the better!

64. Black Cross Flag
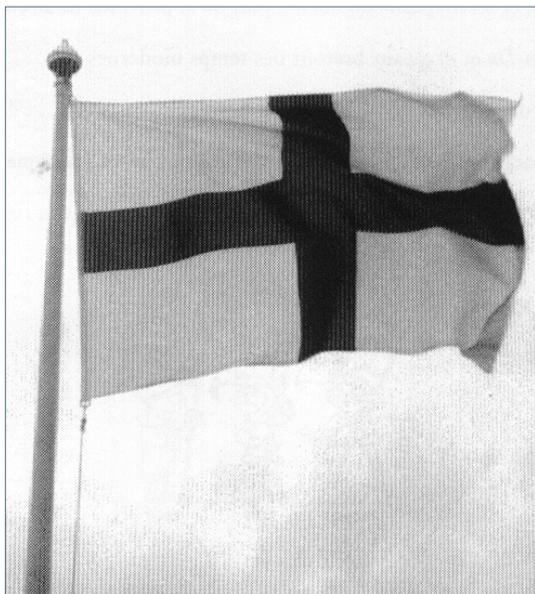
65. Black Cross Flag

In Summary: The Breton Vexillological Society, in the first five years of its existence, has acquitted itself well in the fight for the defence and promotion of Breton culture, by the application of the principles of pro-active vexillology.

"For an ever more and ever better be-flagged Brittany!"

Thanks/*Trugarez*

- ♦ To my dear devoted wife, Sophie, better known in the vexillological world by the surname "Madam Prime Minister", without whose patient and selfless assistance I should have been unable to face and deal with the infernal inventions of Mr Bill Gates.
- ♦ To Bernard Parage for his good advice, which I admit I did not always follow.
- ♦ To Doctor Dominique Lengrand, an unrivalled fount of information, without whom I should never have even begun.

Thanks to all! *Ho trugarekaat a ran kalz evit ho skoazell!*

Flags in Wales

Robin Ashburner FFIAV FFI

Former President of the Flag Institute

As you know this year's meeting of FIAV is here in the United Kingdom to celebrate the 200th anniversary of the Union Flag of the United Kingdom.

You may also know that the design of the aforesaid Union Flag is made up from the flags of the constituent countries of this kingdom. How is it, I hear you ask, that Wales, the most important country within the kingdom, is absent from the Union Flag?

More than this, how is it that Wales is not represented on one of the quarters that make up the standard of our sovereign lady The Queen?

This talk is most definitely not a lesson in history but there does seem to me to be much in history that has caused what is at present a state of apathy amongst the Welsh people when it comes to the question of local flags at country and district level.

It is just worth mentioning how this flag situation between Wales and England came about. You will I am sure be aware that Wales has always been classed as a principality rather than as a kingdom. Llewellyn the last native Welsh Prince of Wales was defeated by Edward I, King of England, in 1282, some 700 years ago. Since that time Wales has as a fact of history been treated in principle and in law as part of an amalgamated kingdom.

Let me first briefly deal with the Royal flags as they relate to Wales. In the days when Edward and Llewellyn fought it was the right of the victor to purloin or commandeer the arms of the defeated and for the victor to use these arms as his own by right of conquest.

Having defeated Llewellyn, Edward proceeded, as was his right, to not only make his own son, later Edward II, Prince of Wales but also to pass the arms that once belonged to Llewellyn on to this son as the new Prince of Wales. This situation has descended down to the present Prince of Wales.
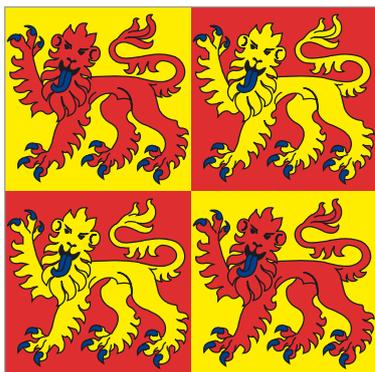
Llewellyn's Flag

It is interesting that now Wales once again has a degree of self government this flag is starting to take on a new significance. You will have seen the flag of the Prince of Wales in its present form. This is the self same flag that flew over the opening of the new Welsh Assembly when that assembly was first opened by Her Majesty the Queen and The Prince of Wales in 1999. Now that we are some two years later this new assembly has decided in its wisdom that it will fly the flag of Llewellyn - not quite the flag used by the present Prince of Wales which has a small shield of escutcheon in the centre but near enough I feel to cause confusion at some not too distant date.
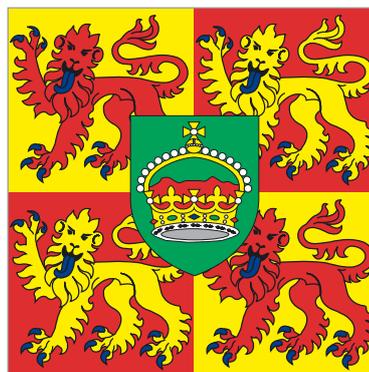
Standard of the Prince of Wales in Wales

The other flag and badge used by the Prince of Wales is the three white feathers tied with the words *Ich Dien*. This again was purloined, this time by the Black Prince of Wales, the great grandson of Edward I in 1345 at the battle of Crecy when that prince slew the blind King of Bohemia whose flag this was. For some reason this particular flag is considered to be a flag of peace.
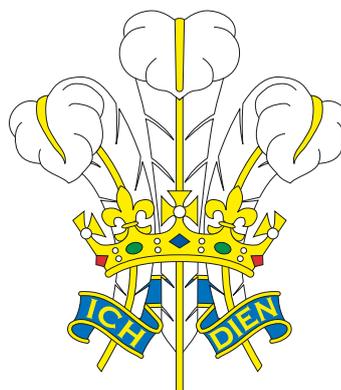
Badge of the Heir Apparent

Moving on a few years to 1485 we come to the real reason why Wales has been forgotten when it comes to

the flags of the UK. In that year the Welsh army of Henry Tudor invaded England and defeated King Richard III and claimed the throne of England. Henry had fought the war under his dragon banner; after the war he changed to using the standard of Richard III, this was only natural, in those times the standard of the monarch was the equivalent of today's national flag - continuity in an uncertain world was all-important. For a while much that was Welsh was to be found where it seemed to matter, the Royal Arms acquired a dragon supporter, the ensigns of the fleet became green and white. Now however very little of the Welshness found in the capital of the kingdom of those times is left. The reason for this is that with the death of Elizabeth I in 1603, James the 6th of Scotland became James the 1st of England - as the Scottish influence came in so the Welsh influence went out.

James I as you may know made room on the existing Royal Arms, which previously had been quartered France and England by adding the Royal Lion of Scotland. The chance had now somehow been missed of adding Wales to the arms of the sovereign. Was this because Wales was by then considered to be part of England or possibly because Wales was only a principality and not a kingdom? Somehow Wales, as far as the Royal Arms is concerned, was sacrificed to illusions of grandeur with its place being taken by an unrequited love of the Fleur de Lis over the Dragon of Wales. Until 1801 the Kings of England also claimed the throne of France, so France occupied the quarter that might have gone to Wales.

For the next 350 or so years both the Welsh language and to some extent Welsh culture had to survive as best they could. Survive they have, today the active encouragement of all things Welsh has meant that at the national level our tried and tested symbols have now come back into their own, the most important of these is of course the one symbol that never left us the *Draig Goch* or Red Dragon of Wales.

Y Draig Goch - The Red Dragon

The Red Dragon has always been considered to be the flag of the Celtic people of Britain, in the days after the Romans left, the Red Dragon was undoubtedly the dominant flag of both England and Wales, probably in the form of a windsock. However with the arrival from the continent of the Saxons and other invaders the Celts and their Red Dragon were gradually pushed back to the present border of what you today know as Wales.

The Red Dragon has always been used to raise Welsh nationalism especially in times of war. The Dragon has somehow always been the flag of the people rather than the flag of a person. Perhaps the very survival of the Dragon flag has been because it served the historic needs of those who required the service of Welsh soldiers. Examples of this would be Edward III at Crecy, Henry V at Agincourt. The more recent attempt by the sovereign in 1953 to bring in a Welsh Dragon flag with a Royal theme was a complete failure, the Dragon is and it always has been pure and simply a mythical beast. The only thing I must say is that its tail must curl upwards.

Until recently you could always tell an imported Dragon flag, the tail always curled downwards as though it was about to go up its back passage. A few years ago the Western Mail, the daily paper of Wales, listed all the shops in the city of Cardiff who were flying the flag with the wrong tail - now we seldom see one of these non-Welsh Dragons, at least in Wales.

Thus now we have working centre stage our national flag the Dragon, we have on the wings the flag of Llewellyn, what else do we have? We have the flag of St David, which is a yellow cross on a black background. If you leave this flag flying long enough the yellow fades and everyone thinks you have a St Piran from Cornwall. This is again a problem caused by cheap imports.

St David's Cross

We have one other peculiarly Welsh flag, that is the flag of the Church in Wales. The Church in Wales is a church on its own to be differentiated from the Church of England. On this basis the churches in Wales fly either the flag of the Church in Wales or the flag of the local diocese.
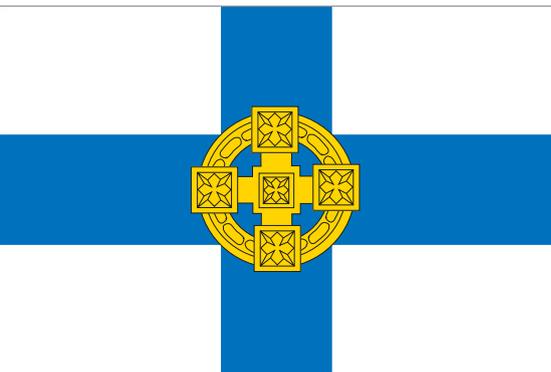
The Church in Wales Flag

It is at this point that the trouble starts and where we in Wales seem to lose our way. You have seen from Philippe Rault the magnificent mouth watering collection of provincial flags used by our Celtic cousins just across the water. Many of you will have read Philippe's fantastic book on the subject, if you have not read this wonderful book then I suggest it gets to the top of your must-read list immediately. This book has done more for Breton flags than years of preaching could achieve. Philippe is of course wrong on one point - the *Croix Noir* is not the oldest flag - this medal must go to the *Draig Goch* of Wales.

I wish it were possible to do an equivalent book for Wales but somehow those who have to join in the process of getting flags organised simply do not know what flags are about. I refer here to those involved in local government.

It is certainly true that most of the county councils and many of the towns do have perfectly effective coats of arms, many of which could form the basis either in total or in part an attractive and recognisable local flag, but this simply has not happened. Much of the reason why this has not happened is because those to whom the decision fails have little experience on the subject. What is happening is that we have now developed a series of flags on a theme that goes right across the principality - a theme best described as commercial or advertising.

These corporate commercially designed flags only serve as a kind of industrial promotion, nothing to do with the long term bonding of the local community. What these communities need is a flag that will be here today and here tomorrow and to which everyone can identify. The present generation of industrial flags will probably change with the next council or the next generation of designers wanting to earn a fast buck.

The following slides show for the most part three images. The first is the official arms as and when these exist. The second shows how these arms would from into a flag. The third shows what if any flag now actually flies.

ANGLESEY
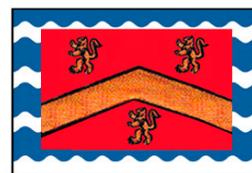
BRIDGEND

CAERPHILLY
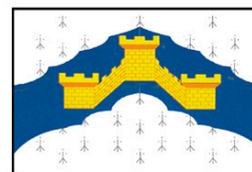
CARDIFF

CARMARTHEN

FLINT
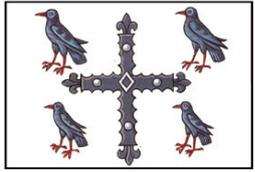
CEREDIGION

GWENT

CONWY

GWYNEDD

DENBIGH

MERTHYR

MONMOUTH

POWYS
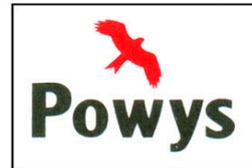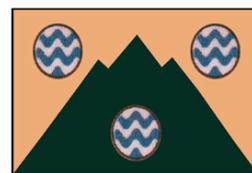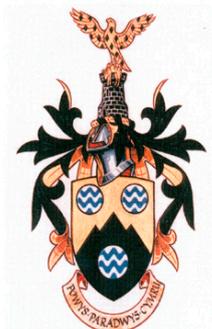
NEATH
&
PORT TALBOT

SWANSEA

NEWPORT

TORFAEN
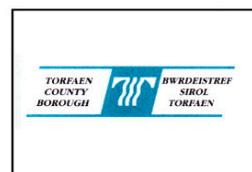
PEMBROKE
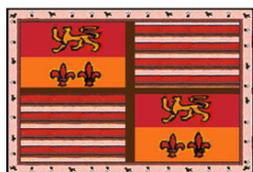
VALE OF
GLAMORGAN

WREXHAM

Symbols of Czech and Slovak Political Parties After the "Velvet Revolution"

Aleš Brožek

Communist totalitarianism did not tolerate the existence of political parties, nor of any independent organizations between the state and the family. The situation in Czechoslovakia fortunately was not as severe as in the Soviet Union. Czech and Slovak citizens could join a limited number of organisations and associations which mainly used emblems, although some of them had flags. The Vexillology Club researched them in 1977 and published a report on them in its periodical in 1978[1]. No article has yet appeared on the symbols of Czech and Slovak political parties, although such an article should be of interest not only to Czech vexillologists, but to others too.

After the Communist putsch of February 1948, apart from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia four other parties were tolerated, the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, the Czechoslovak People's Party, the Democratic Party and the Liberation Party. However they had to give up their own programs, accept that of the Communist Party and that of the National Front, and to recognise the so-called "leading role" of the Communist Party. The November 1989 revolution meant the end of the one-party system. The rise of many new political parties and movements could be expected.

Following the "Velvet Revolution", Czechoslovakia was ruled by a coalition of two civil, non-political movements, the Civic Forum (in the Czech acronym OF) in Bohemia and Moravia and its sister organisation, the Public Against Violence (VPN in the Slovak acronym) in Slovakia. This experiment lasted little more than a year until February 1991, when OF split. In gatherings organised by both movements, many flags were seen. Whereas the Czechoslovak state flag flew over the heads of participants in Bohemia and Moravia, Slovak national flags prevailed in Slovakia. These movements did not adopt their own flags, but only carried logos mainly in the form of badges. A lighthearted logo of OF combined a smiling face with its initials in the white-red-blue national colours (Fig 1). Pavol ťastný suggested the use of the letter V for the Public Against Violence with the Slovak white-blue-red colours.
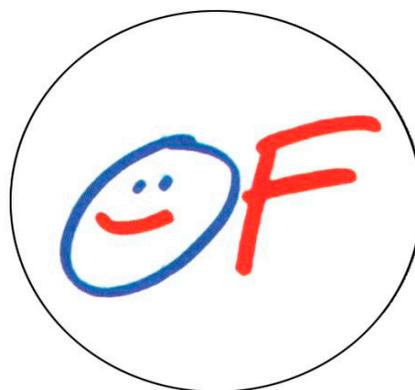
Fig. 1

Some members of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, the Czechoslovak People's Party and the Communist Party were instrumental in the rise of the Czech Civic Forum, but their secretariats maintained their own policy and did not cooperate with the Civic Forum. They continued to use their own emblems, which in some cases were completely and in others only slightly changed in the following years. It is interesting that all three parties used the Czechoslovak flag as part of these emblems. The Communists had for a time a red five-pointed star with a Czechoslovak flag, a hammer and sickle and the letters KSČ. In about 1994, two red cherries and a green leaf replaced the star in its striking position (Fig 2). A French song from the time of the French revolution of 1871 which mentions mellowed cherries is said to be the reason why the Czech Communists chose them[2]. The red star became only a smaller appendix in the emblem and the hammer and sickle completely disappeared. The acronym changed from KSČ to KSČM, because the Czech Communists tried to reform the party. On 31 March 1990 they founded the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, whose acronym is KSČM.

Fig. 2

The emblem of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party consists of a crossed hammer and quill, two ears of grain and a linden leaf. All appear on the Czechoslovak state flag within a circle (Fig 3). These are well-known symbols of workers, intelligentsia, and farmers. The linden tree is said to be the Czech national tree.

Fig. 3

The Czechoslovak People's Party (ČSL) first displayed its emblem after World War II. It is a clear example of an emblem lacking inspiration (a golden oblong with the Czechoslovak state flag and the blue letters ČSL) (Fig 4).

Fig. 4

The first democratic elections in June 1990 were designed to legitimise the transfer of power from the Communist Party to the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence. Both non-political movements were winners with more than 53 and 32 percent of votes respectively. Catholic parties were also successful in both the Czech and Slovak halves of the federation. Thus the Movement of Christian Democrats (KDH) gained 25 seats in both chambers in Slovakia. This movement adopted both an emblem and a flag at its founding congress on 17 February 1990. The flag was white with the party emblem in the centre. It consisted of a white circle with a blue border. There was a blue cross with a red vertical arm merging into the letter "D" in the circle (Fig 5). The letter is an acronym for democracy. The cross as a symbol of Christianity stresses that the Christian Democrats follow the principles of Christianity. The circle stands for mutual unification of citizens who support the ideas of Christian democracy. White is a symbol of purity. White, blue and red are the Slovak national colours[3].
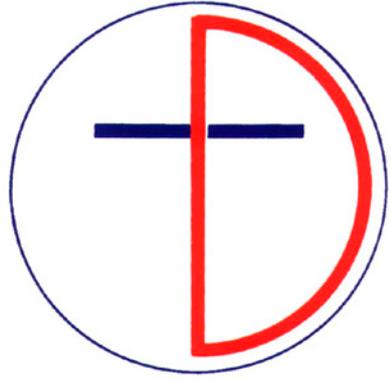
Fig. 5

Regional Moravian, Slovak nationalists and Hungarian ethnic parties were successful in their respective regions. Most of these parties used their own flags and emblems. The Movement for Autonomous Democracy – Community for Moravia and Silesia (HSD-SMS) was founded on 1 April 1990 and flies the yellow over red Moravian colours and the black over yellow Silesian colours. There is an emblem (Fig 6) in the centre of these flags. It is divided pale blue and yellow, with half of the Moravian eagle checkered in white and red in the dexter and half of the black armed eagle with a silver perisonium on its breast in the sinister. The Moravian National Party (MNS) describes its emblem in its constitution as a blue shield bearing an alighting eagle with yellow claws, checkered in white and red which is fighting a silver snake. This emblem may be placed in the middle of a white over blue flag (Fig 7). The eagle symbolises the uncompromising struggle for political, social and economic rights of the Moravian nation. The snake was originally golden. The colours of the flag are derived from banners of Moravian lords from 1611[4]. The designer of both symbols is Jiří L. Bílý, a former member of the Vexillology Club. Another Moravian regional party took part only in the 1996 elections. Its black over yellow over red flag carried an emblem (a combination of the Silesian and Moravian eagles and the acronym HSMS for the Movement of Autonomous Moravia and Silesia – Moravian National Union) in the centre. The proportions of the stripes are 1:2:1 (Fig 8).
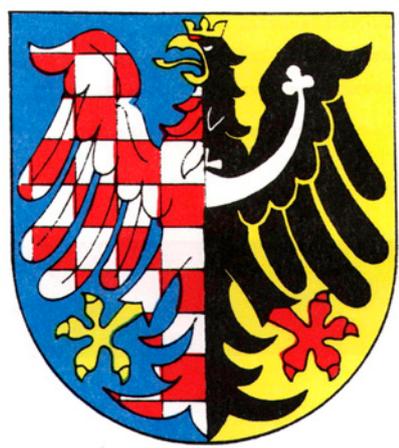
Fig. 6

Fig. 7

Fig. 8

The strongest nationalist party in Slovakia was the Slovak National Party. It was founded in December 1989 and was registered in March 1990, when its emblem and flag were adopted. A red circle with a blue three hill group and a white patriarchal cross form the emblem designed by Milan Stano[5]. The name of the party can be read in black letters in the ring (Fig 9). The party flag consists of three stripes, white over blue over red. There is a white acronym in the middle stripe and the Slovak national arms in the upper left corner (Fig 10).

Fig. 9
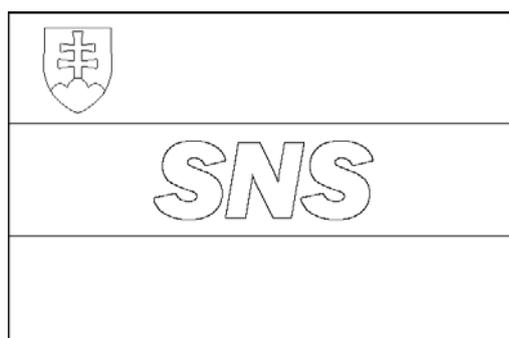
Fig. 10

A white patriarchal cross can be seen also in the circular emblem of the Slovak People's Party. The cross is partially covered by the portrait of Andrej Hlinka, a Slovak priest and politicians (1864-1938). The inscriptions in the ring contain the party motto (For God and Nation) and the party name (Fig 11). This is the only Slovak or Czech party emblem to include a portrait.

Fig. 11

The emblem of the Hungarian Civic Party can be seen as an example of a symbol of Hungarian ethnic parties. The predecessor of this party was the Hungarian Independent Initiative which used a letter "F" as the acronym of the party. A graphically simple design of a bird in green and red made by Ilona Németh in 1990 accompanied by the letter "F". When the Hungarian Civic Party changed its name on 25 January 1992, only the bird which stands for liberty was kept (Fig 12).

Fig. 12

An important landmark was the congress of the Civic Forum on 13 October 1990. It was convened to elect new leaders and approve a new program and a proposal to redefine the Civic Forum as a political party. The congress voted 175 to 126 to become a political party on 12 January 1991. The "right wing" of Klaus loyalists then formed the Civic Democratic Party (ODS in the Czech acronym) which has been a parliamentary party up to now. Its logo has changed several times. The first one drawn by Aleš Krejí was very simple: the letters "D" and "S" inside the letter "O" (Fig 13). It followed from a competition, the designs of which were exposed in a Prague hall Aurora in June 1991[6]. The election campaign in 1992 called for a more striking logo. Petr ejdl designed a blue bird on blue narrowing stripes and a blue acronym ODS below it (Fig 14). The new logo was introduced in April 1992.

The party flag was white with the logo in the centre. The fact that the Civic Democratic Party uses a bird has evoked many jokes (Fig 15). Some were a little obscene because the Czech word for bird can also mean penis. In addition, the unusual shape of the bird caused that the chairman of the Social Democrats to refer to it as a magpie.

Fig. 13

Fig. 14

Fig. 15

In September 1996 the logo of the Civic Democratic Party was embellished with red wavy stripes narrowing to the right, so that it contained all the Czech national colours. However this modification, made just before the 1996 elections, was ridiculed by the present Minister of Culture Pavel Dostál[7] and by vice-chairman of the Czech Communists, Vlastimil Balín[8]. They judged that the red stripes could indicate that many ODS members were former Communists. The logo was modified again

before the 1998 elections, when the wavy stripes were removed and the bird and acronym appeared in blue and yellow. A new symbolic strategy was chosen before the elections to the Senate in 2000 and a red heart apeared on the brest of the bird (Fig 16).

Fig. 16

The nonpolitical centrists of the Civic Forum formed the Civic Movement (OH in the Czech acronym) in March 1991, led by the Czech Prime Minister. Its emblem was a blue "H" on a yellow circle resembling the letter "O" (Fig 17). The Civic Movement did not pass the 5% threshold in the 1992 Czech elections and was dissolved.

Fig. 17

A third offspring of the Civic Forum was the Civic Democratic Alliance, the policy of which was similar to that of the Civic Democratic Party, and which gained some seats in the 1992 and 1996 elections. Its first logo contained the acronym, the full name, the words "the democratic right" and five broken lines resembling the American eagle (Fig 18). This ugly design was replaced by a new one adopted at the 4th conference on 16 March 1992. Its designer, Karel Haloun took advantage of the situation by which the party acronym could be expressed in simple geometric forms (Fig 19). However, the vice-chairman of the party, Daniel Kroupa, had the idea that the party must change its emblem before the 1996 elections. He introduced a white unicorn on blue (Fig 20). He explained that this mythical beast was a restless animal which could not be tamed by violence. Only a virgin can calm the unicorn who approaches her, lays its head on her knees, falls asleep and is then as tame as a lamb[9]. The change in the emblem did not prevent financial scandals within the party and the loss of support by the

public after 1997, so that the party presently has no seats in Parliament.

Fig. 18

Fig. 19

Fig. 20

The corruption of the Civic Democratic Party led to its split into two parties and to the collapse of Klaus's government in November 1997. The faction that split from the Civic Democratic Party formed the Freedom Union Party on 17 January 1998, and adopted a tree as its logo on 23 January 1998. The logo was designed by the agency SENS (Fig 21). When it appeared for the first time, the inhabitants of the town of Jablonec nad Nisou complained that the tree was similar to that in their municipal arms. The leader of the party, Jan Ruml, explained that unlike the arms where an apple tree was displayed, the tree in the logo of the Freedom Union Party was a linden tree, and symbolised its conservative policy[10]. Thanks to it, it won 19 seats in the last parliamentary elections.

Fig. 21

The Social Democratic Party has profited from the weakened position of the Civic Democratic Party since 1996. It was second after the Civic Democratic Party in the 1996 elections and it won the 1998 elections. After negotiations about cooperation with other parliamentary parties failed, it signed an agreement with the Civic Democratic Party to be able to govern. The Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party is one of the oldest parties. It was founded in 1878 and was forced to unite with the Communist party in 1948. It was re-established immediately in November 1989 and started to use its traditional emblem, three yellow ears of corn, a blue cogwheel and yellow inscriptions (Fig 22). This emblem was replaced by a new one designed by Jiří Novotný in 1991. It was a stylised drawing of a red rose in bloom, with blue leaves (Fig 23). The entire emblem could also be in blue (Fig 24). The flag was white with the emblem in the centre. The designer received only 8,000 crowns (about £140) in 1991 for the design. When the party entered Parliament and its emblem appeared on many party souvenirs, he asked one hundred times more. The leader of the party called him a cushy jobber. The party refused to pay extra money and organised a new competition for the emblem in 1998. Petr Mohyla was the most successful of the 200 competitors. His winning design for which he received 200,000 crowns again features a red rose in bloom but less realistic[11]. Apart from red and blue, green was added (Fig 25). The change in the emblem did not help the party to avoid paying the copyright fees to Jiří Novotný. He appealed to the court and was aworded the sum he had requested[12].

Fig. 22

Fig. 23

Fig. 24

Fig. 25

Fig. 26

Fig. 27

Fig. 28

The 2002 elections in the Czech Republic will show whether the Social Democrats, the Civic Democratic Party or the Four-Party Coalition will win. The Four-Party Coalition is a good alternative for those who are disappointed by the policies of the two main political parties and do not want to vote the Communists. The Four-Party Coalition unites the Christian Democratic Union (Fig 26), the Freedom Union Party, the Civic Democratic Alliance and the Democratic Union (Fig 27). All these parties agreed on using a common emblem and on paying 20,000 crowns to the Freedom Union Party which commissioned the design of the common emblem[13]. It was introduced on 17 April 2000[14] and its nickname is the "Microsoft" (Fig 28). It resembles the logo of the Windows software, as it is formed by four squares of green, yellow, red, and blue[15].

As said, the main political parties which won seats in both chambers of the Czech Parliament have used emblems more than flags. The exceptions are the Moravian parties whose flags were shown earlier, and the ultra-right party.

The extremist Republican Party (SPR-RSČ) was established in December 1989 and its symbols were adopted at the 1st ordinary congress on 24 April 1991. The emblem and flag were designed as a team and are inaccurately described in the party constitution. Article 14 deals with the party emblem and the party acronym. Article 15 says that the flag is blue with white upper and lower borders. There is an emblem in the form of a blue circle with three lozenges and an inscription "REP" in the middle of the flag (Fig 29). I have a paper flag with the stripes in 1:7:1 ratio and the complete emblem. This is described in Article 14 as a blue or white circle containing three lozenges of white, blue and red. The left side of the white lozenge and the right side of the red one are partly covered by the blue one. The acronym "REP" for the Republic is written in capitals in the emblem. The name of the Republican Party (SPR – Republikánská Strana Československa) is in a white outer ring (Fig 30). The leader of this party, Miroslav Sládek, refused to collaborate with the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence in 1990, and the party tried unsuccessfully to get votes in alliance with an insignificant party in the same year. They profited from the votes of citizens dissatisfied with the economic and politic situation in Czechoslovakia in the following months, organised demonstrations under the party flags and gained 6.5% of the votes in both

chambers of the Federal Parliament in 1992. After the partition of Czechoslovakia, the party did not change the name, continued using the word "Československa" and attempted to preserve Czechoslovakia within the borders prior to 1938 (including Carpatho-Russia). It gained 18 seats in the parliamentary elections in 1996, but lost all of them in 1998. From the vexillological viewpoint, the regular demonstrations on 28 October commemorating the rise of free Czechoslovakia are important, as the party members and sympathisers use the party flags. The demonstration in January 1997 was seen widely in the media because the party members burned the German flag. Their charismatic leader explained this act with the words that it was the flag of Germany and not that of Czechoslovakia which flew over the concentration camps during World War II[16].

Fig. 29

Fig. 30

To be complete, a little can be said also about the symbols of Slovak political parties after the division of Czechoslovakia at the end of 1992. However it is difficult to get exact information from the Czech newspapers and Czech TV, because Czech journalists rarely refer to the vexillological situation in Slovakia, and Slovak newspapers are not easy to obtain. Nevertheless, photos on the Internet show the emblem of the Democratic Party (the white letters of "DS" on blue) at several gatherings (Fig 31). The texts of constitutions (e.g. of the Party of Civil Understanding) shown on the Internet confirm that some Slovak political parties have flags, even though they are not described in the party constitutions. The flag of the Movement for Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), whose

leader, Vladimír Meiar, was Prime Minister 1993-1998, was even hoisted on the peak of Mount Everest in May 1998[17]. We can expect that the flag of HZDS contained the party emblem (Fig 32), rather over the Slovak national colours white, blue and red, than over a plain white field that is more common with Czech party flags. The flag of the Party of the Democratic Left (SDL) after it changed its name from the Communist Party of Slovakia supports this assumption. As can be seen, the upper white stripe bears the party emblem that is the acronym in Slovak national colours, partly covered by the Slovak tricolour and a red swallow. This bird symbolises spring and the transformation of the party[18]. A paper flag (Fig 33) with the emblem designed by the academic painter Anna Gregorova is the last in this overview. (Fig 34)

Fig. 31

Fig. 32

Fig. 33

Fig. 34

Notes

1. J. Martykán: *Vlajky eskoslovenských spoleenských a úelových organizací. Vexilologie* No. 27, p. 415-425.
2. *Modrá pravice, ervená levice. Lidové noviny*, 25 April 1996
3. A letter to the author from the party secretariat of August 1992
4. A letter to the author from the party secretariat of 28 May 1992
5. A letter to the author from the party secretariat of 3 June 1992
6. A photo in Lidové noviny of 25 June 1991
7. *Zítra se bude tanit všude. Právo*, 9 September 1996
8. *Levicové praporky v logu ODS? Lidové noviny* 6 September 1996
9. *Modrá pravice, ervená levice. Lidové noviny*, 25 April 1996
10. *Jabloneti brání svůj strom proti Unii svobody, Lidové noviny*, 27 January 1998
11. *Mladá fronta dnes*, 14 December 1998
12. *ČSSD bude platit za své bývalé logo. Mladá fronta dnes*, 3 November 2000
13. http://www.deu.cz/clanek.asp?ID=17&word=logo
14. A photo in *Slovo* of 18 April 2000
15. *Mladá fronta*, 14 April 2001
16. *Lidové noviny*, 29 January 1997
17. *MF dnes*, 7 July 1998
18. A letter to the author from the party secretariat of 1 May 1992

Acknowledgements

The International Brigades in the Spanish War 1936-1939: Flags and Symbols

Sebastià Herreros i Agüí FFIAV

Associació Catalana de Vexil·lologia

"To my father"

Someone has described the presence of the international volunteers in the Spanish War 1936-1939 as the "last romantic war of the twentieth century". I think there are no such romantic wars. All wars are cruel.

In the pre-war theatre of the Second World War, the Spanish War was the training field for new military tactics: massive troop transport from Africa to Spain, intimidatory bombardments over civil targets, etc. These tactics were used in the following European confrontation: Sicily, Normandy, Coventry, Dresden...

The Spanish War was not only a "Civil War", but the confrontation and clash of ideas: defence of democracy against totalitarism. This confrontation of ideas – IDEA > IDEAL > IDEALISM > IDEALISATION – fed the romantic flavour, of defence of ideals, that impregnated the majority of the "brigadists" who came from all around the world.

The "franquist" propaganda has shown the brigades as a part of International Communism. Without absolutely denying this question, it was more a communist effort to capitalise this action than the main motivation for the thousands of volunteers that joined the war defending these ideas. The Communist Party structure was used around the world, and they tried to capitalise the forms and commandments. It is aso useful to remark that in those times, when fascist ideas were increasing, the intellectuals turned to the left, approaching the idyllic communist panacea. The Spanish Republic Government, isolated by the Non-intervention Committee, was obliged to accept, at high cost, weapons and equipment from Moscow.

My father was a brigadist; he never was a communist. He was a convinced democratic republican. His stories encouraged me to know more about the International Brigades and my passion for vexillology brought me to investigate their symbols and flags. The fruit of this work, whose starting point was the presentation of my friend Luis Sorando at the XIVth ICV in Madrid, fifteen years ago, is the presentation I'm offering you now.

1. Columns 1936

The first brigadists were in Barcelona in July 1936 before the military rebellion. They were athletes who accompanied people gathered in Barcelona to celebrate the *Olimpiada Popular* (Fig. 1), meeting organised by several leftist organisations to show their opposition to the official Olympic Games of Berlin. This "People's Olympiad", in which a young 18 year old athlete, Isaac Galan, who later would be registered as the father of my wife Anne, provided the first 300 brigadists who, organised in columns, immediately headed for the Aragon front.

Fig. 1

The first columns were organised in Barcelona, but there were also international groups in Madrid and Irun.

In Barcelona were formed:
- *Grupo Thaelmann*
- *Grupo Italiano*
- *Centuria Thaelmann*
- *Centuria Giustizia e Libertà*
- *Centuria Gastone-Sozzi*
- *Centuria Dombrowski*
- *Centuria Commune de Paris*
- *Centuria Inglesa Antifascista "Tom Mann"*
- *Centuria Dymitroff*
- *Grupo Rakosi*
- *Batallón de la Muerte o Batallón Malatesta*

The international groups in Irun were three:
- *Grupo Edgar André* (German people)
- *Grupo Wroblewski* (Polish, Francis Palka was its leader)
- *Grupo Gorizia* (the surname of its Italian leader, Remigio Maurovich)

In the Sierra of Madrid there was:
- *Grupo Fernando de Rosa* (Italian communists, Spanish nationalists)

Let's see which flags we know until now.

1.1. German Centuries

There were two German groups with the same name, but without any connection.

The Thaelmann group was made up of Jewish refugees, including three women volunteers, and led by Max Friedeman. The group of 11 people left Barcelona for the Aragon front on July 23. We don't know their symbols.

The second was a *centuria* organised by Hans Beimler, who came to the Pedralbes Barracks with his 15 German friends and one British (Sam Masters).

On August 30 they (60 people) left Barcelona for the Aragon front as the "*31 Centuria de la Columna 19 de Julio*" with the name of "*Centuria Thaelmann*"

We know a picture of the Pedralbes barracks showing a flag ∼0.70 x 1.80m with letters probably white on a red field (Fig. 2)

Fig. 2

There is another picture that shows the mentioned flag as well as another with the name of the column (*Carlos Marx*), the *battalion* (19 July) and the *centuria* (*Thaelmann*) (Fig. 3)

Fig. 3

There is also another one documented (Fig. 4)

Fig. 4

On October 20 at the Tardienta fight, their flag-bearer, Willy Pukallus died; on October 22, the *centuria* went back to Barcelona where in the Carlos Marx Barracks it received an honour flag from the Central Committee of the P.S.U of Catalonia. This flag, received by the brothers Herald, Kay and Auge Nielsen (Danish volunteers arrived to Barcelona on the bike) is kept in an unknown place (Inf. Luis Sorando) (Fig. 5)

Fig. 5

The flag is ∼ 60 x 73cm with the name of the quarter, the communist symbol and the numbers and names of the *centuria* and the battalion. This flag was used by the Thaelmann Battalion early in 1937, because it is on pictures of Hans Beimler's funeral in Barcelona (June 12, 1936).

Also a German poster, remembering Tardienta, shows another design (Fig. 6)

Fig. 6

The *Centuria Thaelmann* was integrated on October 25 into the *9ª Brigada Móvil*, which on November 1 took the name of *XI Brigada Mixta Internacional* commanded by General Emile Kléber.

> **Ernst Thaelmann** (Hamburg, 1886 – Buchenwald, Turingia, 1944). Member of the Transport Workers Union, joined the Social Democrat Party in 1903. In 1920 was active in the German Revolution in Hamburg. In 1920 Thealmann joined Walter Ulbricht, Erns Toller and Clara Zetkin to form the German Communist Party (KPD). Thaelmann was elected to the Reichstag in 1920 and was the party's presidential candidate in 1932; he received 13,2% of the votes against the 30,1 received by Hitler. In the wave of violence launched by the Nazi Party against the KPD and other opponents, Ernst Thaelmann was imprisoned (March 3 1933) and executed in Buchenwald on August 18th 1944.

1.2. Italian Centurias

In Barcelona, three Italian groups were formed. First a small one, 10 people, arrived on August 3, who went to the front from the Carlos Marx barracks into a *centuria* of the PSU youth.

On August 17, Mario Angeloni (republican), Carlo Rosselli (socialist), Umberto Calosso and Camillo Berneri (anarchist), wrote the act of birth of the Italian Column, led by Carlo Roselli. They were integrated in the Ascaso anarchist column on the Aragon front. This column of about 50 people is known also as the *Centuria Giustizia e Libertà*, like the name of the Italian Movement founded in France by Italian socialists and republicans from outside Italy. We do not know their flags.

Finally, also in Barcelona, on September 3, the *Centuria Gastone Sozzi* was formed by 86 Italians, 29 Poles, 10 French, some Belgians and one Dane; their captain was Gottardo Rinaldi and the political commissary was Francesco Leone. On September 9, integrated into the "Libertad" column, they moved from Barcelona to the Madrid front, defending the Extremadura route. On October 25, they made up the majority of the Garibaldi battalion of the 9th mixed brigade, from November 1, the XI International Brigade.

The flag is red with cut white letters sewn on the obverse (Fig. 7); the reverse is plain red. The Garibaldi battalion used this flag for several months, until they got their own.

In Madrid, the Socialist Party organised two battalions: "*Largo Caballero*" and "*Octubre*"; the October's commander was the Italian, Spanish nationalised socialist, Fernando De Rosa, who died in the Sierra of Guadarrama (September 16, 1936).

Fig. 7

> **Gastone Sozzi** (? – February 7th, 1928). Italian communist formed by Comintern in Moscow between 1923 and 1925; died in the prison of Perugia.

1.3. English Antifascist Centuria Tom Mann

There is a picture taken in September 1936 where we can see, from left to right: Sid Avner, Nat Cohen, Ramona, Tom Winteringham, George Tioli, Jack Barry and David Marshall, and a big flag, perhaps we can talk of a poster, probably with white letters on a red field (Fig. 8).

Fig. 8

> **Tom Mann** (1856-1941). He was a British syndicalist, acclaimed by common consent as the greatest labour agitator and orator of his time.
> "*…. The future of the world belongs to the youth of the world, and it is from the youth and not from the old that the fire of life will warm and enlighten the world…It is your privilege to breathe the breath of life into the dry bones of many around you…. Go forth and achieve.*"
> Tom Mann: A.E.U. Journal, January 1921.
> `www.wcml.org.uk/tom_mann.html`

1.4. Centuria Dymitroff

As their flag says, it was the 38 *centuria* of the Carlos Marx column. The flag's size is about 1 x 1.5m. (Fig. 9)

They preserved this flag during several months, as the Dymitroff battalion flag.

Fig. 9

Georgi Dimitrov (Kovachevtsi, Bulgaria, 1882 - 1949). He became a printer and was an active trade unionist. Elected to parliament as a socialist, he campaigned against the country's involvement in the First World War.

In 1923 he led a failed communist uprising in Bulgaria. At his trial Dimitrov defended himself so effectively that he was acquitted.

In 1934, Dimitrov moved to the Soviet Union where he worked as secretary-general of Comintern. In September 1936 the Comintern began organising the formation of International Brigades.

With the help of the Soviet Union a communist government was established in Bulgaria after the Second World War. Georgi Dimitrov became Prime Minister until his death on 2 July 1949.

1.5. The Rakosi Group

Formed by Hungarian people. Came out to the Aragon front integrated into the "*Columna de Ferro*".

In April 1937 they entered the "Carlos Marx" battalion.

This flag is ∼ 1.20 x 1.40m, white (or gold?) over red (Fig. 10).

Fig. 10

Matyas Rakosi (Ada 1892 - Gorki 1972). Formed the Hungarian Communist Party, together with Bela Kun. In 1919 he emigrated to Austria and Moscow. He was one of the secretaries of the Commintern (1921-1924). Arrested in Hungary in 1925, he was condemned to hard labour for life. Changed in 1940 by some flags captured in 1849 by the Tzar troops in Hungary! In 1945 he came back to Hungary. Vice-President of the Council (1945), General Secretary of the Communist Party (1948-1956) and President of the Council (1952-1953). With the change against Stalin he was withdrawn from the Party (1956) and went to the USSR. Rakosi died in 1972.

1.6. Italian Anarchists

The *Batallón de la Muerte* or *Centuria Malatesta* was the best known and spectacular international anarchist column. Formed by Italians, exiled in France, in their parade in Barcelona (March 3, 1937) they caused a great impression because of their uniforms, like fascist ones.

Vicente Guarner, Chief of the Aragon Army from March 1937, in his book "*Cataluña en la Guerra de España*" (Ed. G. del Toro) gives us his impression of the anarchists columns "*Giustitia e Libertá*" and the "*Batallón de la Muerte*". He explains that they were trained in a "*Masia*" of Sant Adrià de Besós; equipped and financed by the *Generalitat* through petition of Diego Abad de Santillán and commanded by Camillo Berneri. They entered in battle with failure in Almudevar and Montalban; and in the assault to the Santa Quiteria chapel, they were annihilated.

Guarner says that the rests of the battalion were incorporated in the Garibaldi and the Ascaso Division and others to cross the border to France.

They used two flags ∼ 1 x 1m (Figs. 11 and 12) the letters UHP are the capital letters of an anarchist motto: "*Unidos, Hermanos Proletarios*".

Fig. 11

Fig. 12

Luis Sorando gave me a picture that shows Italian comunists of the 5º Regimiento. Their flags are unknown (Fig. 13).

Fig. 13

1.7. German Anarchists

Also Luis Sorando gave me this reproduction of a flag with the three-pointed star of the International Brigades and the word "*ROTFRONT*" over the anarchist colours (Fig. 14). What does it mean? I don't know.

Fig. 14

2. INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES

On September 21, Maurice Thorez, Secretary General of the French Communist Party, initiated the idea of an international force of one brigade of 5,000 volunteers. After the Moscow agreement, in September 1936 the *Commintern* began to recruit people. The most important recruiting centre was Paris. The headquarters and training centre were placed in Albacete, because it was there that the *5º Regimiento* (communist militia) had several facilities.

On October 22, 1936, the Government of the Republic approved the constitution of the International Brigades.

The same day, the German battalion "Edgar André" (also known as Hans Battalion, by the name of its first commander Hans Kahle), the French battalion "*La Commune de Paris*" and the Italian "Garibaldi" made up the "*9ª Brigada Móvil*".

On November 1, 1936, by decision of the President of the Council of Ministers, Largo Caballero, the "*9ª Brigada Móvil*" changed into the XI International Brigade, under the commandment of general Emile Kleber.

Until September 23, 1938, when Juan Negrín, head of the Republican government, announced at the League of Nations that the International Brigades would be unilaterally withdrawn from Spain, they were organised in seven brigades:

- ♦ *XI IB, Thaelmann or Hans Beimler*
- ♦ *XII IB, Garibaldi*
- ♦ *XIII IB, Dombrowski*
- ♦ *XIV IB, La Marseillaise*
- ♦ *XV IB, Lincoln*
- ♦ *129 IB, Europa Central*
- ♦ *150 IB, Dombrowski*

There was an ephemeral brigade,
- ♦ *XIV bis IB,*

and also the
- ♦ *"86 Brigada Mixta"* could be considered "international" from January 1938.

Concerning the Brigade flags before October 31, 1937 we do not know if they follow the general pattern of the Republic's Army (Fig. 15). There are several pictures that show brigade flags as the Republic's colours with the Brigades symbol: the red three pointed star; was this a pattern for International Brigade flags? Perhaps (Figs. 16-17).
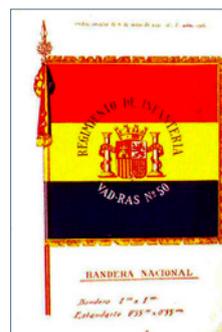
Fig. 15

Fig. 16

Fig. 17

On October 31, 1937, as a gift on the first anniversary of the International Brigades, General Miaja gave to the existing brigades: XI, XII, XIII, XIV and XV, a flag of a new design: on the obverse, over the republican tricolour there is the "*Emblema Antifascista de Madrid*" and on the reverse the red three-pointed star and the motto "*El Frente popular de Madrid – El Frente popular del Mundo*".

Divisions

Because of the war's development several divisions were organised with international brigades and other forces of the People's Army:

Kleber Division: Nov. 20, 1936 – Feb. 4, 1937
Luckács Division: Feb. 28, 1936 – Jan. 6, 1937
A Division: Feb. 15, 1937 – May 29, 1973
B Division: Feb. 15, 1937 – Jul. 3, 1937
15 Division: Jul. 4, 1937 – Aug. 4, 1937
35 Division: May 30, 1937 – Oct. 23, 1938
45 Division: Mar. 31, 1937 – Sep. 25, 1938

We do not have any information about the International Divisions' Flags; if any of these divisions had had their own flag, perhaps they could have been similar to the flag of the 11 Division offered by the workers of the "V" factory. This flag is preserved today by the PCE (Communist Party of Spain) in Madrid (Fig. 18).

Fig. 18

XI IB, Thaelmann or Hans Beimler

Formed on October 22, 1936 in Albacete with the battalions Edgar André, *Commune de Paris* and Garibaldi. Its first composition was Germans, French, Poles, Italians and Yugoslavs. Afterwards, there was a German majority

From the Jarama Battle they took the name of Thaelmann and from July 1937 they were known as Hans Beimler.

It was demobilised on September 22, 1937. On February 9, 1939, they crossed the French border.

Their flag, kept in the former GDR is of "first anniversary" model with the particularity that it does not carry the name of the brigade before the disc with the number (Fig. 19).

Fig. 19

Hans Beimler (1895-1936): German volunteer. Communist deputy to the Reichstag; condemned to death by the nazis, achieved to escape from Dachau. On July 23 he organised the Thaelmann centuria in Barcelona. He died on December 1 1936 on the Madrid front, being commissary of the Thaelmann battalion and of the whole German brigade.

XII IB, Garibaldi

Formed on November 1, 1936 in Madrigueras (Albacete) with the Italians of the Garibaldi battalion and the survivors of the Roselli and Gastone Sozzi columns, the Germans of the Thaelmann battalion and a French-Belgian battalion named André Marty afterwards; in total about 1600 people of predominantly anarchist ideology. From July 1937 they took the name of Garibaldi Brigade.

Demobilised on September 23, 1938, they were quartered in La Garriga, reorganised the brigade and together crossed the border on February 2, 1939.

Their flag is of the model sent by the City of Madrid (Fig. 20).

Fig. 20

XIII IB, Dombrowski

Formed in December 1936 between the towns of Tarazona de la Mancha, Mahora, Villanueva de la Jara and Quintanar del Rey. In their first composition they contained the battalions Louise Michel, Tschapaiev, Henri Vuillemin and a Balkan company.

Demobilised on September 22, 1938; they were reorganised on January 23, 1939, in La Garriga, under the commandment of the Polish Torunczyk and on February 2, 1939, they crossed the border.

XIV IB, La Marseillaise

Formed on December 2, 1936 in Albacete with the battalions Sans Nom o Des Neuf Nationalités, Vaillant-Couturier, La Marseillaise and Henri Barbuse.

Demobilised on September 23, 1938.

XIV bis IB,

Organised by Dumont on November 27, 1937, when being the chief of the XIV IB, he wanted to be a General. The Henri Vuillemin, Pierre Brachet and *Six Février* battalions built this new XIV bis IB. On February 23, 1938 all forces were reintegrated into the XIV IB.

XV IB. Lincoln

Formed on January 1, 1937 in Mahora with two groups, first, the Anglo-Saxon formed by the Lincoln, British and Washington battalions, and the second, the Latin-Slave, with the Spanish, Galindo, *Six Février* and Dimitrov battalions.

In August 1937 Galindo left and two others entered: George Washington and the Canadian "Mac-Paps".

On September 22, it was demobilised; nevertheless, the next day they were fighting. In January 1939 they were reorganised, crossing the border through Le Perthus on February 7, 1939.

The flag of Fig. 21 seems to be of the obligatory model, but is different from the other shown in a picture taken in Quinto after the battle at Fuentes de Ebro in October, 1937 (Fig. 22).

Fig. 21

Fig. 22

129 IB, Central Europe or of the 40 Nations

Reorganised as International Brigade on February 8, 1938 in Chillón, and formed by the Dimitrov, Djure Djakovich and Masaryk battalions. After the demobilisation it was reorganised in Las Planas, the 129 IB was present in the defence of Vic and afterwards crossed the border.

150 IB, Dombrowski

Ephemeral IB created on May 27, 1937 with the battalions Dombrowski, Rakosi, André Marty and Palafox.

On August 4, 1937 it was eliminated, the Dombrowski, Rakosi and Palafox battalions moving into the XIII IB, and the André Marty into the XII IB.

86 Brigada Mixta

In March 1937, this brigade was created from the "*Brigada Móvil de Puertollano*" (three Spanish battalions) plus the 20 International Battalion. In January 1938, this battalion was unfolded into three: 20, 21, and 22 international battalions remaining only one single Spanish battalion, the Pablo Iglesias. Then, from this time, in the 86 Mixed Brigade there were 2,338 interbrigadists and, therefore, they have to be considered an International Brigade. The internationals were withdrawn on October 1, 1938. We do not know anything about their flags.

3. BATTALIONS

On October 31, 1937, in the same act commemorating the first anniversary of the International Brigades, the City of Madrid gave a silk pennant to the existing battalions. These pennants did not have any success; the battalions continued using their own flags; the pennant's size is 37 x 85cm.

These pennants were sent to the battalions: Hans Beimler, Edgar André, *12 Fevrier* and Thaelmann, of the XI IB; Garibaldi, André Marty and perhaps the three Italo-Spanish, of the XII IB; Rakosi, Dombrowski and Palafox, of the XIII IB; *Commune de Paris*, Domingo Germinal, *La Marseillaise* and Henri Barbuse, of the XIV IB; and Lincoln, British and Mackenzie Papineau, of the XV IB.

There pennant of the Palafox battalion was preserved and we have pictures of the one of the British battalion.

Let's make an overview about flags used by International Battalions. Their order is, more or less, according to the date of organisation and/or the number assigned in the International Brigades.

N° 1. - Edgar André (28/10/1936 – 23/9/1938)

Germans, Balkanics, Slaves, Scandinavians and Flemish.

N° 2. - Commune de Paris (was the N° 9 when they went into the XIV IB) (22/10/1936 – 25/9/1938)

French and Belgians plus English and Americans.

Formed in October 1936. The old Centuria of the same name was its machine-gun section. It was integrated in the XI IB until April 1937 when they passed into the XIV IB and on September 8, 1938 into the XII IB. Demobilised on September 25.

In the Army Museum of Madrid, the flag is preserved, sent to this battalion by the communists from Espinardo (Murcia) in January 1937. When the battalion had a rest period there. It is made on red silk with gold ribbon and white letters. On the obverse it shows the republican tricolour in vertical stripes (?) (Fig. 23).

Fig. 23

The "*Commune de Paris*" Battalion achieved the "*Medalla al Valor*" because of their act in Camp-Redó in the night of June 25th-26th, 1938 (D.O. N° 208 of August 16, 1938).

N° 3. - Garibaldi (29/10/1936 – 25/10/1938)

Italians , Swiss from Ticino and citizens from San Marino.

Their origin was an agreement signed in Paris on October 27, 1936 between republicans, socialists and communists to form an "Italian Antifascist Legion". This legion, commanded by the republican Randolfo Pacciardi, received the name of Garibaldi and was integrated into the XII IB. This battalion had four companies: Louis de Bosis, Mario Angeloni, Gastone Sozzi and Fernando De Rosa.

Their flag is shown in a picture b/w, but probably, is red with white letters and the italian tricolor in the canton (Fig. 24).

Fig. 24

N° 4. – Dombrowski (19/10/1936 – 23/9/1938)

Polish, Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks, Yugoslavs, Ukrainians and Bulgarians.

Formed in October 1936, it first moved into the XI IB and afterwards it was included into the XII, 150 and XIII.

Their flag is a present of the Polish Communist Party, received in May 1937. It is 1.30 x 1.88 m; red with white letters, the republican tricolour to the fly and the motto of the Polish people in 1830: "*Por vuestra libertad y la nuestra*" (Fig. 25).

Fig. 25

There is another flag with the text: "ZAWASZA I NASZA WOLNOSC / DABROSZCZACY – CZECHOSLOWACKIM OCHOTNIKOM / VOLNOSCI", over the Czech colours (Fig. 26). It is a banner dedicated from the Polish brigadists to the Czech ones.

Fig. 26

Jaroslav Dombrowski (Jitomir, 1836 – Paris, 1871) Officer of the Russian tsar's army. Imprisoned for participation in a plot against the tsar's absolutism in 1863, was deported to Siberia; evaded, went to France. In 1871 he became the commander-in-chief of the French Paris Commune. Died over the barricades.

N° 5. – Thaelmann (10/11/1936 – 23/9/1938)

German, Poles, Hungarians, 18 British, and some Scandinavians and Balkans and more, until 11 nationalities.

Formed from October 28, 1936 in Albacete; the old Thaelmann Centuria was its machine-gun company.

Integred into the XII IB, on December 15, they passed to the XI IB until their demobilisation.

Concerning their flags, until early 1937 they used the flag of the old Thaelmann Centuria given by the Catalan PSU (Fig. 27).

Fig. 27

In 1937 (that year in on the flag) the French Thaelmann Commitee sent a new flag of red silk, gold ribbon, white letters and the picture of "La Marseillaise". This flag is preserved in an unknown place (Fig. 28).

Fig. 28

Nº 6. - André Marty [Franco-Belga) (from May 1938, Nº 12) (10/11/1936 - 25/9/1938)
French and Belgians.

Nº 7. - Louis Michel I (absorbed by the XI IB in July 1936)

Nº 8. - Tchapaief [Veintiuna Naciones) (18/11/36 – 5/8/37)
Germans, Balkans, the Polish company "Adam Mickiewicz", another Yugoslavian company, etc; until 21 nationalities.

Formed in December 1936, their flag has a gold text over red field with a gold fringe (Fig. 29).

Fig. 29

Tchapaief: Is the central personage of the film with the same name which was very successful among the brigadists (I don't know if the personage is real): A very short educated, non-commissioned officer of the tsar army, during the revolution he commanded a troup of Ukranian partisans; gifted with natural intelligence and commanding talents, he achieved great success. It is then, when relaxed, he takes less precautions and betrayed by a spy, he dies, but through his death he shows the others to be better and in the end, the Revolution will be victorious.

Nº 9. - Sans Nom o Des Neuf Nationalites (15/12/1936 – 16/1/1937)
Balkans, Germans and Poles.

Nº 9. - Italiano (absorbed by the Garibaldi Battalion on 9/12/1936) (25/11/1936 – 9/12/1936)

Nº 10. - Vaillant-Couturier [Domingo Germinal) (2/12/36 – 10/38)
French and Belgians, Czechs, Bulgarians and Scandinavians.

Nº 10. - Henri Vuillemin (from Oct 37, Num. 11; in the XIVbis, Num 14) (30/11/1936 – 22/4/1938)
French people.

Nº 11. - Louis Michel II: absorbed by Henri Vuillemin on 27/1/1937 (11/1936 – 27/1/1937)

Nº 11. – Míckiewick (4/10/1937 – 22/9/1938)
Polish.

Formed on October 4, 1937 from the Adam Mickiewick Company created on November 18, 1936 into the Tchapaiev battalion; became the 4th battalion of the XIII Brigade and took part in several battles around the city of Madrid.

Fig. 30

The Mickiewick Battalion achieved the "*Medalla al Valor*" together with the three other battalions of the XIII IB (Rakosi, Dombrowski and Palafox) and batteries Liebknecht and Glowacki (D.O. Nº 225 of September 2, 1938.

Adam Mickiewick (1798-1851): A Polish romantic poet who began his literary carreer in his country. A fighter for the independence of his country, in the revolutionary period of 1848, he organised the "Polish legion" to fight against Austria. In 1855, at the occasion of the Crimea war, he organised in Turkey a corps of Polish volunteers against Russia. He died, victim of cholera.

Nº 12. - La Marseillaise [Ralph Fox from 5/1937) (10/12/1936 – 23/2/1938)
French and British.

Nº 13. - Henry Barbusse (11/1936 – 25/10/1938)
French.

Nº 14. - Pierre Brachet (Num. 16 when it was in the XIVbis) (1/10/1937 – 22/4/1938)

Nº 15. - Six Fevrier (1/2/37 – 22/4/38)
French and Belgians plus Algerians, Morrocans, and people from Tangier, Greeks, Syrians, Chinese and Hungarians

Nº 16. - British Battalion [Saklatvala o Redford) (28/12/1936 – 23/10/1938)
British, Irish, Cypriots, Australians, Jamaicans, North Americans, Latin-Americans and Scandinavians.

Formed in Madrigueras in January 1937. There were around 2000 volunteers in the whole Spanish War fighting in the British battalion.

They got a flag sent by the London Workers (Fig. 31). There are also pictures of their battalion pennant held up by Major Frank West Spring 1937 (Fig. 32).

Fig. 31

Fig. 32

Shapurji Saklatvala (1874 - 1936): Shapurji Saklatvala is said to have been the most radical Indian involved in British politics. He fought hard for the rights of the British working class and for the national liberation of India from British rule.

Born in Bombay, he came to England in 1905 and was an active member of the Communist Party until he died in 1936.

He won a seat in Parliament for the Labour Party in 1922, lost it in 1923 , and regained it again in 1924 as a communist candidate. He was very popular with the working class people of the time.

Nº 17. - Lincoln [Lincoln-Washington between 7/37 and 9/37] (8/1/1937 – 23/9/1938)
People from the USA and Canada, plus China and Japan.

The first volunteers sailed from New York City on December 25, 1936.

It was incorporated into the XV IB on January 31, 1937. Because of the casualties suffered in Brunete, the Lincoln and the Washington battalions were merged into one that took the name of Lincoln-Washington; in September it recovered its single name, Lincoln.

Demobilised on September 23, 1938, they crossed the border on February 2, 1939.

In their parades in Barcelona (January 6, 1937) and Valencia (January 8, 1937) they showed a red flag with white letters (Fig. 33).

Fig. 33

There is also a "*pancarta*", not a flag, carried in these parades (Fig. 34) that someone take as a blue flag.

Fig. 34

There was another flag sent to the unit in Barcelona in the last months of 1937, tricolour with white letters, ∼1 x 1.30m. (Fig. 35). Their last commander, Milton Wolff, preserves this flag.

Fig. 35

A recent film of the war, with original images, shows a Lincoln's battalion flag. We are not sure if it is a battalion or a company flag; it is a triband R-W-R with a B triangle at the hoist charged by W stars and black letters over the white stripe. We show a reconstruction sketch from Luis Sorando. This flag is also in the memory of my father-in-law when, 18/19 years old, he went into the medical services of the Lincoln battalion. (Fig. 36)
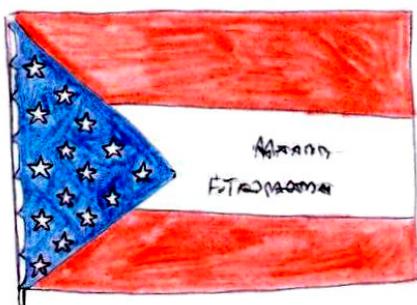
Fig. 36

Nº 18. - Dimitrov [Doce Lenguas] (31/1/1937 – 5/10/1938)

Czechs, Bulgarians, Hungarians, Rumanians, Greeks and Yugoslavians, plus Poles, Germans, Austrians, Italians, etc. until 12 languages.

Formed from the old Dimitrov column, it was integrated into the XV IB on January 31, 1937. It is said that one of its commanders was Josip Broz, Tito.

Their flag is red with gold letters, the three-pointed star and gold fringe (Fig. 37)

Fig. 37

Nº 20. - Veinte (15/2/37 - 30/6/37)

French, British, Irish, North Americans, Cubans, and Mexicans, from Puerto Rico, and Germans and Austrians.

Washington: (February 1937 – July 12, 1937)
Formed in Madrigueras between February and June 13, 1937 with the new North-Americans arrived to Spain. This battalion was annihilated in the Brunete battle (July 12, 1937), and the survivors joint with the Lincoln battalion, with also several injured, formed the Lincoln-Washington battalion.

Mackenzie-Papineau [Mac-Paps, Patrik Henry, Thomas Paine or Canadian Battalion] (5/1937 – 15/10/1938)
Canadians and North Americans.

Established in July 1937 as a battalion from the Lincoln's unofficial Canadian section called the Mackenzie-Papineaus; the group immediately nicknamed itself Mac-Paps.

Fig. 38

Fig. 38 (cont.)

Fig. 39

William Lyon Mackenzie (Dundee, Scotland, 1795 - Toronto, 1861): Mackenzie left his homeland for Canada in 1820. He arrived in Montréal, and after working on the Lachine Canal and as a journalist for the Montreal Herald, he settled in York (now Toronto).

Mackenzie began his public life in 1824 when he founded the Colonial Advocate, a reform paper that openly criticized the Family Compact. The same year, he moved his paper to Toronto, where his popularity soared. Mackenzie was elected to the legislature for the first time in 1828, representing York. There, he demanded reforms in the areas of agriculture, commerce and the post. His meeting with President Andrew Jackson during a trip to the United States in 1829 was a defining moment in Mackenzie's ideological development. He returned to Upper Canada filled with admiration for the American government, and became increasingly wary of British colonialism. W. L. Mackenzie led the Rebellion of 1837 in Upper Canada, fighting the oligarchy of the Family Compact. His involvement forced him into exile in the United States until 1849, when the government of United Canada offered the rebels amnesty. He resigned his seat in Parliament in 1858. He died in comparative poverty, in Toronto, in August 1861.

Louis-Joseph Papineau (1786-1871): In June 1808, he became a member of the Assembly for Kent (Chambly). He was admitted to the Bar of Lower Canada on May 3, 1810. In 1814, he was elected in the riding of Montreal East as a substitute for his father. He represented this riding in the House of Assembly until March 1832.

He was Speaker of the House of Assembly from 1815 to 1823 and from 1825 to 1832. With his forceful interventions in the House and his popularity as a powerful speaker, Louis-Joseph Papineau became the champion of the nationalist movement.

As leader of the Canadian Party, which later became the Patriot Party, he made an important speech in the House of Assembly on February 28, 1834, on the Ninety-two Resolutions. London responded to these requests with the Russell resolutions, which reached Canada three years later. Their terms only swelled the discontent, and rebellion took shape. Armed uprisings broke out.

In 1836, warrants were issued for the arrest of Louis-Joseph Papineau and the other main leaders of the Patriot movement. On December 12, a proclamation was made offering $4000 to anyone who brought Papineau to justice. He sought refuge in Albany, New York, where he stayed for two years. He moved to Paris in 1839, and stayed there for almost four years. When he returned to the colony, Papineau was granted amnesty thanks to the influence of Louis-Hippolyte La Fontaine. He was re-elected to the Parliament of United Canada in January 1848 as the Member for Saint-Maurice. In 1852, he was elected member for Deux-Montagnes. Papineau retired from politics in 1854. He died at 85 years of age.

Thomas Paine (Thetford, Norfolk, England, 1737-New York, 1809): Thomas Paine was an American Founding Father. Son of a Quaker, after a short basic education, he started to work, at first for his father, later as an officer of the excise. During this occupation Thomas Paine was an unsuccesful man, and was twice dismissed from his post. In 1774, he met Benjamin Franklin in London, who advised him to emigrate to America, giving him letters of recommendation.

Paine landed in Philadelphia on November 30, 1774. Starting over as a publicist, he first published his African Slavery in America, in the spring of 1775, criticising slavery in America as being unjust and inhumane. On arriving in Philadelphia, Paine had sensed the rise of tension, and the spirit of rebellion, that had steadily mounted in the Colonies after the Boston Teaparty. In Paine's view the Colonies had all the right to revolt against a government, for him there was no reason for the Colonies to stay dependent on England. On January 10, 1776 Paine formulated his ideas on American independence in his pamphlet Common Sense. Due to the many copies sold (500,000) Paine's influence on the Declaration of Independence of July 4, 1776 is eminent. During the War of Independence Paine volunteered in the Continental Army. In 1777 he became Secretary of the Committee of Foreign Affairs in Congress, but already in 1779 he was forced to resign because he had disclosed secret information. In the following nine years he worked as a clerk at the Pennsylvania Assembly and published several writings.

In 1787 Thomas Paine left for England, initially to raise funds for the building of a bridge he had designed, but after the outbreak of the French Revolution he became deeply involved in it. Though a true republicanist, he was imprisoned in 1793 under Robespierre, because he had voted against the execution of the dethroned King Louis XVI.

After his release he stayed in France until 1802, when he sailed back to America, after an invitation by Thomas Jefferson who had met him before when he was minister in Paris and who admired him. Back in the United States he learned that he was seen as a great infidel, or simply forgotten for what he had done for America.

Patrik Henry (1736-1799): He was a prominent figure during the era of the American Revolution. In the opinion of most historians (and most of his contemporaries), he was one of, if not the most radical politician of the period. Trained as an attorney, and noted for his heated oratorical skills. Henry was elected to the House of Burgesses (legislative body of the Virginia colony) in 1765. That same year, he proposed the Virginia Stamp Act Resolutions. It was possibly the most anti-British (many called it "treasonous") American political action to that point, and some credit the Resolutions with being one of the main catalysts of the Revolution. Henry is perhaps best known for the closing words of a speech he made in the House of Burgesses on March 23, 1775, urging that legislature to take military action against the encroaching British military force:

Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!"

During the Revolution, Henry led a military force in defense of Virginia, chiefly in defense of some disputed gunpowder coveted by the British.

After the Revolution, Henry was an outspoken critic of the Constitution and urged against its adoption, arguing it gave the federal government too much power. He served as the first Governor of Virginia, from 1776-79, and again from 1784-86. He died at Red Hill Plantation, Virginia.

N° 21. - Galindo (14/3/1937 – 10/11/1937)
Spanish people.

N° 24. - Español (5/4/1937 – 23/9/1938)
Hispano-Americans.

Rakosi (12/4/1937 – 22/9/1938)
Hungarians and Czechs, Tartarians from Turkestan, Ukrainians and Poles.

Italoespañol (2nd of the XII IB) (1/5/1937 – 25/9/1938)
Italians.

Italoespañol [Figlio] (3rd of the XII IB) (1/5/1937 – 25/9/1938)
Italians.

Hans Beimler (May 1937 – 23/10/1938)
People from Austria, Switzerland and Scandinavia.

Zwolfe Februar (June 37 – 19/10/38)

Volunteers from Austria, Germany and Scandinavia.

Djure Djakovic o Deda Blagoiev (June 1937 – 5/10/1938)

Yugoslavians and Czechs.

N° 40. - Palafox (4/8/1937 – 22/10/1938)

Poles, Ukrainians, Hungarians and French.

The Polish majority decided the name of the battalion: "Palafox", in order to clean the stain of the Polish people in the Napoleon army in Zaragoza.

Their pennant is preserved by the Militaria Arganzuela, Madrid (Fig. 40).

Fig. 40

In December 1937 their 2nd company was formed by Jewish people, under the name of Naftalí Botwin (a Polish Jew who was executed in 1925, after having eliminated a phyla-fascist spy). Poles, Ukrainians, White Russians and Hungarians composed this company; they had their own banner, newspaper and anthem in Yiddish, their official language. Their banner had inscribed on it in Spanish, Yiddish, and Polish, "Company Naftali Botwin. For Our and Your Freedom."

It is said that the last casualty of the International Brigades was a component of this Jewish company: Haskel Honigstein, who died on October 4, 1938.

> **José Palafox** (Zaragoza 1776 – Madrid 1847): Aragon military who assumed the defense of twice seated Zaragoza by the French troops (1808-1809).

Italoespañol (4° de la XII) (10/1937 – 25/9/1938)

Masaryk (30/12/1937 – 5/10/1938)

Czechs and some Polish.

Formed in December 1937 it was the reserve battalion of the 45th division, later passing to the 29 BI. He covered the retreat of the army in Aragon and Catalonia. Crossed the border on 9 February 1939.

Their flag was a republican tricolour with white letters (Fig. 41).
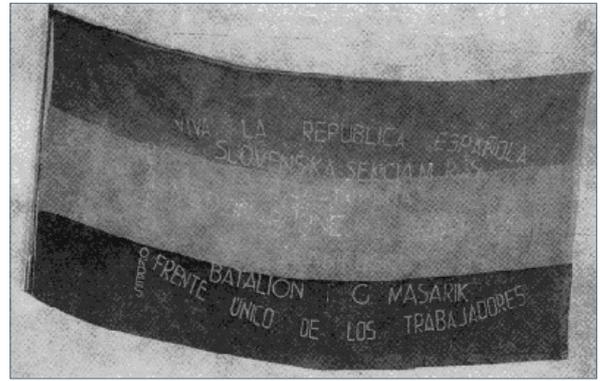
Fig. 41

> **Tomás Masaryk** (Göding, Bohemia 1850 – Lány, Bohemia 1937): Czech politician, cathedratic of philosophy at the Prague University. In 1900 he was one of the founders of the Czech popular party which fought for the autonomy against the Austrian-Hungarian empire. Once the independence obtained of the Czech state, he was elected president of the Republic 1918-1935.

Divisionario de la 35 DI

Checo-balcánico [or Divisionary of the 45 DI) (3/1938 – 25-10-1938)

Non identified Polish Unit

We could be talking about a flag that would be identified with the totality of the Polish brigades and not to a determined company or battalion; though, the presence of a republican tie indicates that indeed it is a flag of the unit.

Luis Sorando describes it "of red trimmed silk with gold fringe, measures approximately 1.40 x 2.15m. It shows in the centre a huge emblem formed by the red three point star, trimmed with fine lively golden, on whose vertex there is a white circle which inside it has a sky-blue semi-circle with the map of Spain and a clenched fist and at the bottom a red five point star on a golden sun. In the upper part of the cloth a motto in Polish *JEDNOSE LUDU PRACULACEGO TOSMIERE FASZISMU!* (The union of the working people is the thumb of fascism!) in white letters. It wears a republican three-colour tie with golden edge" (Fig. 42).

Fig. 42

Spanish Battalions

There were some Spanish battalions incorporated in short periods into the International Brigades:

♦ *Astúrias Heredia (28/XI/36 – 7/XII/36 into the XI IB)*
♦ *Juan Marco (1/IV/37 – 5/VIII/37 into the XIII IB)*
♦ *Madrid (14/I/37 – 31/I/37 into the XI IB)*
♦ *Madrid-2 (17/I/37 – 8/III/37 into the XII IB)*
♦ *Otumba (1/IV/37 – 5/VIII/37 into the XIII IB)*
♦ *Pacífico (14/I/37 – 31/I/37 into the XI IB)*
♦ *Pasionaria (III/37, Guadalajara battle, into the XI IB)*

4. COMPANIES

Among the more than two hundred companies existing in the International Brigades, probably all of them with specific flags, we know only three: The British "Major Attlee Company", the Irish "Connolly", and the North American "Tom Mooney".

4.1. Major Attlee

It was the 1st company of the British Battalion. Early December 1937, Clement Attlee, Ellen Wilkinson and Philip Noel-Baker, leaders of the British Labour Party, visited the British Battalion; from this time, their first company took the name of Major Attlee.

In the XV IB newsletter, there is information about this company and their flag, a gift of the London workers:
MAJOR ATLEE PRESENT WHEN COMPANY HONORS HIS NAME
…

English Battalion Gets Banner
The ties of solidarity between the democratic people of Britain and the members of the British Battalion in Spain were further strengthened by the presentation of colours to the 57th (English) Battalion as the gift of the London workers.

An impressive Battalion parade was reviewed by Brigade Commander, Lieutenant Copi, Brigade Commissar Dave Doran, Chief-on Staff Major Merriman and Bill Rush, British working class leader, who brought and presented the banner.
…

About this flag there are a lot of pictures but, nobody says if the letters are white or gold on a, probably, red field (Fig. 43).

Clement Richard Attlee (London 1883 – 1967):British politician. Labour deputy as from 1922. Was a part of the MacDonald government (1929-1931). Entered in the coallition government of Churchill 1940-1945. Head of the Labour Party, became Prime Minister after winning the elections of 1945. Maintained himself in the job until 1951 when he was defeated by the Conservatives of Winston Churchill. Was the head of the opposition till 1955 when he retired from active politics. In 1956 the Queen made him an Earl.

Fig. 43

4.2. Connolly Column

The Connolly Column was the Irish Section of the 1st Company (Guiteras-Connolly) of the XV IB. Organised in Ireland by the Irish socialist Peadar O'Donnell, they got the name of this socialist hero, James Connolly. In December 1936, Frank Ryan and 80 volunteers arrived to Spain; the majority came from the Free State but there was also a group of socialists from Belfast.

We know their flag through the pictures of the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the creation of the International Brigades. Because of the excellent condition of this flag I suppose it is a reconstruction of the original one (Fig. 44).

Fig. 44

James Connolly (Edinburgh 1868 - 1916) He joined the British Army and served in Ireland. He deserted in 1889 and returned to Scotland.

Connolly became a socialist and in 1896 moved to Dublin as an organiser of the Dublin Socialist Society. Later he founded the Irish Socialist Republican Party. In 1902 Connolly returned to Edinburgh. He immigrated to the USA in 1903 and established the Irish Socialist Federation and the newspaper, *"The Harp"*. In 1910 Connolly returned to Dublin where he joined the Socialist Party of Ireland. In 1912 Connolly and James Larkin established the Irish Labour Party. By 1913 the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union had 10,000 members and had secured wage increases for most of its members. Attempts to prevent workers from joining the ITGWU in 1913 led to a lockout. Connolly returned to Dublin to help the union in its struggle with the employers. This included the formation of the Irish Citizen Army.

During the Eastern Rising, Connolly's Irish Citizen Army fought alongside the Irish Volunteers. Connolly served in the General Post Office during the fighting and was severely wounded. James Connolly was executed on 9 May 1916.

4.3. Tom Mooney

The Tom Mooney was the machine-gun company of the Lincoln battalion. Their flag is documented from a picture and also we are not sure about the colour field, red (probably) or blue, and letters and machine-gun in white or gold? (Fig. 45)

Tom Mooney (Chicago, December 8th, 1882 - March 6th, 1942).

Mooney's father was a coal miner who died of tuberculosis at the age of 36. In 1908 Mooney joined the Socialist Party of America. He married Rena Hermann in 1911 and became the publisher of *"The Revolt"*, a socialist newspaper in San Francisco. In July he was arrested with his wife and others, in relation with the bomb that went off in San Francisco on July 22nd, 1916, when employers organised a march through the streets in favour of an improvement in national defence.

Mooney was sentenced to death and billings to life-imprisonment. There were protests all over the world and President Woodrow Wilson called on William Stephens, the Governor of California, to look again at the case. Two weeks before Mooney was scheduled to hang, Stephens commuted his sentence to life imprisonment in San Quentin. Soon afterwards Mooney wrote to Stephens: "I prefer a glorious death at the hands of my traducers, you included, to a living grave." In November 1938 Culbert Olson (Democratic Party) was elected as Governor of California. Soon Olson ordered that Mooney should be released from prison. A crowd of 25,000 greeted Mooney in San Francisco. He was a sick man and a month after being released from prison he had an emergency operation to remove his gallbladder. For the next two years he had three more operations and spent most of his time in hospital. Tom Mooney died on March 6th, 1942.

Fig. 45a

Fig 45b

5. BATERIAS

There was a total of 21 International Batteries; from them we only know one flag: the Gottwald anti-flight battery.

5.1. Gottwald

This was an anti-flight battery, created in January 1937 and formed by Czechs, Slovaks and Yugoslavians. Demobilised on September 25, 1938, after having shot down 51 aeroplanes.

Their standard was a gift of the "*siderurgia*" of Sagunto workers' in May 1938. Now it is in the Military Museum of Prague and on the front side, over the republican tricolours, in white letters, is the text: "*Los obreros de la siderúrgica de Sagunto a la 17 Batería DECA*" (Fig. 46).

Fig. 46

Klement Gottwald (Dedice, Moravia 1896 – Praga 1953): Czech politician. Militant of the social democrat and of the communist party ever since its foundation (1921). Secretary of the Czech communist party, he went to the USSR (1938-1945). At his return he was president of the counsel (1946) and organised (1948) the coup that gave the power to the Communists President of the Republic between 1948 and 1953.

6. BASE Y ESCUELAS

Apart from the Base of Albacete, the international brigades organised the Superior Military School and the School of Officers of Pozorrubio which, probably, had their own flags.

6.1. Base Albacete

The General Headquarters of the International Brigades was seated in Albacete, because of the premises disposed there by the communist "5º Regimiento". Afterwards, in April they moved to Barcelona to a villa in Horta and on the Tibidabo mountain.

The flag of the "Base. Estado Mayor. Albacete" was paid by a people's subscription, and sent to them in October 1937. It is almost square ∼1x1 m; in the obverse there was a big red five-pointed star and text and fringe in gold; the reverse was different: star, rays and probably, the three-pointed star of the International Brigades (Fig. 47).
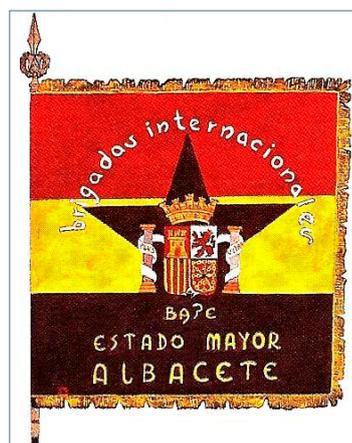
Fig. 47

7. AVIACION

International volunteers joined the Republican Air Forces, basically, in four squadrons:

The *"Escuadrilla España"*, organised by the French writer André Malraux, member of the Anti-fascist World Committee. Created in Barcelona in July 1936, they moved to Madrid on August 16, 1936. This squadron flight was increasing until half a hundred aeroplanes and three hundred people (pilots and other personnel).

In the *"Grupo 11 de Caza Nieuport 52"* with base in Getafe there were the Soviet pilots, first arrived to test the aeroplanes, and some British and Italians.

Also in the *"Escuadrilla de Bombardeo"* based in Alcalá de Herares there were Soviet pilots who tested the Breguet XIX and some French, Hungarian and Italian pilots.

In the *"Grupo 14 de Caza Nieuport NI-52"* and in the air force based in Bilbao and Lamiaco, there were also some international volunteers.

Related with the international air forces' symbols, we can only show their insignia (Fig. 48).

Fig. 48

In general, republican aircraft were decorated with large areas in red colour on the fuselage and wings and, normally, they retained the tricolour on the rudder and the republican roundel (Fig. 49).

Fig. 49

8. MEDICAL SERVICES

Concerning medical services, the Spanish War was also an experimental field of new proceedings and technologies. Moises Broggi, head surgeon of the mobile hospital of the brigades, in his book of memoires, explains us the three important improvements in military healthcare that were realised during the war: the mobile hospitals, the blood bank and the systematisation of the treatment of the wounds.

Fig. 50

Fig. 51

Fig. 50 reproduces the flag of the Health Company of the 45 Division of the International Brigades. It is necessary to underline the maltese cross situated in a circle above

the three pointed star. Would this be the symbol of the Health of the BI?

On the photo of Fig. 51 appears a pennant of the SRI (International Red Help) on a van of the "Canadian Blood Transfusion Service"; from the greys of photography, they probably were red letters on white field.

9. OTHER SYMBOLS

We want to give you a few words about other symbols of the International Brigades, different from flags, standards and pennants: The Seal, the Three-Pointed Star, special Medals and the Cemetery of the International Brigades in Fuencarral.

9.1. Seal

We know the official seal of the International Brigades through several posters and it is now used by several ex-fighters' associations.

The seal is slightly different in the type or star, five-pointed (Figs. 52-54-55-56) or three-pointed (Fig. 54) and in the dates, 1936-1937 in posters of that time (Figs. 54-55) and 1936-1939 in their use after the war (Fig. 53).

I do not know if the flag reproduced on the poster shown in the Fig. 55, red with the seal placed to the hoist, was ever used as an official flag of the whole International Brigades; I presume that it is an invention of the designer.

Fig. 52
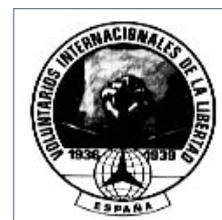
Fig. 53

Fig. 54

Fig. 55

Fig. 56

9.2. The Red Three Pointed Star

It is absolutely clear that the Tree-Pointed Star was the most representative symbol of the International Volunteers. But, what was its origin?

Some put it in the Paris Commune of 1871 and others say that the three-pointed star was the symbol of the "Frente Popular Internacional" (International People's Front) and the "Socorro Rojo Internacional" (International Red Help).

Luigi Longo, one of the IB organisers, in his book about the International Brigades, identifies the three-pointed star as a distinctive symbol of unity and symbol of the People's Front all over the world. Also, momentaneously, the use of the red flag "without inscriptions or party symbols" was permitted.

"Para cortar de raiz cualquier motivo de sospecha o desacuerdo político, se prohibe en las formaciones militares de los voluntarios internacionales el uso de cualquier insignia o distintivo de partido, de sindicato o de cualquier otra organización partidaria. La bandera española es nuestra bandera oficial, por cuya victoria combatimos. Por el momento se tolera el uso de la bandera roja –sin inscripciones o símbolos de partido- como símbolo de la solidaridad internacional. Como distintivo particular de los voluntarios y de los cuerpos internacionales se adopta la estrella de tres picos, símbolo del frente popular en todos los paises."

Let's take an overview on graphical use of this symbol:

As an international army symbol:

57

58
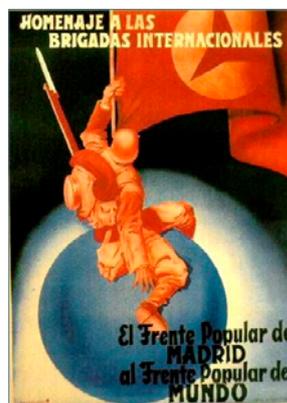
59

60

61

As a symbol for youth and women's movements

62

63

64

Representing the International Red Help (Socorro Rojo Internacional)

65

66

67

68

Today, of course, the three-pointed star is of general use in veterans' societies and it is present in different types of supports in monuments, badges, pins, etc.

69

70

71

72

9.3 Medals

Medal of the international volonteers

Fig. 73

The "Hans Beimler Medal"

Established by the *Deutsche Demokratische Republik* (DDR) in 1956. The Hans Beimler medal was awarded for services in the "International Revolution and Liberation Struggle of the Spanish Peoples 1936-1939." The medal is silver in appearance and has a diameter of 32 mm. On the obverse stands a Portrait of Hans Beimler. On the upper outer portion of the obverse is the inscription of the years of Hans Beimler's lifespan "1895-1936." The reverse displays the emblem of the International Brigades, whose points are superimposed over the inner circle of letters spelling out the words "*INTERNATIONALE BRIGADEN*" and surrounded by an outer ring of letters "*KAMPFER SPANIENS FREIHEIT 1936-1939*" (FIGHTER FOR SPANISH LIBERTY 1936-1939) with the years of the Spanish Civil War placed at the bottom. The medal is suspended on a rectangular ribbon bar of red, yellow, and violet horizontal strips; on the outer edges of both sides are narrow vertical stripes of black, red, and gold, the colors of the German Flag.

Fig. 74

The "Jaroslaw Dabrowski Brigade Commemorative Decoration" (*Odznaka Pamiatkowa Dabrowszczakow*)

Instituted in 1945 to honour the soldiers of the Jaroslaw Dabrowski XIII International Brigade, which fought on the Republican side during the Spanish civil war of 1936-1939. Badge: 35 mm in diameter, made in white metal. The central part has the form of the three-pointed star depicting the bust of General Dabrowski. At the points of the star there is the inscription XIII / IB : 1936 : 1939.

A laurel wreath surrounds the star with a scroll containing an inscription in Spanish "*Por vuestra libertad y la nuestra*" (for your liberty and ours).

Fig. 75

The Polish "Medal for Your Liberty and Ours"

Instituted by decree of the Polish State Council of October 18, 1956. Awarded to Polish volunteers who participated in the Spanish War of 1936-1939 on side of the Republic.

Badge: silver medal, 35 mm of diameter.

Obverse: head of one of the Republican army commanders, Gen. Swierczewski, circumscribed "*ZA WASZA WOLNOSC I NASZA*" (for your liberty and ours). Reverse: a three pointed star, surrounded by a laurel wreath, and with the inscription: XII / B I / 1936-1939 on it, and with the year of institution1956 below; around runs the circumscription "*DABROWSZCZAKOM*" (to members of the Dabrowski battalion).

Ribbon red with a white central stripe (of the Spanish Military Order of Merit).

Fig. 76

Bulgarian Communist Veteran's Medal for the Spanish Civil War 1939

Instituted on 28 May 1974 and awarded to Bulgarian and foreign citizens who participated in the struggle with the International. The obverse of the medal is 33 mm in diameter, circular in shape, and made from yellow metal. Pictured on the obverse is a map of Spain with the three-pointed star and an image of a clenched fist. Written in Bulgarian are the words for "Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism." On the reverse is the five-pointed communist star, the bust of the Bulgarian Prime Minister, George Dimitrov, with the words "Bulgarian International Brigades – Spain – 1936-1939" positioned around the outer edge. The medal is suspended from a five-sided ribbon holder with a multi-coloured ribbon in equal widths of red, yellow, violet, white, green and again red stripes that symbolize the national colours of Bulgaria and Spain.

Fig. 77

Ex-Presidium of Supreme Soviet of USSR: Medal for Veteran-Internationalist / Медаль «Ветерану-интернационалисту» (unofficial), also known as *"Umalatova Alternative Medals"*

Created 16 October 1999 and awarded to a wide range of "veteran internationalist warriors" including those who fought in Afghanistan. This is an unofficial "Umamatova Decoration". Obverse: A circular bright bronze medal with latitude and longitude lines and an overlaid hammer and sickle and an AK-74, muzzle upright. From the muzzle of the rifle a red-enameled carnation emerges. Below, there is a red-enameled ribbon bearing a gold five-pointed star. Surrounding the central design there is a Russian legend "ВЕТЕРАНУ - ИНТЕРНАЦИОНАЛИСТУ" or "To a Veteran-Internationalist". Reverse: A six-line legend in Russian "ИСПАНИЯ ɦ СЕВЕРНАЯ КОРЕЯ ɦ КУБА ɦ БЛИЖНИЙ ВОСТОК ɦ ВЬЕТНАМ ɦ АФГАНИСТАН" or "Spain, North Korea, Cuba, Near East, Vietnam, Afghanistan" with a wreath below and a five-pointed star above; this is, in turn, surrounded by a Russian legend "УЧАСТНИКУ НАЦИОНАЛЬНО-ОСВОБОДИТЕЛЬНОГО ДВИЖЕНИЯ" or "Participant in the National Liberation Movement" around the edge of the medal. Ribbon: A complex, 24-mm multi-colored ribbon, representing the areas in which service was rendered: gray, gold, green red, black, yellow, blue, gold, and gray. Suspended from a "Warsaw Pact" style pentagonal suspender.

Fig. 78

Jubilarna Zna ka Jugoslovenskin Dubrovoliaca Spanske Republikanske Vojske. Medal 'International Brigades in Spain', Yugoslavia

Zalka Mate Medal, Hungary

9.4. International Brigades Cemetery at Fuencarral

The International Brigades Cemetery at Fuencarral is another kind of symbol; at the time of its organisation it was (I suppose) a propagandistic symbol and a perpetual remembrance of all international fellows who died defending Democracy, as the "flame to the Unknown Soldier" memorials all over the world.

Immediately after the war, Franco ordered its total destruction. Now, there, near the original place, there is a reproduction of the old tablet and several memorial monuments.

In the village of Fuencarral, now an area of Madrid, my mother Francisca Agüí was born, and my grandfather was the "*Secretario Judicial*" helped by my father Francisco Herreros, also "*Secretario Judicial*" of Alcobendas and San Sebastián de los Reyes.

The history of this symbol is very badly known, there are several pictures in books but there is not any explanation. Luigi Longo in his memoires says:

"Hay muchos héroes caídos por la defensa de Madrid, de todas las nacionalidades y orígenes sociales. La muerte ha reunido a los hijos de muchos pueblos, todos ellos militantes de un solo ideal de libertad y progreso. Un pequeño cementerio, el de Fuencarral, que ya es inmenso en el recuerdo de los pueblos, recoge los restos de los caidos que la piedad y el heroismo de los camaradas han podido recuperar de los campos de batalla. Una inscripción en francés grabada sobre el mármol a lo largo del muro que rodea el cementerio, recuerda brevemente a los caidos: "Voluntarios de las Brigadas Internacionales ... caídos como héroes ... por la libertad del pueblo español, ... el bienestar y el progreso de la humanidad". Sobre cada tumba una sencilla lápida de mármol consigna el nombre, la nacionalidad del caido y la fecha del sacrificio."

Fig. 80

Because of the direct implication of my father, let me explain you my traditional memory:

In July 1936, when the civil war started, my father tried to join the Republican Army but, because of his job, was militarised and mantained in his duty in justice administration. Through this service my father had the opportunity to participate in a not very well known historical fact: the creation of the International Brigades Cemetery at Fuencarral.

Around Novenber or December 1936, my father was informed about the presence of a cadaver on Mount El Pardo. Collaborating with his father (with problems of mobility) he went to fulfil his job, in spite of knowing that the body was in a militarised zone. Being there he was arrested by a patrol that took him to the command point. They were soldiers of the XII International Brigade who at that time were camped between Fuencarral and El Pardo. When my father justified the motive for his presence in the military zone, the commander who was interrogating him (or who simply was present) showed to be very interested. It happened to be the chief of the Brigade, General Paul Lukacz (name with which the well-known Polish writer Mate Zalka was known). He then proposed my father that, integrated in the XII BI, but, as it seems, depending on the " Inhumation Services of the International Brigades, he would take care of organising a cemetery which would serve as a last resting place for those "*Voluntaries of the International Brigades, killed heroically for the freedom of the Spanish people, welfare and progress of humanity*". And thus he did.

Fig. 79

Fig. 81

This is the document issued by the Military Registry of Salamanca that recognizes the adscription of Francisco Herreros to the Inhumation Service of the International Brigades with the grade of Lieutenant.

In relation with this "Inhumation Service of the International Brigades ", I have not been able to find more information than what is mentioned here above. This lack of data is confirmed by Fernando Rodríguez de la Torre, doctor in Geography and History, menber of tghe Albacete Institute for Studies, great scholar of the international brigades and author of the first "*World Bibliography about the International Brigades and the participation of foreigners in favour of the Republic*" ,who, when knowing the data referred to by my father, picked it up in an article published in the newspaper La Verdad , Albacete, 2 December 2001. Fernando Rodríguez, in the e-mail in which he forwarded me the above said article concludes: "After having read in many languages over a thousand books about the I.B. I have neither found anything related with this Service, documented by you in the Registry of Salamanca."

We will keep searching!

EPILOGUE

Figures never will be clear; nevertheless, the last and most credible investigation put the number of international fighters between 35,000 and 40,000. From them, the most represented nationalities were:

France 25,4%, Poland 10%, Italy 10%, Germany 10%, USA 6,5%, Great Britain 5,4%, Belgium 5,2%, Czechoslovakia 5,5%, Hungary 3,6%, Yugoslavia 2,5%, Austria 2,5%, Canada 1,9%, the Netherlands 1,7%, Bulgaria 1,3%, Switzerland 1,1%, Romania 1%, Sweden 1%. Less than 1% were volunteers from: Abyssinia, Albania, Andorra, Arabia, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Chinese from the USA, Cuba, Denmark, Equator, Estonia, Philippines, Finland, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indochina, Ireland, Island, Israel, Jamaica, Japanese from the USA, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Morocco, Mexico, Mongolia, Montenegro, Nicaragua, Norway, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, Puerto Rico, San Marino, Dominican Rep., Syria, Tangiers, Turkestan,

Turkey, Ukraine, South Africa, USSR, Uruguay and Venezuela. There are some other undetected nationalities.

60 years after their arrival, Spanish people said thank-you to the Internationals. From a Parlamentary proposal of the groups of "*Izquierda Unida - Iniciativa por Cataluña*", "*Vasco (PNV)*" and "*Socialista*" the "*Congreso de Diputados*" (Spanish Congress) approved the concession of the Spanish Nationality to the Volunteers of the International Brigades who fought in the Spanish War 1936-1939, defending Democracy and their ideas. (Royal Decree 39/1996, of January 19th)

Bibliography

We mention here those books, articles and web pages that have been consulted and which contain information related to the symbols of the International Brigades:

Álvarez, Santiago; Cabra Loredo, Dolores: *Historia política y militar de las brigadas Testimonios y documentos*. Madrid, 1996

Armero, José Mario; González, Manuel: *Armas y pertrechos de la guerra civil española*. Madrid, 1981

Broggi, Moisès: *Memòries d'un cirugià (1908-1945)*. Barcelona, 2001

Bueno, José Mª: *Uniformes Militares de la Guerra Civil Española*. Madrid, 1997

Calvo Pérez, José Luis; Grávalos González, Luis: *Banderas de España*. Madrid, 1983

Cierva, Ricardo de la: *Brigadas Internacionales 1936-1939. La verdadera historia. Mentira histórica y error de Estado*. Madrid, 1997

Delpierre de Bayac, Jacques: *Les brigades internationales*. Paris, 1968

Kühne, Horst: *Krieg in Spanien 1936-1939*. Berlin: *Militärverlag der DDR*, 1986

Eisner, Alexei: *La 12ª brigada internacional*. Valencia, 1972

Engel, Carlos: *Historia de las brigadas mixtas del ejército popular de la república, 1936-1939*. Madrid, 1999

Flores Pazos, Carlos; *Recio Cardona, Ricardo: Uniformes y pertrechos. Ejército popular republicano, 1936-1936*. Madrid, 1997

Grimau, Carmen: *El cartel republicano en la guerra civil*. Madrid, 1979

Harrington, Kevin:

Jackson, Gabriel; Centelles, Agustí: *Catalunya, republicana i revolucionària 1931-1939*. Barcelona, 1982

Longo, Luigi: *Las brigadas internacionales en España*. México, 1969

Lozano, Jesús: *La 2ª República. Imágenes, cronología y documentos*. Barcelona, 1973

Manzano Lahoz, Antonio: *Las Banderas Históricas del Ejército Español*. Madrid, 1996

Nierga i Planes, Joan; *Alemany i Oliveres, Joan: Memòries d'un soldat de la república*. Barcelona, 1994

Schwartz, Fernando: *La internacionalización de la guerra civil española*. Barcelona, 1999

Sorando Muzás, Luis: *Banderas de los Internacionales en la guerra civil española. Bando republicano, 1936-1939. XI Congreso Internacional de Vexilología*, Madrid, 1985. *Comunicaciones*. Barcelona, 1987

Sorando Muzás, Luis: *Las brigadas internacionales en la guerra civil española. Defensa, revista internacional de ejércitos armamento y tecnología. Núm. 99*. Madrid, 1986

Termes, Josep; *Miravitlles, Jaume; Fontseré, Carles: Carteles de la República y de la Guerra Civil*. Barcelona, 1978

Vidal, César: *Las Brigadas Internacionales. Madrid, 1998*

vvaa: *Carteles de la guerra civil española. Madrid, 1981*

vvaa: *Imágenes de la guerra civil española*. Barcelona, 1986

vvaa: *La guerra civil espanyola. Exposició organitzada per la Direcció General del Patrimoni Artístic, Arxius i Museus. Ministeri de Cultura*. Barcelona, 1981

vvaa: *La intervención extranjera II. Biblioteca de la Guerra Civil*. Barcelona, 1996

vvaa: *Las brigadas internacionales según testimonio de sus artífices. Comité de Información y Actuación Social*. Barcelona ∼194?

vvaa: *No pasaran!. Vojenský Historický Ústav. Vojenské Muzeum / Expozice Csla*. Praha, 1986

vvaa: *Catálogo de la exposición: Voluntarios de la Libertad. Las Brigadas Internacionales. Asociación de Amigos de las Brigadas Internacionales*. Albacete, 1999

Wyden, Peter: *La guerra apasionada. Las brigadas internacionales en la guerra civil española*. Barcelona, 1997

Zaragoza, Cristóbal: *Ejército popular y militares de la Republica (1936-1939)*. Barcelona, 1983

Web pages

http://www.fut.es/~aabi/ http://www.brigadasinternacionales.org (*Asociación de Amigos de las Brigadas Internacionales*)

http://www.alba-valb.org/index.html (ALBA Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives)

http://www.fotw.ca/flags/es^civil.html (Flags of the World: Spanish Civil War 1936-1939)

http://www.klahrgesellschaft.at/Fahnen.html (*Alfred Klahr Gesellschaft Archiv- und Bibliotheksverein*)

http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/9820/index.htm (The Spanish Revolution & Civil War)

http://www.intst.net/humanities/vs/spain/index.htm (Virtual School: Europe and the Spanish Civil War)

http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/Spain.htm (Spanish Civil War)

http://www.guerracivil.org/BRIGADAS/brigadas.html (Manuel Sanromà: *Las Brigadas Internacionales*)

http://www.cucaracha.de/index.htm (The Spanish Civil War)

http://www.international-brigades.org.uk/ (The International Brigades Memorial Trust / The British Battalion of the International Brigades)

http://site.voila.fr/espana36/brigades/brigade1.htm (*Les Brigades Internationales*)

http://www.nodo50.org/age/page3BBII.htm (*Archivo Guerra y Exilio: Brigadas Internacionales*)

http://www.historiasiglo20.org/enlaces/brigint.htm (*Brigadas Internacionales: Enlaces*)

http://www.guerraspagna.too.it/ (*La Guerra di Spagna 1936-1939*)

http://www.anpi.it/guerra_di_spagna.htm (*Associazione Nazionale Partigiani d'Italia: La guerra di Spagna 1936-1939*)

http://www.romacivica.net/anpiroma/antifascismo/Guerraspagna12.htm (*Guerra di Spagna: Le Brigate Internazionali*)

http://members.lycos.co.uk/spanishcivilwar/Contents.htm (General material on Ireland and the Spanish Civil War)

http://www.intst.net/humanities/vs/spain/nations/sweden1/index.htm (Sweden and the Spanish Civil War)

http://www.emering.com/medals/spain/ (The Medal Hound: Spanish Civil War – Foreign Participants)

http://www.geocities.com/fare_web/index.htm (*F.A.R.E. Fuerzas Aéreas de la República*)

http://usuarios.lycos.es/mrval/index.htm (*Aviones de la Guerra Civil Española*)

http://www.geocities.com/Vienna/Choir/5129/portada.htm (*L'aviació a la Guerra Civil Espanyola*)

http://www.zi.ku.dk/personal/drnash/model/spain/SpainAir.htm (Aircraft of the Spanish Civil War)

http://www.libs.uga.edu/flyers/ (Flyers of Fortune: American Airmen in the Spanish Civil War)

http://web.forodigital.es/uphm/mgl/buques/buques.htm (*Buques de la Guerra Civil Española*)

http://www.nodo50.org/arevolucionaria/

articulos/brigadas%20int0.htm (*Las Brigadas Internacionales*)

http://idd003x0.eresmas.net/index.html (*Altavoz del frente*)

http://burn.ucsd.edu/scwtable.htm (Spanish Civil War: The Posters of the Spanish Revolution)

http://www.library.brandeis.edu/SpecialCollections/SpanishCivilWar/posters.html (Posters)

http://www.komradeweb.com/espanol/p_spa0.htm (Carteles de la República Esapañola)

http://www.guerracivil.org/Carteles/Index.htm (*Carteles republicanos de la Guerra Civil Española*)

http://www.chisholm-poster.com:16080/chisholm/sCivil/ (Posters)

http://www.art-for-a-change.com/NoPasaran/spain.html (Posters)

http://orpheus.ucsd.edu/speccoll/posters/index.html (The Visual Front. Posters of the Spanish Civil War)

http://www.english.uiuc.edu/maps/scw/photessay.htm (A Spanish Civil War Photo Essay)

http://www.el-mundo.es/larevista/num55/textos/civil.html (*El regreso de las Brigadas Internacionales*)

http://site.voila.fr/espana36/brigades/tonelli.html (Vincenzo Tonelli: « *J'ai été de la Brigade Garibaldi* »)

http://www.anna-sebas.org/brigadasinternacionales/ (*Associació Catalana de Vexil·lologia: Homenatge a les Brigades Internacionals*)

Our special thanks for their information to:

  Kevin Harrington
  Andreas Herzfeld
  Jordi Pérez
  Luis Sorando
  Alfred Zanamierowski

Barcelona, March 2003

The Story of Scotland's Flags

Graham Bartram FFI

Secretary-General for Congresses of FIAV
& Chief Vexillologist of the Flag Institute

The story of Scotland's flag has to start with the story of our modern patron Saint, Andrew (before the 9th Century St. Colum Cheile (or Columba) was the patron saint, having brought Christianity to Scotland):

Despite Andrew being one of the original apostles (along with his brother Simon-Peter) little is known about his life. He was a fisherman from Bethsaida on the Sea of Galilee in what is now Israel. After the crucifiction of Jesus he took the message to the people of the Scythian Steppes and Asia Minor. He was crucified by the Romans at Patrae (now called Patras) in Achaia, near the entrance to the Gulf of Corinth. He asked to be crucified in a different manner from Jesus, as he didn't feel worthy of emulating the messiah. So he was crucified on two diagonal pieces of wood. This is the origin of his symbol, the saltire.

His body was entombed, and about 300 years later, in 340AD, Constantine II decided to move the relics of Andrew to Constantinople (now Istambul in Turkey). According to legend a Greek monk called St. Rule (or St. Regulus in Latin) was warned by an angel in a dream that Constantine intended to move the relics and was told to take them to "the ends of the earth" to keep them safe. The monk managed to remove a tooth, an arm bone, a kneecap and some fingers from St. Andrew's tomb and took them as far away as he could. Scotland was pretty much the end of the known world in those days and it was here that St. Rule came, only to be shipwrecked off the Fife coast. The Pictish settlement that he came ashore at is now called St. Andrew's.

A complication in this tale is that one of Colum Cheile's followers in Ireland was St. Reaghail or Regulus. He dwelt at 'Mucinis', an small island in a loch. 'Mucinis' means 'Isle of the Pigs' and an old name for St. Andrew's is 'Muckross' - 'Headland of the Pigs'. The Irish St. Regulus has his Saints Day on 16 October while the St. Andrew's St. Regulus has his on 17 October. They may well be the same person.

Another, and possibly more likely, tale is that a Bishop of Hexham, called Acca, who was a renowned relic collector, brought the relics of St. Andrew to the settlement in 733AD, after being banished from his See. There certainly seems to have been a religious centre at St. Andrews at that time, either founded by St. Rule or by a Pictish King, Angus, who reigned from 731 - 761AD and the Abbey in Hexham was dedicated to St. Andrew.

Whichever tale is true, and there are others, the relics were placed in a specially constructed chapel. In 1160AD the chapel was replaced by St. Andrew's Cathedral, and the town became the ecclesiastical capital of Scotland and draw for Mediaeval pilgrims who came to see the relics.

The relics have now disappeared, probably destroyed during the Scottish Reformation, when the strictures of Calvinism tended to wish to remove traces of Catholic 'idolatry'. The site of the relics is now marked by a plaque in the ruins of the Cathedral, which was also destroyed by the Calvinists.

Most of St. Andrew's remains were stolen from Constantinople in 1210AD and are now to be found in Amalfi in Southern Italy. In 1879 the Archbishop of Amalfi sent a piece of the Saint's shoulder blade to the re-established Roman Catholic church in Scotland.

In 1969, Pope Paul VI visited Scotland and gave the people some more relics of St. Andrew with the words "Saint Peter gives you his brother". These are now displayed in a reliquary in St. Mary's Roman Catholic Cathedral in Edinburgh.

So that is how St. Andrew became associated with Scotland.

The National Flag

The origins of the national flag are also shrouded in mystery and legend. The story, as generally agreed, originates in a 9th century battle near Athelstaneford in Lothian. The earliest know account is in the 1165AD Register of St. Andrews. In 832AD a Pictish army under Angus Mac Fergus, High King of Alba, along with a Scots detachment led by Eochaidh Mac Etsin, King of Dalriada (the grandfather of Kenneth Mac Alpin, the first High King of Scotland), was surrounded by a much larger force of Angles under Athelstane. Some historians claim the encounter followed a cattle raid by the Picts.

Before the battle, King Angus prayed to God for a victory, despite his smaller army. During the battle clouds appeared, forming a white diagonal cross against the blue sky - the very cross on which St. Andrew was

martyred. Angus promised that if St. Andrew helped his forces to victory, then he would make St. Andrew his kingdom's patron saint. The Picts and the Scots defeated the Angles and St. Andrew became Alba's patron saint. When Kenneth Mac Alpin, who may have been at the battle with his grandfather, united the Scots and Picts and named the new kingdom Scotland, Andrew became the patron saint of the whole realm.

According to legend this is also how Scotland acquired its national flag, but unfortunately there is no documentation to corroborate this. Sixteenth century historians appear to believe the legend, but they may have had access to documents or sources that are now lost. The 18th Century writer, Nisbet, says "After the victory, the two confederate Kings, out of a sense of singular mercy, went in procession to the Church of St. Andrews (where his arm was said to be a relic) to thank God and his apostle, for the victory; purposing that they and their successors, should in all time coming use, on the ensigns the Cross of St. Andrew. How well the Picts performed I know not, being overcome and expelled afterwards by the Scots; but it has been the constant practice of our Kings to carry a white saltire cross, on a blue banner."

The first known use of St. Andrew's cross in Scotland was as a religious, not national, emblem in the seal of the Chapter of St. Andrew's Cathedral in about 1180AD. St. Andrew also appears on the seal of Bishop Gamelin, Chaplain to Alexander II and Chancellor of Scotland in 1254AD.

In 1286AD we have the first known appearance of the figure of St. Andrew as a national emblem. The seal of the Guardians of Scotland, appointed on the death of Alexander III, shows St. Andrew on his cross, surrounded by the words "ANDREA SCOTIS DUX ESTO COMPATRIOTIS" ("Andrew, be the leader of the Scots your compatriots")[1] or possibly "ANDREA DUX EST ET COMPATRIOTIS"[2] (unfortunately part of the edge is damaged)

The Obverse of the Seal of the Guardians of Scotland 1286AD

The first evidence of the use of the cross, without the saint, as a national emblem is on soldier's uniforms, rather than as a flag. The Scottish Parliament decreed in 1385AD that 'Item every man French and Scots shall have a sign before and behind, namely a white St. Andrew's Cross, and if his jack is white or his coat white he shall bear the said white cross in a piece of black cloth round or square'. The French probably wore white which accounts for the last part of the ordinance.

We can see here that blue was not the automatic background colour, indeed black is specified. Over the years blue became the predominant colour. It may well be that the white saltire on blue were the arms assigned to St. Andrew in the early part of the last millennium, much as the red cross on white had been assigned to St. George. Technically it was the saltire, not the background that was the badge of the Scots. There are several explanations as to the blue background: it may come from the legend of the cross of clouds in the sky, from the arms assigned to St. Andrew, or possibly due to the alliance with France, whose flag at the time was a white cross on blue[3].

The standard of the Earl of Douglas was supposedly carried by his younger son Archibald at the Battle of Otterburn in 1388AD. It is sage green with a white saltire at the hoist with two small red hearts. The lion, the Tau Cross and the motto *"Jamais Areyre"* are in white.

Standard of the Earl of Douglas reputedly 1388AD

In the late 15th Century there are several references to flags with a St. Andrew's Cross, but it unclear as to whether it was the only emblem on the flags.

The first certain use of a plain St. Andrew's Cross flag - but the field was red, not blue - occurs in 1503AD in the *Vienna Book of Hours*.

In 1512AD the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland include an entry for payment for a roll of blue woollen bunting for the banner of a ship 'with St. Andrew's Cross in the middle'.

During the reign of James IV Scotland's navy was at its height, with the flagship "Great Michael" (built in 1511AD) being the greatest ship of its time. In 1513AD a staggering £72 7s 6d was spent on a "main standard" for the ship. The flag appears to have had a St. Andrew's cross on a blue background at the hoist and a fly of red and yellow with the royal badges of the red lion and white unicorn.

The Accounts give us another entry in 1540AD for red and yellow taffeta to make three ensigns, with white taffeta of Genoa to make the crosses.
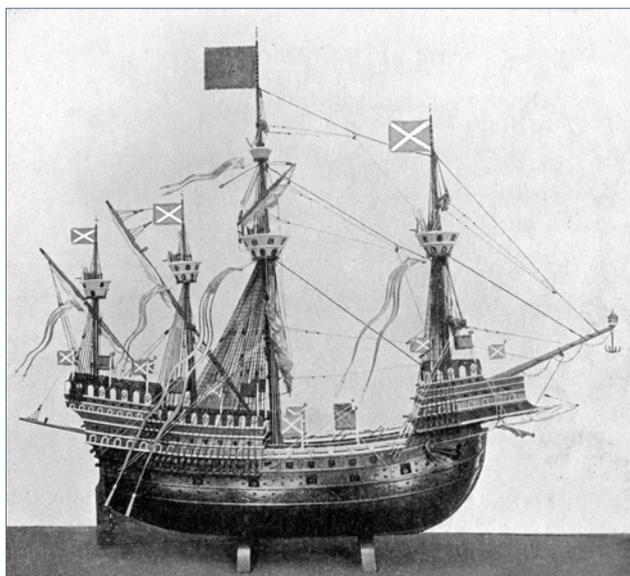
A Model of the Great Michael

The first certain illustration of the St. Andrew's Cross on a blue field as we have it today is in the armorial of Sir David Lindsay in 1542 AD. A carved stone panel in Newhaven, dated 1588 AD, shows a Scottish ship flying three saltires.
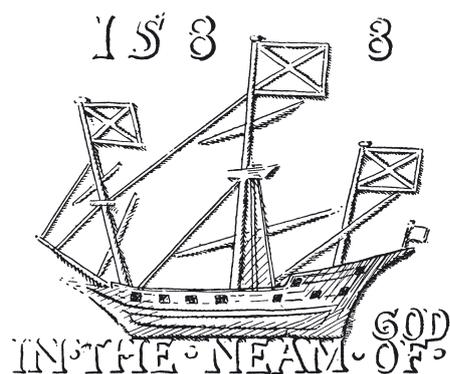
Carved Stone Panel from Newhaven

Another ancient flag is the "Blue Blanket' of the Trades of Edinburgh. This is reputed to have been made by Queen Margaret, wife of James III (1451-1488 AD). It is of blue cloth with a white saltire in the canton.
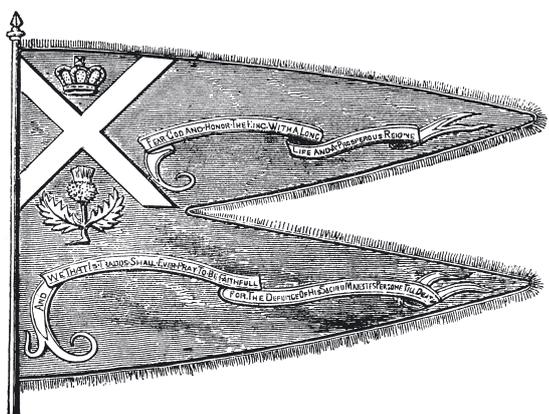
The "Blue Blanket" of the Trades of Edinburgh

In 1606 AD James VI & I combined the white saltire on blue with the red cross on white of St. George to create the "British Flag" the original "Union Flag". In 1707 AD when the Act of Union between England and Scotland required a new national flag Queen Anne decided to continue with James's design. At this point the old Scottish ensign ceased to be used. It was also the start of a quieter period in the flag's life that was to last well into the 20th Century.
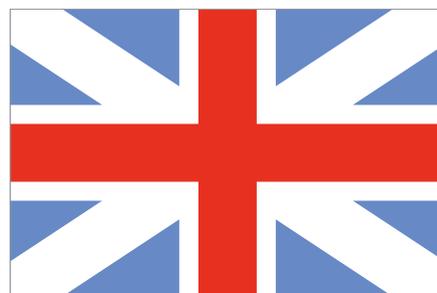
The 1606 British or Union Flag

Many Scots were not happy with the new flag which they believed gave precedence to England and came up with their own variant, shown here flying over Edinburgh Castle in about 1693 AD in an engraving by John Slezer, Captain of Artillery and Surveyor-General of Stores and Magazines in Scotland.
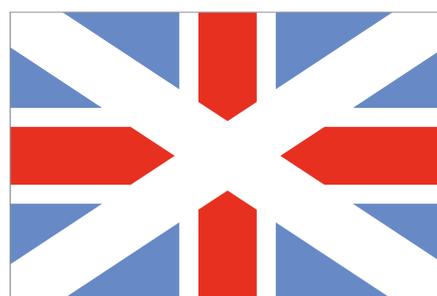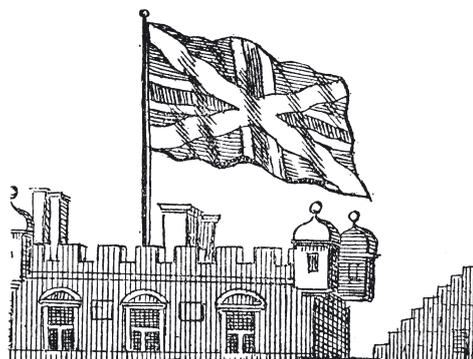
Unofficial Scots Variant of Union Flag

The white saltire on blue appears in military flags such as those used by Scottish forces used at the Battle of Preston in 1648 AD and Dunbar in 1650 AD. Some of these were captured by Cromwellian forces and drawings of them survive.
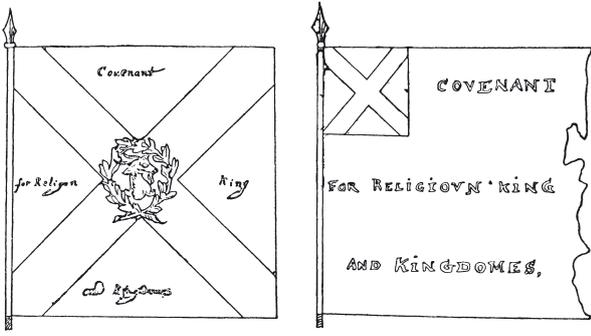
Scottish Colours captured by Cromwell at Preston 1648AD
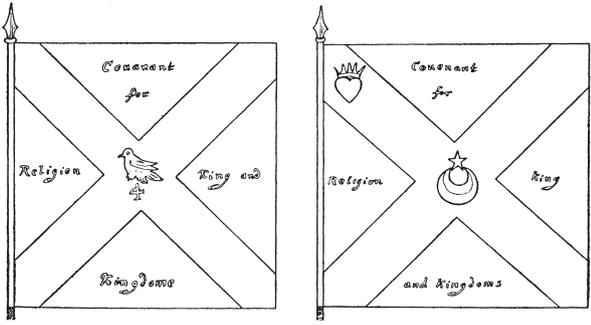
Scottish Colours captured by Cromwell at Dunbar 1650AD

In 1801AD Ireland joined the Union to create the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Geraldine "Cross of St Patrick" was added to create the modern Union Flag.

The 1801 Pattern Union Flag

The rise of the Scottish Nationalist movement in the 1970's brought the Saltire back to the fore, with SNP councils using it instead of the Union Flag.

July 1st 1999 saw the Reconvening of Scottish Parliament. For the opening the Parliament flew a Union Flag and a Saltire, but normally it only flies the Saltire. The Queen's title as Queen of Scots was confirmed by no less than the Presiding officer (Speaker), Lord Steel, during his welcoming speech. It was very much a day for Saltires. The badge of the Scottish Parliament shows a banner of the Saltire surmounted by a Scottish style crown.

The Badge of the Scottish Parliament

That same year saw the Saltire, along with the national flags of the other constituent countries of the United Kingdom added to the official publication "Flags of all Nations". In order to add the flag we needed to know what colour to make it. Some modern Saltires are on light blue backgrounds, and some on dark blue. To choose a shade we used a Pantone chart and a day when the sky was a beautiful azure. Comparing the sky to the chart we selected Pantone 279 as the most suitable colour. To double check we asked the Lord Lyon's office what colour their artists use when painting the Saltire. They use an ultramarine blue with added white. This ruled out dark blue as a colour, and confirmed Pantone 279, which is made of blue ink with added white. Coincidentally Pantone 279 is UN blue. [Since this paper was originally given in York the Scottish Parliament has selected Pantone 300 as the colour of the flag.]

The Modern Saltire

The Royal Flag

The story of Scotland's other flag, the Lion Rampant is slightly simpler.

William the Lyon (1143-1214) is usually credited with adopting the Lion Rampant as the Royal emblem, but we have no real evidence of this. Certainly his seals show no such arms. According to Fordun and Boece, William got his name as "The Lion of Justice". Other historians suggest he was called the Lion for his bravery.

The first known example of the arms is on the seal of his son Alexander II in 1222. These appear to show the Lion Rampant and the Tressure, but the arms can be seen clearly on the seal of his son, Alexander III (1249-1285).

Seal of Alexander II

The reverse of the seal of the Guardians of Scotland (the obverse was is shown above) clearly shows the Lion Rampant and Tressure. It can be seen that this seal is very important in the hostory of Scotland's national symbols.

The Reverse of the Seal of the Guardians of Scotland 1286AD

Why such a complex coat was chosen is not certain. It may well be that it is related to Scotland's old alliance with France. Indeed Nisbet claims that King Achaius was in alliance with Charlemagne, and that for the services of the Scots the French king "added to the Scottish lion the double tressure fleur-de-lisee to show that the former had defended the French lilies, and that therefore the latter would surround the lion and be a defence to him." Interestingly the Fleur-de-lys did not appear on French arms until Louis VIII (reigned 1223-1226AD) and therefore they appeared on Scotland's arms first! Despite this the lily was certainly a French symbol from much earlier times, a 870AD sceptre ends in fleur-de-lys.
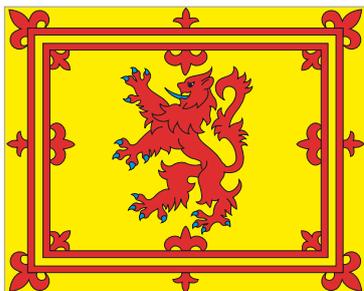
The Lion Rampant

Nisbet reports that the lion may have been the symbols of the Scots kings since Fergus I in 300BC! Chalmers says in *Caledonia* that "the lion may possibly have been derived from the arms of the old Earls of Northumberland and Huntingdon,

from whom some of the Scottish kings were descended". We have no evidence of either of these origins. At the Battle of the Standard in 1138AD the Scottish Royal Standard was a dragon, at least according to the contemporary report of St. Aelred, Abbot of Rielvaulx Abbey in Yorkshire.

The arms remained unchanged until Mary Queen of Scots married the Dauphin of France, when they were impaled with France. When the Dauphin died the arms reverted. When James VI became King of England he quartered the arms with the already quartered arms of England, and those of Ireland. The Royal Arms went through several changes in the following centuries that are beyond the scope of this paper.

During all this time the unquartered arms remained in use as the flag of a representative of the monarch. They are still used for this purpose today, in the person of the First Minister (as Keeper of the Great Seal), Lord Lyon, the Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and the Lord Lieutenants of the Counties.

On 3 September 1934, George V issued a Royal Warrant permitting Loyal Scots to use the flag as an indication of their loyalty. Today this is interpreted as allowing the use of flags in the hand, but not on a flagpole.

As a footnote to the story in 1998 the Queen started to use a different Royal Standard in Scotland, with the ancient Scottish arms in the 1st and 4th quarters. This now matches the Scottish version of the Royal Arms.
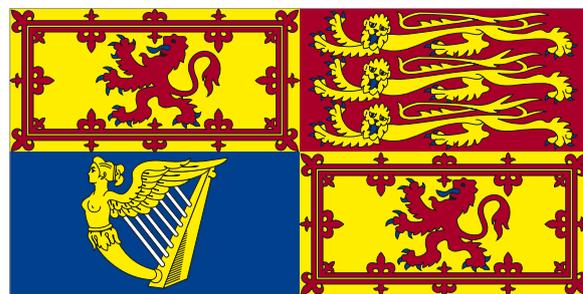
The Royal Standard for use in Scotland

The Royal Arms for use by the Government in Scotland

1. Birch, Scottish Seals. *i. pp. 32-33 and plate 14*
2. Anderson, Diplomata 1739
3. Gordon, Flags of the World, *p.223*
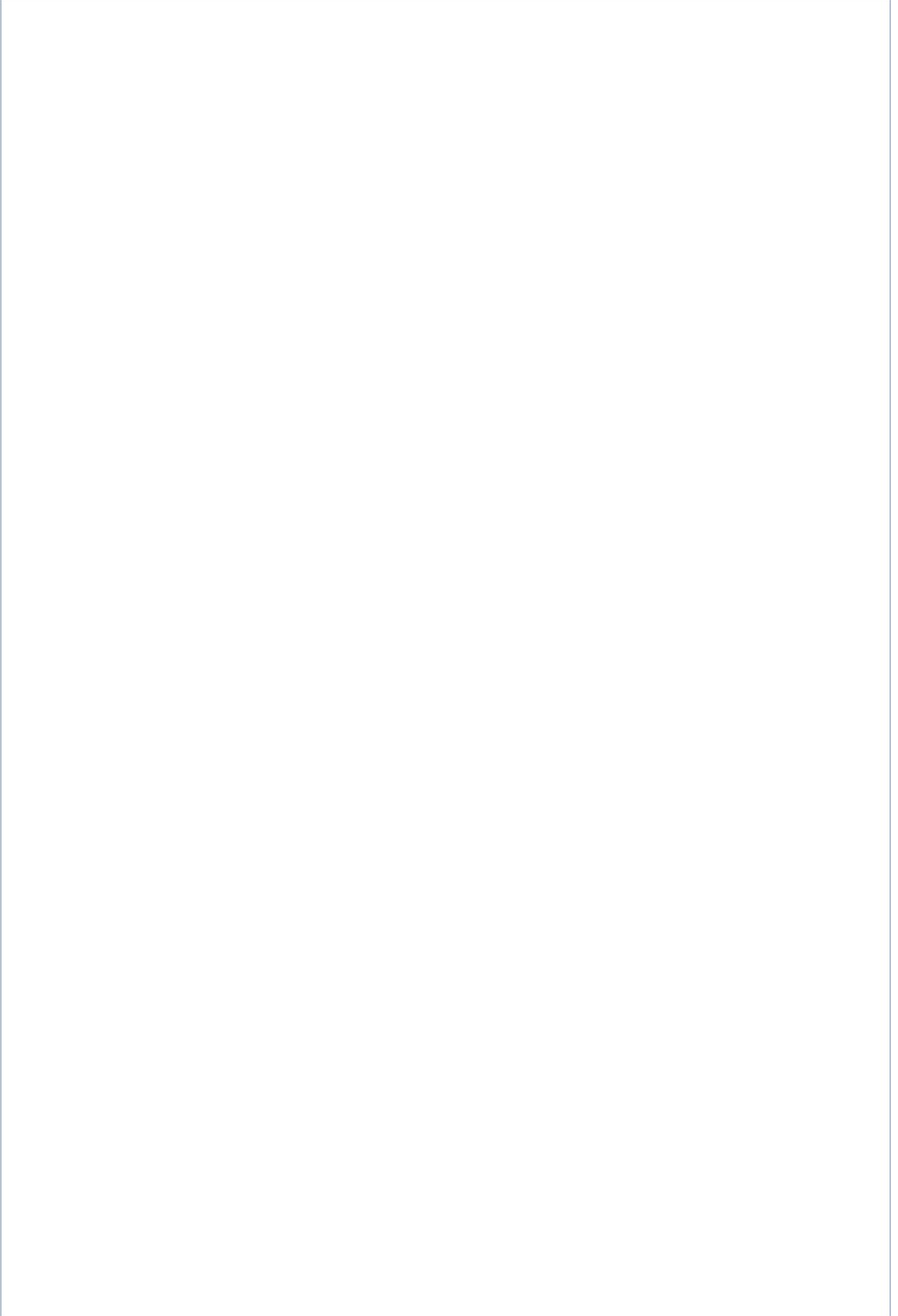
Flags and Logos of International Sports Federations, Associations and Organizations

Dr Andreas Herzfeld FFIAV

President, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Flaggenkunde

To the Sources

All sports federations that are presented in my book were written to directly. Many sports organizations answered willingly and detailed. Often inquire were needed. Of some associations only a verbal description of the flag exist. In those cases the flag was reconstructed and slight differences from the original might be possible. Whenever a federation did not answer the information was taken from their official website. Also in this case slight mistakes might be possible, because websites are often designed by foreign companies.

To receive any information was a very hard job. Some times nobody knows, how looks like its own flag. Par example, the secretary general of Panathlon International (PI) wrote: "No, we don't have an own flag, our flag is the IOC's one" Fortunately he send me the graphic design manual of PI. In this book a find a lot of flags: the first flag from 1951 (Fig. 1), organizations flag, presidents flags and club flags (Fig. 2).

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

An other example. The office Manager of World Police and Fire Games send me a replica of the flag and wrote: "After I send you the message, I realized that the replica is not quite like the flag." (Fig. 3)

Fig. 3

Sports Organizations for Handicapped

Fig. 4

CISS – Comité Internationale des Sports des Sourds

Sports clubs for deaf were already in existence in 1888 in Berlin. Nevertheless, the deaf were never involved with other disabilities and organized, and still organize, their own world games; the Silent Games. The International Committee for deaf was founded 24th August 1924.

The flag is diagonally to left divided, dark green over dark blue; above a dark blue bar and below a dark green bar, 1/7 of width high. The letters CI are dark blue, the letters SS dark green. In yellow a world map and rays, the letters CISS are in yellow surrounded. Proportions are 2:3 (Fig. 5).

The design submitted by Mr. Chante (France) at CISS congress in August 1935, first hoist at the opening ceremony of the 6th International Silent Games in Stockholm, 24th August 1937.

Fig. 5

CP-ISRA – Cerebral Palsy – International Sports and Recreation Association

This organization is open for sportsmen with cerebral palsy or paraplegia and was founded in 1979. The flag is the blue logo on a white background and was introduced in 1979. The logo depicts a world map and the letters CP-ISRA (Fig. 6)

Fig. 6

IBSA – International Blind Sports Association

The word "blind" will be always understood as meaning "blind or visually impaired". The goals of IBSA are: To promote and foster sports for the blind and visually impaired, either directly or indirectly, through the authorities of all the nations, the homogenisation of the bodies or entities responsible for this area and the legal treatment that should be afforded to them.

The flag, they are three "waves" in red (Pantone 021), violet (Pantone Violet C) and green (Pantone 326C) The background is white. The date of flags introduction is circa 1981, when the organization is founded (Fig. 7).
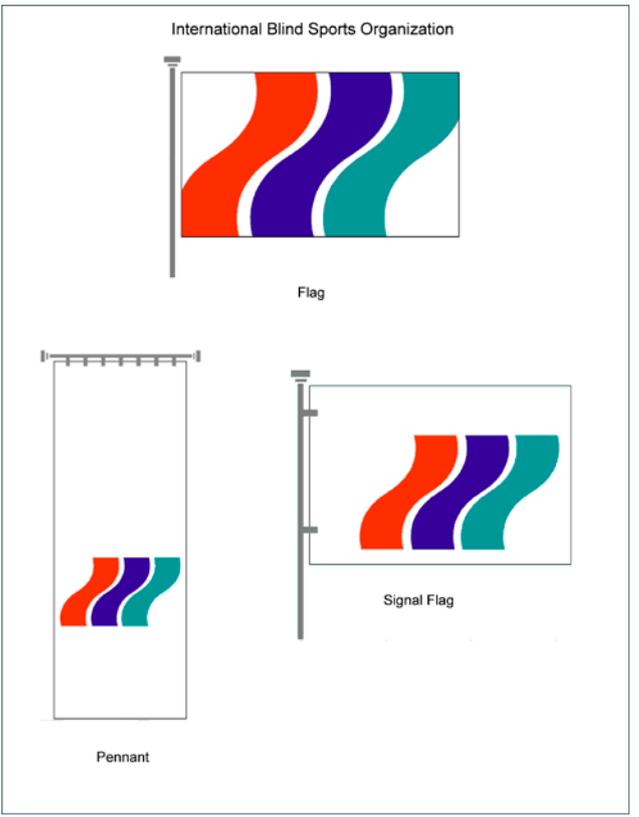
Fig. 7

INAS-FID – International Sports Federation for Persons with an Intellectual Disability

Old Name: INAS-FMH: International Association for Persons with Mental Handicap (from 1986 to 11th March 1999).

The logo is blue (pantone blue 072); and depicts a world map surrounded by a band with the name of the federation, which embraces the world. The flag is the logo on a white background, and was introduced 11th March 1999, when organizations name was changed (Fig. 8).
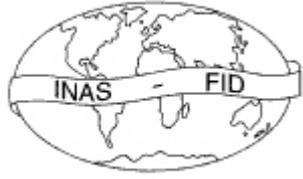
Fig. 8

Old logo and flag: white flag with blue INAS-FMH logo, since 1986? (Fig. 9)

Fig. 9

174
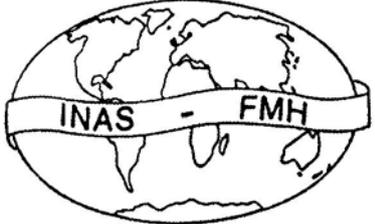
IPC – International Paralympic Committee

In 1982, the CP-ISRA, IBSA, ISMGF and ISOD created the "International Co-ordinating Committee Sports for Disabled in the World" (ICC). CISS and INAS-FMH joined in 1986, but the deaf still maintained their own organization. In 1989 was founded a new, democratically organized institution, the IPC.

The IPC is the international representative organization of elite sports for athletes with disabilities. IPC organizes, supervises and co-ordinates the Paralympic Games and other multi-disability competitions on elite sports level, of which the most important are world and regional championships.

Number of affiliated national federations: 160 and 5 disability specific international sports federation (CP-ISRA, IBSA, INAS-FID, ISMWSF and ISOD).

The logo depicts three Tae-Geuks one in green, red and blue. The flag is white with the colour logo in the middle. Proportions are 2:3. Flag was introduced in 1991 (Fig. 10).
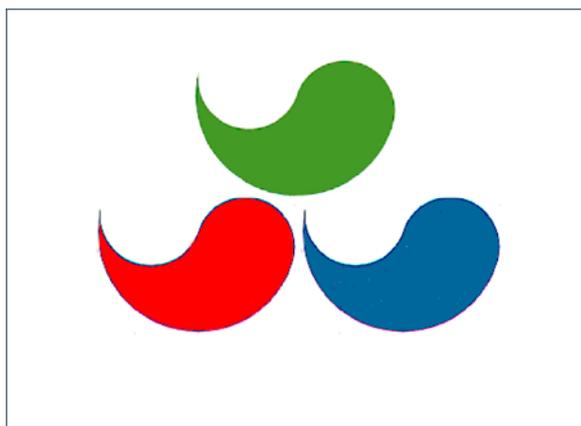
Fig. 10

The old logo incorporated five Tae-Geuks in a configuration similar to the Olympic rings. The flag was white with the colour logo in the middle, and introduced during the Summer Paralympic Games in Seoul in 1988, i.e. this flag is older then the organization (Fig. 11).
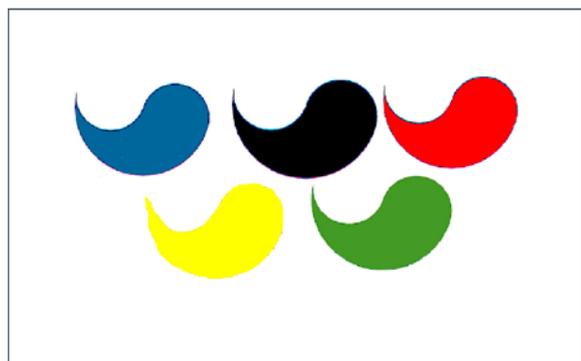
Fig. 11

ISMWSF – International Stoke Mandeville Wheelchairs Sports Federation

On 28th July 1948 was founded the international wheelchairs sports organization. After the Second World War in Europe lived many paraplegics and amputees, sitting in a wheelchair. For their better integration was founded special sports clubs, and later wheelchairs sports organizations.

Sorry, no flag information available (Fig. 12)

Fig. 12

ISOD – International Sports Organization for Disabled

ISOD offered opportunities for those athletes who could not affiliate to ISMGF (now ISMWSF): blind, amputees, cerebral palsied and paraplegics. At the start, 16 countries were affiliated to ISOD and the organization pushed very hard to include blind and amputee athletes into the 1976 Paralympics in Toronto and cerebral palsied in 1980 in Arnhem. It's aim was to embrace all disabilities in the future and to act as a co-ordinating committee. Nevertheless, other disability-orientated international organizations such as CP-ISRA and IBSA were founded later.

The flag is only the blue logo in the centre on a white background an was introduced in 1964 (Fig. 13).

Fig. 13

SOI – Special Olympics International

Special Olympics is an international program of year-round sports training and athletic competition for more then one million children and adults with mental retardation. To be eligible to participate in Special Olympics, you must be at least eight years old and identified by an agency or professional as having one of the following conditions: mental retardation, cognitive delays as measured by formal assessment, or significant learning or vocational problems due to cognitive delay that require or have required specially-designed instruction.

In 1968, Eunice Kennedy Shriver organized the First International Special Olympics Games at Soldier Field, Chicago, IL, USA.

The logo depicts in teal (dark greenish blue) a man and four smaller, flying men; beneath the words Special

Olympics in red.

The flag has the colour logo in the middle on a white background. This flag was introduced circa 1968 (Fig. 14).

Fig. 14

International Umbrella Organizations

Fig. 15

CISM – Conseil Internationale du Sport Militaire

The CISM uses the playing field to unite armed forces of countries that may have previously confronted each other because of political and ideological differences. By doing so, and as is outlined by its philosophy and the ideals stated in its mission statement signed by all member countries in 1998, CISM is contributing to building world peace. The CISM was founded on 18th

February 1948 in Nice.

Logo: In gold the hilt of the sword and the palms; in silver or grey the oceans on the map, the five blades of the swords; in white the continents, the mention " Conseil Internationale du Sport Militaire" , on royal blue ground; and the five circles in red (Fig. 16a).

The colour logo is located in the middle of the flag. The background is white with a border in royal blue, border is 1/16 of length. Proportions are 2:3. This flag was introduced circa 1950 (Fig. 16).
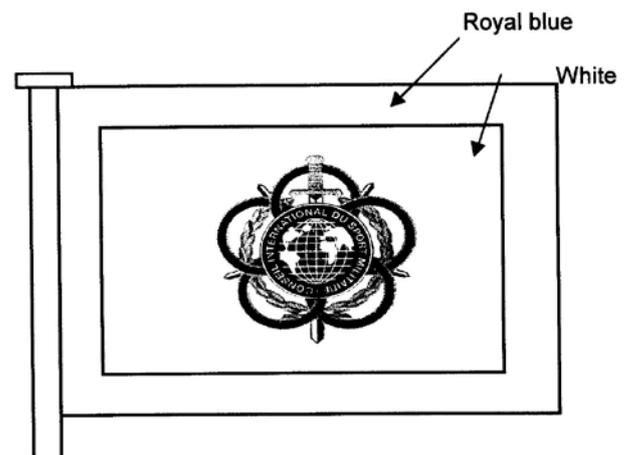
Fig. 16

Fig. 16a

FISU – Fédération Internationale du Sport Universitaire

The Universiades are open for students from 17 to 28 years old.

The official FISU emblem was inspired by the "U" from university accompanied by five stars that symbolise the five continents. The original emblem was created by the C.U.S.I. (Italian University Sports Centre) during the Universiade 1959. And was changed in 1989.

The emblem consists of a black letter U on a white background, centred over five stars divided into two lines. The three upper stars are from left to right respectively: blue (Pantone Process Blue), black (Pantone Process Black) and red (Pantone Warm Red); and the two

lower stars are yellow (Pantone Yellow 109) and green (Pantone Green 355). The "FISU" logotype, in black (process black), is centred beneath the stars.

The current flag includes the colour logo in the middle, on a white background, proportion are 2:3 and was introduced in 1989 (Fig. 17).

Fig. 17

The old flag was introduced in 1959. This is the old logo on a white flag, proportion 2:3 (Fig. 18).

Fig. 18

GAISF – General Association of International Sports Federations

In the 1960's, Roger COULON, president of FILA, felt and expressed the needs brought about by the rapid evolution of the sports movement. The recognition of a more important role for the IFs (International Federations) was needed. For the non-Olympic federations, a forum which would permit them to better express their points of view was necessary. The creation of a stable organization assuring the permanence of relations of the IFs between themselves, Olympic or not, no matter what their statutes might be, thus appeared to a larger number of officials the logical continuation of the meeting which took place frequently but without rules or fixed organization. The common preparation of these meetings with the IOC could thus better assured. It would also permit a constant liaison between the IFs and the outside world. The GAISF was founded in 1967.

The logo depicts five arrows in the Olympic colours and a white map on them (from below to above: yellow, red, green, blue and black).

GAISF don't have a special flag, but the logo is reproduced on flags (Fig. 19).

Fig. 19

GSSE – Games of the Small States of Europe

The requirement to be a member are the following: Any European nation with a population of less then 1,000,000 and has a National Olympic Committee is eligible to became a member.

The logo is a grey torch with a black line, a red flame, and with four interlinked blue rings on each side. The flag is the colour logo in the middle on a white background and was introduced in 1989 during 3rd games (Fig. 20).

Fig. 20

ACNO – Association des Comités Nationaux Olympiques

The Association of National Olympic Committees is founded, to coordinate and represent the needs of the National Olympic Committees. It has five subdivisions, one for each continent.

The logo is very complicate: The Olympic rings, triple each of them, the logo of each continental organization in the centre of one ring, the letters ACNO with light blue shadow below.

ACNO's flag has the colour logo in the middle. In the centre of the blue rings is the EOC logo, black rings – ANOCA logo, red rings – PASO logo, yellow rings – OCA logo and green rings – ONOC logo. The background is white. The flag was introduced in 1997 (Fig. 21).

Fig. 21

Old flag and logo: They are, the black letters ACNO with light blue shadow, a black world map with light blue oceans and white continents and the Olympic rings in white above. The flag was white with the colour logo in the middle, introduced in1979, when ACNO was founded (Fig. 22).

Fig. 22

ANOCA – Association of National Olympic Committees from Africa

Sorry, no flag information available.

EOC – European Olympic Committees

Logo: on a blue background Europe and the Olympic rings in white.

The flag is simple: the blue/white logo in the middle on a white background. Fortunately introduced in 1959, when EOC was founded (Fig. 23).

Fig. 23

OCA – Olympic Council of Asia

The OCA was founded in 1982, and introduced it flag at the same time. The flag is white with the colour logo in the middle. The logo depicts a red star, a light brown chain, the text in blue and the Olympic rings in colour (Fig. 24).

Fig. 24

ONOC – Oceania National Olympic Committees

The ONOC don't have a flag in use.

PASO – Pan-American Sports Association

The PASO logo includes a brown torch, the flame in red, yellow and white; the rings in blue, red, white, green and yellow. The flag is white, and has the colour logo in the middle. The possible date of introduction is 1955, when the organization was founded (Fig. 25).

Fig. 25

IVV – Internationale Volkssportvereinigung

The International Federation of Popular Sports (IVV) is the international body composed of national associations of popular sports. Popular sports are walking, bicycling, swimming, cross country skiing, skating, snow shoeing etc. which are non-competitive and have no specified time limits or „winners".

The flag was introduced in 1995. It is the black IVV logo on a red world, in black the signs for walking, swimming, skiing and bicycling surrounded by the flags of members countries. The background is white (Fig. 26).

Fig. 26

Old flags: Since 1972 is the current design in use. Only the number of flags was changed in dependence on number of members. From 1968 to 1972 on a white background the flags of the founder countries (Germany, Austria, Switzerland and Liechtenstein) over the IVV logo (Fig. 27).

Fig. 27

FIFA – Fédération Internationale de Football Association

The World Football, or Soccer, Association was founded on 21st May 1904. Now, the FIFA has 204 member federations.

First January 1999 was introduced a new flag (Fig. 28). The flag depicts the new colour logo in the middle, the words FIFA and "For the Good of the Game" in white. The background is dark blue. This design is more a comic then a flag.

Fig. 28

Old flag and old logo were better. The two footballs are in white and the continents in black. FIFA and founded 1904 in yellow, the background is blue (Fig. 29).

Fig. 29

This is only a short trip across the world of sports. In my book you find the flags from more then 125 sports organizations in past and present.
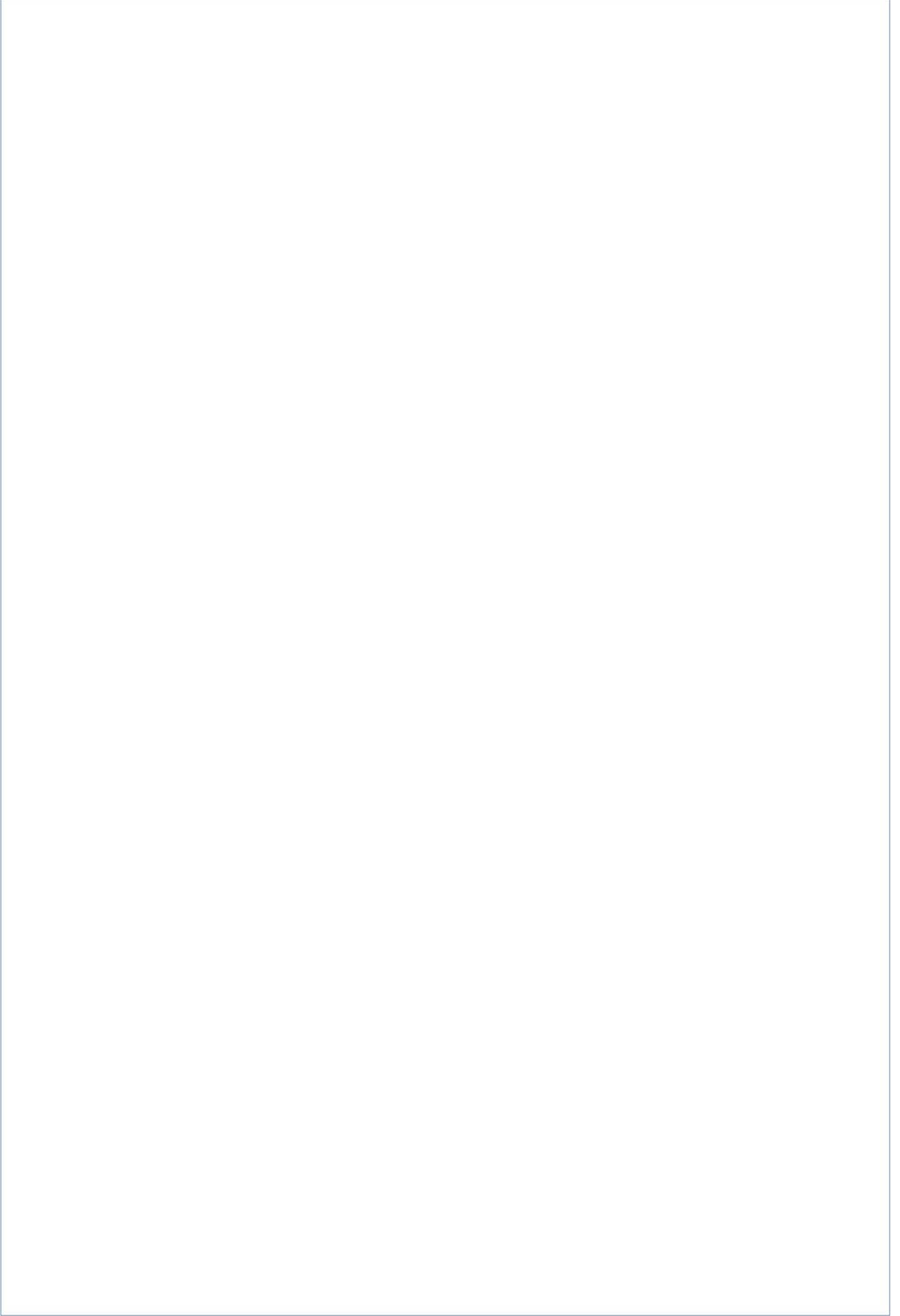
The Centennial of Ohio's Flag From Obscurity to Esteem

John M. Purcell FFIAV

The State of Ohio in the United States of America will celebrate its bicentennial as a state in the year 2003 (Fig. 1). For almost the first century of its existence–99 years to be exact–Ohio had no official state flag. The average Ohioan of the present, when he or she is apprised of that fact, typically responds with a puzzled, "What took so long?" The complete answer to that question would take longer than most of those who ask it would care to hear, so the short answer might be that it was not felt to be needed in the early years. A fuller explanation is somewhat more complex.

1. Ohio in the United States

The apparent delay in the adoption of a state flag was not just a phenomenon found in Ohio. In 1902, when Ohio finally did adopt its flag, only 19 of the 45 states then in the Union had adopted flags. Some indication as to why this might be the case may be seen in work done by George Henry Preble, who, in the mid-nineteenth century, did one of the first surveys of U.S. state flags by writing to the individual states. In a letter dated December 29, 1866, that he received from William H. Smith, Ohio's incumbent Secretary of State at the time, one finds that the principal need for a flag to differentiate among the states was to denote the state militia and other military units formed from a particular state.[1] In the case of Ohio, Secretary Smith writes,

Ohio has no legally authorized State flag. The militia of the State in Indian wars and in the war of 1812, and the Ohio troops in the national service during the war with Mexico and the civil war, carried the stars and stripes. The regimental colors differed from the ordinary flag only in having a large eagle, with the number of the regiment, and the prescribed number of stars above.[2]

Possibly because of a lack of a characteristic state flag, citizens tended to associate the various state regimental flags as those that marked their state apart from the others. Whitney Smith points out that the U.S. Civil War gave impetus to this tendency and, in fact, a good many of the present state flags appear to have been influenced by the old regimental colors identifying a particular state's troops. Such flags had a dark blue field with the state's coat-of-arms and the elaborate scrollwork favored at the time.[3]

Certainly another reason that many state flags did not appear earlier was the prevailing attitude among the citizens of the time that such flags were unnecessary, and, perhaps, could even be viewed as disloyal to the respected national flag. In 1906, just four years after Ohio did adopt its state flag, the following editorial appeared in the first issue of *Ohio Magazine*:

Many Ohioans may not be aware that their state has a flag, and among those who have been aware of it from the enactment of the law a disposition has been manifested to regard it with scant courtesy–more's the pity. It has been asserted with a great show of national patriotism, that the stars and stripes "ought to be good enough" for Ohio and that we "don't need" any other banner. But the good people who have thus expressed themselves have never suggested substituting the seal of the United States for the seal of Ohio, and have never objected to the latter on the ground that it places narrow and local restrictions on the scope of patriotism, as has been charged with reference to the flag. But if a state of the Union is to have a seal of its own, why not a flag? The fact is that both are fitting emblems of a commonwealth that is fully able to justify its separate and peculiar existence, as well as its identity as part of the federal union.[4]

One finds the same sentiment elsewhere. For example, in 1896, when the City of Cleveland, Ohio, adopted its civic flag (Fig. 2), a spirited debate arose in the city between opponents of a city flag and its supporters, with the former declaring that such an action was "un-American and calculated to detract from the one and only flag which we, as citizens, soldiers and true Americans delight to honor." The supporters responded that "The people of Cleveland have just as much right to be proud of their city as they have to be proud of their country."[5] Ultimately the supporters won, and the flag was adopted (24 February 1896), but to appease its opponents somewhat, the ordinance of adoption referred to the flag as the "city banner."

2. Cleveland, Ohio

Manifesting a similar conviction as those opposed to Cleveland's city flag, Ohio's neighboring State of Indiana, in 1901, adopted the forty-five-star national flag then in use as its state flag, making it virtually impossible to ascertain when the flag was meant to represent only the state or the nation as a whole. It was not until 1917 that the current state flag was adopted, as a state "banner," thus adopting the same semantic posture taken a few years previously with the Cleveland city flag[6] (Fig. 3).

3. Indiana

Notwithstanding the patriotic fervor of some of the Americans of the time that mitigated against the adoption of any other flag besides the Stars and Stripes, sentiment gradually began to favor the development of specialized state flags as a means to promote a state's interests in places where it was desirable, for commercial interests and state pride, to have a distinctive emblem. Interstate and international expositions provided likely venues, and it was one such exposition that gave impetus to the design and adoption of the Ohio state flag.

In the summer of 1901, the Buffalo Pan-American Exposition opened in the State of New York. Ohio was represented at the gathering with a building that had been designed by John Eisenmann, an architect from Cleveland. The incumbent Governor of Ohio, George K. Nash, was visiting the Exposition on July 18, when State Senator Samuel L. Patterson presented the governor with the flag that had been adopted by the Ohio Commission as their official exposition banner (Fig. 4). Coincidentally, the same John Eisenmann, who had designed Ohio's Exposition Building, had also designed the flag. His inspiration for the swallow-tailed shape, as Whitney Smith suggests, may have been the U.S. Army cavalry guidon in

use from 1862 until 1885[7] (Fig. 5), although otherwise the two flags are not much alike. The cavalry guidon's swallow-tailed shape has the familiar 13 red and white stripes, but the stars of the canton are gilt rather than white, placed so that there are two concentric circles of stars, and one in each corner of the canton.
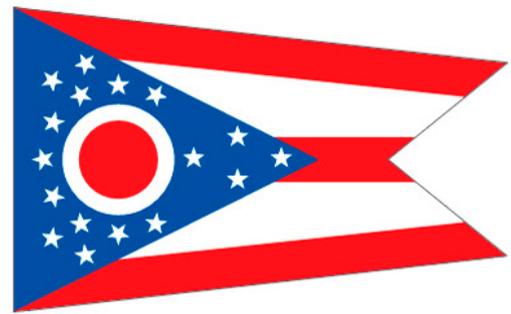
4. Ohio Commission Banner
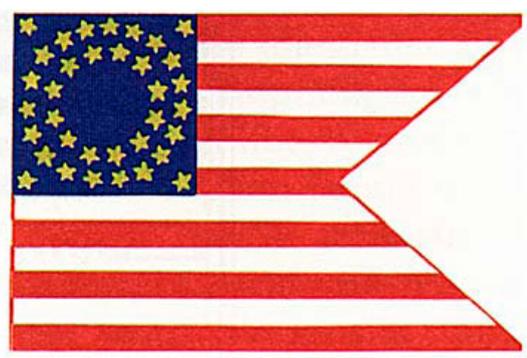
5. U.S. Army Cavalry Guidon 1862-1885

Symbolically the triangles formed by the outline of Ohio's flag (Fig. 6) betoken the state's hills and valleys, while the stripes denote its roads and highways. The thirteen stars at the hoist side of the blue triangle mark the original thirteen states, grouped around a circle that represents the Northwest Territory from which the state was carved. The four additional stars toward the fly signify the fact that Ohio was the seventeenth state to join the Union, in 1803. The white circle with the red center is suggestive, of course, of the initial letter of Ohio and the fact that it is called the "Buckeye State." (The buckeye is a tree indigenous to Ohio that was named by Native Americans who noticed a strong resemblance between the shiny brown nut of the tree and the eye of a buck deer.[8]) The proportions of the flag are 8 x 13.

6. Ohio's Flag

The Ohio Commission's flag at the Exposition was generally favorably received, although varying critical comments included the assertion that the red disc in the flag looked too Japanese, and therefore the state seal should be substituted in its place. Another criticism from someone who evidently had not seen the Puerto Rican flag, designed in 1895, was that the Ohio flag looked too much like the Cuban flag.[9] Nevertheless, the following year in the General Assembly, Ohio's legislature, three state legislators proposed Eisenmann's design for adoption as the state flag.[10] The bill moved swiftly through the committees, and on May 9, 1902, the flag was made official.

As we have seen above, general acceptance of the new flag was not immediate, but gradually as time passed, the flag gained more and more popularity. Today it is not an exaggeration to say that Ohio's flag is one of the most popular state flags in the nation. In some states, as one travels about, one is hard put to find the state flag flying anyplace but a state government building. Such is not the case in Ohio, where the flag proliferates and is widely flown by the citizenry. In Columbus, at the rear of the State Capitol building, there is a prominent display of 88 state flags to honor each of the counties and their war veterans (Fig. 7). Candidates for state office frequently embrace it in their campaigns as a widely recognized symbol, and Ohioans are proud that their state flag is the only one of the fifty state flags that has a swallow-tailed shape (even though some flag manufacturer in Taiwan apparently misinterpreted this fact by incongruously placing the flag's basic design on a white rectangle) (Fig. 8).

7. State Flags at the State Capitol

8. Taiwanese version!

The shape of Ohio's flag has influenced many of its civic flags. At present, of the some 160 civic flags in Ohio, 29 have the swallow-tailed shape, proportionately far more than any other State. Three examples will show how varied they are:

Englewood (Fig. 9), in the southwestern part of the state, has a white field bordered in yellow with a large floral emblem in a diamond-shaped pattern near the hoist. The emblem has four cursive letter E's in green on a gold background. The E's, of course represent the first letter of the city's name.[11]

9. Englewood

Mentor (Fig. 10), a northeastern city, has a flag patterned closely after the state's, except that the device on the blue hoist triangle bears a red cardinal, the state bird, facing the fly on a large white circle. Curved above the cardinal on the hoist side is the national motto, "In God We Trust," and curved below on the fly side of the cardinal is the legend, "Incorporated 1963." Two white stars appear on the blue triangle at each of its points, placed so as to follow the curvature of the circle.[12]

10. Mentor

Worthington (Fig. 11), in the state's center, has a flag with a dark red field bordered in dark blue. Running across the center is a white cursive letter W that extends from the hoist edge to the fly edge through the blue border. In the canton position is an old quilting pattern known as the "Star of Ohio." It is a red diamond on a white square. From each of the sides of the square are two yellow isosceles triangles on a dark blue field. Surrounding the whole is a white letter O for Ohio, which indicates that the city considers itself the "Star of Ohio."[13]

11. Worthington

As Ohio prepares for its bicentennial year in 2003, certainly its flag will fly even more widely. The flag that faced an uncertain future at its inception, has now become intrinsically linked with its identity. Ohioans, justifiably proud of their heritage, may perhaps be excused for agreeing with the rather effusive comments of John Robert Gebhart, a vexillologist who wrote, in 1973, "The Ohio state flag is superb. It is patriotic individualism"[14] (Fig. 12).

12. Ohio's State Flag

NOTES

1 George Henry Preble, *Origin and History of the American Flag* (1872, 1880; reprint ed., Philadelphia: Nicholas L. Brown, 1917, 2 vols.).

2 Preble., 639. It will be noted that conventions of capitalization have changed in the past century. Nowadays we capitalize the War of 1812, the Civil War, and the Stars and Stripes. Perhaps historical distance lends more distinction! (See also note 4.)

3 Whitney Smith, *The Flag Book of the United States: The Story of the Stars and Stripes and the Flags of the Fifty States* (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1970), 91.

4 *Ohio Magazine* 1 (July, 1906): 96.

5 The *Cleveland Plain Dealer,* 20 July 1941.

6 Smith, 139. The "state banner" was renamed as the "state flag" in 1955.

7 Smith, 182.

8 John Robert Gebhart, *Your State Flag* (Philadelphia: Franklin Publishing Co., 1973), 77.

9 *Ohio Magazine*: 97.

10 W. Sanford Bittner, "A Flag and Flower for Ohio," *Echoes*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (May, 1965): 1. The legislators who introduced the bill for adoption were three members of the Exposition's Ohio Commission: State Representatives C. L. Swain of Cincinnati and William S. McKinnon of Ashtabula, and State Senator Patterson of Waverly. (McKinnon was incumbent Speaker of the House of Representatives in the General Assembly.)

11 Englewood's flag was designed by David Arnold, a city councilman, *ca.* 1977.

12 It is believed that Mentor's flag was designed by a high school student about 1985. (The mayor's office apparently has no accurate record.)

13 Worthington's flag was designed by Cathleen Chrystal DeCoster. The flag was adopted on May 4, 1992.

14 Gebhart, 78.

The Origins of the Mexican Flag

Teodoro Amerlinck y Zírion FFIAV

Michoacán is the name of a state of the United States of Mexico, washed by the waters of the Pacific Ocean to the south, bordered to the north-east by the states of Colima and Jalisco, to the north by the state of Guanajuato, to the east by the state of Mexico, and to the south-east by the state of Guerrero. It covers 60,080 square kilometres. It never belonged to the Aztec Empire, with which it was frequently in a state of war.

The state's present-day capital is the city of Morelia. It was called Valladolid after the Spanish Conquest, a name given to it in 1521 by Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza, Count of Tendilla, in honour of the Spanish city of same name, renowned for its ancient university, founded around 1260. On 12th September 1828, after the War of Independence, the city was renamed Morelia, in honour of one of the principal insurgents, José María Morelos y Pavón.

The city can be found in the valley known to the locals as Guayangareo.

This area has been inhabited for a long time, but in the thirteenth century, many people known as Chichimecas or Tarascos settled there. The Tarascan Empire, as it was called in the Aztec language, Náhuatl, covered an area of some 75,000 square kilometres. Its capital was Tzintzuntzan, the 'place of hummingbirds'. This city has always been very attractive to tourists thanks to its geographical position and the number of archaeological sites it retains.

The Tarascan people did not indulge in the cruel practices of the Aztecs, who offered the hearts of their enemies to their gods, and then ate the corpses. The Aztec emperors Axayacatl, Ahuizotl and Moctezuma Xocoyotl (or Moctezuma II, who was on the throne at the time of the Spanish conquest) all wanted to conquer the Tarascan Empire, but were always prevented from doing so by the existence of a fortified frontier between the two nations.

The migration of the Tarascans, known to the Aztecs as Michoaques ('the people from the fish country'), but now called Purépechas after the work of anthropologist Otto Schondube[1], appears to have begun around 1250, and then rapidly gathered pace. Over the next two hundred years many settlements grew up, particularly around the village of Zacapu and the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro.

Tariacuri, whose name means 'strong wind', was the one of the most important kings, or Cazonci, of the Tarascan (or Purépechas), reigning at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries. He was the the supreme overlord of the Empire as well the military commander and chief priest of their religion.

After the death of King Tariacuri, the kingdom was divided between the members of his family, as was the custom; the succession was decided between the main members of his family and the most important chiefs. So it was that, after his death, Tariacuri was succeeded by three lords – his son Huiguingare and his nephews Hirípan and Tangáxoan. Huiguingare established himself at Pátzcuaro, by the lake of the same name; Hirípan at Coyuca, a village created in the fourteenth century and now in the state of Guerrero; and Tangáxoan at Tzintzuntzan, a town at this time of twenty or thirty thousand inhabitants.

The Lord of Tzintzuntzan had as his emblem the green feathers of the hummingbird; the Lord of Pátzcuaro, the white feathers of the dove; and the Lord of Coyuca the red feathers from the head of the parrot.

These three emblems were used until the Spanish conquest. When the Aztecs, or 'mexicas' sent an embassy to the Tarascans, seeking an alliance against the Spaniards, the Tarascans refused, even when the Aztecs showed them a captured Spanish crossbow and sword. Despite the presence of captured weapons, the Tarascans refused to ally with their traditional enemy, probably putting their faith in Spanish military superiority and following the example of the Tlaxcatec and Cholultec, who likewise hated the Aztecs, and had therefore chosen to ally themselves with the Spanish, confirming the dictum that the conquest of Mexico was not the work of the Spanish but also of the Indians peoples who supported them.

The lack of armed resistance to the invaders, who under the orders of Nuño de Guzmán, took possession of the Tarascan lands in 1522, allowed the extraordinary Don Vasco de Quiroga to complete the conversion of the area without too many obstacles, arriving in Michoacán in 1533, and taking as his inspiration the book Utopia by the recently canonised Thomas More, introduced many industries into the region that were previously unknown to the natives. The memory of this great missionary is still venerated today.

Let us pass on to a more recent era. In 1820, the Royalist colonel Augustin de Yturbide, named General of the South on the 16th November, was given the task of suppressing the rebellion of Vicente Guerrero, who fought for independence from Spain.

Faced with the difficult task of winkling out Guerrero

from his stronghold in the western Sierra Madre mountains, Yturbide instead invited him to join together to form an independence movement, to fight for a Mexican Empire of which the King of Spain would be the Emperor.

On 24th February 1821 Yturbide formed what he called his Army of the Three Guarantees, and adopted as his flag the colours green, white and red.

A tailor from Michoacán, José Magdaleno Ocampo, made up the flag with the approval of those two sons of Michoacán, Yturbide and Guerrero (who had been born in Tixtla, in the province of Michoacán). Perhaps some distant memory of the symbols of the ancient lords of the region prompted these two men to choose the colours that they did.

The first colour, the green of the hummingbird, associated with Hope, represented the guarantee of independence; the white of the dove symbolised the purity of the Catholic religion, like Yturbide himself, professed by almost all the people of the new Empire; and the red of the parrot symbolised the equal union of all the peoples of this vast empire, without any discrimination.

The first flag of the Three Guarantees had the three colours arranged diagonally. But soon the flag found its definitive arrangement; when the Army of the Three Guarantees entered Mexico City in triumph, the three colours were arranged vertically, and in the centre of the white stripe could be seen an eagle, its wings spread, wearing an imperial crown, the new Mexican coat of arms.

When King Ferdinand VII was restored to the full exercise of his powers by a French army commanded by the Duke of Angoulême, the son of the Count of Artois, the future Charles X, he issued a decree declaring null and void all laws forced on him by the so-called 'Constitutional Government' between 6th March 1820 and his liberation on 1st October 1823.

Whilst captive of the liberals, the King had been frightened of enjoying the same fate as his uncle Louis XVI. The Viceroy Don Juan Ruiz de Apodaca was appointed on 20th September 1816; then, on 31st May 1820, having been granted full political powers by the *Constitutionalistas*, he proclaimed the re-establishment in Mexico of the 1812 Constitution of Cadix, backed up by units of the Spanish army. The constitution was attacked by the clergy, and prompted a conspiracy, known as the Profesa (after a fine church in Mexico City), led by Canon Monteagudo, with the aim of abolishing the constitution.

Ruiz de Apodaca, Count of Venadito, taking his title from the site of his decisive engagement against the Spanish guerilla turned Mexican revolutionary Francisco Xavier Mina, was deposed by a military coup on 21st July 1820. Before leaving for Mexico in September 1820, his replacement, Don Juan O'Donoju, accepted the Three Guarantees Plan and signed a treaty with Yturbide on 24th August 1821 in the town of Cordoba, in the province of Veracruz, creating a Mexican Empire with Ferdinand VII, or one of his relatives, as Emperor. Yturbide entered Mexico City with Guerrero on 27th September, acclaimed by almost everyone.

O'Donoju had installed himself in the Viceregal Palace on 25th September 1821, and had there received the submission of the rebellious Colonel Francisco Novella, who had toppled Apodaca, and temporarily assumed his powers. The new Viceroy ordered Spanish troops not to oppose the Three Guarantees Army.

The Spanish Government would not permit Ferdinand to accept the Treaty of Cordoba, who they feared would agree to travel to Mexico as Emperor to free himself from his guardians. Faced with Spanish refusal to recognise Mexican independence, the Mexican Congress elected Don Augustin de Yturbide as Emperor of Mexico in May 1822. The new country absorbed the kingdom of Guatemala, and covered 4,500,000 square kilometres

To establish the flag on a firm legal footing, the Regency of the Empire asked the Supreme Governing Junta on 7th October 1821 to resolve the issue of its appearance. On the 9th November, the latter issued an ordinance to the effect that the national flag and the regimental colours of the army were to be tricoloured, green, white and red in vertical stripes, with a crowned eagle on the central stripe in the form shown in an attached drawing.

Thus was approved the arrangement of the flags of the Army of the Three Guarantees as it had been since its entry into the capital city of Mexico. Had the green, white and red been adopted by those who created the flag in remembrance of the ancient colours of Michoacán? Some people think that they were.

1.   *Arquelogia* vol. 4, number 19, p.142.

Flag Signalling at Sea

Captain Barrie Kent FFIAV FFI RN

Numerary Systems

The development of Numerary Systems for signalling by flags in the latter part of the 18th century, first by the French, followed by the British, enabled ships for the first time to hold conversations with each other, albeit in a rather stilted form. The enthusiastic response to this was well expressed by Captain Blackwood of the frigate *Euryalis*, keeping watch off Cadiz two days before the Battle of Trafalgar. Writing to his wife he said:

"...though our fleet was at sixteen leagues off, I have let Lord N. know of their coming out...At this moment we are within four miles of the Enemy, and talking to Lord Nelson by means of Sir H Popham's signals, though so distant, but repeated along by the rest of the frigates of this Squadron."

International Code

During the next half century the main effort was devoted to refining the numerary system, and expanding it to include an International Code for merchant ships. This consisted of 26 Alphabetic flags and 10 Numeral pennants, plus a few special flags which we will come to in a minute. Signal flags are usually made in the proportion 5:4.
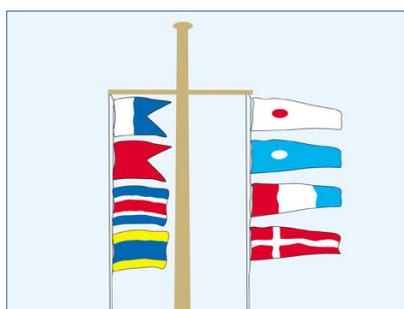
International Signal Flags

Naval Flags

Then came the introduction of steam propulsion and the ability for naval ships to manoeuvre together in close company, and at considerable speeds. Thus there was the need for more comprehensive signal books and procedures to allow for the rapid signalling of manoeuvres, tactics, fighting instructions and so on.

New naval signal books were introduced, together with many new flags and pennants for Naval purposes, and warships had to carry these as well as those used with the International Code.

The Royal Navy Signal Flags of 1940

There are many special naval flags and pennants, but the International Code flags and pennants are there, buried amongst the naval ones. The two alphabets, for example, were quite different, although many of the same flags were used. Thus international flag Y was naval flag A, international E was the naval submarine flag, international A is naval U and so on. All very confusing for the wretched signalman who had to learn both systems. Also, each navy adopted its own flag codes, so communication between navies had to be either by international code, or by lending signal books and liaison teams for particular exercises or operations. This was still the case during WW2.

Substitutes

Signal groups (or hoists) were usually limited to three or four flags, but if two or three groups were hoisted together a large number of each flag would have to be carried, and to reduce this number the substitute system was adopted. There are three substitute pennants in the international code and four naval. The 1st sub would represent the top flag in a hoist, the 2nd sub the second flag and so on.
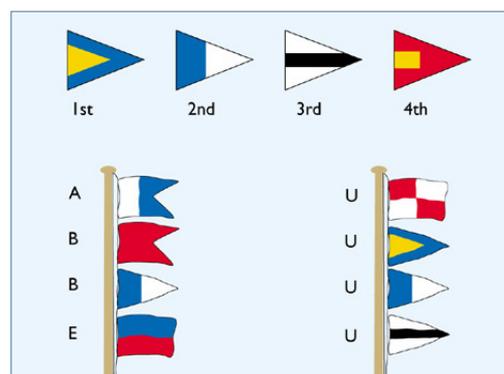
Inglefield Clips

Speed and accuracy in signalling became paramount. The rope eye and toggles were not conducive to speed, especially in cold weather when the ropes tended to freeze solid. Edward Inglefield, flag lieutenant to the C-in-C Channel Squadron in 1888 described how the signalmen had to open the rope eyes with their teeth, and he thought of designing clips "rather like putting the forefinger and thumb together with a slight open-ing". He had some made for trial and immediately his ship began winning all the flag signalling competitions. Eventually other ships realised the reason for this, and by about 1900 the Inglefield Clip had become the standard fitting for naval flags.
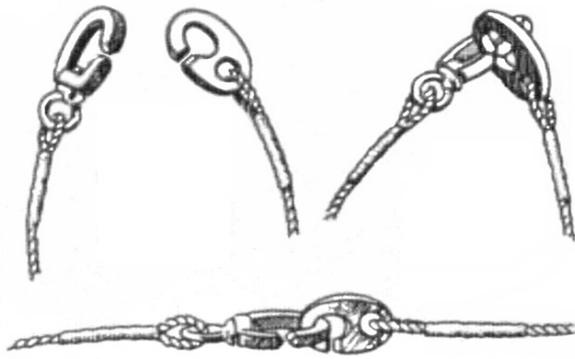
Inglefield Clips

To speed up flag hoisting, flags were stowed in the locker with the clips outward, so that the signalman could bend on three or four flags and then the halyard pulled the whole lot out as the group was hoisted. In the first half of the 20th century, even with the advent of wireless, manoeuvring by flags still held sway. It could only be used by day of course, but then it was not policy to engage in full scale battles at night. Flags were an efficient system for ships in close company, and popular because admirals and captains could see what was happening and they felt firmly in control of the situation.

I mentioned that each navy had its own flag codes, and surprisingly it was not until after WW2 that all NATO navies adopted a common flag code.

Manoeuvring by Flags

Here are examples of how simple manoeuvres are sig-nalled. Most basic manoeuvres involve ships either turning together, or following each other round in succession.

TURN 9 means "Turn together 090° to starboard". Other ships hoist the ANSWER pennant 'at the dip', half way up, to indicate that they have seen the hoist. When they have decoded and understood the meaning, and are ready to carry out the manoeuvre, they hoist it close up.

To 'execute' the manoeuvre the flagship hauls down the signal, and other ships haul down the ANSWER pen-

nant. If it is difficult for some ships to read the signal, for example when in single line ahead, ships in between will repeat the flagship's hoist instead of the ANSWER pennant, first at the dip, then close up.

TURN 9
"Alter course together 90° to Starboard"

At the dip
Signal seen

Close up
Signal understood
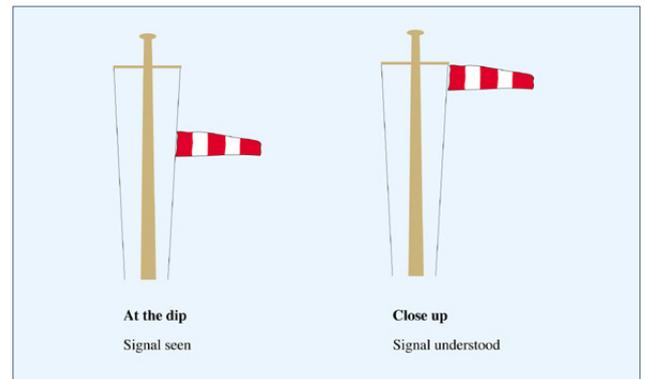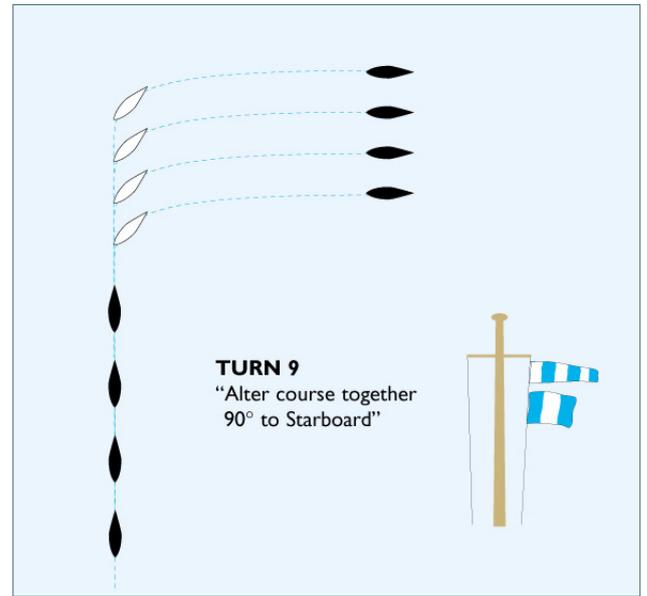
To turn to port instead of starboard, the position of the flags is reversed, thus 9 TURN means "Turn 90° to port".

9 TURN
"Alter course together 90° to Port"
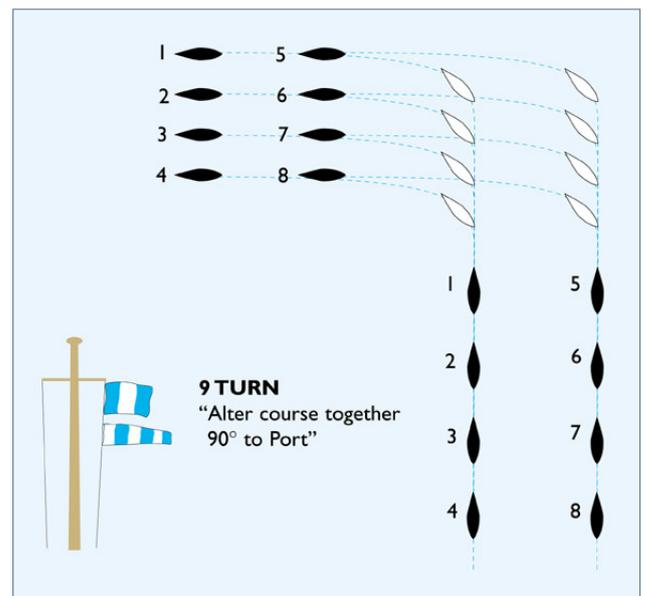
To order a turn in succession, also called a wheel, the CORPEN pennant is used. Thus CORPEN D 045 DIV means "Alter course by wheeling to 045° by Divisions".

CORPEN D 045 DIV
"Alter course by wheeling to 045° by Divisions"
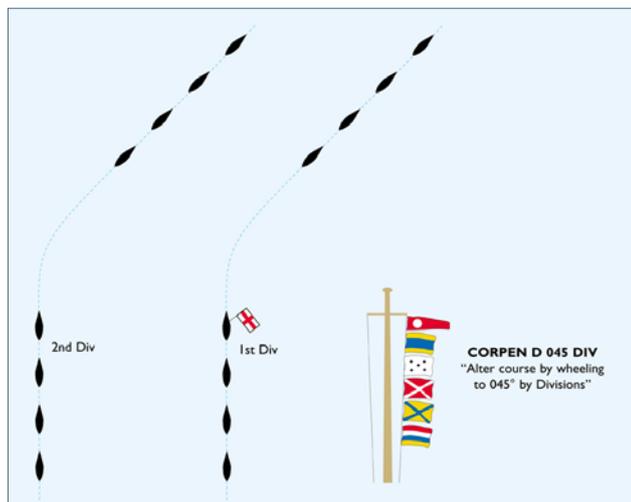
If more than one signal is hoisted at the same time, as here in the flagship of a battle squadron, then the upper is read before the lower, and if there are hoists on the same yardarm, starboard before port. In this case in the naval code of the day the upper hoist is: Flag Zero Pennant 5 which is the address of the 5th Battle Squadron, and the lower hoist is: Flag G Numeral flags 25, which means "Speed is to be 25 knots". When other ships have their ANSWER pennants close up the Admiral is free to execute the manoeuvre by smartly hauling down both hoists.

Sometimes things go wrong, like 'Hoist Adrift'. Then someone has to go aloft to recover the halyard, or possibly use a gadget like this. The only thing for the flagship to do is quickly hoist the same signal on another halyard.

'Hoist adrift'

Gadget hauled up on another halyard to try to recover a hoist that has been let go

Marching Manoeuvres

Training Signalmen was of course vital. This was done by what were called Marching Manoeuvres. Here each man represents a ship, the 'Admiral' with an appropriate flag,

the others with ANSWER pennants. The 'Admiral' shouts out the flag signal, the ANSWER pennants are held out horizontally, or at the dip, until the signal is understood, then held up vertically until the Admiral shouts 'Execute' and off they go. Of course the aim of the class would often be to try to delay or misunderstand the signal so that the class would go galloping through the flower beds.

Disaster

If the correct procedure was not followed, disaster could result. In 1893 the British Mediterranean Fleet was being manoeuvred by the C-in-C, Admiral Tryon, prior to anchoring off Beirut. The admiral was a great innovator and manoeuvring expert and loved testing his captains with new ideas . Like most admirals of the time, he had a beard, looked pretty fierce and was both feared and respected by more junior officers.

Admirals Tryon and Markham

His second-in-command was Rear Admiral Markham, who commanded the 2nd Division. The C-in-C's plan was to reverse the course of the fleet by each Division wheeling inwards, then turning together towards the anchoring position. At the start the two columns were 6 cables (1,200 yards) apart, and as the ship's turning circles were about 4 cables, this was too close to carry out the proposed manoeuvre. To be safe the columns needed to be at least 10 cables apart, that is twice the diameter of the turning circles plus at least two cables. The staff pointed this out to the admiral, rather diffidently, but he said "Leave it as it is". Despite their misgivings, the staff assumed that he knew what he was doing and no doubt had something clever up his sleeve.

THE PLAN

2nd Division — HMS *Camperdown* Rear Admiral Markham

1st Division — HMS *Victoria* Vice Admiral Tryon

Tower of Lions

TRIPOLI
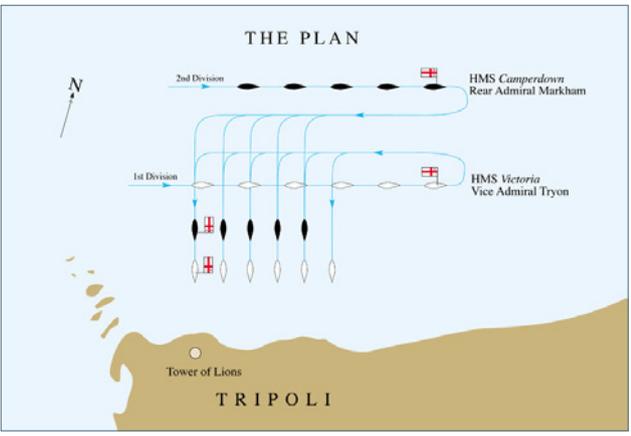
So up went the two hoists, one telling the 1st Division to wheel to port, the other for the 2nd Division to wheel to starboard.

The signal to Camperdown's division		The signal to Victoria's own division.	
Division	⊞	Division	⊞
No 2	◁	No 1	◁
Turn in succession	◁	1	▥
1	▥	6 points	▤
6 points	▤	Turn in succession	◁
To starboard, compass pendant superior to amount of alteration		To port, compass pendant inferior to amount of alteration	

Other ships hoisted their ANSWER pennants at the dip, but kept them there while they checked what the signals meant. They all realised that the manoeuvre appeared to be impossible, but like the admiral's staff they assumed their much respected admiral had a solution, and one after the other the ANSWER pennants went close up. Except in the *Camperdown*, where Admiral Markham and his flag captain still pondered what to do. However, the C-in-C, tired of waiting, had the *Camperdown's* identification pennants hoisted, a standard method of issuing a rebuke for tardiness in obeying orders, and at the same time had his Yeoman signal by semaphore "What are you waiting for?". This so unnerved Markham that he ordered his ship to go 'close up', the flagship's signals were executed, and the two leading ships started turning towards each other.

WHAT ACTUALLY HAPPENED

2nd Division — HMS *Camperdown* Rear Admiral Markham

10 cables   6 cables

1st Division — HMS *Victoria* Vice Admiral Tryon

Tower of Lions

TRIPOLI
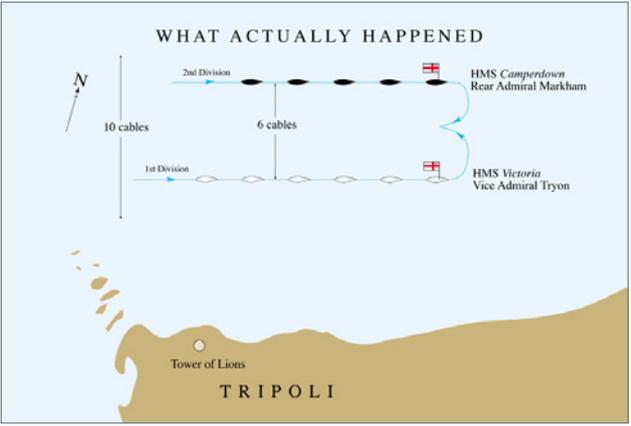
Inevitably disaster struck, *Camperdown* rammed *Victoria*, and within twenty minutes the flagship had sunk with the loss of some 400 men. Admiral Tryon himself was drowned, his last words said to have been "It was all my fault". Well it was, but the disaster would have been avoided if the other ships had refused to hoist their ANSWER pennants close up.

Could anything else have been done? Obviously Admiral Tryon's staff should have insisted that the manoeuvre was unsafe, and the Captains of both the *Victoria* and *Camperdown* should have refused to put their helms over, but of course in those days it wasn't easy to argue with such a senior officer. If Admiral Markham had been quick off the mark, he could have turned his Division to port, the signal 2 BLUE perhaps (Turn together two points to port), and then back to starboard (BLUE 2) as soon as they were out to a safe distance.

The only explanation seems to be that Tryon had a mental aberration, in some way confusing the mathematics of the manoeuvre.

The accident happened mid-afternoon. Back in Malta, Lady Tryon was holding a reception at Admiralty House, and at about the same time several guests were surprised to see the Admiral coming down the stairs...

The Jutland Deployment Signal

An important flag signal in the history of the Royal Navy is the Deployment signal which was the opening move at the Battle of Jutland. The Grand Fleet, 24 battleships commanded by Admiral Jellicoe (who as a young Lieutenant had been a survivor from the *Victoria*), was approaching the supposed position of the German High Seas Fleet in six columns, the normal approach formation.

Reported direction of enemy

MISS
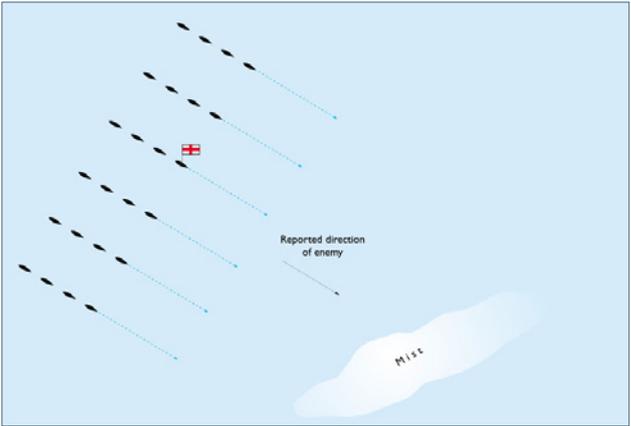
A battleship action was fought in line ahead and the aim was to deploy into a single line so that you "crossed the T" of the enemy. This gave you maximum advantage, with most of your guns able to bear on the leading ships of the enemy while most of his guns were either blocked by ships ahead, or were too distant.

'Crossing the T'
The effect on gunfire
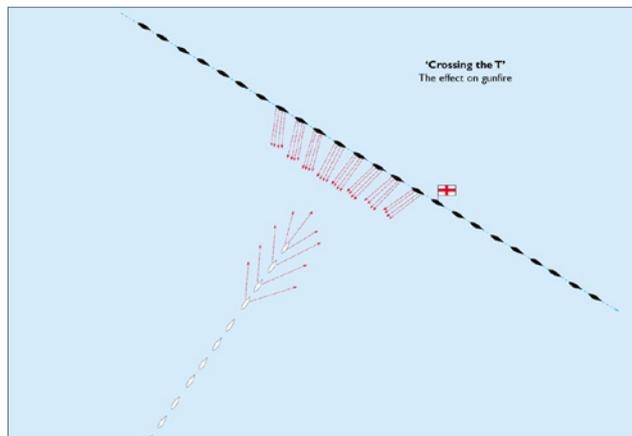
For a successful deployment you needed to know the direction of the enemy. The problem at Jutland was that it was very misty, there was much doubt as to the whereabouts of the enemy, and although the battle cruisers ahead of each fleet had been hammering away at each other for a couple of hours, they failed to make clear reports by wireless to tell Jellicoe what was going on, and there were serious navigation differences between the two groups. Just in time Jellicoe realised the enemy was coming up on his starboard bow, so he hoisted the signal to deploy on the port column. The whole manoeuvre was ordered by this three flag signal, in the jargon of the day EQUAL SPEED CHARLIE LONDON.

The column nearest SE by E
is to alter course in succession
to the point of the compass (indicated),
the remaining columns altering course
leading ships together, the rest in succession
so as to form astern of that column,
maintaining the speed of the fleet.
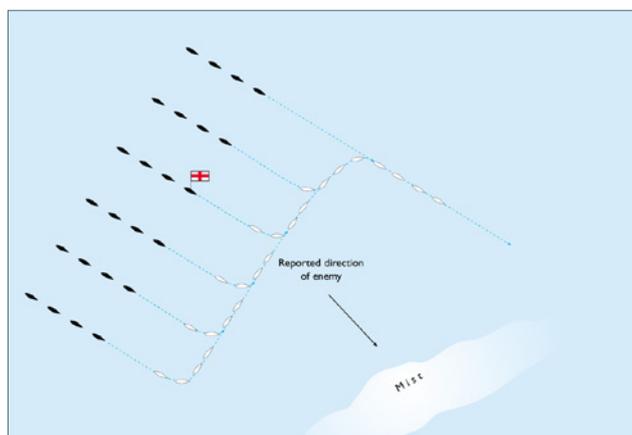
Jellicoe got it right, and this simple three flag signal started the ships moving into their single battle line, led

by the port column, the others following on behind. The manoeuvre was only half completed when the German battlefleet appeared through the mist in exactly the right position, so that the T was nicely crossed. Taken by surprise the Germans immediately did an about turn, reversing course after only a few salvos had been exchanged, and they disappeared behind smoke back into the mist. Jellicoe was slow to follow them, fearing torpedo attacks by German destroyers and submarines. However some twenty minutes later, when British ships gun's crews had been let out to get some fresh air, the German battlefleet suddenly re-appeared out of the mist, again in exactly the wrong position for them. There was more surprise and confusion on both sides, the Germans turned about once more and disappeared into the mist and gathering darkness. It is thought they miscalculated and had meant to cut across the rear of the Grand Fleet and head for home.

By then it was dark, and although there were skirmishes during the night between destroyers, again there was a lack of coherent wireless reports and Jellicoe did not realise that the two fleets were steaming south within a few miles of each other. Jellicoe thought he was ahead of the enemy, but in fact the Germans gradually pulled ahead and by dawn were out of sight and well on their way home. This three flag Deployment Signal has become famous in the RN; it is used as a blazer badge, and the flags are hoisted over the Signal School on special occasions. Indeed it is also hoisted occasionally in other strange places, in this case by the Saint Francis Yacht Club in San Francisco whenever RN ships are present, by courtesy of Lieutenant John Hau, USNR. And the White Ensign as well! Actually, as the Equal Speed pennant no longer exists he has to use the blue and white TURN pennant which has one less white stripe.

Jokey Signals

The signal codes are often used for other purposes. Quotes from the Bible are favourites — there is something for almost any occasion.

Here is a brooch given by King Edward VII to his Mistress, Mrs Keppel, after sailing during Cowes Week.
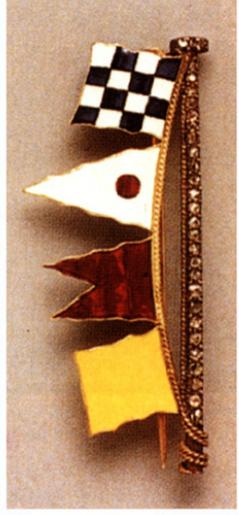
Flag Z

Pennant 9

Red Burgee

Flag W

'Position quartarly and open, I am about to fire a Whitehead torpedo ahead'

How Not to Do It

Finally two examples of strange mistakes. This is a painting of HMS *Hampshire*, which struck a mine in the North Sea while carrying Field Marshal Kitchener to Russia. The ship was lost and Kitchener drowned. The painting hangs in his old house near Canterbury in Kent. As you see, it has a Jackstaff in the bow from which is flying the White Ensign! Ensigns of course are flown at the stern or from a gaff on the mast, and the Jack is flown from the bow but only in harbour. At sea nothing is flown from the jackstaff which indeed would be struck down as it would be damaged by heavy seas, or shot to bits by ones own guns! How did such an error occur without anyone spotting it and telling the artist?

And this is almost worse! The British are well known for finding it difficult to know which way up to fly the Union Flag, but this splendid spinnaker on a naval yacht has the Union Flag the wrong way round! An expensive mistake and again, how on earth did no one notice!

On a happier note, here is the Gin pennant which invites officers from other ships in harbour to come over as the bar is open. Obviously it is best flown when there are not too many ships present!
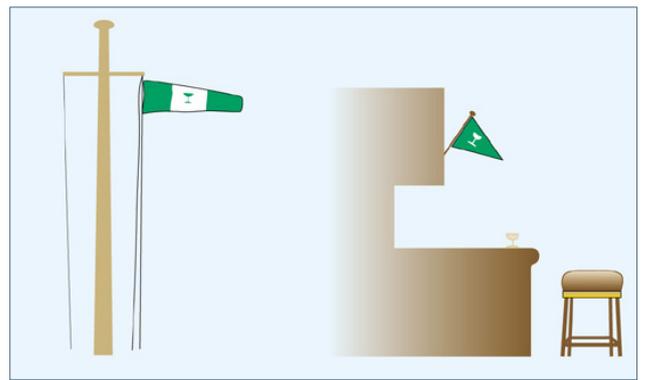
So, hopefully, the bar is now open here though possibly only for coffee!

A Century of Changing Colours on National Flags

Lorenzo Breschi

The *Calendario Atlante De Agostini* is a geographical and statistical yearbook well known in Italy. It has been published since 1904 and contains a table of flags of independent states.

I have chiefly considered two different editions: the first dating from 1904 and the second from 2000. Moreover, I have consulted a third, intermediate edition, dating from 1950.

For each I counted how many times a single color is present on the flags (if there was a coat-of-arms, I did not consider it), and I have summarized the data in Table 1. Some remarks can be made.

Red, white and blue are the three most common colors on the flags in 1904 as well as in 2000, even if their frequency is somewhat decreased. The popularity of these colors is due to the fact that several of today's national flags were inspired by those arising from the two great revolutions, the American and French ones. Moreover, important and authoritative states, apart from United States and France – like the United Kingdom, the Neth-erlands and Russia – hoist ancient flags with the same tree colors. And these flags have been very influential, too. For example, in 1917 the King of Thailand added the blue on the previous national flag (which had only red and white stripes), to display the same three colors of the leading world powers of that period.

In 1904 red, white and blue were followed by the other colors at greatly lower frequency: the most common, yellow, was three times less frequent than red; green was almost six times less frequent than red and black no less than 23 times. But all three have seen a strong increase during the last century. Green gained most, being present on nearly half of all flags in 2000. It has surpassed yellow is approaching the frequency of blue.

The principal cause for this strong increase of green on the flags is that several African states between the 1950's and 1970's became independent, and widely adopted flags containing green. The Table 2 shows the development of African flags, based on the *Calendario Atlante De Agostini.*

It is plain that African flags have grown much more rapidly than the total number of flags: 13 times versus 3.7, and more than 80% contains green. It is even clear that the growth has occurred mainly after 1950. In fact, in that year the African flags reported were still only 7 out 84.

Why is the geen so attractive to the Africans? We can find at least four reasons.

1. The Panafrican colors. In the 1904 issue of *Calendario* only one flag out of four African flags (Egypt, Congo, Liberia ed Ethiopia) contained green: it was the red-yellow-green tricolor of Ethiopia. This flag has been

Color	1904 (percent)	2000 (percent)	Variation	1950 (percent)
Black (N)	3.5	20.3	+16.8	9.5
Blue (B)	63.2	50.0	-13.2	59.5
Green (V)	14.0	43.8	+29.8	23.8
Red (R)	80.7	72.4	-8.3	77.4
White (W)	75.4	70.3	-5.1	75.0
Yellow (Y)	26.3	42.2	+15.9	26.2
Others*	0.0	7.8	7.8	3.6

* Orange, purple and brown.
§ Total number of flags: 57 in 1904, 84 in 1950 and 192 in 2000.

Table 1

Year	Total flags	African flags	African flags containing green	% of African flags containing green
1904	57	4	1	25.0
1950	84	7	3	42.9
2000	192	52	42	80.8

Table 2

a sort of seed. Ethiopia was a nation never submitted to foreign powers, and it was considered a symbol of freedom. So in 1957, when the British Colony of the Gold Coast became independent as the Republic of Ghana, it adopted, as a sign of liberation, the Ethiopian colors. Since then, red, yellow and green have been the continental colors and they should represent the United Africa. Unfortunately, an African Union has never been realized until now, but a wide number of newly independent African states followed the example of Ghana.

2. The colors of the Panafrican Movement. In 1914 Marcus Aurelius Garvey (1887-1940), a Jamaican of African roots, organized a revolutionary movement to build a new African homeland to receive black Americans wishing to come back. Garvey's colors were green, black and red. His project was unsuccessful, but some African states, upon becoming independent, adopted the green, black, and red on their new flags.

3. Islamic colors. Green is the Islamic color par excellence, and is present in the flags of various African Muslim states, for example Libya (hoisting a plain green flag), Algeria, Comoro Islands, Mauritania, Sudan, etc.)

4. The meaning of green. It is very likely that the great popularity of this color is due to the its symbolism, which recalls the luxuriance of nature as well as the agricultural resources. Most of all, it represents the blooming youth

and the hope for a propitious future. Nothing better suits a recent independent people and therefore several African nations chose green (among them Madagascar, Seychelles, Namibia, Gabon, and so on) for this reason rather than the first three reasons cited above.

Yellow attained a frequency of 42.2% in 2000 from 26.3 % in 1904. This increase is attributable to the fact that yellow is among the Panafrican colors. In fact, in 1950, before African independence, the flags containing yellow were 26.2 %, practically the same figure as in 1904.

Black is another color that has had a strong increase, from only 3.5% (just Belgium and Germany) in 1904 to 20.3% in 2000. In fact, black is among the four Pan-arab colors – the others being red, white and green. It appeared on the flags of some Arab states that reached their independence before 1950. And after that year, black has been chosen by several African states, too.

As I already observed, all the three most frequently used colors in flags - red, white and blue - show a decrease in usage. Blue has had the greatest variation, -13,2%. This is due to the absence of blue among the Panafrican colors, as well as among the Islamic and Arabs ones.

In conclusion, one can say that there has been an "African factor" heavily affecting the chromatic vexillological trend. It is not surprising. In fact 27 flags out 100 are today from Africa while in 1904 there were only seven out 100.

Tudor Flags

Professor David Loades PhD FRHS FSA
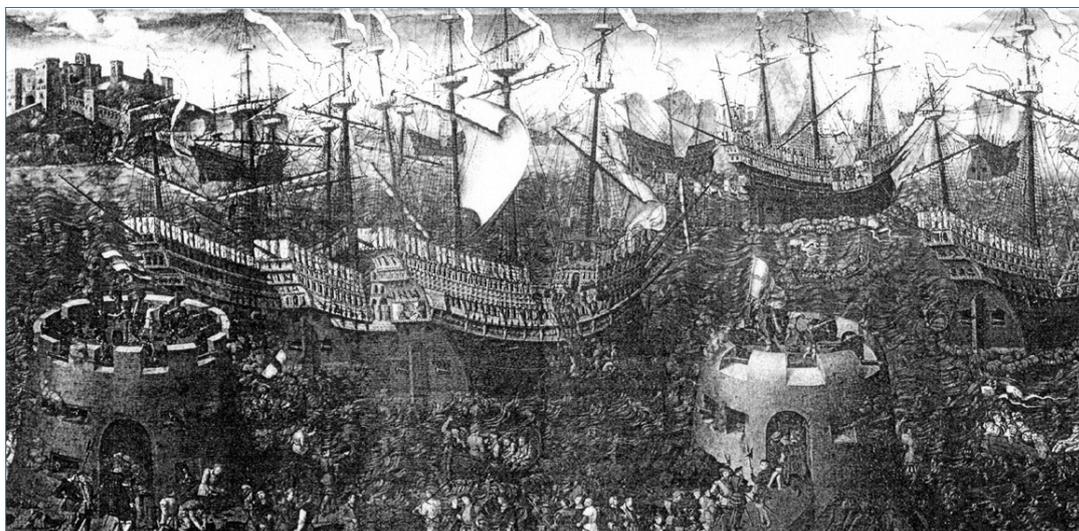
1.

We do not have the text of Professor Loades presentation, but Rob Raeside has kindly supplied the following precis:

The presentation mainly concerned flags used at sea by Henry VIII's navy. Such flags served three purposes - decoration, identification, and information transfer. Decorative flags were used to glorify the prince, and were not used during rough weather or in battle. In order to understand the use of flags in battle in the early 16th Century, it must be noted that the concept of the sea battle was still being developed. Before the invention of guns on board, galleys fought mainly by ramming each other. With the appearance of guns in the early 15th Century, galleys began to fight as individual ships, although such battling was rare outside coastal waters or more sheltered seas like the Mediterranean. Sailing ships in use up to the late 16th Century were clumsy, and major sea battles were more by accident than by design. Sea battles were essentially land-type battles, fought at sea. Ships therefore copied land-based forces, and carried the arms of the travellers. To demonstrate the decoration used by Henry VIII's ships, consider the record of purchase of flags for *Grace à Dieu*, his new flagship, in 1514. It was decorated with a 51 yard green and white streamer, 3 20 yard streamers, 3 5.5-yard long streamers, 10 3-yard long streamers, 10 St. George cross flags, and the image of the lion, the dragon and the greyhound (all provided at a cost of £112 19/8d). (See image above for an idea of the appearance of the streamer.) Some flags at this time were mostly streamers or banners, and some were made in metal. Special flags were made in fine wool or silk and embroidered.

At this time, ships were made or commandeered as needed for battle. After the battle, most ships reverted to the previous tasks. After the French War of 1512-14, Henry retained a fleet of 15 ships, essentially the beginning of the English navy. By 1545, the Naval Council existed with about 60 ships. Even in a smaller fleet, it was necessary to denote which ship carried the admiral, and this was accomplished by flying the St. George Cross flag from the mizzen mast. With the introduction of a larger fleet, flags became used as signals of the squadron to which the ship belonged, initially by flying a flag on either the foremast, the top mast, or the mizzen mast. Arms were used abundantly to identify who was on board.

Henry VIII died in 1547, and by 1588, only the royal arms, the national flags, and the squadron ensigns (by this time red, blue and white flags, for the first, second and third squadrons respectively) were used.

2.
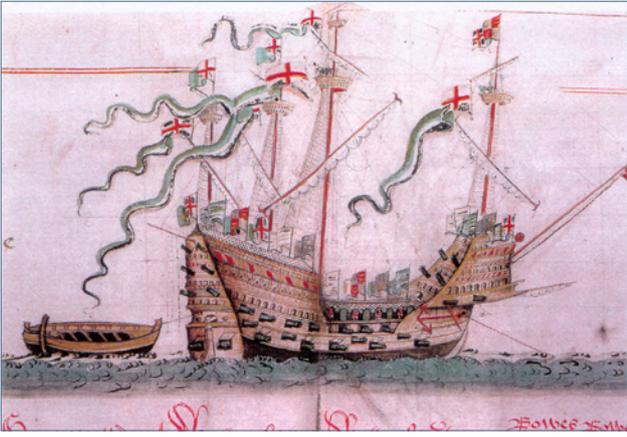
3a.
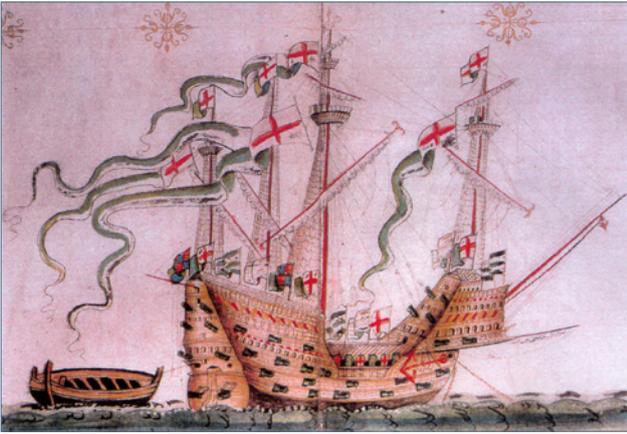
3b.
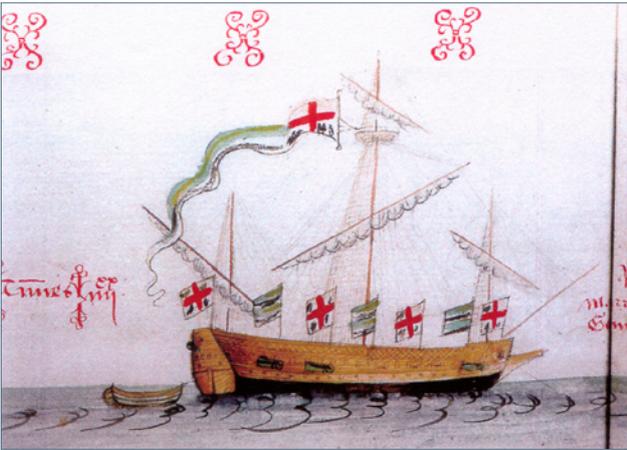
4a.
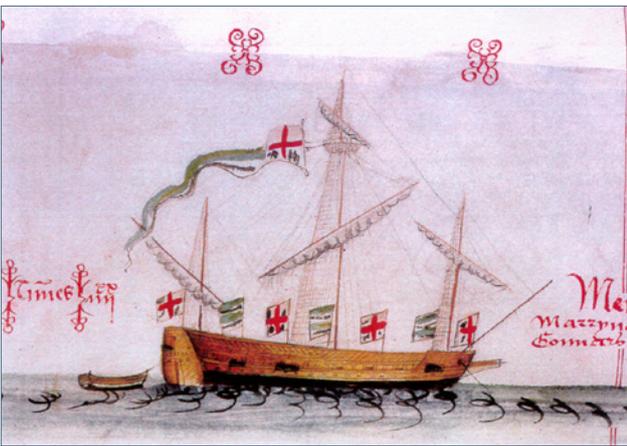
4b.

5a.
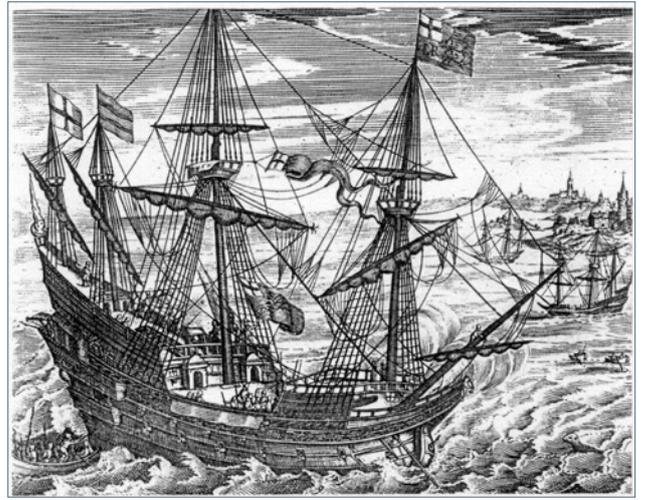
5b.
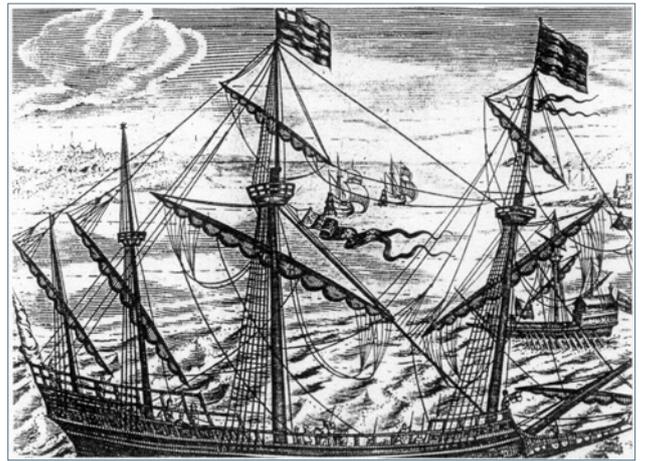
5c.

● Charles, Lord Howard of
Effingham, Admiral of the Fleet,
commander of the *Ark Royal*.
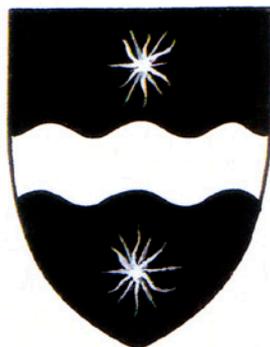
● Francis Drake, commander
of the *Revenge*.

● Sir William Wynter was with
Howard on the *Ark Royal*.

● Sir Martin Frobisher was
on the *Victory* with Lord Henry
Seymour.

● Sir Henry Palmer commanded
the *Rainbow*.
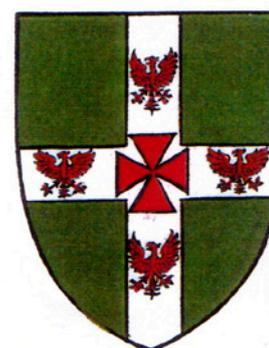
● The Fenners William and
Thomas commanded the *Aid*
and the *Nonpareil*, respectively.
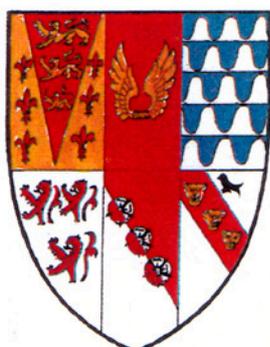
● Lord Henry Seymour.

● Sir John Hawkins.
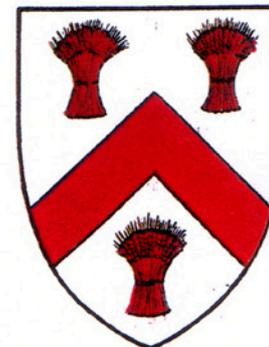
● Lord Edmund Sheffield.

6.

Stamping a Nation's Image
Currency & Stamps - Australia's Centenary of Federation

Ralph G.C. Bartlett FFIAV

Secretary-General Emeritus, FIAV
& President, The Flag Society of Australia

As we are all aware 2001 is a very significant year for vexillology. It is the one hundredth anniversary of the Commonwealth of Australia and its national flag, and coincidentally the two hundredth anniversary of the United Kingdom's current Union Flag – Australia's colonial and constitutional parent.

Upon the proclamation of the Commonwealth of Australia on the 1st. January 1901, we had no official distinctive national symbols, currency, postage stamps or even an effective capital city. Sydney was the venue to launch the new federal Commonwealth, but its Parliament was to commence sitting in Melbourne in May 1901. Even worse, Australia's government took 9 months to approve a preferred national flag. As an interim measure Australians flew a variety of locally designed "national" flags. The most predominant of these were the Federation Movement Flag (Fig.1) and the Herald Federal Flag (Fig. 2). Following an international competition, on the 3rd September 1901, the Federal Government announced the winning design for the new national flag for Australia (Fig. 3).

1. 1893-1901 Federation Flag

2. 1900-01 Herald Federal Flag

3. 1901-03 Australian Nat. Flag

The purpose of this lecture is to share with you all how Australia has vexillologically presented itself on its postage stamps and currency. The first postage stamps to commemorate the birth of the Commonwealth of Australia did not appear on "Australian" stamps, but on stamps issued by the then existing official postal serv-ices of New South Wales and Queensland who issued identical stamps in 1903 (Fig. 4). This stamp depicts a "Commonwealth" arch with each State's initials and founding years on the columns, inside of which is a seated Britannia holding a "Federation" Shield.

4. (1903) State "Commonwealth" Stamps

5. (1910) Australian Threepence Coin

6. (1913) 1d (Penny) Stamp

These stamps were originally to be the first Australian postage stamps, but the six States and the Federal Government could not agree on the financial re-structuring of the existing six postal services into a single national postal service. Hence the two year delay in issuing the Stamp, and then only in two States.

The first Australian coins were minted in 1910. In that year Threepence, Sixpence, 1/- (Shilling) and One Florin coins were issued showing King Edward VII on one side and the then Commonwealth Coat-of-Arms on the other side (Fig. 5). On the 1st January 1913, the Federal Postmaster-General's Department officially issued the first postage stamp to represent the Commonwealth of Australia (Fig. 6). This was the 1d. (Penny) Red, with a Kangaroo in the centre of the Australian continent. Also during 1913, the first distinctive Commonwealth of Australia paper monetary notes were issued in the denominations of 10/- (Shillings) and £1, £5 & £10 (Pounds). Each of these notes contained an unofficial rendition of the recently changed Australian Coat-of-Arms (Fig. 7).

7. Australian 10/- Shillings – 1913

In 1938, the rendition of the Australian Coat-of-Arms on the 1 Florin coin was updated to show the correct shield and supporters but with a Tudor Crown above the shield instead of the Commonwealth Star and striped bar (Fig. 8).

8a.   8b.   8c.
Australian 1 Florin (2/- Shillings) Coins
1910, 1926 and 1938

Vexillologically related designs on Australian postage stamps did not start until the 18th February 1946, with the issuing of a 3½d (Penny) blue "Peace" stamp, showing a Dove flying across a waving Australian national flag (Fig. 9). It should be noted that this Stamp and its two accompanying stamps are generally recorded in various stamp catalogues as having been issued exactly one year later in 1947, but this is incorrect. This was the first of 48 postage stamps to have designs related to flags or coats-of-arms. On the whole these postage stamps have been issued either to commemorate or promote different aspects of Australia's history and life style. Listed below are all the flag and arms stamps issued divided into various theme groups;

History

18th Feb. 1946	"Peace" Series – Commemorating World War II ending. (Fig. 9)
1st May 1951	Golden Jubilee (50th Anniv.) of the Cwlth. of Australia.
26th Sep. 1956	Centenary of Self-Gov. in N.S.W., Victoria & Tasmania. (Fig. 28)
20th Apr. 1970	Captain Cook Bi-Centenary Miniature Sheet (5 Stamps)
5th Jan. 1976	75th Anniversary of the Cwlth. of Australia (Fig. 11)
6th Jun. 1979	150th Anniversary of Western Australia (Flag Logo)
14th Jan. 1999	50th Anniversary of Australian Citizenship. (Fig. 13)

1st Jan. 2001	Centenary of the Commonwealth of Australia. (Fig. 26)

Culture

Oct.1949- Jan. 1950	Commonwealth Coat-of-Arms Definitive Series. (Fig. 10)
31st Mar. 1970	Royal Visit of H.M. Queen Elizabeth II. (Fig. 17)
24th Sep. 1979	Christmas "Flag" Parcels. (Fig. 29)
21st Apr. 1981	Queen's Birthday - Personal Flag for Australia (Fig. 30)
22nd Apr. 1985	Queen's Birthday - Sovereign's Order of Aust. Badge. (Fig. 29)
26th Sep. 1986	America's Cup "Triumph '83"- Boxing Kangaroo Flag. (Fig. 29)
9th May 1988	Opening of the new national Parliament House.
21st Jun. 1988	Bicentenary Joint Aust./ UK "Flag & Culture" Issue. (Fig. 22)
1988	Living Together "Parliament" (17 Feb.), "Tourism" (Arms)(28 Sept.) & "Telecommunications" (16 Mar.) (Fig. 12)
11th May 2000	Nature and Nation "Flag & Kangaroo". (Fig. 32)

Australia Day

26th Jan 1978	Australian National Flag "Waving". (Fig. 18)
26th Jan.1979	Flag raising at Sydney Cove in 1788.
21st Jan. 1981	Raised Australian Flag map. (Fig. 19)
23rd Jan.1987	Australian flag on a circuit board. (Fig. 20)
10th Jan.1991	Aust. Nat., Naval, Air Force & Merchant Flags. (Fig. 21)

International

23rd Feb. 1955	50th Anniversary of Rotary International.
2nd Oct. 1968	Mexico City Olympic Games.
8th April 1994	Friendship Bridge – Thailand-Laos (Aust. Aid).
11th May 1995	50th Anniversary of the United Nations.
10th Aug. 1995	50th Anniversary of World War II Peace. (Fig. 9b)
15th Sep. 2000	Sydney Olympic Games

Out of all these postage stamps there are a few which I believe have greater significance on how Australia has portrayed itself to the world.

9a. WWII
Peace Stamp 1947

9b. WWII
50th Anniv. 1995

12. "Living Together"
Series-Tourism 1988

The first flag stamp, the 1946 blue "Dove & Flag Peace" stamp (Fig. 9) which commemorated the end of World War II one year earlier, shows a Blue Ensign version of the Australian flag. This stamp was issued just when Australians and their government were trying to work out which flag, the blue or red national ensigns, should be used as the "peoples" national flag. While there is no direct evidence, I believe that the portrayal of only the blue national ensign finally convinced the government that this was the only national ensign that should be flown by the citizens of Australia and not just for official use. The full series of three "Peace" postage stamps were re-issued in 1995 to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the ending of World War II (Fig. 33). The only difference was the updating of each stamp's denomination and the inclusion of the year "1995" in the lower right corner of each stamp.

13. 50th Anniversary of Australian
Citizenship Act 1999

10. Commonwealth Coat-of-Arms
Definitive Series 1949-50.

Australia's national Coat-of-Arms have featured on 5 issues of postage stamps. Of this five issues the Coats-of-Arms are best portrayed on postage stamps issued in 1947 and 1999 (Figs. 10 & 13). They have also appeared in a comical cartoon form in 1988 (Fig. 13) as part of larger "Living Together" series for Australia's bicentenary. It should also be noted that on the 9th November 1983, a series of 9 pre-stamped envelopes were issued featuring the National, six States, Northern Territory and City of Canberra Coat-of-Arms (Fig. 14) in full colour.

14. Pre-stamped Envelopes Showing
National and State Arms

All of Australia's paper (bank notes) money contained a rendition of the national Coat-of-Arms (Fig.15) up until the introduction of decimalisation, with Dollars and Cents, on the 14th February 1966. Only the new $1.00 paper note showed the Coat-of-Arms (Fig. 16), a combined Aboriginal / Heraldic rendition. This note remained in circulation until 14th May 1984 when it was replaced with a copper/gold coloured $1.00 coin.

11. 75th Anniversary of the
Commowealth of Australia 1976

**15. Australia's pre-decimal notes
£½ (10/-), £1 & £5 (1959-66)**

16. Decimalised $1.00 notes (1966-84)

On the 11th June 1974 the title on all notes,
"Commonwealth of Australia" was changed to just "Australia".

Turning back to postage stamps. The first stamp to show the Australian national flag in colour was the commemorative 1970 "Royal Visit" 30¢. (cents) (Fig. 17). Since then the national flag has always been shown in colour. The next stamp to show the flag was the first "Australia Day" stamp in 1978 (Fig. 18). It is interesting to note that this rendition of the national flag was used as part of the logo of the Australian Labor Party between early 1980-April 1994.

17. 1970

18. 1978

19. 1981

20. 1987

Since then the national flag has been shown on a further three "Australia Day" issues, in 1981, 1987 and 1991 (Figs. 19, 20 & 21). The 1991 "Australia Day" issue also included additional stamps for Australia's Naval, Air Force and Merchant flags. In 1988 the Australian Flag formed the background of a joint Aust./UK issue commemorating the Bicentenary and our cultural & constitutional links (Fig. 22).

21. 1991

22. Joint Australia / United Kingdom 1988

The Australian Fifty Cent (50¢) coin has hosted the national coat-of-arms and flag on the technically called "reverse" side of the coin (Fig. 23). In the year 2000 the Royal Australian Mint issued two 50¢ coins (Fig. 24), commemorating the "Millennium Year" (showing the Australian flag) and "Royal Visit" (showing the national parliamentary flag pole & flag, plus the St. Edward's

Crown). I should also point out that the parliamentary flag pole and national flag appear on the reverse side of our new $5 polymer (plastic) note as part of a drawing which shows the old and new national Parliament Houses with the large flag pole and Australian national flag flying at the top.

23. Fifty (50¢.) Cent Coins 1966 (Round) & 1975 (12 sides since 1969)

24. Year 2000 Double 50¢ Coins

Millennium and Centenary of Federation commemorations also resulted in two proof "Colour" 50¢ Coins being released, one each in the years 2000 and 2001. The first shows the Australian National Flag and the next the Australian Coat-of-Arms (Fig. 25). Not only do they look great but they are also a great advance in coin production.

25. Colour "Millennium" 50¢ Coin (2000) & Colour "Aust. Coat-of-Arms" 50¢ Coin (2001)

On the 1st January 2001, the exact centenary of the establishment of the Commonwealth of Australia, four commemorative postage stamps (Fig. 26) and a commemorative polymer (plastic) $5 note (Fig. 27) were issued, which show various images from 1901.

26. Centenary of Australian Federation Stamps 2001

27. "Centenary of Federation" $5.00 Note 2001

Thank you for your attention, and thank you United Kingdom for agreeing to grant us the *Commonwealth of Australia*.

28. Centenary of Self-Government

29. Christmas 1979

30. America's Cup 1983

31. Queen's Birthday 1985

32. Queen's Australian Flag 1981

33. State Shields on the $5.00 note – 2001

Acknowledgements

Ms. Georgia Cribb
   Exhibitions Section, Philatelic Group, Australia Post.
Mr. Dave Renalds
   Note Print Australia, Reserve Bank of Australia.
Public Relations Dept.
   Royal Australian Mint, Canberra, A.C.T.
Figures 1, 2 & 3 - Original artwork prepared by Hart and Boyd Design (1992) for the National Australia Bank Ltd. Reproduced with permission.

References

Australian Postage Stamps - The Early Commonwealth Period, P. 9 (Aust. Post Office 1973)
Australian Postage Stamps - Aust. Commemorative & Air Mail 1927-51, P. 26 (Aust. Post)
The Colour Catalogue of Australian Stamps - David Mortimer (1st Edition, 1976)
The Australasian Stamp Catalogue - Seven Seas Stamps Pty. Ltd. (20th Edition, 1983)
Crux Australis - Flag Society of Australia (Vol. 1, No. 4, December 1984 – Pages 6-8)
Australian Stamp Bulletins - Australia Post,
      No. 169, Nov.- Dec. 1983, P. 4-5;
      No. 178, Apr.-Jun. 1985, P. 8;
      No. 186, Sep.- 1986, P. 2-3;
      No. 188, Jan. 1987, P. 10;
      No. 193, Jan. 1988, P. 6-9;
      No. 194, Apr. 1988, P. 6-7;
      No. 195, June 1988, P. 2-4;
      No. 197, Oct.-Dec. 1988, P. 4;
      No. 208, Jan.- Feb. 1991, P. 2-3;
      No. 224, Mar.- May 1994, P.12
      No. 229, Mar.-May 1995, P.14-15;
      No. 231, Aug.-Sep. 1995, P.6-7
      No. 248, Jan.-Feb. 1999, P.3;
      No. 254, Mar.- May 2000, P.12-13;
      No. 256, Aug.-Sep. 2000, P.12-13;
      No.258, Jan.- Feb. 2001, P. 3-6.
Coinage of Australia Poster - Woolworths Ltd (1986)
Banknotes of Australia Poster - Woolworths Ltd (1988)
Australian Encyclopaedia - Australian Geographic Society (Vol.3, Page 891 – 1988)
NAVA News - North American Vexillological Association (Vol. XXVII, No. 4, July-Aug. 1994, P.3)

34. Nature and Nation Series - 2000

Flag Tattoos: Markers of Class & Sexuality

Scot M. Guenter LFIAV PhD

Professor of American Studies, San José State University

Over the last fifteen years, I have often argued that practitioners of vexillology need to be more interested in intellectual movements and developing methodologies in complementary fields in the social sciences, in the arts and humanities, and in the emergent interdisciplinary discourse known as culture studies. With resolution and determination, vexillology needs to move beyond classification and categorization to profound considerations of the function and use of flags in creating and changing individual and group identities, in maintaining or challenging the power structure in any given society.[1] Although the response to date has tended to be underwhelming, and cross-fertilization in these categories has not in any way tapped the potential I am convinced is there for vexillology, I am heartened by revitalized discussions that suggest as we move into the 21st century some active vexillologists might again be looking for input from such disciplines as sociology and quantitative demography.[2]

In the past, I have sometimes suggested rudimentary models for how one might connect vexillology to what is going on in such academic pursuits as cultural geography, women's studies, children's literature, music, art, or anthropology.[3] Today—admittedly in a very limited fashion—I would like to raise the topic area of flags as tattoos, and then sketch out possibilities for further work in this area to explore the dynamics of flag tattoos as markers of social class, and more complexly, sexuality. As is often the case in such ruminations, I shall raise many more questions than I shall answer; nevertheless, I believe that encouraging the international community of vexillologists to see the merit in such areas of inquiry—indeed, the *need* for such areas of inquiry—is a worthy pursuit in and of itself.

I started thinking about the special significance of a flag tattoo—as opposed to, say, a flag decal or a flag poster—when I was chuckling again over a rereading of Abbie Hoffman's autobiography *Soon to be a Major Motion Picture*.[4] Therein lies a passage in which the infamous Yippie leader recounts the fracas that occurred in October 1968 as he was en route to testify for the second day before the House Un-American Activities Committee regarding Yippie activities at the Democratic Convention in Chicago. You might recall, that day he was the first person arrested for breaking the first U.S. federal law against flag desecration, also passed in 1968. Police grabbed him for daring to wear a U.S. flag shirt as he entered the building to testify. Here's the delicious part—as the shirt was ripped off in the scuffle that ensued,

and he was dragged away, Hoffman's back revealed a body-painted image of a different flag. As he tells it:

> *The next day I stood before the judge, [still] bare to the waist. The tattered shirt lay on the prosecutor's table in a box marked Exhibit A. "You owe me fourteen ninety-five for that shirt," I mentioned. Bail was set at three thousand dollars. "Get out of here with that Viet Cong flag. How dare you?" the judge intoned. "Cuban your honor, " I corrected.*[5]

Hoffman was a master at using both guerrilla theater and symbolic warfare to make a point, and he knew well the media coverage that would ensue. Realizing the American flag shirt would no doubt be forcibly removed, *he painted into his skin* the flag of Cuba. A powerful and direct insult to the government arresting him, it was at the same time a dynamic assertion of his rights to think and believe as an individual under the U.S. Constitution. Choosing the flag of Cuba was a clear affront, but it was a smarter public relations move for Hoffman's guerrilla theater intentions than the Viet Cong flag would have been in 1968. Eventually, in this case, the paint would be removed. Clearly, though, much of the impact of a tattoo comes from our recognition of its permanence, of it getting literally *under the skin* of the person wearing it. As markers, then, flag tattoos emphasize and imply extremely powerful personal identifications.

Tattoos have enjoyed a long and varied history in many different cultures around the globe, across the span of many centuries. A useful reference for more information here would be Stephen G. Gilbert's *Tattoo History: A Source Book*.[6] Certainly, flag tattoos as markers of class and sexuality can carry very different meanings in different cultural and historical contexts. I wish to confine my reflections here to the re-emergence of tattoos in western European and American culture in the past 230 years, which I believe is directly tied to the spread of imperialism, of capitalist economies in search of natural resources and new markets. The South Pacific exploratory voyages of Captain James Cook, from 1769 on, brought the practice from Tahiti to western consciousness, and the very word "tattoo" is taken from the Tahitian word "ta-tu" which means "to mark" or "to strike."[7]

Two distinct groups became caught up in what sociologist Clinton R. Sanders has described as a "tattoo rage", a fad which was noticeable in Great Britain in the middle of the nineteenth century and had securely

spread to America by the end of that century. These were the nobility or elite, who most directly benefited from the expansion of these capitalist markets; and sailors, craftsmen, and the military, who more directly labored to assure the elite's benefits from this imperialism. Among the elite, tattoos tended to be stylish Oriental depictions received upon a trip to Asia or family coats-of-arms, both suggesting power and affluence. Among the nobility who proudly bore such tattoos were Czar Nicholas II of Russia, King George of Greece, King Oscar of Sweden, Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany, and most of the male members of the British Royal Family.[8]

The various European elite uses of coat-of-arms imagery as opposed to other tattoo options, evaluated based upon historical, geographical, and interfamilial contexts, would be a fascinating study to pursue. Flag tattoos, however, are more readily and consistently found among the latter group, the military and working class. Flag tattoos and variant civil religious iconography in tattoos have been a popular option among the military and working class folk seeking tattoos in America since the middle of the nineteenth century. Prior to the Civil War, evidence suggests the female personification of the United States referred to as "Columbia" was a popular tattoo in New York City. During the Civil War, the popularity of patriotic tattoos accelerated, many soldiers receiving them in battlefield camps in what can understandably be seen as rituals of nationalism.[9] But the information I have found so far does not question the range or number of patriotic icons employed in these tattoos. I wonder, just how popular were flag tattoos as opposed to other patriotic icons, such as eagles or Lady Liberty? Did any shift in status parallel the rise of the cult of the flag? When and how were flags parsed (that is, suggested by style and design) and when were they directly represented without modification in tattoo imagery? To date, as far as I can tell at this point, no one has attempted to delineate the rise and/or fall of flag tattoos as compared to other civil religious tattoo iconography—or the relative popularity of civil religious tattoos as compared to other types of tattoos (such as declarations of eternal love or religious symbols). Although retrieving total data at this point would be impossible, there are remaining nineteenth century tattoo selection books and historical description references that could be reviewed for evidence.[10] It would be intriguing to check and see how the dissemination of parsed flag or direct flag tattoos in the United States in the second half of the nineteenth century compared to the rise and dissemination of the cult of the American flag, because although the middle class in America never became caught up in the nineteenth century "tattoo rage," they were integral to the successful establishment of the cult of the American flag. How distinct American social classes differed in flag usage and interpretation, and how they complemented and fed each other's coalescing of a nationalist consciousness, would be another unexplored area for students of American vexillology ready to expand its boundaries of inquiry.

To my mind, probably the most influential book to be published in the past five years, for what it suggests by implication for cross-cultural and anthropological pursuits in vexillology, would be Carolyn Marvin and David Ingle's *Blood Sacrifice and the Nation* (Cambridge Press, 1999).[11] Although their study focuses upon flag ritual in the United States, a website they set up prior to publication suggests how the paradigm could be applied to Israeli culture, and a student term paper in my university vexillology class in 2000 argued a similar application to Australian flag culture.[12] To do the complexity of their paradigm justice, I heartily recommend a close reading of the book to all of you. Briefly, they adapt Durkheim's model of the totem taboo as the organizing principle of group consciousness—in this case, American nationalism. As their title suggests, the totem—the American flag—demands a regular blood sacrifice to hold the group's identity together. A totem class develops to protect and serve the flag (soldiers, sailors, police, etc.) while affiliative groups are fraternal tribal structures that "covet totem power and wish to seize it."[13] I see very strong overlap between Marvin's "totem class" and the social groups involved in the "tattoo rage" of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, as tattooing came to be seen as increasingly vulgar, unacceptable, and deviant from middle class standards—a perspective growing at the turn of the twentieth century and clearly well defined by the 1920s in America[14] — so did tattoo culture and popularity of flag tattoos spread beyond the totem class to these affiliative groups. It took the historical establishment of the cult of the American flag in national consciousness to spur the adoptive and challenging use of American flag tattoos by affiliative groups, many of whom experienced their own "tattoo rages" in the twentieth century. Abbie Hoffman explains his "symbolic warfare" strategy of flag appropriation in his autobiography, and he used the American flag in all kinds of creative and controversial ways as strategies to get Americans to requestion what the country's central ideals truly were.[15] Affiliative groups are engaged in a corollary activity, although perhaps not as self-consciously aware, when they adopt and adapt American flag tattoos.

When affiliative groups use flag tattoos, they are defining themselves as warriors, as equals to the status of members of the totem class such as marines, soldiers and sailors. Our modern equivalent of warrior-gladiators, professional sportsmen, certainly carry on this tradition. Brief examples of flag tattoos used in this way include "Captain Canuck" Paul Benoit of professional wrestling, who enters the ring in Canadian flag mask, Canadian flag cape, red and white tights, the Canadian flag carried in

his arm, and a big Canadian flag tattoo on his massive chest.[16] Then there's Chris Johnson of the Brisbane Lions team in the Australian Football League, who is much admired for this aboriginal flag tattoo.[17]

© 2000 News Limited

1. Chris Jordan's Tattoo

You might not be aware of this, but 45% of the National Basketball Association's membership now are tattooed, and that percentage continues to rise. Parenthetically, a controversy has recently ensued over whether these athletes have the right to sell space on their skin—so often viewed by millions around the globe on television—as rental turf for logos and corporate icon tattoos.[18] Perhaps ultimately, in the end, we will discover the true taboo secret that our blood sacrifice in the United States is not to the American flag, as Marvin suggests, but rather to the Golden Arches or the Nike swoosh.

Not all affiliative groups are as beloved by members of the dominant culture as these athletes. Some interesting and powerful images of affiliative group uses of flag tattoos include members of the American Nazi party.[19]

2. Members of the American Nazi Party

Note that, like the Ku Klux Klan, the American Nazi party will often opt for the direct appropriation of the complete flag image. Many of the white supremacist political groups, as documented and depicted in James Ridgeway's *Blood in the Face*, have a penchant for using flags and flag imagery in their movement, not only the U.S. flag, but others, such as the Confederate Battle Flag, the flag of the White Aryan Resistance movement, the Nazi Swastika, or the flag of the Christian Identity Church. That religious group has done a lot of evangelical outreach through the Aryan Brotherhood, a white supremacist prison gang that also draws upon the strong and distinct tradition of prison tattoos in asserting affiliative group identity. Not surprisingly, given these overlappings, and the social class positioning, one notices popularity of tattoos among the Skinheads as well.[20]

A U.S. District Court federal judge in Houston, Texas, ruled on 24 January 2000 that the presence of a Confederate flag tattoo on the arm of a white city official could not be allowed as evidence in a race discrimination lawsuit brought by two African American city employees. The same judge had allowed the tattoo admitted as such evidence in an earlier trial that ended with a hung jury. In the interim, the South Carolina clash over the significance of that flag symbol had ensued in the media, and for the new trial, the judge ruled it was unclear what the tattoo truly meant to its owner, especially as he had received it decades earlier in his life. The ruling suggests not a celebration of free speech rights, but rather recognition by the government that the interconnections and layers of personal and group meaning in a flag tattoo are undeniably complex.[21]

Many of the less political or non-sports affiliative groups, although still concerned about the masculine, warrior cultural identity, are more likely to employ a parsed American flag motif in their tattoo traditions. Excellent and abundant examples here can be found in such groups as the Hell's Angels.
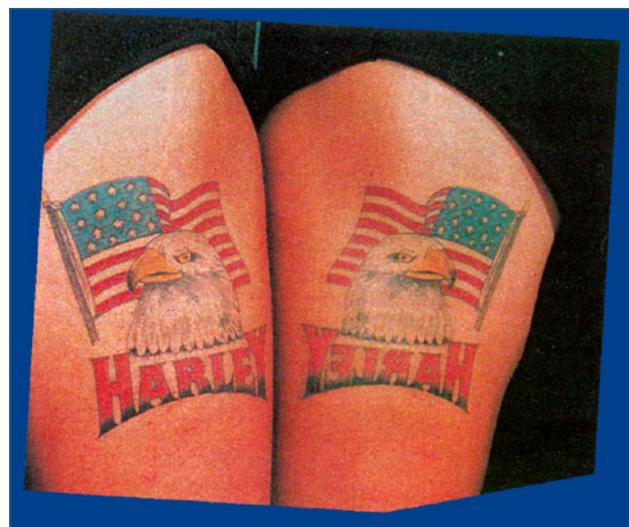
3. Hell's Angels

Hunter Thompson's classic new journalism study of the group, published in 1966, includes a popular and powerful parable much beloved in oral traditions among the bikers. A deaf and dumb biker known as "the Mute" was stopped by a cop for speeding near the Boardwalk in Santa Cruz and ordered to remove his Levi jacket displaying the Hell's Angels "colors." Communication was done with pad and pencil, and the Mute obliged, to reveal a leather jacket beneath bearing a Hell's Angels decal. He was ordered to remove that and did so. Beneath was a wool shirt resplendent with more Hell's Angels symbols—he was told to remove it—then an undershirt with the same imagery—he was told to remove it. As you might guess at this point, the angry cop called for the removal of the last shirt from the Mute, who silently and proudly displayed a great Hells Angels death head tattoo upon his chest. The group's telling of the parable ends with the cop driving away in disgust, with the Mute ready to bare more if necessary to show his affiliative allegiance emblazoned in his very skin.[22] Predating but highly parallel to the Hoffman incident, here the tattoo speaks loudly and victoriously for a man who cannot use his voice.

Studying the changing iconography and possible shifting uses of parsed flags in a group such as the Hells Angels over time would help us better understand complex and never completely stable structures of group and personal identity for such participants as the Mute or the biker bearers of these tattoos.[23]
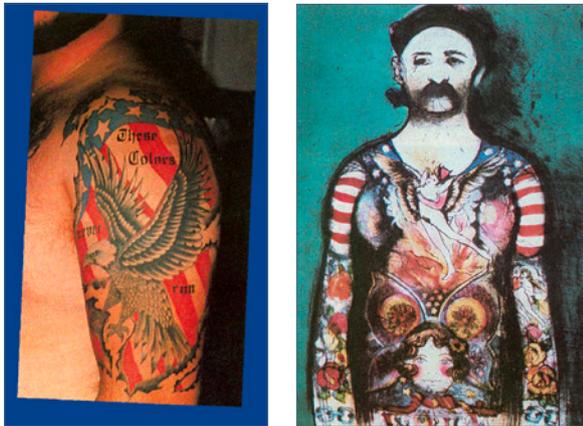
4 & 5. Biker Tattoos

Around the same time period that the Mute and Abbie were displaying their tattoos to American law enforcement, tattoo culture in the United States was beginning a Renaissance. Connected to the significant cultural shifts occurring in the tumultuous decade of the 1960s, the middle class began to entertain, in modest ways, the acceptance of tattoos, and more and more individuals found meaning in using tattoos as a way to establish and celebrate their personal identity.[24] Because I live in California my perspective may be skewed, but it seems to me nowadays tattoos may be found much more among

the middle class than in my youth, and also more women openly wear them. Even the Father of Vexillology himself, Whitney Smith, now sports a flag tattoo.[25]

Not everyone wears flag tattoos for the same reasons, and many flag-tattooed people are probably not themselves aware of the complexity of social forces that led them to this option. Let us move to a consideration of the rise and use of flag tattoos and new types of flags in gay culture.[25] 1969, the year after Hoffman was arrested, was the year of the Stonewall Riot, the symbolic outing of an evolving gay culture in America that had been present but taboo for many, many decades. An excellent source for more information on the cultural antecedents of this, confined to a very specific regional focus, but like Marvin's work in anthropology truly important as a model for the application of a paradigm to better understand the complex dynamic of distinct social class markers in variations of an evolving gay identity, is George Chauncey's *Gay New York*.[26]

I don't wish to give you a lecture on the details of gay history—I'm sure no one came here today expecting that. However, I continue to affirm that students of flag culture must be willing to enter any and all areas of social and cultural analysis where the use of flags and flag-related symbols are involved in the complex creation of individual and group identity or in the struggle for power and control in any society.[27] Not all gays now share the same culture, and the very definition of the category "gay" is problematic in different temporal and cultural contexts. Still, within the American gay subculture that coalesced during the 1970s and has evolved to the present, there are some applications of Marvin's ideas about affiliative group identity applied to flag tattoo use that lead us into territory not regularly explored in vexillology: perceptions and definitions of both masculinity and sexuality.

Chauncey spends part of his study documenting a flourishing but covert range of man-man sexual activities 1890-1940 in which many participants would neither self-identify or be seen determined by the dominant culture to be gay. The stereotype of the effeminate, limp-wristed, swishy fellow equaled gay in this period—he might be called a fairy or a pansy—while masculine men who enjoyed gay sex but could pass for heterosexual eluded detection and suspicion. Chauncey approaches this "butch/fem" dichotomy as a phenomenon and process that varied according to social class, ethnicity, and race.

Even today in the 21st century, especially in many cultures where a high emphasis is placed on machismo, the old stereotype persists that a man can only "really" be determined gay if he acts like a drag queen. I leave these fascinating and shifting intersticings of masculinity and sexuality for you to reflect upon at a later date, but I ask you to note the correlation and overlap between these groups studied by very different scholars: many of those belonging to Marvin's totem class and affiliative groups

categories are in the social classes that experienced Sanders' "tattoo rage." They are the same men who, according to Chauncey's paradigm, would be in denial to the middle class culture of homosexual activity if and when it occurred, and the middle and upper class custodians of culture would gladly participate in this denial; yet, as Chauncey reports, this homosexual activity WAS occurring, far more often than the dominant culture wished to recognize.[28] Moreover, in the fetishizing of working class male sexuality, the tattoo takes on an undeniably erotic significance, and the flag tattoo becomes a special marker of a totem class or affiliative group ideal for many gays.[29] Let us briefly consider this semiotic process, then look at some examples of elements of it at work.

Most vexillological work on gay culture and flags to date has been limited to documenting and giving the origin of the Rainbow Flag and its variants, such as James J. Ferrigan III did at ICV 12 in San Francisco,[30]

6. The Rainbow Flag

and perhaps more recently, describing the Leather Flag or the Bear Flag and their variants to the uninitiated. Two websites that are very useful in this latter context are the Rainbow Icon Archive and Chris Pinette's colorful "Flags of the Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Community."[31] Such documentation is of course essential, but as with all flags around us, vexillologists can and should push on not only to describe flags but to analyze how and why they function in different cultural contexts. Within vexillology itself, people sometimes joke about how gays are attracted to flags (both their use and their study!) and generally such joking evokes a sensibility of gay –as-interior-decorator, gay-as-aesthete, gay-as-Auntie Mame at a parade. I make no complaint or apology here, for certain groups do seem to be drawn to certain professions or vocations in different cultural and historical milieus: the Irish did move into jobs as firemen and policemen in late 19th century America, the Cambodians have taken over the donut shop businesses in contemporary California, and in that same state as we speak the Vietnamese are making great inroads in the running of manicure shops. We should not automatically discredit such assertions

if statistically proven, we should be asking *why?* The answers will never be simple. I do have some initial thoughts on evolving gay culture and its connection to some new flags and the use of flag tattoos.

In post-Stonewall gay culture, hypermasculinity was understandably fetishized by those looking for alternatives beyond the categorization of sissy-boy or drag queen. In a chart he prepared to summarize the acquisition process and self-definitional/identity consequences for contemporary Americans getting tattoos, in 1989 sociologist Clinton R. Sanders pointed to masculinity as first and foremost in what he labeled "affiliative meanings" for tattoos.[32] Let me attempt to explain the particular significance of this semiotic connection for emergent gay culture by a specific example. Think of the disco group The Village People. Recall how successful they were, during the early years of this gay liberation movement, at combining campy gay fetishizing of male stereotypes with mass marketable recordings that went to the top of the charts. Millions across America sang along about joining the Navy or going to the Y.M.C.A., surely not all cognizant of the gay cultural connotations conveyed throughout such songs. The members of the group—the cop, the soldier, the construction worker, the cowboy, the Indian, the biker—they embody stereotypes of the tattooed masculine ideals of the totem group and affiliative groups. Not only were they sexual fantasies, but they became models for emergent gay subcultures devoted to uniforms, leather, and bears—subcultures with a definite penchant for flags. The musical group actually mediated the process, building on stereotypes and fantasies harkening back generations while helping to spread and codify them in the liberated gay world.

Then and now, tattoos continue to be significant markers of masculinity in these gay subcultures, and not coincidentally, the use of distinctive flags as decorations, apparel, and icons used in group rituals by these subcultures has flourished. I am thinking here specifically of the Leather Pride flag, first displayed on 28 May 1989; the original Bear Flag, designed in 1992; and the International Bear Brotherhood Flag, designed in 1995; and all their variants.[33]

7. Leather Pride Flag

8. Bear Flag 1992

9. International Bear Brotherhood 1995

I would be interested to learn from flag retailers and manufacturers about the growth and reliability of markets for leather and bear flag paraphernalia in the past decade, and I do not believe it is a coincidence that distinctive flag use or tattoos would flourish in these particular gay subcultures more than other gay subcultures.

The flags are affiliative masculine, the tattoos are affiliative masculine, thus flag tattoos are emphatic in their masculinity, in gay parlance, incredibly butch. Here is an example of an International Bear Brotherhood Flag Temporary Tattoo available from a website.[34]

International Bear Brotherhood Flag Temporary Tattoo

This is a fun patch for all you bears out there! The International Bear Brotherhood Flag Temporary Tattoo is features simple directions. Not recommended to apply to sensitive skin or near eyes.

10. Temporary Tattoo

Here are some other gay flag temporary tattoos also available on line.[35]
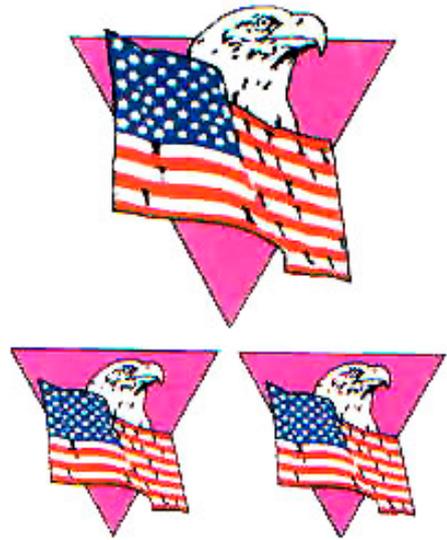
11. Temporary Tattoos

12. Temporary Tattoos

Here is but one example of a flag tattoo as marker of potent sexuality readily discernable to gay readers of image as text, downloaded from the Internet: a Puerto Rican flag evokes layers of meaning-- working class, exotic, macho, perhaps dangerous?—on this so-called banjee boy.
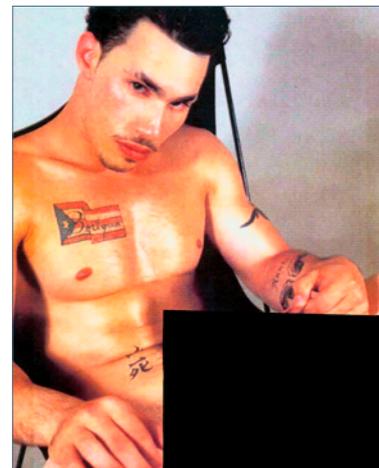
13. Puerto Rican Tattoo

However, while also sensual, the flag of the Netherlands tattooed and prominently displayed on the right upper arm of a smiling, welcoming blond jock on a Dutch gay pay-per-view website suggests a happy member of a sexually progressive society, not so secretive, taboo, or illicit.[36]

Much more work can be done on how and why different types of people choose to burn flag tattoos into their skin. What the tattooed folk believe they are saying about themselves and how others in the society interpret the flags will not always be the same. Sexual orientation and where someone belongs on the continuum between total masculinity and total femininity are clearly not the same thing, yet both are elements central to an individual's identity. How flags are used in the process of constructing or altering that identity for the individual is a question we should be asking. How gays and other affiliative groups use flags to shape personal or subcultural identity in society needs to be addressed.
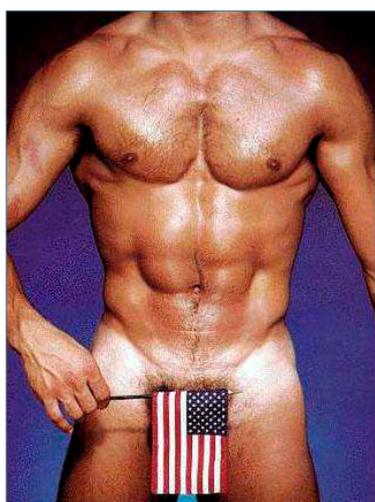
14.
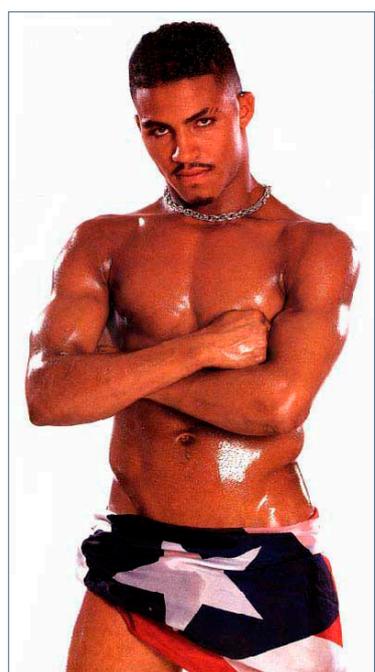
15.
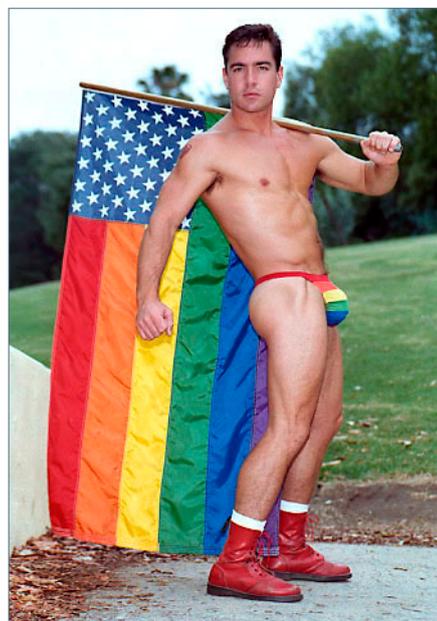
16.

There is so much more to learn about ourselves and the world around us, and flags play such a fascinating role in individual and group identity formation. I sincerely hope scholarly explorations and considerations of flag meaning and usage in these and similar ways have not reached an end, but a new beginning in the 21st century.

17.

Notes

1. This was a theme of my talk "Vexillology, the Academy, and the Future "delivered at NAVA 28 in Portland, Oregon, 8 October 1994. Also, see "A Note from the President" in NAVA News 25.1, 25.2, 26.1, 26.6 for more examples.

2. See Ron Hassner, "God for Harry! England and Saint George!: The Evolution of the Sacred Flag and the Modern Nation-State," *The Flag Bulletin* 39.1 (2000): 5-47; Peter Orenski, *Quo Vadimus? An Essay on the State and Future of Vexillology*, copyright 2001, 2003 Peter Orenski.

3. By category, some quick references: cultural geography—"The Power of Place, the Power of Icons," *Crux Australis* 7

(1991): 86-95; women's studies—see quote from one of my NAVA News columns in Orenski, "Quo Vadimus?" Part I, note 56; children's literature—see *The American Flag 1777-1924: Cultural Shifts from Creation to Codification* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson, 1990) Chapter 5; music—"The National Anthem," *John and Mary's Journal* 11 (Summer 1988): 13-22; art—"The Flag of an American Impressionist" *NAVA News* 21 (Sept.-Oct. 1988): 9; anthropology—*The American Flag 1777-1924*, Chapter 1.

4. Abbie Hoffman, *Soon to be a Major Motion Picture* (New York: Perigree, 1980). Hoffman always wanted his life story told on film, but fans of the activist agree he would be disappointed by the inaccuracies and the misrepresentations in the attempt made in 2000, *Steal This Movie!* See Jared Hohlt, "Tales of Hoffman," *Slate Archives* 21 August 2000, http://slate.msn.com/LifeAndArt/00-08-21/LifeAndArt.asp 23 March 2001; also, "New Movie About Abbie Hoffman Has Friends Furious," 31 August 2000, http://lists.village.edu/lists_archive/sixties-l/1722.html 23 March 2001.

5. Hoffman 169.

6. excerpt from Stephen G. Gilbert, *Tattoo History: A Source Book*, Chapter Fourteen: U.S.A. at Tattoos.Com, the premier body art E-zine. http://tattoos.com/jane/steve/usa/html 18 March 2001.

7. Clinton R. Sanders, *Customizing the Body: The Art and Culture of Tattooing* (Philadelphia: Temple UP, 1989) 17.

8. Sanders 15.

9. Mike McCabe, "The New York City Tattoo: The Origins of a Style," Tattoos.Com, the premier body art E-zine. http://tattoos.com/bowery.htm 23 March 2001.

10. as reported in the Gilbert Chapter Fourteen excerpt above, "One of the first professional American tattoo artists was C. H. Fellowes, whose design book and tattooing instruments were discovered in 1966 by a Rhode Island antique dealer and are now in the collection of the Mystic Seaport Museum in Mystic, Connecticut."

11. Carolyn Marvin and David W. Ingle, *Blood Sacrifice and the Nation: Totem Rituals and the American Flag* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge UP, 1999).

12. Carolyn Marvin and David W. Ingle, "The Rabin Assassination," *Blood Sacrifice and the Nation: Revisiting Civil Religion*, posted sometime in 1996 http://www.asc.upenn.edu/usr/fcm/jaar.html 22 March 2001. See also Jessica Boverio, "Tug of War: The Changing Face of Australia," Humanities 190 Senior Seminar Paper, San José State University, San José, CA, 19 May 2000.

13. Marvin and Ingle (the book—not the website) 186.

14. Sanders 18.

15. Hoffman 128.

16. [Dav Pinnick] "Captain Canuck—Paul Benoit" http://www.angelfire.com/tx/DavsRoom/Benoit.html 22 March 2001.

17. "Brisbane Lions Player Profile—Chris Johnson," The Official Australian Football League Web Site http://www.afl.com.au/players/player_profile_960212.htm 22 March 2001.

18. Jim Litke, "Tattoo Advertising Could Be Next in NBA," ABCNews.com 21 March 2001 http://abcnews.go.com/sections/sports/DailyNews/tattoos_010321.html 21 March 2001.

19. With grateful appreciation, images are taken from "Tattoos" file, Flag Research Center, Winchester, MA, 15 February 2001.

20. James Ridgeway, *Blood in the Face: The Ku Klux Klan, Aryan Nations, Nazi Skinheads, and the Rise of a New White Culture* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1990) passim, 163.

21. "Judge Won't Allow Tattoo as Evidence," *Amarillo Globe-News: Texas News* 26 January 2000 www.amarillonet.com/stories/012600/tex_LD0642.001.shtml 23 March 2001.

22. Hunter S. Thompson, *Hell's Angels: A Strange and Terrible Saga* (New York: Ballantine, 1967) 87-88.

23. "Tattoos" file, Flag Research Center.

24. Sanders 19.

25. For greater philosophical ruminations on this topic, see Susan Benson, "Inscriptions of the Self: Reflections on Tattooing and Piercing in Contemporary Euro-America," in Jane Caplan, ed., *Written on the Body: The Tattoo in European and American History* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2000): 234-254.

26. George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994).

27. Little has been done in this area of analysis, though some promising cross-cultural inquiry was begun by Robert Tobin, a German professor at Whitman College. At the 2000 meeting of the Pacific, Ancient, and Modern Languages Association in Los Angeles, CA, he gave a brief talk entitled "Camping the Flag," abstracted here: "This paper is a comparative examination of the American and German flags in queer culture. While the American flag has been evoked in queer culture from postcards to ACT-UP, in the German context any appeal to patriotism in an assimilationist way is bound to have an appearance of nationalism that is virtually unspeakable in post-war Germany. Thus the possibilities of complex, multiple interpretations that are necessary for good camp do not exist for the German flag." *Pacific Coast Philology* 35.2 (2000): 170.
Autobiographical quasi-erotic recollections of flag tattoos in urban Chicago in the early 1950s: Samuel M. Steward, *Bad Boys and Tough Tattoos: A Social History of the Tattoo with Gangs, Sailors, and Street-Corner Punks 1950-1965* (New York: Harrington Park, 1990): 80.

28. See, for example, Chauncey, Chapter 3: "Trade, Wolves, and the Boundaries of Normal Manhood."

29. For a suggestive essay by an anonymous female tattoo artist, articulating the (taboo?) generally unspoken possibility that the getting of a tattoo is itself a powerful psychological/sexual exercise, see Phthaloe, "Are Tattoos Sexual?" http://bme.freeq.com/tatoo/A10311.tatareta.html 22 March 2001.

30. James J. Ferrigan III, "The Evolution and Adoption of the Rainbow Flag in San Francisco," *The Flag Bulletin* 28(1989): 116-122.

31. *Rainbow Icon Archive: Icons for the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender Community* http://www.enqueue.com/ria 23 March 2001; Chris Pinette, "Flags of the Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Community" http://www.pinette.net/chris/flags/gay 23 March 2001.

32. Sanders 59.

33. Pinette.

34. *Gay-Mart—Bear Pride—International Bear Brotherhood Flag Temporary Tattoo* http://www.gaymart.com/bear_pride/2item/i007605.html 23 March 2001.

35. *Don Ling's Gay and Lesbian Temporary Tattoos* http://www.gayweb.com/306/home.html 23 March 2001.

36. Downloaded from adult gay websites and newsgroups, anonymous sources.

Image Sources

1. "Brisbane Lions Player Profile—Chris Johnson" *The Official Australian Football League Web Site* http://www.afl.com.au/players/player_profile_960212.htm 22 March 2001.

2. "Tattoo" file, Flag Research Center, Winchester, MA, USA. Dated 1993.

3. *Outlaw Biker Tattoo Revue #*24, January 1993, p. 51, from "Tattoo" file, Flag Research Center.

4. *Outlaw Biker Tattoo Revue #*24, p. 49.

5. *Outlaw Biker Tattoo Revue #*24, p. 63.

6. http://www.pinette.net/chris/flags/gay 23 March 2001.

7. http://www.pinette.net/chris/flags/gay 23 March 2001.

8. http://www.pinette.net/chris/flags/gay 23 March 2001.

9. http://www.pinette.net/chris/flags/gay 23 March 2001.

10. http://www.gaymart.com/bear_pride/2item/i007605.html 23 March 2001.

11. http://www.gayweb.com/306/gay1.jpg 23 March 2001.

12. http://www.gayweb.com/306/gay28.jpg 23 March 2001.

13. –16. anonymous sources from the Internet.

Chivalry at the Poles: British Sledge Flags

Barbara Tomlinson

Curator, The National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, UK

In 1999 Captain Robert Falcon Scott's sledge flag was sold by the family and purchased at Christies on 17 September by the National Maritime Museum. This is what we may call Scott's official sledge flag recognizable in the photographs of the ill-fated polar party at the South Pole and subsequently recovered from their tent by Atkinson's search party on 12 November 1912. The flag is in heavyweight silk sateen, machine-stitched with a cross of St. George at the hoist, the rest of the flag divided horizontally, white over blue. The Scott family crest of a stag's head and the motto "Ready Aye Ready" are embroidered in brown in the centre.

Captain R F Scott's Sledge Flag

This is not the only surviving sledge flag belonging to Scott, another of similar design, carried on his first expedition in *Discovery* was presented to Exeter Cathedral by his mother and now hangs on the south wall of the nave[1]. A second Scott sledge flag from the *Terra Nova* expedition was bought in the 1999 sale by a private collector. This flag appears hung behind Scott, in the photograph of the Midwinter Day Dinner 22, June 1911 and is described by Frank Debenham in his diary "One flag presented to Captain Scott has a nicely worked pair of grey wings on a white background with the words 'Wings stretched towards the South'[2]. The inscription in fact reads "Stretched wings towards the South" in other respects the flag is the same as the others. An offer to purchase the flag by the National Maritime Museum was refused by the owner who had to withdraw his application for an export license.[3]

This may be an opportune moment to re-examine sledge flags. There were never very many of them as they were a British phenomenon with a short history. The topic was fairly thoroughly covered in an article in "Mariner's Mirror" by H. G. Carr[4] to which this is something of a footnote.

Photograph of one of Scott's Expeditions

Various types of flags were used on polar expeditions... ensigns, depot marking flags and the Union flag taken to plant at the Pole should a sledge party arrive there. There is quite a close relationship between sledge flags and boat flags. British expeditions were seeking a route through the Canadian archipelago or attempting to reach the North Pole over the sea ice of the Arctic Ocean- a complicated mix of ice and water. William Edward Parry's North Pole expedition of 1827 used sledges and boats constructed with runners to cross the hummocky pack ice and the channels of water which opened up in summer. Boat ensigns were sometimes made of silk at this time, and such ensigns were made by Parry's wife Isabella for the expedition boats[5]. A silk Union Flag presented to the surgeon and naturalist of the expedition, Charles James Beverley, went though the salerooms in July 1999 and was sold to a private bidder.[6] Though Parry achieved a record for furthest north that stood until 1876, his seaman made very little progress in dragging their boats over the sea ice drifting in the opposite direction.

Much nineteenth century Polar exploration was undertaken by ship. With vessels beset for much of the year, commanders began to turn their attention to ways of extending their journeys by sledge. Techniques of naval sledging were largely developed during the search for the missing ships of Sir John Franklin's 1845 expedition. Over forty expeditions took part, some were privately financed, others were naval expeditions financed by the government. In addition to the now traditional book aimed at the general reader, lengthy official reports were produced to justify the expenditure to Parliament and the taxpayer. The report produced by the expedition led

by Captain Horatio Austin and Captain William Penny in 1850 was generously illustrated.[7]

A Page from the 1850 Report

This was perhaps due to the presence of an enthusiastic artist in Sub Lieutenant William Walter May. Sketching was a skill expected of naval officers, particularly before the advent of photography. May had real talent and his style at this time shows the influence of contemporary cartoonists. The report contains a table indicating the names of the expedition sledges, their mottos and drawings of their flags. The sledges were man-hauled by naval seamen, used the tent floor cloths as sails when the wind was in the right direction and were generally treated in a slightly tongue-in-cheek way as boats. The names were an aid to esprit-de-corps and competition; they also made life easier for readers of reports giving an account of particular sledge journeys. The illustrations of the sledge flags on the table differ slightly from those on individual sledge reports which are generally more detailed.

George McDougall describes the "launch" of one of the sledges attached to *Resolute*, one of the vessels in the last naval search expedition led by Sir Edward Belcher. "The finishing stroke was put to a sledge built on board for Captain Kellett and being St. Patrick's Day the captain, as a loyal Irishman determined on launching

the sledge with all the honours. Ways were accordingly laid from the gunwale to the floe; the colours were hoisted on board, whilst the sledge itself was decorated with a boats ensign, and a green flag with the captain's crest embroidered thereon. The launch took place at 5 P.M. and H.M. Sledge "Erin" glided down the inclined plane at a great rate amidst the enthusiastic cheers of the assembled arctic public"[8].
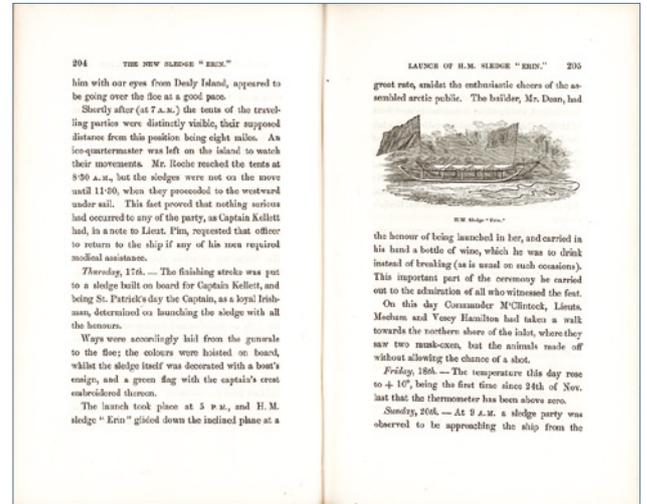
George McDougall's Description of the Sledge *Erin*

Naval ships were traditionally launched dismasted with the Union flag, Admiralty flag and Royal Standard on flagstaffs. Captain Kellett's green flag, had the Union in the canton, the Irish harp in the fly and his crest in the centre (an arm holding a staff).

Print of the Sledges

The sledge flag was always a personal badge of the officer stumping on ahead with the gun. Francis Leopold McClintock, referring to two of Kellett's other sledges says, "The sledges were named by their crews "*Star of The North*" and "*Hero*". Also very handsome appropriate banners were given them by Captain Kellett, which had purposely been made for them by a few young ladies (the friends of Sir Edward Belcher) whose highly commendable zeal cannot be sufficiently admired."[9] McClintock harks back to an age of chivalry in which ladies embroider tokens for their favoured knights. Though many

of the Austin and Belcher expedition sledge flags look like house flags or signal flags and are referred to in the sledge packing check lists as 'distinguishing flags', some, like Commander George H. Richards's flag, incorporate personal heraldry - his lamb and flag crest on a blue background with the motto "LAUS DEO". This flag has survived in private hands.

Commander George Richard's Flag

The sledge flag made for Lieutenant Bedford Pim by Lady Franklin is preserved in the collections of the National Maritime Museum. This is made of ribbed blue silk, with a gold foul anchor, and the motto "HOPE ON HOPE EVER" in appliqué on one side only. The lettering and motif are picked out in narrow gold-coloured silk. The motto is that of Sir John Barrow, late Second Secretary of the Admiralty and an enthusiastic promoter of exploration. The flag was flown by the sledge "John Barrow" which Pim took on the journey to rescue the crew of the trapped *Investigator*. This vessel sailed into the North West passage via Bering Strait and its crew left it via Lancaster Sound and Baffin Bay, the first Europeans to do so. The same flag was also used by another sledge, the "*Murchison*".

Lieutenant Bedford Pim's Flag

Walter May's sketches of man-hauling seem to indicate that sledge flags were not flown all the time, perhaps only when sledges set out or on other special occasions.

McClintock, who was perhaps the most influential developer of naval sledging techniques, had three differ-ent sledging flags during the 1850's. The flag of the sledge "*Perseverance*" which he commanded during Austin's expedition had a blue cross on a white ground. The flag of "*Star of the North*" was blue with a seven-pointed star and the motto "BE THOU OUR GUIDE". The McClintock family retained the flag for many years, mounted as a fire screen. When the British government eventually aban-doned the search for Franklin, Lady Franklin sent her own expedition, funded in part by public subscription and commanded by McClintock.

Print of the Lady Franklin Expedition

The flag of his sledge "*Lady Franklin*" is now at The Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, Yellowknife. Worked by the sisters of Captain Collinson, it is made of red-coloured silk with the Franklin family motto "NISU" (by struggle) in the centre, worked in gold silk thread; above in an arc is the inscription "THE LADY FRANKLIN" and round the edges a floral border and a gold fringe.[10] The sledge flag of his second in command Lieutenant William Robertson Hobson is now at St. David's Cathe-dral, Hobart[11]. This is blue, embroidered with the same inscriptions and laurel branches. Sledge parties led by McClintock and Hobson were to confirm the deaths of Franklin and his men, whose remains were scattered across the hitherto uncharted west coast of King Wil-liam Island.

Crucial to the continuing use of the sledge flag, was the presence on the Austin expedition of Midshipman Clements Markham. In spite of his enjoyment of polar exploration Markham left the navy shortly afterwards and pursued his interest in exploration on other continents as a civilian. By the 1870's Markham was Honorary Sec-retary of the Royal Geographical Society. At this time the society supported a campaign to explore Smith's Sound and the North Pole region. The government eventually decided that this should be carried out by a Treasury funded naval expedition but Markham still involved himself in the details of planning, including the designs of the sledge flags. These had hitherto been rectangular or swallow-tailed. Markham, an enthusiast for genealogy

decided they should resemble medieval standards and bear the personal heraldry of the officer concerned.

Markham's Designs

They all had St. George's cross at the hoist "this was to denote that whatever family the bearer may belong to, he is first and foremost an Englishman."[12] The fly was of the colours of the arms, swallow tailed with overall the owner's crest or principal charge. Equipment from this expedition survives in some quantity and the Scott Polar Research Institute holds sledge flags belonging to Wyatt Rawson, Pelham Aldrich and George Egerton. The expedition, led by George Nares, wintered at a record furthest north and a sledge party with Clement Markham's cousin, Albert Markham in charge headed towards the pole. The sledges "*Marco Polo*" and "*Victoria*" carried boats to deal with the gaps in the ice. Markham says that

each sledge carried its commander's standard and "in addition the two boats displayed from their mast-heads Captain Nares's Union Jack and a white ensign"[13]. The National Maritime Museum holds three of the flags above mentioned. A. A. C. Parr's flag from the sledge "*Victoria*" is silk hand-sewn and embroidered with the crest of a queen's head (not Queen Victoria) in the centre. We also have the White Ensign from the boat, again hand-sewn in silk with the name "Victoria" and a leafy bough embroidered in the second canton. The dimensions are only 89 x 60 cms. The Union Jack from "*Marco Polo*" is hand-sewn silk with flowers embroidered in the centre surrounded by the words "GOD" and "COUNTRY". The dimensions are 61 cm x 99 cm.

Captain Nares's White Ensign

The Most Northerly Encampment by Richard Bridges Beechey

A.A.C. Parr's Flag from the Sledge *"Victoria"*

The Union Jack from *"Marco Polo"*

Markham's sledge flag is in the collections of the Royal Geographical Society. The usual red cross of St. George is embroidered onto the silk fabric, the fly is divided yellow over blue with the lion of St. Mark embroidered in the centre. The flag is bordered with yellow and blue cord. These flags can be seen in the painting of the party's most northerly encampment by Richard Bridges Beechey and the lithographs of the sledge party's return after watercolours by Dr E.L.Moss. A combination of Arctic pack ice and scurvy eventually defeated the polar party though they broke Parry's previous farthest north record. Beechey's painting does not represent their final point, ten men traveled a little further to ensure being within 400 miles of the Pole, taking with them all their colours and banners.

Markham began campaigning for the renewal of Antarctic exploration. When he was elected President of the Royal Geographical Society in 1893 planning began in earnest. In 1898, the first expedition to set up a base and winter on the continent was led by Carstens Egeberg Borchgrevink, this was privately financed and quite independent of Markham's plans. Although the expedition did not travel very far, Lieutenant William Colbeck, and Borchgrevink established a record furthest south. Colbeck's sledge flag has been lent to the National Maritime Museum by his family. It is actually the burgee of the Pirate Yacht Club, Bridlington, made of machine-sewn wool bunting, printed with a skull and cross bones. The Pirate Yacht Club is no longer in existence having gone out of business before the First World War.

The Burgee of the Pirate Yacht Club

The National Antarctic expedition of 1901 was organized in much the same way as the large naval expeditions of the 1850's and 1875. Markham wrote a brief biography of each participant illustrated with their arms and sledge flags. The sledge flags were of the same sort of design as those of the Nares expedition. Expedition members were quite enthusiastic. Debenham's diary says... "I have learned quite a lot about sledge flags that I had wished I had known before. As it is, the only part that Griff and I got right is the shape, but it doesn't matter and I was jolly proud of my two and they were much admired. The proper design is something like this - the flag of pennant shape about 2½ ft long and 1 ft wide, the square nearest the lanyard being filled with the Cross of St. George whereas Griff and I have a Union Jack there.... Each officer of the landing parties has one, whether he is likely to go sledging or not".[14] The flags were hung out for special occasions back at base, displayed at the start of major sledge journeys, and during photo opportunities en-route.

The National Antarctic Expedition of 1901

A coloured chart of the various flags was produced by Edward Wilson for the expedition internal newspaper *The South Polar Times*. Surgeon and zoologist, Wilson acted as expedition artist on both the *Discovery* and *Terra Nova* expeditions as Walter May had done in the 1850's. Shackleton and Wilson accompanied Scott on his first sledge trip towards the Pole. Wilson writes "On

each of the three sledging excursions I have been on so far I have flown my flag, but the Captain has taken a dislike to his and says there will be no flags on the long southern journey. I said I should certainly not go without mine, if I have to sew it into my shirt."[15] As an Irishman, albeit of Yorkshire extraction Shackleton's sledge flag was completely different from everyone else's. It was square, yellow with a red stripe across the centre charged with three buckles, lozengy, tongues upwards, palewise; on a red canton a yellow cross humettee. In the event, members of the sledge crews on both of Scott's attempts on the pole took their sledge flags. A photograph of the start of Shackleton's own attempt on the Pole in 1909 shows that his men also took sledge flags, although predominantly square ones.
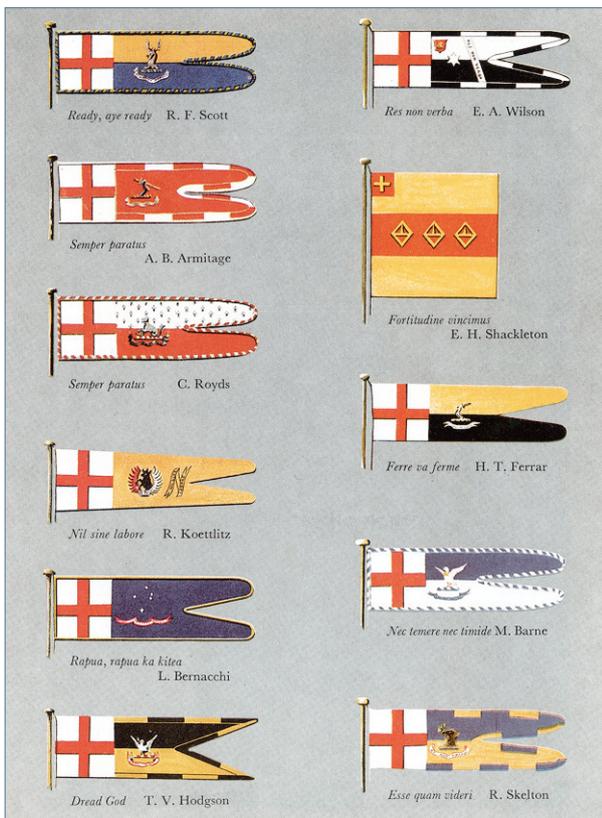
Sledge Flags from the *South Polar Times*

The only example I have so far come across of a sledge flag made during an expedition rather than by wives and mothers beforehand, is recorded by Raymond Priestley, a member of the northern party of the *Terra Nova* expedition. "As I had joined the expedition at the last moment, I had not had one made at home, but, resolving not to be outdone, I borrowed a white silk handkerchief from Levick, cut it in two, sewed the two halves together, and then trimmed it to the correct shape. The St. Georges Cross was then made out of two pieces of bright red braid off some dog-coats we found in Borchgrevink's hut, and the flag looked quite respectable from a distance"[16].

The sledge flag of Engineer R W Skelton is now at Dundee with *Discovery*. William Colbeck's second sledge flag as commanding officer of relief ship *Morning* was on loan to the National Maritime Museum for several years from the Colbeck family. The Scott Polar Research Institute has the flags of Edward Wilson and Charles Royds from the *Discovery* exhibition, and those of Wilson and Henry Bowers from the *Terra Nova* expedition[17]. E.L. Atkinson's flag is at Forest School London E17, Gonville and Caius College, University of Cambridge has another Wilson sledge flag, Victor Campbell's is at the Memorial University of Newfoundland[18], and Canterbury Museum, New Zealand has Sir Philip Brocklehurst's sledge flag from Shackleton's 1907-9 expedition.

A Sledge Flag

The British Graham Land Expedition of 1934-37 was the last the use sledge flags. By now the British were using dog sleds, but then sledge flags had always occasionally been used by dog sleds even though they are chiefly associated with the man-hauling tradition and subsequent criticism of it.

A photograph the interior of the expedition hut shows an expedition member smoking a pipe whilst knitting a sock in the foreground with a Markham sledge flag pinned to the wall behind a bunk in the background.[19] Brian Roberts flag from this expedition is preserved at the Scott Polar Research Institute.

The use of weighted silk in their construction is making surviving sledge flags increasingly fragile. Their rarity, and historical importance, I think justify any resources required to ensure their long-term survival.

1. Information from Alex. Chatwin

2. *The quiet Land, the Antarctic Diaries of Frank Debenham* J.D. Black (ed.) (Huntingdon, 1992) p31

3. *Export of Works of art 1999-2000* Department of Culture Media and Sport.

4. H.G. Carr *Sledge Flags; their origin and development* "Mariner's Mirror" January 1941 pp 5-13.

5. Anne Parry *Parry of the Arctic* (London, 1963) p110

6. Phillips, Bath,12 July 1999 lot 112.

7. *Additional Papers relative to the Arctic Expedition under the orders of Captain Austin and Mr. William Penny,* (London,1852) p11 (table)

8. George F. McDougall *The eventful voyage of H.M.Discovery ship 'Resolute' to the Arctic Regions in Search of Sir John Franklin* (London, 1857) pp204-5

9. *Further papers relative to the recent Arctic expedition in search of Sir John Franklin and the Crews of HMS 'Erebus' and 'Terror'.* (London, 1855) p587

10. Information from Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre. F.L. McClintock *A Narrative of the discovery of the fate of Sir John Franklin and his companions* (London, 1859) p.247 says the embroidery is white.

11. Information from the Dean, Dr Stuart Blackler.

12. Sir Clements Markham *Antarctic Obsession: A personal narrative of the origins of the British Antarctic Expedition 1901-1904* (edited Clive Holland) (Harlesdon, 1986)p65

13. Captain Albert Hastings Markham RN *the great frozen Sea, a personal narrative of the voyage of the 'Alert' during the Arctic expedition of 1875-6" (*London, 1878) p292

14. Debenham p32

15. Edward Wilson *Diary of the 'Discovery'expedition to the Antarctic 1901-1904* (Blandford Press, 1966) pp189-90

16. Raymond E Priestley *Antarctic adventure; Scott's Northern Party* (London, 1974) p112

17. Information R K Headland

18. *The wicked mate: the Antarctic Diary of Victor Campbell* (ed. H.G.R.King (Harlesdon, 1988)

19. John Rymill *Southern Lights; the official account of the British Graham Land Expedition 1934-193*7 (London, 1938) p116
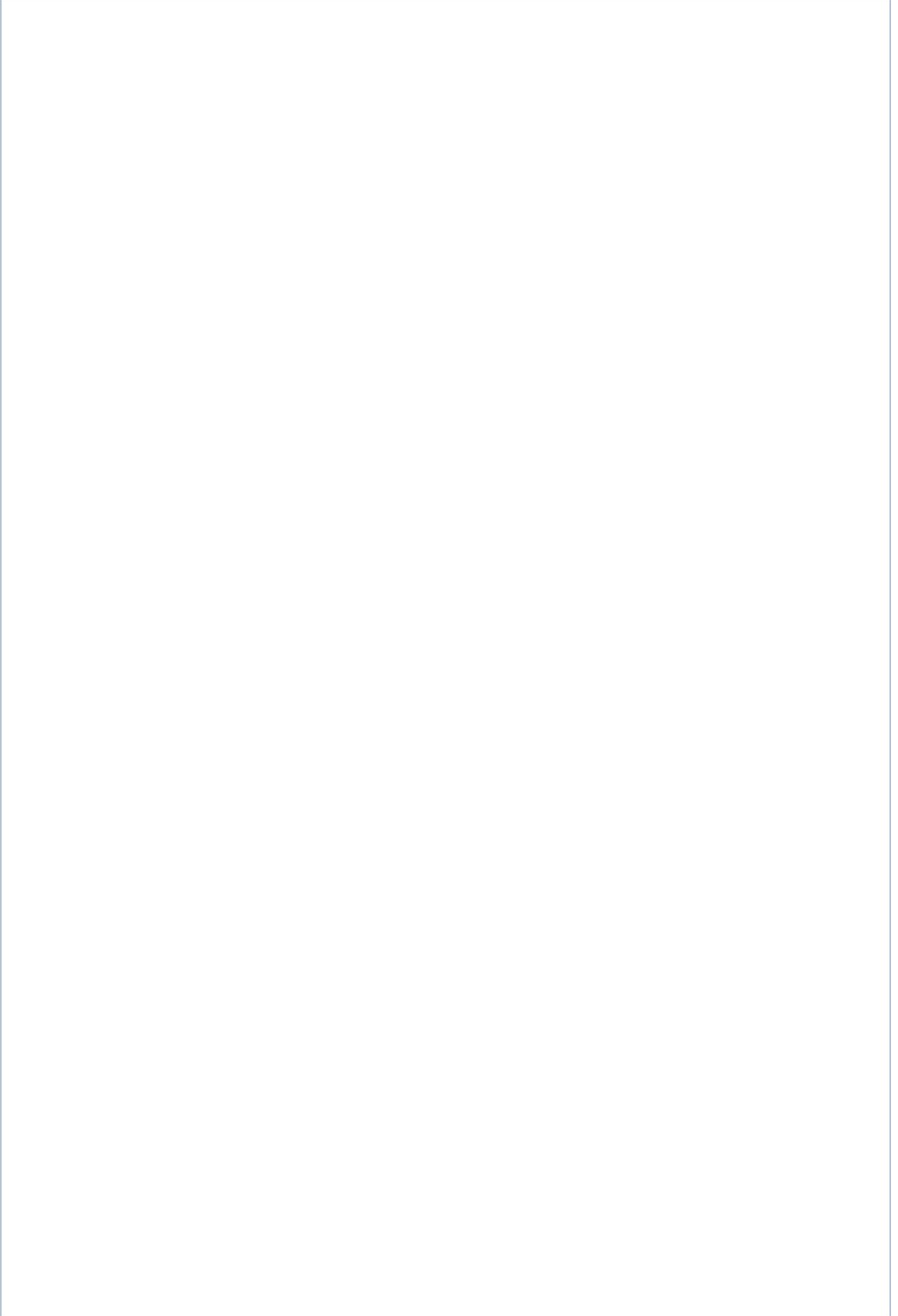
Dutch Orange Regimental Flags

Frans Smits

Attaché - Army and Military Tradition, Legermuseum, Delft

The Royal Netherlands Arms and Army Museum possesses a library with 300,000 books and documents and a collection of 160,000 objects. An important part of the collection consists of flags, banners, standards and fanions. Flags from the wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth century against Spain and France, captured flags from our colonial wars, German flags and flags of collaborating Dutch nationalist socialist organisations from the period of the Second World War. But also flags of subdivisions of the Army and the Royal Regimental colours and standards of the Army and the last Reserve of the Army, the BVL, a kind of yeomanry. The BVL was a para-military organisation which gave support to the government in periods of revolt. The device "*Als het moet*" (If it Must) was used "For God, Queen and Country", in the period between the two World Wars.

That Orange Feeling

Regularly, several times a year, we Dutch lovers or supporters of the noble art of soccer or speed-skating, are confronted with the phenomenon of Orange. A national feeling among the Dutch population - a feeling like a fever. Not the red white and blue of our national flag or the official name of our country, The Netherlands, or our unofficial name, Holland, but only *orange*. The Queen's birthday on the 30th of April, the marriages of our royal princes and to a lesser degree the ceremonial opening of the two chambers of Parliament on the third Tuesday of September evoke that special traditional Orange-feeling.

Abroad often national feelings are represented by national flags. Army Colours in France, United States, Great Britain, Belgium and many more countries of the world consist of the national flag with additional names and numbers of regiments and battlefield honours, decorated with edgings and ribbons. But not in the Netherlands. Army, Navy, Air Force and The Royal Constabulary, covered by the Ministry of Defence and Parliament, do not carry the national tricolour but an Orange Regimental Colour.

There is one exception to all this orange: the Colours of the corps of midshipmen at the Royal Naval College in Den Helder: These Colours are red, probably because the were derived from the original flag of the college.

Within the Netherlands Armed Forces, what are the deeper thoughts about and around the Colours and Standards? Colours and Standards are significant signs of commemoration, recognition, valuation and solidarity in need. They give form to ideals. In the Netherlands Armed Forces regimental Colours were and are not handled with overdone pomp and circumstances. They were and still are not surrounded with a haze of hovered mystic. In the past, Colours were always in battle front lines. In modem warfare or peacekeeping and enforcing operations the Colours stay in the barracks. The Colours are symbols of the highest values for Armed Forces units and regiments, corps and branches. Soldiers always get into action as a group not as individuals. There is always a chance the soldier does not survive the action. Therefore solidarity in fate plays a great role in a soldier's life.

A 19th Century Illustration of a Colour

A 19th Centruy Illustration of a Standard

The Colour of the Midshipmen's Corps

The personal historical grown link with members of the House of Orange-Nassau from the battlefields of the 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th century via the development inside the parliamentary system came to be to what we know today. Typical modern no nonsense, just like daily life in the modern society of the Netherlands. Now and then we went orange-mad on fixed days or on sports events.

After the restoration of our independence in 1813, two years later the newly formed Royal Netherlands Army obtained the first battle honours at Quatre Bras and Waterloo. But our regiments fought the battle without Colours and Standards. Some units had some Fanions at their disposal.

The soldiers on the battlefield felt the lack of these symbols. The newly formed Kingdom of the Netherlands needed its own Colours. A defence committee deliberated about Colours for infantry regiments and Standards for cavalry regiments. The size of a Colour was fixed as one ell square, that is 87cm. The size of a Standard was to be five decimetres (50cm). In the years 1819 and 1820 the famous Dutch history-painter J.W. Pieneman (1779-1853) designed and painted on silk the first Colours and Standards. On the recommendation of aide de camp Captain Gambier in Brussels the sculptor from the southern part of the Netherlands, Gilles Lambert Godescharle (1750-1835), designed the ornamented ensign and the staff. The staffs were delivered by the government arms factory at Delft. The order was officially given by the Commissioner-General of War, General d' Aubrémé. During September and October 1820 17 Colours and 19 Standards were handed over to the different commanders of the regiments of infantry and cavalry. We still use the Pieneman and Godescharle design.

First of all the Pieneman design: for the price of eighty guilders he in fact painted one Colour only. The orange silk was supplied by the firm of Blanchon of Lyon. The colour tassels and cords were made by Kraeutler Lace-

man. Only in 1925 was the Pieneman design laid down by Royal decree. The text of the decree gives us the following description:

A bunting of orange coloured silk, 87cm long and wide, embroidered and fringed with gold. Parallel along the four sides an orange branch is embroidered. The Colour buntings of the Guards regiments are fringed with gold lace 11cm wide. On the front there is an embroidered golden crowned W. Under the W, the name of the regiment. In one or some corners of the Colour are embroidered battle honours in gold. The reverse shows us the coat of arms of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. A black staff, of which a small part, comes out above the bunting, is fitted with a gilt wreath of oak leaves. Above the wreath there is a box shaped rectangular pedestal with a resting lion holding a sword in his paw. Attached to the staff on the inside of the wreath there is a pair of gilt tassels and cords with a horizontal connecting strap (this is the place for ribbons with campaign medals and distinction orders for bravery given by the sovereign). The length of the staff is two and a half metres. On both end faces of the pedestal is a relief "W", the monogram for our Kings William I, II III and Queen Wilhelmina. (Afterwards this "W" was replaced by the "J" of Juliana and the "B" for Beatrix.) *On both long sides of the pedestal the mottoes: "For Queen (King) and Country". This slogan is encircled by a snake. The whole is made out of a gilt copper alloy. The Standard has the same design as the Colours, but it is smaller, the bunting is 50cm long and wide. The length of the staff measures two metres. Our Minister of War is charged with the enforcement of this decree.*

Het Loo, The Second of August 1925
Wilhelmina

The Obverse and Reverse of a Colour

These Colours were totally embroidered instead of painted. A novelty was that they had the addition of battle honours, after a decision taken in 1896. King William the second

and King William the Third added many decorations and medals to several Colours. Our Queens continued this tradition. Godescharle designed the lion and the wreath. The ensign is an example of Napoleonic Empire style and so a close replica of an Ancient Roman Insignia or Ensign, the Roman eagle on its pedestal with SPQR; the wreath is the oak leaves version of the Corona Muralis. The lion as heraldic animal is very well known in the Netherlands and therefore often present on banners and coat of arms. The lying or resting lion with the sword and bundle of arrows, is on guard against danger. And the danger in Europe of those days was France. The snake, on the long sides of the pedestal, bites its own tail. It is the symbol for eternity. Henry Heyvaert, engraver, bronze founder and gilder at Brussels manufactured the ensigns.

The Obverse and Reverse of a Standard

In 1846 there was already the first large replacement. Not bullets and shrapnel had damaged the Colours but the wear and tear of time and the long row of successive reorganisations. In 1890, Wilhelmina succeeded her father King William the Third. But it was impossible to unroll the threadbare Colours for ceremonies. Despite the fact that between 1846 and 1890 there had already been unofficial replacements. On the twenty first of September 1893 nine embroidered Colours and three Standards were officially handed over by the Queen Mother Emma and the future Queen Wilhelmina to twelve commanders of regiments. The reorganisation of 1913 brought another thirteen new Colours. The firm Van Heynsbergen delivered the Colours and Standards. The prices was 446 guilders each. A price list: the bunting cost ƒ275, cords and tassels ƒ45, staff and ensign ƒ100, and the tinned iron flat box with lock and key. shoulder belt and sheath ƒ26.

Colours are utensils. When regiments are founded, put together or abolished the Colours are always handed out or taken in by or on behalf of the sovereign. The sovereign is always the owner. The reorganisation of the army in 1994 caused the abolishment of four regiments of infantry. For three years one regiment was refounded. The old Colours were handed over again on behalf of the Queen by the Commander-in-Chief of the Army. For four months two regiments, Transport and Army Service Corps were put together to a new large Logistic regiment.

Colours are exposed to all sorts of weather. Stringent rules and close supervision by the Quartermaster General and the committees for tradition accompanied and guarded the production and quality. Nowadays the bunting is manufactured by the firm of Stadelmeier at Nimegen. They still used pure orange silk. Now a Colour would cost ƒ35,000!

The Royal Netherlands Army and Arms Museum insists on preserving these relics and also beautiful painted and embroidered textiles for posterity. The combination of pure orange silk. a linen inner bunting, embroidery with fringings and lace cause the department of textile restorations a lot of attention and work in the passive as well as in the active field.

The museum, on behalf of the Queen possesses 61 Colours and Standards in storage or on display. The Rijksmuseum has 22 Colours and Standards in its collection. In various small regimental collections about 15 are still left.

During the last forty years there were two changes. A new type of Colour with different measurements was introduced for armoured car infantry regiments. The bunting is 60 cm square. The other change was the cravatte. This is an orange silk fringed ribbon, an additional item specially-designed to provisionally bear new texts which were eventually to be placed on a new Colour or Standard. The situation nowadays: for two years the standardisation committee for Colours and Standards of the Army, Navy, Air Force and Royal Constabulary was established. In the run of nearly two centuries, little differences on the original design were growing greater and greater. Mariska Pool and I are members of this inter-service committee. Our task is to give historical and technical advice in the production and repairing of the Colours and Standards. For instance a "new" design was made based on the the first Pieneman Colours and Standards and the embroidered ones of 1893. Definite choices are made. The first result was the Colours of the new logistic regiment, presented by our Queen Beatrix in March 2001.

To bear a regimental Colour is a very great honour and also a heavy job. I had the experience. I was for a long time ago the Colour bearer of the Regiment of the Army Reserve.

Colour Bearers at a Parade

Photograph of a Colour

Photograph of a Standard

An Exhibit at the Legermuseum Showing
Relative Sizes of a Colour and Standard

Drawings of Two Colours from
Queen Juliana's Reign

The „Höhere Kommunalverbände" in Germany

Dieter Linder MA

The Höhere Kommunalverbände within the Administrative Structure of the Federal Republic of Germany

Since her re-unification Germany now comprises 16 States. Below the federal and state level there are the municipal territorial authorities (the „kommunale Gebietskörperschaften"). They hold a high degree of self-government.[1]

At present the municipal territorial authorities comprise about 14,000 municipalities, 117 kreisfreie Städte (municipal districts, i. e. towns not belonging to a Landkreis) as well as 323 Landkreise (rural districts)[2] and 17 so-called höhere Kommunalverbände. From here, three municipal levels may be derived whereby the kreisfreie Städte take a special position in holding simultaneously the function of a municipality and of a Landkreis (Fig. 1).[3]
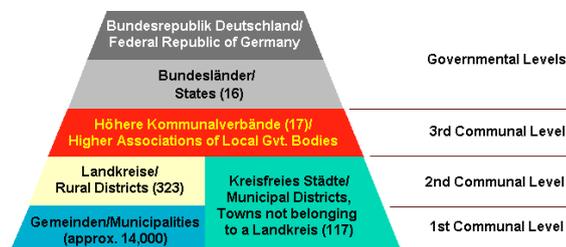
Fig. 1

Since the municipal government is subject to the exclusive legislation of the States, they are entitled to order their municipal subdivision by constitutional or common law. Whereas there are municipalities in all of the 16 States, Landkreise exist only in 13 States, and höhere Kommunalverbände exist only in seven States (Fig. 2).

The *17 höhere Kommunalverbände (higher associations of local governmental bodies)*, whose symbols will be dealt with in this lecture, bear distinct designations from State to State and differ sometimes considerably in their tasks, responsibilities, and budgets (Fig. 3).[4] They are authorities of public law comprising as members municipalities, kreisfreie Städte, and Landkreise from the lower and intermediate level of the municipal scheme. The höhere Kommunalverbände look after the tasks exceeding the administrative and financial ability of their single members. The associations' territories mostly follow historical boundaries.

Fig. 2
Höhere Kommunal-verbände

1 Landeswohlfahrtsverband Baden
2 Landeswohlfahrtsverband Württemberg-Hohenzollern
3 Bezirk Oberbayern
4 Bezirk Niederbayern
5 Bezirk Oberpfalz
6 Bezirk Oberfranken
7 Bezirk Mittelfranken
8 Bezirk Unterfranken
9 Bezirk Schwaben
10 Landeswohlfahrtsverband Hessen
11 Ostfriesische Landschaft
12 Landschaftsverband Rheinland
13 Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe
14 Landesverband Lippe
15 Kommunalverband Ruhrgebiet
16 Bezirksverband Pfalz
17 Landeswohlfahrtsverband Sachsen

© Erich Dieter Linder, München 2001

The Symbols of the Höhere Kommunalverbände, Ordered by the States[5]

Baden-Württemberg

In Baden-Württemberg the two Landeswohlfahrtsverbände mostly correspond to the former States of Baden and Württemberg.

Landeswohlfahrtsverband Baden

The Landeswohlfahrtsverband Baden uses its logo in public relations. Proper arms are not in existence. The logo decorates, in a version as tall as a man, the outer wall of the administration building in Karlsruhe. It was created in the 1970's, modernized in 1993, and is based on the association's abbreviation „LWV". The organization's logo is the initials LWV superimposed over a stylized pyramid (Fig. 4). The pyramid recalls the tomb of the founder of the city of Karlsruhe, site of the association's headquarters.[6]

Fig. 4

State	Höherer Kommunalverband	Site
Baden-Württemberg	Landeswohlfahrtsverband Baden	Karlsruhe
Baden-Württemberg	Landeswohlfahrtsverband Württemberg-Hohenzollern	Stuttgart
Bavaria	Bezirk Oberbayern/Upper Bavaria	Munich
Bavaria	Bezirk Niederbayern/Lower Bavaria	Landshut
Bavaria	Bezirk Oberpfalz/Upper Palatinate	Regensburg
Bavaria	Bezirk Oberfranken/Upper Franconia	Bayreuth
Bavaria	Bezirk Mittelfranken/Central Franconia	Ansbach
Bavaria	Bezirk Unterfranken/Lower Franconia	Würzburg
Bavaria	Bezirk Schwaben/Swabia	Augsburg
Hesse	Landeswohlfahrtsverband Hessen/Hesse	Kassel
Lower Saxony	Ostfriesische Landschaft/Eastern Frisia	Aurich
North Rhine-Westphalia	Landschaftsverband Rheinland	Cologne
North Rhine-Westphalia	Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe/Westphalia-Lippe	Münster
North Rhine-Westphalia	Landesverband Lippe	Lemgo
North Rhine-Westphalia	Kommunalverband Ruhrgebiet/Ruhr	Essen
Rhineland-Palatinate	Bezirksverband Pfalz/Palatinate	Kaiserslautern
Saxony	Landeswohlfahrtsverband Sachsen/Saxony	Leipsic

Fig. 3

The traditionally used flag does not have any reference to the logo: For ceremonial occasions the old Baden flag is hoisted (Fig. 5). Thus the flag of the State of Baden, which disappeared in 1952 from the historical scene, survived without legal sanction in a roundabout way through the Landeswohlfahrtsverband Baden.

Fig. 5

Landeswohlfahrtsverband Württemberg-Hohenzollern

In contrast to the historical flag used by the Landeswohlfahrtsverband Baden, the Landeswohlfahrtsverband Württemberg-Hohenzollern prefers a more modern corporate identity. Their flag was adopted in the autumn of 2000.

The flag echoes the house colours of dark blue (HKS 42). The association's name appears in full and shortened form in grey colour (Fig. 6). The initials with its forward leaning font type are to symbolize, according to the corporate design manual, a future looking orientation and high competence. The flag will be hoisted during the meetings of the plenary assembly and of its committees.[7]

Until 2000 the association lacked a flag. The old logo from 1972 showed an indigent individual (black circle) supported by a strong welfare institution, the Landeswohlfahrtsverband/LWV (Fig. 7).

Fig. 6   Fig. 7

Bavaria

In the Free State of Bavaria the three traditional ethnic groups, Bavarian, Franconian and Swabian are found in their representative Bezirke. The "Old" Bavarians in Upper and Lower Bavaria and in the Upper Palatinate; the Franconians in Upper, Central and Lower Franconia; and the Swabians in Swabia. A total of seven individual Bezirke or höhere Kommunalverbände are in Bavaria.[8]

Bezirk Oberbayern/Upper Bavaria

Whereas the arms were granted in 1964, considerations for a flag did not start before 1978. The Bezirk favoured patterns with a dominance of the colours white and blue.

But some regulations do not allow municipal territorial authorities to adopt the symbols of the State, i. e. the colour combination white and blue. That's why up to this day no flag was officially adopted.

Despite that, the Bezirk implemented a flag (Fig. 8) without authorization embodying its ideals and takes quite effective use of it. The single existing example measures 6 m x 1.5 m and echoes the motifs of the arms

(Fig. 9) in a quartered arrangement, also illustrating the Bavarian colours of white and blue. This flag is hoisted only on special occasions in front of the Bezirk's headquarters or decorates its assembly hall. Thus the flag is little known to the public.

Fig. 8

Fig. 9

A short time ago the Bezirk also put into practice a logo in place of the arms (Fig. 10).[9] This is strongly promoted in the public relations of the Bezirk, eg. on the web site, to make it known to the citizens.

Fig. 10

Bezirk Niederbayern/Lower Bavaria

At first the Bezirk aimed to adopt a flag showing the Bavarian lozenges, but there was no approval. Further-

more, the proposal from 1961 of an armorial banner, was refused by the responsible ministry.

In the meanwhile the Bezirk unofficially adopted a red and white striped flag defaced by the arms (Fig. 11). This symbol could get the official grant at any time, but the Bezirk does not pursue it. This illustration shows the flag in front of the art nouveau theatre hall of the Bezirk's hospital Mainkofen, accompanied by the town flag of Deggendorf (Fig. 12).[10]

Fig. 11   Fig. 12

Bezirk Oberpfalz/Upper Palatinate

The flag of this Bezirk was granted on 17 March 1976 and hoisted for the first time at the 21st Bayerischer Nordgautag. Numerous municipalities in the Upper Palatinate are also provided with a sample of the Bezirk flag and use it on the occasion of festivities. The flag is composed of three horizontal stripes in the colours of yellow, blue, and white with the superimposed Bezirk arms (lion for the Electoral Palatinate, lozenges for Old Bavaria, keys for the Bezirk's capital Regensburg). It is used in the different variations of hanging (Fig. 13), hoisting (Fig. 14), and parade flag.[11]
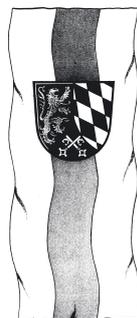
Fig. 13   Fig. 14

Bezirk Oberfranken/Upper Franconia

Upper Franconia already introduced in 1960 a flag (Fig. 15) as well as arms (Fig. 16). They recoursed to the supposed all-Franconian colours of white and red. Moreover these colours could be conceived as „the colours of the Old Reich" pointing to the numerous former possessions of the German Empire in Upper Franconia.[12] In normal cases the arms of the Bezirk will be superimposed.

Fig. 15   Fig. 16

Bezirk Mittelfranken/Central Franconia

Since about 1980 the Bezirk uses a red over white flag (Fig. 17) decorated with the arms (Fig. 18). There are both hanging and hoisting flags in two different sizes. A formal grant was not given. The colour arrangement generally symbolizes Franconia.[13]

Fig. 17   Fig. 18

Bezirk Unterfranken/Lower Franconia

A formal grant of the flag has not taken place. Nevertheless the Bezirk Lower Franconia hoists a red over white horizontally striped flag (Fig. 19) with the arms of the Bezirk (Fig. 20) placed on it.[14]
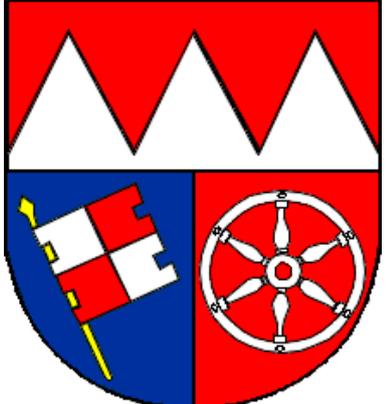
Fig. 19   Fig. 20

Bezirk Schwaben/Swabia

In 1965 Swabia was the last of the Bavarian Bezirke to adopt arms (Fig. 21). At the same time the red over yellow striped flag was formally granted. It may be shown with or without the arms. The illustration shows the flag draped during a session of the Bezirk diet (Fig. 22).[15]

Fig. 21

Fig. 22

Hesse: Landeswohlfahrtsverband Hessen/Hesse

The Landeswohlfahrtsverband Hessen is congruent with the State of the same name. It was created by a merger of the former Bezirkskommunalverbände of Kassel and Wiesbaden in 1953.

The represented arms were granted by the Minister of the Interior of Hesse on 25 August 1954[16], the flag was presented to the assembly of the Landeswohlfahrtsverband Hessen on 15 March 1955 during its 6th plenary meeting. From 1954 there are even records of the adoption of a car flag („Kraftfahrwimpel für den Landeswohlfahrtsverband").

The flag shows the arms in the centre of a horizontally striped flag in the Hessen colours of red over white

(Fig. 23). The arms combine the lions of Hesse and Nassau (Fig. 24). Nowadays the flag is out of use.[17]

The logo incorporates the arms in a simplified graphic design.

Fig. 23

Fig. 24

Lower Saxony: Ostfriesische Landschaft/Eastern Frisia

Lower Saxony is not subdivided in her entity in höhere Kommunalverbände, but only the historical Eastern Frisia was constituted as höherer Kommunalverband. This „Ostfriesische Landschaft" (ie. corporation in the sense of the medieval estates) comprises the Landkreise Aurich, Leer, Wittmund, and the town of Emden, which does not belong to a Landkreis.

Both the arms and a flag are shown by the Ostfriesische Landschaft, but no logo. The coat of arms in present use (Fig. 25) were confirmed and embellished in 1678 by emperor Leopold I to the county of Eastern Frisia. The design consists of a knight in armour on a red field, standing on a green hill near to a naturally coloured oak tree, the „Upstalsboom". It is a symbol of Frisian liberty.[18]

Fig. 25

Fig. 26

In addition, the many-partitioned arms of Count Rudolf Christian (1626-28) of the Cirksena dynasty (Fig. 26) is sometimes seen as a symbol of Eastern Frisia.[19]

The colours of the Eastern Frisian flag derive from the mantling of these arms. The flag (Fig. 27) is horizontally striped in black over red over blue – quite a rare colour combination in Germany.[20] It was embodied in 1989 in the statutes of the Ostfriesische Landschaft, but had traditionally been used for a long time before by the people. It is also hoisted on the building of the Ostfriesische Landschaft in Aurich (Fig. 28).[21]

Fig. 27

Fig. 28

North Rhine-Westphalia

In North Rhine-Westphalia there are four höhere Kommunalverbände. The Landschaftsverband Rheinland and the Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe together cover the whole State and derive from former Prussian provinces.

The Landesverband Lippe corresponds to the former State of Lippe. Furthermore there is a Kommunalverband Ruhrgebiet.

Landschaftsverband Rheinland

The Landschaftsverband Rheinland employs a logo (Fig. 29) adopted 17 May 2001, which is also used on the current flag. A comment from their web site states:[22]

„The old, clumsy, and authoritarian logo, modelled on the formal arms with the Prussian eagle and the Rhine, will be replaced by the friendly and smiling face of a service provider close to the citizen. Therein are all the aspects essential for the Landschaftsverband Rhein-

land: the blue Rhine, the green countryside, and a red bridge linking all together and rendering it human: the Landschaftsverband Rheinland. A sympathetic ensign. We would be happy if you like it, too."

Fig. 29

Nevertheless the symbols (colours, flag, arms [Fig. 30], and seal) established in the statutes from 3 November 1954, § 2, phrase 3, stay in force. These ensigns had been modelled on the 1926 arms of the Rhenanian Province of the Free State of Prussia.[23] Consequently, the soaring Prussian eagle still holds a lesser known official status – even after the dissolution of Prussia on the 25 February 1947 by a decision of the Allied Control Council!

The recent logo may be conceived as supplemental to the still existing symbols. The flag with the Prussian eagle (Fig. 31) is still hoisted on ceremonial occasions, such as German constitution day (23 May).[24]

In consequence this means that the Landschaftsverband Rheinland makes a distinction between everyday and ceremonial symbols.

Fig. 30

Fig. 31

Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe/Westphalia-Lippe

Since May 2000, the Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe uses a logo-styled flag, reproduced in about 100 samples and hoisted at local institutions (Fig. 32). On the flag is an outlined heart, which is barely recognizable on a waving flag. This design is said to outline the territory of the Landschaftsverband and to emphasize its closeness to the hearts of its men in Westphalia-Lippe.[25]

At the same time the so-called „Westfalenflagge" (Fig. 33) is still hoisted on special occasions. It's a plain, horizontally striped bicolour of white over red without any further charges.[26]

The arms (Fig. 34) show a white horse on red, appearing in a stylised version on the letters of the Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe.

Fig. 32

Fig. 34

Fig. 33

Landesverband Lippe

In the course of the reorganizations after World War II the Free State of Lippe had to renounce its autonomy and to unite with the State of North Rhine-Westphalia in 1947. The princely fortune, since 1919 publicly-owned, was transformed to extraordinary funds for the use and the cultural welfare of the population.

The 12th of October 1949 gave birth to the Landesverband Lippe, to whom was passed the administration of these funds. Its statutes from 13 April 1973 stipulate in article 1 a seal and a flag:

„The Landesverband Lippe employs as official seal the previous arms of Lippe (rose of Lippe) with the inscription 'Landesverband Lippe' and as a flag the former State flag of Lippe (two fields in the colours yellow and red)."

There are no additional emblems on the flag (Fig. 35) which is widely used by the inhabitants. Whereas proper arms are not used, a logo (Fig. 36) is employed, eg. on the web site.[27]

Fig. 35

Fig. 36

Kommunalverband Ruhrgebiet/Ruhr

The Kommunalverband Ruhrgebiet originates in the „Siedlungsverband Ruhrkohlenbezirk" (Land-Settlement Society Ruhr Carbon District), founded in 1920 by several municipalities. By law from 6 September 1979 the Parliament of North Rhine-Westphalia created the „Kommunalverband Ruhrgebiet" as legal successor. Eleven towns not belonging to a Kreis and four Kreise constitute its members.

The logo (Fig. 37) outlining the borders of the Kommunalverband Ruhrgebiet was created in 1985. It picks up the colours of North Rhine-Westphalia (green, white, and red), but reverses their order. The logo is a central element of their public relations and is also an element of their white flag (Fig. 38). Proper arms do not exist.[28]

Fig. 37

Fig. 38

Rhineland-Palatinate: Bezirksverband Pfalz/Palatinate

Rhineland-Palatinate is not subdivided in her entity in höhere Kommunalverbände, but only the previous Bavarian Rhine Palatinate constituted herself for historical reasons as höherer Kommunalverband named „Bezirksverband Pfalz". This continuity dates back until 1816 when the Rhine Palatinate was part of the Kingdom of Bavaria and a diet was established. Until 1946 she constituted the eighth Bavarian Bezirk when she merged in the new State of Rhineland-Palatinate.

In 1986, the diet adopted arms and a flag (hoisting and hanging flag [Fig. 39] versions). Since 1990 a logo (Fig. 41) is additionally employed. Both the flag and the logo integrate the shield of arms. This recalls with its colours of black and gold and the lion, the long-enduring Electoral Palatinate under the dynasty of the Wittelsbachs. The wavy flank represents the Rhine.[29]

Fig. 39   Fig. 40

Fig. 41

Saxony: Landeswohlfahrtsverband Sachsen/Saxony

The Landeswohlfahrtsverband Sachsen is congruent with the Free State of the same name. It was established by law of the Parliament of Saxony on 22 January 1993.

The Landeswohlfahrtsverband Sachsen does neither have a flag nor a logo, but uses on its web site the arms of the Free State of Saxony (Fig. 42) without any modification.[30]

Fig. 42

Summary

As dissimilar as the functions performed by the höhere Kommunalverbände, so are the designs employed as their symbols. With the introduction of new logo flags replacing traditionally striped flags the time-honoured arms are being thrust into the background.

The tendency away from the hoisting flags, towards the more serviceable hanging flags may also be observed here.

Nearly all of the 17 höhere Kommunalverbände introduce themselves on the Internet with web sites, where they try to present themselves as modern mainly by the use of designer logos.

The symbols of the höhere Kommunalverbände are less known to the public than the flags of the municipalities or the Landkreise. Here they have been presented for the first time among experts.

Notes

1. Die HÖHEREN KOMMUNALVERBÄNDE IN DER BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND. Struktur und Aufgaben. Ed. Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft der Höheren Kommunalverbände, Typescript [Stuttgart 1990].

2. For the *flags of the Landkreise* cf.: LINDER, ERICH DIETER: German Landkreise Emblems, in: The Flag Bulletin, XXXIV:1, no. 162 (July-August 1995), pp. 2-23.– LINDER, ERICH DIETER: Die Flaggen deutscher Landkreise, in: Der Flaggenkurier. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Flaggenkunde, no. 2 (January 1996), pp. 4-10.– LINDER, ERICH DIETER / SCHMIDT, FALKO: Landkreisflaggen Deutschlands. Teil 1, Bayern. Heutige Landkreise, in: Der Flaggenkurier. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Flaggenkunde, no. 12 (December 2000), pp. 10-22.– GÜNTHER, ERWIN: Wappen und Flaggen der Stadt- und Landkreise Sachsen-Anhalts, der ehemaligen Provinz Sachsen und des Landes Anhalt. Präsentation zum 5. Deutschen Vexillologentreffen am 12. Oktober 1996 in Ansbach, Limbach-Oberfrohna 1996.– GÜNTHER, ERWIN: Wappen und Flaggen der Stadt- und Landkreise Brandenburgs und der ehemaligen Grenzmark Posen-Westpreußen. Präsentation zum 7. Deutschen Vexillologentref-

fen am 10. Oktober 1997 in Erfurt, Limbach-Oberfrohna 1998.– GÜNTHER, ERWIN: Wappen und Flaggen der Kreise und Kreisstädte in Pommern. Präsentation zum 9. Deutschen und 1. Tschechisch-Deutschen Vexillologentreffen am 9. und 10. September 2000 in Usti nad Labem, Limbach-Oberfrohna 2000.– ULLE, HARTMUT: Die Flaggen der Landkreise und kreisfreien Städte des Freistaates Thüringen, Teil 1, in: Der Flaggenkurier. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Flaggenkunde, no. 10 (December 1999), pp. 31-35.– ULLE, HARTMUT: Die Flaggen der Landkreise und kreisfreien Städte des Freistaates Thüringen, Teil 2, in: Der Flaggenkurier. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Flaggenkunde, no. 11 (June 2000), pp. 36-43.– ULLE, HARTMUT: Wappen und Flaggen des Freistaats Thüringen und seiner Landkreise sowie kreisfreien Städte. Ed. Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Thüringen, Erfurt 2000, 2nd edition.

3. It should be added that there are further municipal and governmental associations like neighbourhood or regional planning associations. They will not be considered in the following.

4. The höhere Kommunalverbände act chiefly in the communal social sector. In federal states without höhere Kommunalverbände the governmental administration itself will act in these tasks. A special feature of the two North Rhine-Westphalian Landschaftsverbände is their responsibility for the translocal road network – a competence that was discontinued by law effective 1 January 2001. However, the Landschaftsverbände have brought this matter into the state's constitutional court to have the responsibility reinstated.

The budgets of the höhere Kommunalverbände are principally covered by apportionments charged to the affiliated Landkreise and municipalities. Below are some annual budgets (2000 or 2001) for comparison:

Höherer Kommunalverband	Mio. EUR
Landeswohlfahrtsverband Baden	537
Landeswohlfahrtsverband Württemberg-Hohenzollern	692
Bezirk Oberpfalz/Upper Palatinate	337
Bezirk Schwaben/Swabia	522
Landeswohlfahrtsverband Hessen/Hesse	1.097
Landschaftsverband Rheinland	5.266
Landeswohlfahrtsverband Sachsen/Saxony	368

5. The consulted sources are archival records, articles of associations, publications, correspondences, and the Internet web sites of the various associations (if not quoted otherwise looked up in March through June 2001). All these quoted letters, faxes, emails, phone calls and other information were addressed to the author if not indicated otherwise.

6. From a letter of the Landeswohlfahrtsverband Baden dated 5 February 1997.– In addition: http://www.lwv-baden.de/.

7. From emails and faxes from the Landeswohlfahrtsverband Württemberg-Hohenzollern March 2001. From a letter of the Landeswohlfahrtsverband Württemberg-Hohenzollern from 27 November 1996.– In addition: http://www.lwv-wh.de/.

8. Cf. for the flags of the Bavarian Bezirke: LINDER, ERICH DIETER: Rauten, Adler, Löwe, Schlüssel, Rad. Less known: Die Wappen und Flaggen der bayerischen Bezirke, in: Unser Bayern. Heimatbeilage der Bayerischen Staatszeitung, vol. 46, no. 4 (April 1997), pp. 28-29.– LINDER, ERICH DIETER: Die Wappen und Flaggen der bayerischen Bezirke, in: Der Flaggenkurier. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Flaggenkunde, no. 5 (November 1997), pp. 3-13.

9. Vocal information from 22 September 1998, Department of Public Relations. The photo was produced and provided by them especially for this lecture.– Letter of the Bezirk from 21 October 1996 including a sketch of the flag.– In addition: http://www.bezirk-oberbayern.de/.

10. Email including illustration from 26 March 2001, Department of Public Relations and Partnerships of the Bezirk Niederbayern.– Several correspondences in the records of the Generaldirektion des Bayerischen Hauptstaatsarchivs (= Bavarian Central Office of Records) starting in 1959 (Reg. d. Gen.-Dir. d. BayHStA, no. 602-1).– In addition: http://www.bezirk-niederbayern.de/.

11. Letter of the Bezirk from 7 March 2001 (including the shown black-and-white sketch).– Correspondence in Reg. d. Gen.-Dir. d. BayHStA, no. 602-1.– In addition: http://bezirk-oberpfalz.de/.

12. Letter of the President of the Bezirk Diet from 7 November 1996.– In regard to the colours white and red cf. VEIT VALENTIN / OTTFRIED NEUBECKER, Die deutschen Farben, Leipsic s. d. [= 1929], pp. 1-12.– No web site known.

13. Email from 7 March 2001, enclosing photos of the flag and the arms in their actually used design.– Some calls to the Bezirk in October 1993.– In addition: http://bezirk-mittelfranken.de/.

14. Letters of the Bezirk from 15 March 2001 (including illustrated photo) and 24 October 1996.– BayHStA on 30 July 1996 (copy in Reg. d. Gen.-Dir. d. BayHStA, no. 602-1).– In addition: http://www.bezirk-unterfranken.de/.

15. Letter of the Bezirk from 23 March 2001 (shown photo enclosed).– Information given by phone from 23 October 1996.– Evidence of the Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv from 17 September 1965 (Reg. d. Gen.-Dir. d. BayHStA, no. 602-1).– In addition: http://www.bezirk-schwaben.de/.

16. „Azure, a lion per fess, barry of four gules and argent [correct would be: argent and gules], and or.” Illustration of the arms on the cover of the commemorative publication to the 25th anniversary of the Landeswohlfahrtsverband Hessen, received by email from the Landeswohlfahrtsverband Hessen in June 2001 and shown in this lecture (Fig. 23).

17. Emails from June, April and May 2001; letters from 19 June 2001, 30 April 2001, 8 January 1997 and 21 January 1997.– In addition: http://www.lwv-hessen.de/. Present-day information to the flag or a colourful photo could not be provided by the Landeswohlfahrtsverband Hessen. Therefore a black and white photo of the assembly of the association from 1 February 1995 will be shown here (source: LANDESWOHL-

FAHRTSVERBAND HESSEN, ed. LWV Hessen, Kassel 1995, p. 6).

18. DETERS, WALTER: Das Wappen der ostfriesischen Stände, in: Emder Jahrbuch 1978, vol. 58, pp. 68-79.

19. LENGEN, HAJO VAN: Das Ostfriesische Wappen, in: Quellen und Forschungen zur ostfriesischen Familien- und Wappenkunde, vol. 34 (1985), no. 7-10, pp. 74-77.

20. Black = family Cirksena, red = family tom Brok, blue = Harlingerland (Wittmund).

21. KOCH-HEIDELBERG, HINRICH: Die ostfriesischen Landesfarben. Flaggenkundliche Ranken um Schwarz-Rot-Blau, in: Heimatkunde und Heimatgeschichte. Beilage zu den Heimatzeitungen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft ostfriesischer Verlagsdruckereien, no. 10 (September 1950), pp. 37-38.– Emails and letters of the Ostfriesische Landschaft and of the Upstalsboom-Gesellschaft für historische Personenforschung und Bevölkerungsgeschichte in Ostfriesland e. V. from June and April 2001 as well as from October 1997.– In addition: http://www.ostfriesischelandschaft.de/.– This Eastern Frisian flag should not be confused with the historical flag of Northern Frisia (yellow over red over blue horizontal stripes), with the flag of the Kreis Nordfriesland (blue field, red and yellow borders on the upper and lower edge, three yellow ships superimposed), with the flag of the Landkreis Friesland (blue over red horizontally striped with the arms), or with the flag of the Dutch province of Frisia (ie. Western Frisia; seven diagonal descending blue and white stripes, covered by seven red water lilies).– The flags of Eastern and of Northern Frisia are reproduced on the flag wall chart FLAGS OF ASPIRANT PEOPLES edited by the Flag Society of Australia, Melbourne 1994, ill. no. 74 resp. 75; the flag of the Kreis Nordfriesland is shown by SCHURDEL, HARRY D[IETER]: Die Hoheitszeichen des Kreises Nordfriesland. Wappen, Flagge, Siegel, in: Schleswig-Holstein 1984, no. 4, pp. 18-20.

22. Source: http://www.lvr.de/, translated by the author.

23. The arms picks up the eagle of the former Free State of Prussia and represents the Rhine as a silver bend wavy on green. The flag is according to the statutes a plain bi-colour of green over white, though in reality the arms are always superimposed.– Emails from March to May 2001, letters of the Landschaftsverband Rheinland from 28 February 2001, 26 November 1996, and 29 October 1996.– NAGEL, ROLF (ED.): Rheinisches Wappenbuch. Die Wappen der Gemeinden, Städte und Kreise im Gebiet des Landschaftsverbandes Rheinland, Cologne 1986, p. 42.

24. Information of the Law Department of the Landschaftsverband Rheinland with background details sent per email from 30 May 2001. The photo illustrates the green over white flag of the Landschaftsverband Rheinland alongside to the flags of North Rhine-Westphalia and the Federal Republic of Germany.

25. Email of the Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe from 29 May 2001, letters from 19 March and 6 April 2001.– In addition: http://www.lwl.org/.

26. Both the „Westfalenflagge“ – here reconstructed by the

author – and the arms are established in the statutes of the Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe from 20 June 1986, article I, § 2. The arms derive from the ones of the Provincial Association of Westphalia in 1929 and are very similar to those of Lower Saxony.– The colourful arms of the Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe are reproduced in: VEDDELER, PETER: Das Niedersachsenroß. Geschichte des niedersächsischen Landeswappens, Hanover 1996, p. 131.

27. Phone call and letter from 18 June 2001, Department of Public Relations of the Landesverband Lippe.– In addition: http://www.llb-detmold.de/lvl/ as of 29 May 2001. Statutes translated by the author.– For the arms of Lippe cf. (but with no special regard to the Landesverband Lippe): VEDDELER, PETER: Die lippische Rose. Entstehung und Entwicklung des lippischen Wappens bis zur Gegenwart, Veröffentlichungen der Staatlichen Archive des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, vol. C 6, Detmold 1978.– These symbols may not be confused with those of the Kreis Lippe.

28. Phone from 25 June 2001 and letters from 27 June 2001 and 31 May 2001. A lot of the smaller logo flags (1 m x 1 m) were often stolen to be later used as fan flags for Ruhr soccer clubs at matches.– In addition: http://www.kvr.de/ as of 29 May 2001.

29. Letters and emails from 17 April 2001, 5 April 2001, and 23 October 1996. The large-sized photo of the Bezirk flag was provided and produced by the Bezirksverband Pfalz, Department of Public Relations, especially for this lecture.– The other photo shows the flag-decorated city of Speyer on the Open Day in 1990. You may see the flags of the Bezirksverband Pfalz (Fig. 40: horizontally striped in black over yellow with the arms) and of the city of Speyer (horizontally striped in red and white, in the last one the unattached motif of the city arms, the cathedral of Speyer). This photo was taken from the booklet BEZIRKSVERBAND PFALZ, ed. by Bezirksverband Pfalz, [Kaiserslautern] 1990, p. 11.– In addition: http://www.bv-pfalz.de/.

30. Phone from 25 June 2001, email from 13 June 2001 with the Landeswohlfahrtsverband Sachsen and http://www.lwvsachsen.de/.

The Flags of the Political Parties of Senegal

Lucien Philippe FFIAV

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Senegal consisted of a number of small independent kingdoms, none of which had succeeded in achieving any kind of long-lasting national unity. In 1445, a Portuguese named Gadamosto landed on the Cap Vert peninsula, and established himself on the island of Gorée. But the Portuguese did not stay for long. In 1659, a Frenchman, Louis Gaullier, established a trading post that he named Saint-Louis on the island of Ndar at the mouth of the Senegal river. Other Frenchmen from the Compagnie Normande set up a post on Gorée. It was succeeded by several other French companies until in 1758 the French posts were occupied by the British - a state of affairs that lasted until 1779, and was repeated between 1809 and 1814[1]. The first governor of the French trading posts was then appointed. In 1854, General Louis Faidherbe was appointed governor. He succeeded in establishing control over the valley of the river Senegal as far as Médine, forcing the Moors back to the right bank. In 1857 *Capitaine de Vaisseau* Auguste Protet founded Dakar. In 1864, Faidherbe, who had received the submission of much of the interior, was named governor of the colony of Senegal, a post he held until 1865.

In 1871, the inhabitants of the towns of Dakar, Gorée and Saint-Louis were granted French citizenship. In 1880, this privilege was extended to Rufisque[2]. This state of affairs was confirmed by a law of 1916. From 1946, all Senegalese became French citizens[3].

The law of 23rd February 1956 permitted Senegal to create its own territorial assembly, and governing council. On 25th April 1958, Senegal became an independent republic within the Franco-African Community.

The Federation of Mali was officially created on 6th April 1959, comprising the republics of Senegal and Soudan. This federation broke up on 20th August 1960, when Senegal declared its independence.

The first political parties

Inspired by Ficounda Diop, the Union Républicaine des Jeunes Sénégalais was founded in 1924. A Parti Socialiste Sénégalais was formed about 1928 by Charles Graziani, the president of the Dakar Chamber of Commerce, together with supporters of Lamine Gueye. Pierre Diagne's Mouvement Nationaliste Africain began after 1942. The Mouvement Autonomiste Africain, founded by Amadou Ba, appeared at around the same time, as did a communist 'study group'. In 1946, the Mouvement Nationaliste and the Mouvement Autonomiste formed an alliance with the Fédération Socialiste, under the title of Bloc Africain. In September 1947, at a congress at Koalak, the Bloc Démocratique Africain was formed, uniting the Union Générale des Originaires du Fleuve, the Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques de Casamance and the Association des Toucouleurs du Fouta Toro. In 1946, the former communist study group adopted the title of the Union Démocratique Sénégalaise[4]. With one exception, the flags of these groups are unknown; that of the Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques de Casamance was plain green[5].

The socialist parties of Lamine Gueye

On 2nd March 1937, Lamine Gueye created the Fédération Socialiste SFIO du Sénégal. This party was banned in 1939, and did not reappear until after 1942. Léopold Sedar Senghor, one of the original members, quickly fell out with Gueye, and left the SFIO in September 1948 to form the BDS (Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais). The SFIO then changed its name to the Parti Sénégalais d'Action Socialiste (PSAS). In 1951, the socialists created the Red Berets, a militia armed with clubs and knives, and wearing the three green arrows badge of the party, which also appeared on its flag (Fig.1). The BDS responded by forming their Green Berets[6]. In 1958, the PSAS amalgamated with Senghor's BPS to form the Union Progressiste Sénégalaise[7].

---

1   Stovkis, Anthony, *Manuel d'histoire, de géographie et chronologie de tous les états du globe.*

2   *Liberation*, 18th October 1994; a letter to the author from Mr. Diop.

3   *Encyclopaedias Universaelis* volume 14, 'Le Sénégal'

4   Zuccarelli, François, *Un partie politique africain: l'Union Progressiste Sénégalaise* (Paris, Librarie générale de droit et de jurisprudence, 1970) preface.

5   The green flag represented the agricultural wealth and the forests of the Casamance region. It was adopted by Victor Diatta, who in 1930 became the first African Bachelor of Letters, when he founded the MFDC in 1947. He was assassinated on 20th November 1948 (Corbic, Michael, *Franciae Vexilla*, No.7, November 1997).

6   Zuccarelli, op.cit.

7   Ibid.
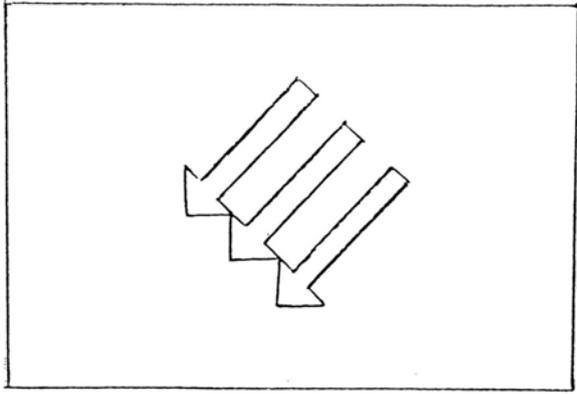
Figure 1

The socialist parties of Léopold Sedar Senghor

In September 1948, Senghor left the SFIO to form the Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais, in opposition to Lamine Gueye. It adopted a green flag bearing a red star in the centre (Fig.2). The star was that of socialism, and the green field symbolised the vegetation of Senegal. Its colours were the direct opposite of the socialist red flag with three green arrows[8]. In April 1956, the Bloc Populaire Sénégalais (BPS) was formed, uniting the BDS, Assane Seck's Mouvement Autonomiste Casamançais and the Union Démocratique Sénégalaise (formed from a mixture of communist students and some socialists).
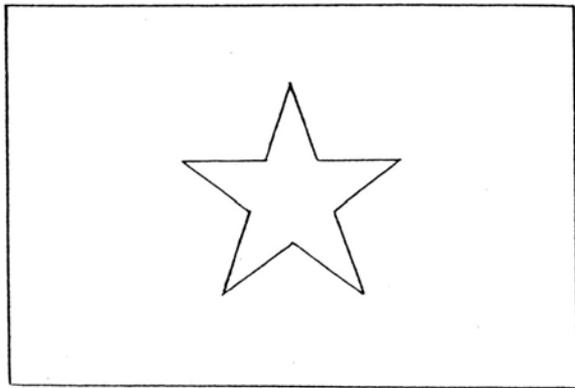
Figure 2

In April 1958, the BPS under Senghor amalgamated with Gueye's PSAS to form the Union Progressiste Sénégalaise (UPS). Its first congress took place between the 20th and 22nd February 1959. The party's statutes were created as a result of a declaration of 6th August 1959. The flag remained unchanged (Fig.2). In June 1960, it absorbed the Parti de la Solidarité Sénégalaise (PSS) of Sheikh Tijdian Sy and Ibrahima Seyou Ndaro. Senghor was elected President of the Republic on 20th September 1960. On 12th September 1961, the Parti de Regroupement Africain (PRA) allied itself with the UPS. In 1966, the PRA became the only political party, a state

of affairs which lasted until 1974, when a multi-party state was re-established. At the end of December 1976, the UPS changed its name to the Parti Socialiste du Sénégal (PSS), but retained the same flag (Fig.2)[9]. On 1st January 1981, Senghor was succeeded by Abdou Diouf. On 12th March 2000, Diouf was himself succeeded as President by Abdoulaye Wadé, General Secretary of the Parti Démocratique Sénégalais. Diouf remained General Secretary of the PSS.

The democratic parties of Sheikh Anta Diop

In 1951, Professor Sheikh Anta Diop, even before Nkrumah, put forward the idea that the future of independent Africa lay in a federal state. On 15th September 1961, he formed the Bloc des Masses Sénégalaises (BMS), which was dissolved on 14th October 1963. He then formed the Front National Sénégalais (FNS), which was dissolved in the following year. These parties formed the rightist opposition. On 6th February 1976, Diop formed the Rassemblement National Démocratique (RND), becoming its General Secretary[10].

The party was legalised on 18th June 1981 with the registration of its statutes, of which Article 2 stated that the party colour was gold (thus the flag was plain yellow)[11].

The next General Secretary was Ely Madiodio Fall[12], who was succeeded by Professor Madior Diouf, who stood as a presidential candidate on 21st February 1993. The party's flag was by this time yellow bearing a deep yellow and brown eagle in the centre, with the letters RND on either side in red (Fig.3)[13]. Today, Diouf is still the party's General Secretary[14].

---

8   Letter from Léopold Sedar Sengor dated 23rd September 1986.

9   Letter from the Party Secretary dated 5th July 1978, cited in 'Les partis politiques sénégalais', *Revue des Institutions Politiques et Administratives du Sénégal*, Oct-Dec 1982

10   *Le Monde Diplomatique*, April 1986.

11   *Revue des Institutions Politiques et Administratives du Sénégal*, Oct-Dec 1982

12   *Le Sénégal d'Aujourd'hui* 1987, (an official brochure).

13   From a coloured drawing of 14th August 1992 by Didier Philippe, who was living in Dakar at the time of the presidential election of 21st February 1993.

14   *Quid 2001*.
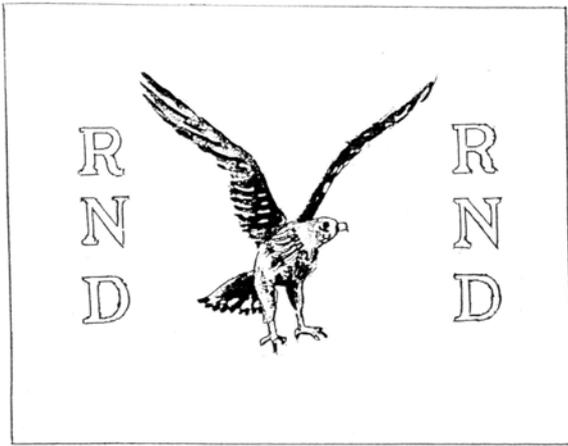
Figure 3

Parti Démocratique Sénégalais

Maître Abdoulaye Wadé formed the Parti Démocratique Sénégalais in July 1974, and it was legalised after the publication of its statutes on 8th August 1974. Under Article 5 of its statutes, its flag is blue, the symbol of immensity, of the infinite and of energy. In the centre is the party symbol – a golden head of millet, placed lower hoist to upper fly – signifying germination, creation and creativity (Fig.4)[15].
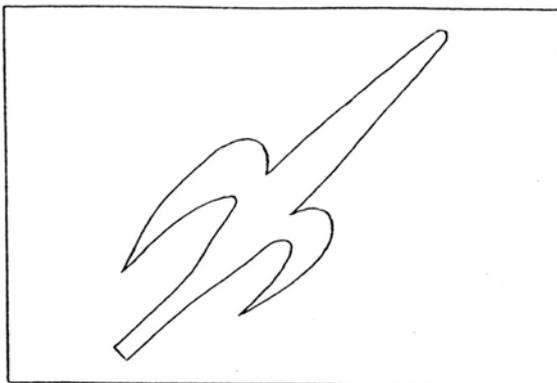
Figure 4

Wadé was a presidential candidate in February 1993. The party flag was altered. Its field remained blue, but the head of millet was placed in the other diagonal (Fig.5)[16]. On 19th March 2000, Wadé was elected President of the Republic, whilst remaining General Secretary of the PDS[17].

Figure 5

Marxist-Leninist parties
Parti African de l'Indépendance (PAI)

The party was formed in September 1957 by Majhemout Diop. It was dissolved in 1960. It then had a clandestine existence until its legalisation on 24th August 1976[18]. Its statutes do not mention either a flag or an emblem. However, according to a letter dated 15th May 1986 from the party's General Secretary, the flag is red bearing a hammer crossed with a hoe, below a star, all in black (Fig.6). Red is the traditional colour of power and of revolution, whilst black represent Senegal and Africa. The hammer represents its alliance with the manual workers of the towns and cities, whilst the hoe represents its alliance with the manual workers of the countryside. The single black star represents both the entry of Africa into the era of independent countries, and African unity[19]. Mahjemout Diop remains the General Secretary of the PAI[20].

Figure 6

Parti de l'Indépendance et du Travail du Sénégal (PITS)

This party was formed from the Parti Africain de l'Indépendance after the latter was dissolved in 1960. Its first party congress was held in secret in 1962, and its General Secretary was Seydou Cissokho. The party was legalised on 9th July 1981. Article 17 of its statutes

---

15   From a coloured drawing by Abdoulaye Wadé of 9th August 1979. The party's statutes appear in *Revue des Institutions Politiques et Administratives du Sénégal*, Oct-Dec 1982

16   From a coloured drawing by Didier Philippe, in a letter of 14th August 1992; Afrique-Asie, 7th August 1994, communicated by Michel Corbic.

17   *Quid 2001*.

---

18   *Revue des Institutions Politiques et Administratives du Sénégal*, Oct-Dec 1982.

19   Letter from Majhemout Diop 15th May 1986.

20   *Quid 2001*.

concerns the party's flag and symbols. The flag is red and bears in the upper hoist corner a hammer crossed with a hoe, below a black star (Fig.7). They symbolise the alliance between the working class and the peasants with the star of African unity.
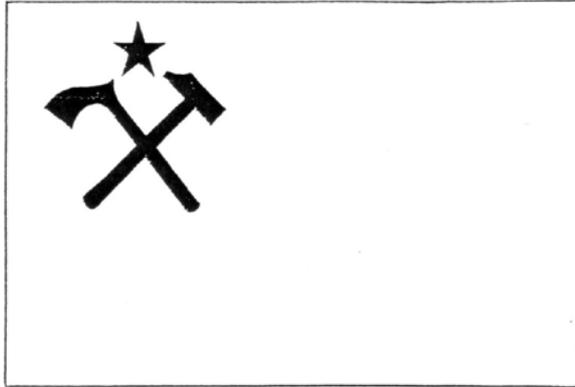
Figure 7

This flag was seen at the Festival of Humanity at La Courneuve, near Paris, on 11th September 1982, along with another, red with a single black star (Fig.8). This party is not mentioned in *Quid 2001*.
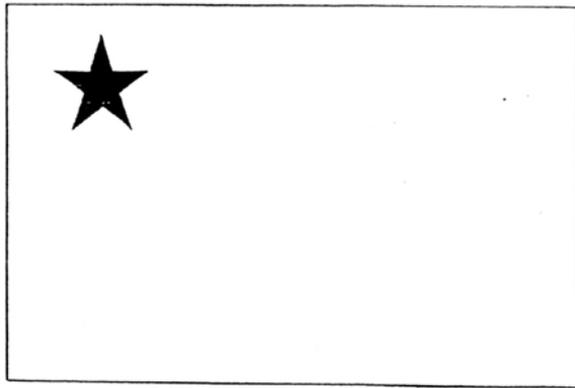
Figure 8

Ligue Démocratique (Mouvement Pour le Parti du Travail) (LD-MPT)

This party was founded in 1974 as the result of a breakaway from the PITS. Its General Secretary was Babacar Sane. It was legalised on 9th July 1981. The first article of its statutes gives a description of the party's flag and symbols. The field is red, bearing in the centre, a device consisting of a crossed hammer and axe, below a five-pointed star, all within a wreath consisting of a head of millet and a head of rice. The device is all in black (Fig.9). Its motto is 'Unity, Democracy, Work'[21].
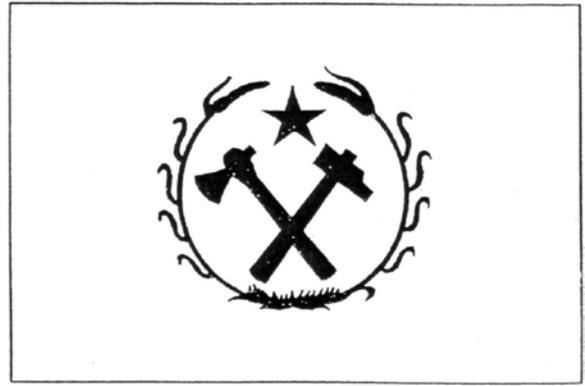
Figure 9

The party symbol can also be found on its newspaper *Fagaru* (Fig.10).

Figure 10

Sane was succeeded as General Secretary by Professor Abdoulay Bathily[22]. He was a presidential candidate in 1993. The party's flag was altered at this time: the device was placed on a pink background, within a black circle (Fig.11)[23]. Professor Bathily is still the General Secretary[24].

Figure 11

21   *Revue des Institutions Politiques et Administratives du Sénégal*, Oct-Dec 1982.

22   *Le Sénégal d'Aujourd'hui 1987*, op. cit.

23   Coloured drawing by Didier Philippe, in a letter of 12th August 1992.

24   *Quid 2001*.

The Vive Le Marxisme Léninisme Movement

This tiny group, inspired by the Albanian Workers' party, distributed a magazine, *Le Prolétaire*. In issue 5 (January 1981) was a red flag, bearing a white star charged with a crossed hammer and sickle, in red (Fig.12).
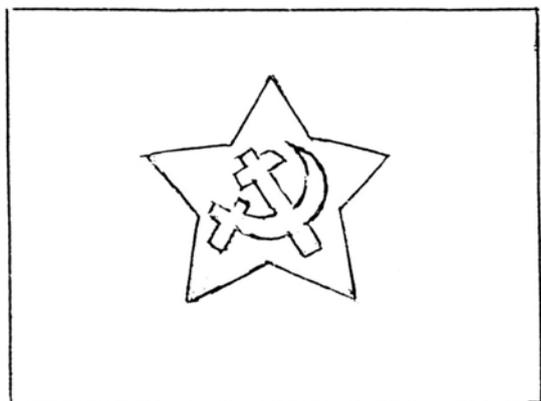
Figure 12

The extreme left parties of Landing Savane

In 1965, Landing Savane created a clandestine pro-Chinese Marxist organisation. In 1968, he amalgamated several different groups under the banner of the Nouvelle Gauche.

In 1975, he formed the And-Jef (Association des Travailleurs, S'Unir Pour Agir) from a number of other Marxist organisations. They were joined by a breakaway faction from the Union pour la Démocratie Populaire and by the Organisation Démocratique Prolétarienne in 1980. The Mouvement Révolutionnaire pour un Démocratie Nouvelle (And-Jef) (MDRN) was legalised on 6th July 1981. Its statutes give details of the party's flag: the field is yellow, representing the earth, symbol of the peasants, with a diagonal, from lower hoist to upper fly, in red, the colour of the working class. The three five-pointed red stars in the upper hoist corner symbolise anti-imperialism, anti-hegemony and anti-feudalism (Fig.13)[25].

Figure 13

In 1991, Savane changed the name of the party to the Association des Travailleurs (And-Jef) Parti Africain pour la Démocratie et le Socialisme (PADS)[26], legalised on 14th April 1992[27]. A new flag was adopted: this was yellow, with in the centre a disc bearing a map of Africa. The disc was divided diagonally, with the map red on yellow towards the upper right, and the reverse towards the lower left. The location of Senegal is marked by a yellow star (Fig.14)[28].
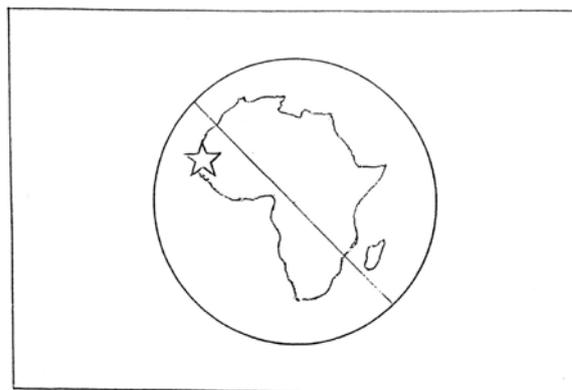
Figure 14

Savane was a presidential candidate in 1993. He adopted a new flag, in which the central device was now a red disc with a yellow map of Africa, and a black star, symbolising Senegal, to the lower left, all enclosed within a black circle (Fig.15)[29].
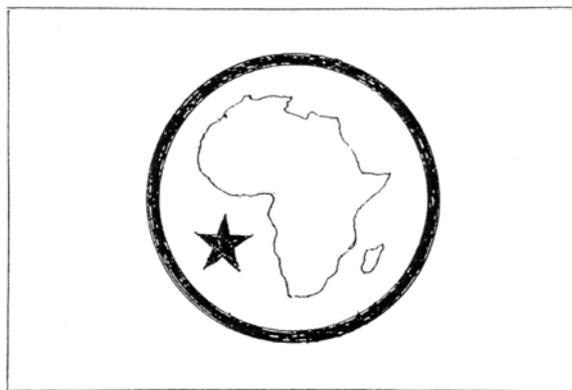
Figure 15

Trotskyist parties
Ligue Communiste des Travailleurs (LCT)

first appeared in 1972. A revolutionary Marxist group, it remained clandestine, supported in France by Alain Krivine's LCT. Its flag was red with a device consisting of two hands, one holding a sickle, the other a hammer, in black (Fig.16).

---

25 *Jeune Afrique* No.1538 of June 1990; *Revue des Institutions Politiques et Administratives du Sénégal*, Oct-Dec 1982.

26 *Quid 2001*.

27 Letter from the Minister of the Interior, 23rd February 2001.

28 Coloured drawing by Didier Philippe, in a letter of 14th August 1992.

29 Letter from the Ministry of the Interior, 23rd February 2001.
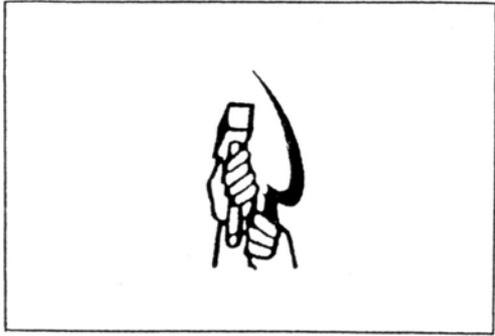
Figure 16

The Groupe des Ouvriers Révolutionnaires (GOR), a similarly clandestine group, was formed in France in 1973. Its flag was similar to the previous one, but with the letters GOR in black down the hoist (Fig.17).
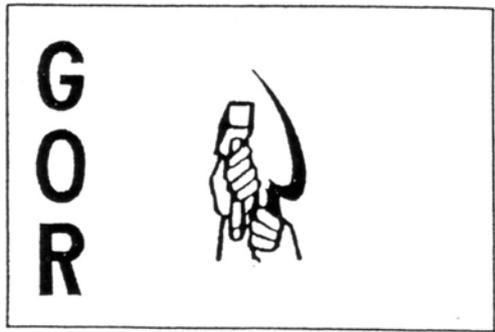
Figure 17

The Organisation Socialiste des Travailleurs (OST) was formed from the GOR. Its General Secretary was Abaye Bathely. It had links with Alain Krivine's Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire. It was legalised on 4th February 1982[30]. Its flag was similar to the previous one, but with the letters OST down the hoist (Fig.18).
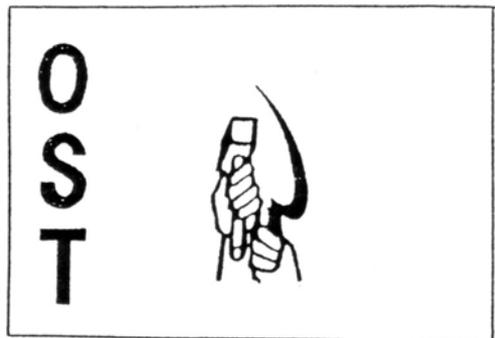
Figure 18

The Ligue Communiste des Travailleurs

(not to be confused with the previously mentioned group of the same name) has links with the international Communist Party (French section of the Fourth International). Its General Secretary was Mahmoud Salk. After several

years in the shadows, it became legalised on 8th July 1982. According to Article 9 of its statutes, the party symbol is a crossed hammer and sickle, with the figure 4 superimposed on them. Article 11 states that they are red (Fig.19)[31]. The party motto is 'The emancipation of the workers will be the work of the workers themselves' (Article 10). The General Secretary is currently Doudou Sarr[32].

Figure 19

Other parties

Union Démocratique Populaire

This party was created in May 1968. It is a non-Marxist revolutionary party. Its General Secretary was Racine Guisse. It was legalised on 20th July 1981. Its flag has four colours. The field is red; in the centre are three concentric circles in black, green and yellow, and in the centre are a crossed hoe and hammer, symbolising the alliance of workers and peasants (Article 8 of their statutes) (Fig.20)[33]. This party does not appear in *Quid 2001*.

Figure 20

Parti Africain Pour l'Indépendance des Masses

This party became legal on 30th July 1982. Its flag is white and green, bearing a device of a fist placed on a map of Africa (Article 5 of its statutes)[34]. Its General Secretary is

---

30 *Revue des Institutions Politiques et Administratives du Sénégal*, Oct-Dec 1982.

31 Ibid; a party leaflet showed the exact design.

32 *Quid 2001*

33 *Revue des Institutions Politiques et Administratives du Sénégal*, Oct-Dec 1982.

34 Ibid.

Aly Niane. In a letter of 8th April 1986, he explains that his party is not Marxist, and that the white half of its flag represents the light which makes the African continent one of the sunniest places on Earth. It also represent purity in thought and in faith. The white disc represents both the sun and the Earth, since its bears a map of Africa outlined in black. The map is charged with a right hand made into a fist to symbolise the power and the desire for togetherness and the unity of the African people. The party's aim is the creation of a United States of Africa. The green part of the flag represents the savannah and forests of Africa. A drawing was attached to this letter (Fig.21).
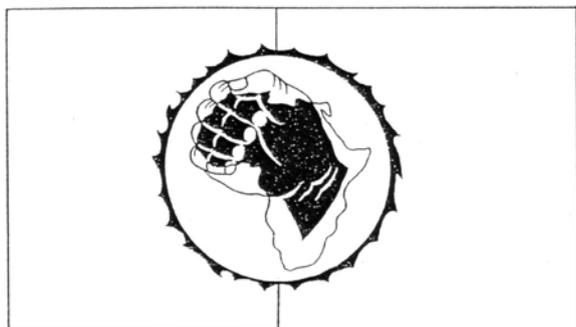
Figure 21

Mouvement Démocratique Populaire (MDP)

This party became legal on 6th July 1981. Its General Secretary is Mamadou Dia. The flag represents the sunrise over the green countryside of Senegal, according the Article 2 of its statutes. On 2nd April 1987, Bara Mbaye, co-ordinator for foreign relations, sent me a coloured drawing of the flag, divided horizontally in yellow over green with a rising red sun on the yellow section (Fig.22). In June 1988, the MDP amalgamated with the LCT.
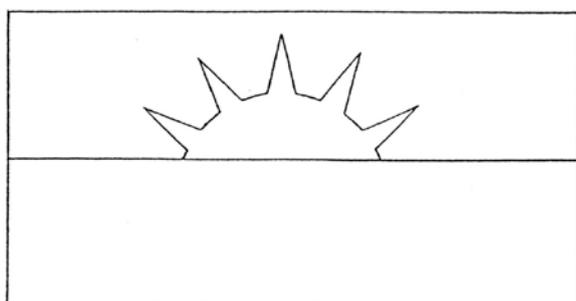
Figure 22

Mouvement Républicaine Sénégalais

This party became legal on 7th February 1979. Its General Secretary is Maître Boubcar Gueye. According to Article 2 of its statutes, the party's colour is white and its symbol is a sun; so the flag consists of a red sun on white (Fig.23)[35].
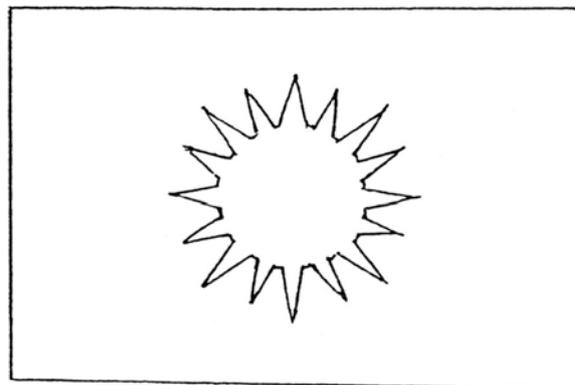
Figure 23

Parti Populaire Sénégalais

This party became legal on 12th October 1981. Its General Secretary is Dr. Oumar Wone, who has his headquarters at Rufisque. According to Article 8 of its statutes, the party's colour is yellow. Its symbol is Pegasus, borne on the yellow flag in red (Fig.24)[36].
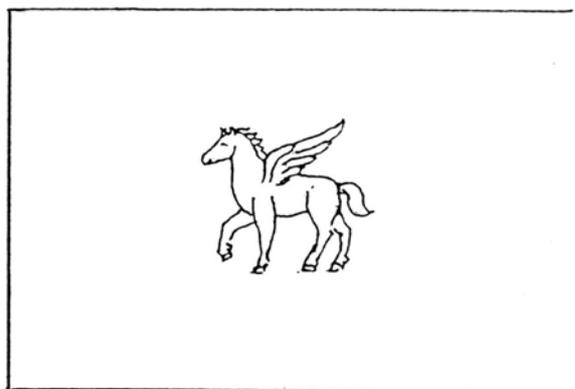
Figure 24

Parti Pour la Libération du Peuple

This party became legal on 31st March 183. Its General Secretary is Babacar Niang. According to its statutes, the party's colour is white, hence its flag is plain white. Niang was a presidential candidate in 1998. He then adopted a new flag consisting of a white field charged with a yellow letter V with a small disc and the letters PLP in red (Fig.25)[37].
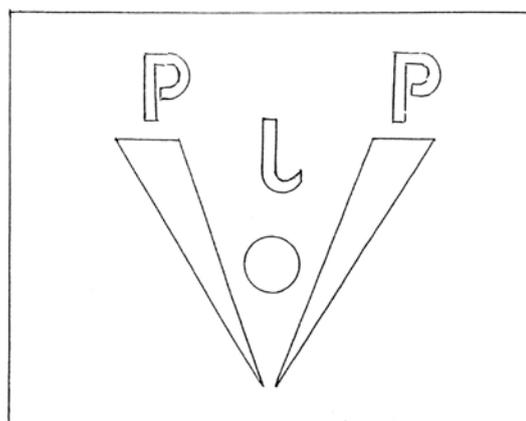
Figure 25

---

35   Ibid.

36   Ibid.
37   Ibid.

Union Démocratique Sénégalaise Renovation

This party became legal on 25th June 1985. Its General Secretary is Mamadou Fall. Its flag is pink with a green sun in the centre (Fig.26)[38].
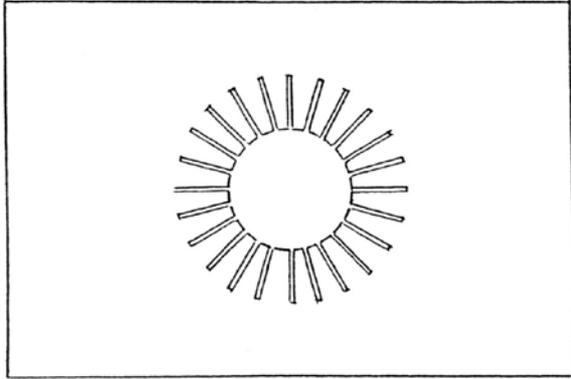
Figure 26

The party's objective is to bring about national unity by democratic means, through dialogue, co-operation and the mobilisation of all parties of goodwill in the task of national construction[39].

Parti Démocratique Sénégalais Renovation

This party was created by Serigné Diop, a university lecturer, who broke away from Abdoulaye Wadé's PDS. The party became legal on 2nd July 1987. Its flag is blue. In the centre, it bears a map of Africa in red, with Senegal marked in yellow (Fig.27). The PDSR is working towards African unity, and in Senegal, the creation of a pluralist democracy[40].
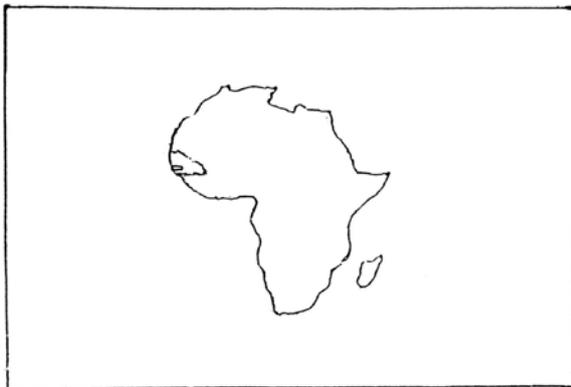
Figure 27

Convention des Démocrates et des Patriotes (Garab-gi)

This party was formed in 1992. 'Garab-gi' is the name of a tree, as well as meaning 'a cure'. Its General Secretary is Professor Iba Der Thiam, a presidential candidate in 1993. Its flag is orange, and bears two hands surrounded by a wreath and the name of the party, all in black (Fig.28)[41].

Figure 28

Parti Républicain du Sénégal

This party became legal on 15th May 1992. Its General Secretary is Amadou Manel Fall. Its flag is white with a green ring in the centre (Fig.29).
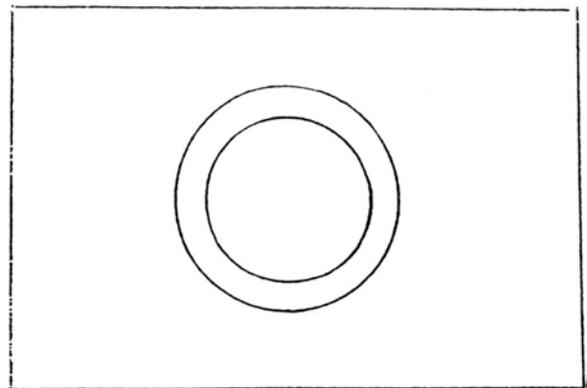
Figure 29

The party's objective is to serve the people by working towards a nationalism, which maintains the traditional values of Senegalese society, such as dignity, probity, social justice and solidarity[42].

Front pour le Socialisme et la Démocratie (Benno Jubel)

The party became legal on 9th April 1996. Its General Secretary is Sheikh Abdoulay Dieye, a landscape architect. Its flag is white with a green star (Fig.30).

---

38   Letter from the Minister of the Interior, 22nd April 1986.

39   Letter from General Mamadou Niang, Minister of the Interior, 23rd February 2001.

40   Ibid.

41   Coloured drawing by Didier Philippe, in a letter of 14th August 1992.

42   Letter from General Mamadou Niang, Minister of the Interior, 23rd February 2001.
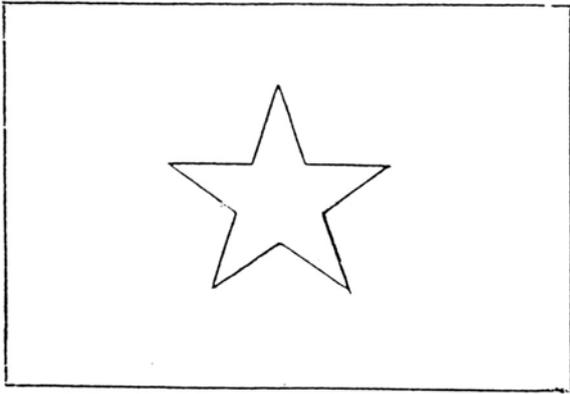
Figure 30

The party's objective is to defend the principles of social-ism, democracy, social justice, fairness, and respect for the rights of man, and above all, to safeguard national sovereignty and independence[43].

Rassemblement des Travailleurs Afric-ains du Sénégalais

This party became legal on 27th March 1997. Its General Secretary is El Hadji Momar Sam, whose headquarters are in Dakar. Its flag is divided upper hoist to lower fly, dark brown over white. In the fly are the letters 'FRAP' (ie., Front Révolutionnaire d'Action Populaire) in white, and in the hoist is a clenched fist, in brown (Fig.31).
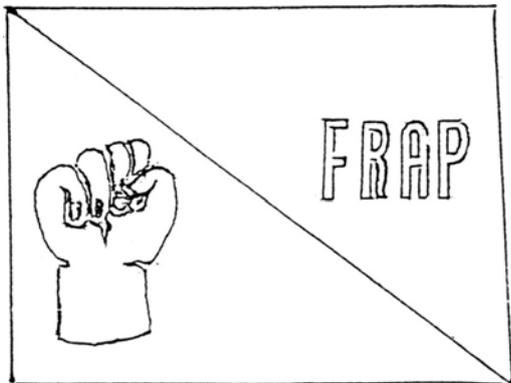
Figure 31

The objective of the party is to obtain political power and preserve national sovereignty

Parti de l'Unité et du Rassemblement

This party became legal on 3rd February 1998. Its Gen-eral Secretary is Khakifa Albacar Diouf, who provided this coloured drawing of his party's flag on 31st March 2001. It is white with a map of Africa, green at the top, white at the bottom, outlined in black, with the letters PUR also in black, and a white disc to mark the location of Dakar (Fig.32).
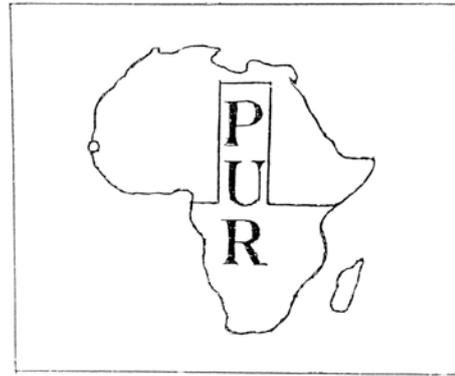
Figure 32

The objective of the party is to take up social, political and economic challenges facing it, and meet them by democratic means[44].

Mouvement National des Serviteurs des Masses

This party became legal on 12th March 1998; its flag was black charged with six yellow stars arranged in a circle (Fig.33).
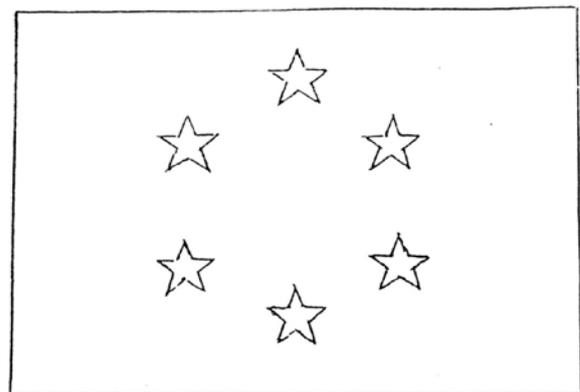
Figure 33

The objective of the party is to create the political, social, cultural and economic conditions that give all power to the people[45].

Union Pour le Renouveau Démocra-tique

This party became legal on 30th July 1998. Its General Secretary is Djibo Laïty Ka. Its flag has a grey field, bearing in the centre an open hand with three fingers raised, the thumb pressing against the little finger (Fig.34).

---

43   Ibid.

44   Ibid.

45   Ibid.
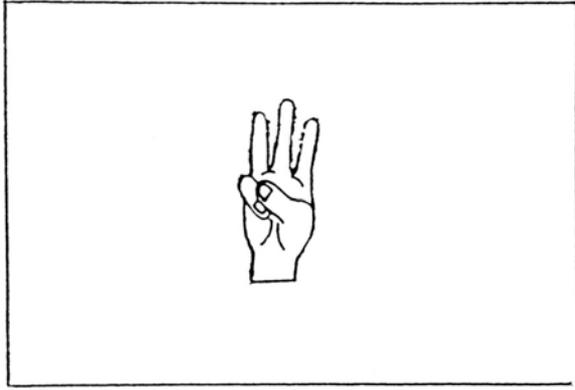
Figure 34

Its objective is to achieve power by democratic means to put in place the projects and ideas that underpin modern, democratic societies[46].

Mouvement Libéral Pour le Peuple Sénégalais

This party became legal on 1st October 198. Its General Secretary is Khadim Faye. Its flag is blue with a white dove in the centre (Fig. 35).
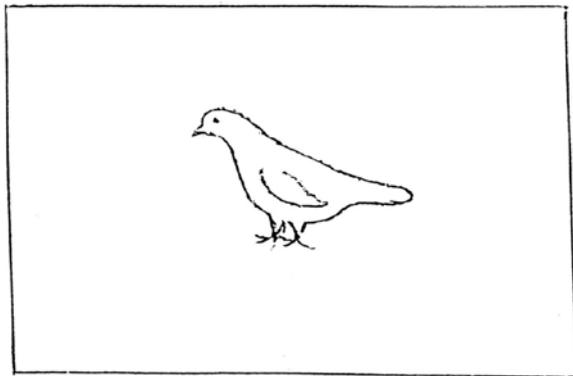
Figure 35

Its objective is to work for the creation of a fraternal, united, cohesive and truly democratic Senegalese society, based on concepts of national unity[47].

Parti Libéral Sénégalais

This party became legal on 30th June 1999. Its General Secretary is a lawyer, Al Hadji Gusmane Ahound Ngom. Its flag is yellow bearing a circle of ten black stars (Fig. 36).
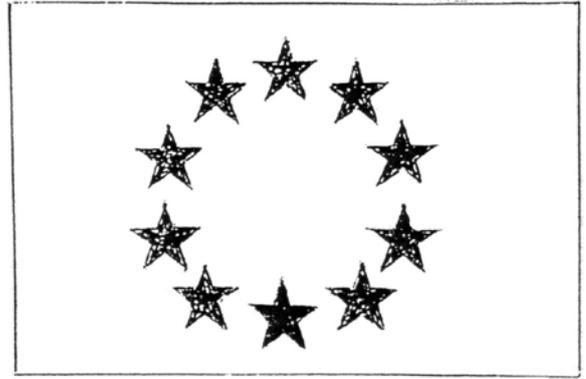
Figure 36

Its objective is to ensure the equality of all citizens before the law, and to develop all national resources and wealth to benefit the whole community without any form of discrimination[48].

Alliance des Forces du Progrès

This party became legal on 13th August 1999. Its General Secretary is a civil servant, Moustapha Niass. Its flag is white with a central green stripe and two narrow black diagonals, one in the upper hoist corner, the other in the lower fly corner (Fig.37).
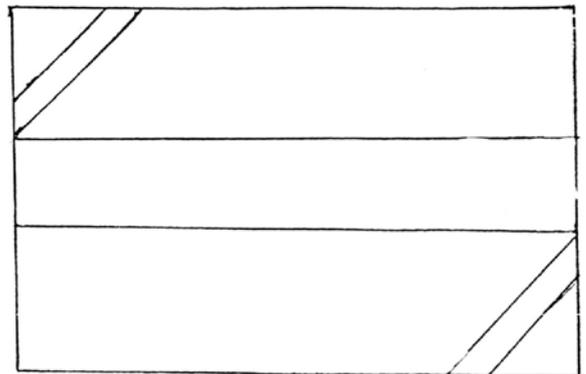
Figure 37

Its objective is to achieve power by the vote, the development of Senegal at the social, economic and cultural level, as well as regional and sub-regional integration within West Africa, and the construction of African unity[49].

Front d'Action Pour le Renouveau (Yoonwi)

This party became legal on 21st September 1999. Its General Secretary is Bathie Sock, whose headquarters is at Thiès. Its flag is blue bearing a white star in the centre (Fig.38)[50]. The blue symbolises water, not only the source of life but also of the seas and oceans that circle the five continents. The five-pointed star shows

---

46   Ibid.
47   Ibid.

48   Ibid.
49   Ibid.
50   Drawing supplied by M. Ndiaye, Secretary for Culture and
      Arts, 15th March 2001.

the party's openness to the five continents, that is, to all races. The party symbol is a map of Senegal in the national colours, which symbolises one's love of the country. The sun in the centre symbolises light, a source of transparency in running the country (Fig.39).
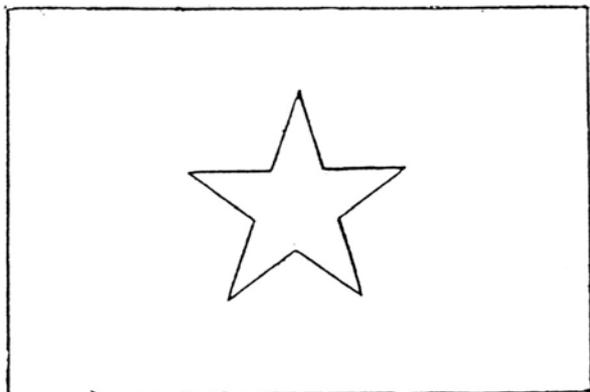
Figure 38
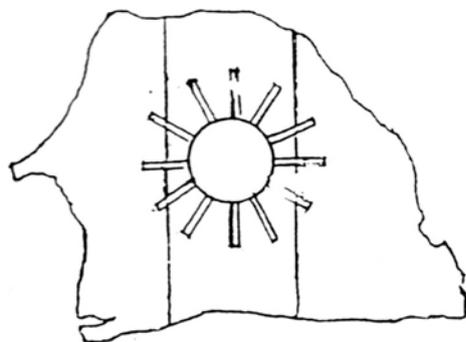
Figure 39

The party's objective is to create a climate of national unity and friendship in a civic spirit, and to contribute to improvements in social renewal[51].

Action pour le Développement National

This party became legal on 26th June 1996. Its President is Massadou Moustapha Diop Djamil, 'Guide of the Silent Revolution'. Its headquarters are in Dakar.

The motto of the party is 'Peace, Patriotism, Prosperity'. Its flag is yellow with a yellow letter A placed on a violet star. There is also another version with a violet field and letter A, and a yellow star (Fig.40). The colour violet symbolises the Silent Revolution. It was inspired by a flower, the violet, which flowers silently, only in shade. The letter A is the initial letter of the party's name. The colour yellow evokes campaigning wealth. The star with five equal points symbolises equality between the different races of Senegal[52].
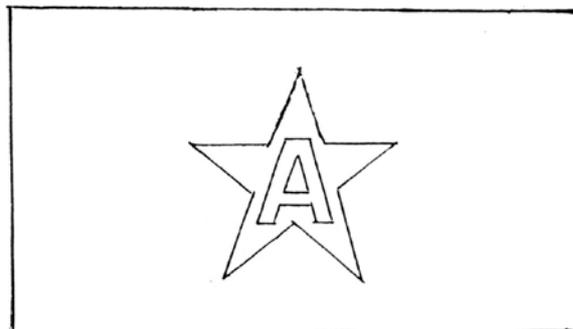
Figure 40

Conclusion

The flags of all the political parties of Senegal, taken together, make up a living illustration of part of the country's history. The range of different parties that are actually legal demonstrates that even the most diverse opinions are respected.

This is true to the real democracy that exists in this country. Senegal has been strongly influenced by France in its political and administrative structures, and could serve as a model for a number of African countries, where tolerance leaves something to be desired. Such a country, having kept its strong links with France, deserves to be supported and helped by her for the benefit of its institutions and people.

---

51   Letter from General Mamadou Niang, op. cit.

52   Letter from Mbaye Diop, the son of the President, whilst a student at Amiens University, dated 27th August 2001.

L'Album des pavillons

Capt Armand du Payrat

Editeur (1996-2003), L'Album des pavillons nationaux et des marques distinctives

Je me présente, Capitaine de Vaisseau (R) Armand du Payrat. Après 33 années de navigation dans la Marine Française, j'ai mis mon sac à terre et depuis 11 ans je travaille au Service Hydrographique de la Marine à Brest. Ce service produit les cartes et ouvrages nécessaires aux marins tant militaires que civils, aussi bien en France qu'à l'étranger.

Depuis janvier 1996, j'ai hérité de la responsabilité de l'*Album des pavillons nationaux et des marques distinctives.*

La Décision

En juin 1998, le stock de l'édition 1990 de l'*Album* arrivait à épuisement.
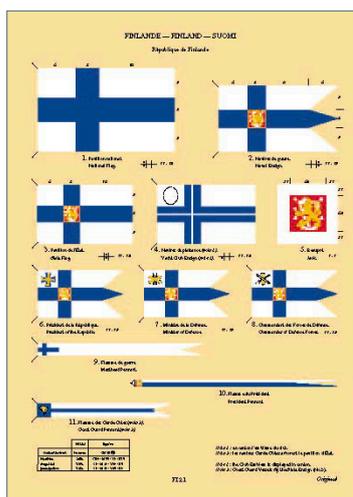
Fig.1
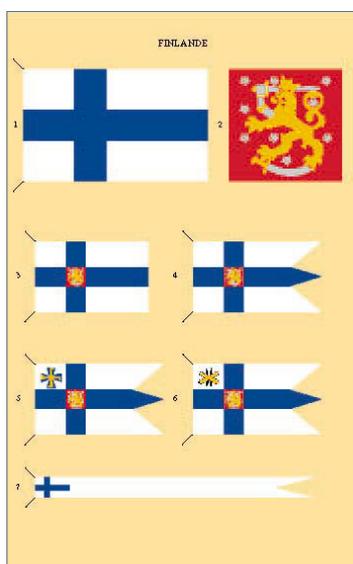
Fig. 2

Le problème se posait de son remplacement :

    suppression;

ou   retirage à jour;

ou   coédition avec organisme étranger ou éditeur privé;

ou   édition papier ou CD ROM

Six mois plus tard, le Directeur de l'EPSHOM décide une édition papier nettement améliorée,

la finalité restant comme dans celle de 1990 de montrer aux navires tous les pavillons et marques qu'ils peuvent rencontrer; mais en plus :

- le format des pages est agrandi à 21 x 29,7 (A4) et en conséquence les illustrations sont plus lisibles ;
- l'ouvrage devient bilingue franco-anglais et les légendes portées sous les illustrations;
- pour les pavillons nationaux, seront indiqués le code des couleurs et la grille d'emploi FIAV.

Pour tous les états on trouvera — pavillon national reconnu;

- marque du chef de l'état;
- cocarde aéronefs.

De plus pour tous les états maritimes — pavillon de nationalité des navires;

- beaupré, flamme de guerre;
- marque de la hiérarchie marine;
- marques des services maritimes d'état;
- provinces maritimes autonomes ou sécessionnistes.

La Préparation

Le 17 décembre 1998, le Ministère des Affaires étrangères adresse à toutes les ambassades françaises à l'étranger une circulaire les invitant à recueillir et à nous envoyer les éléments.
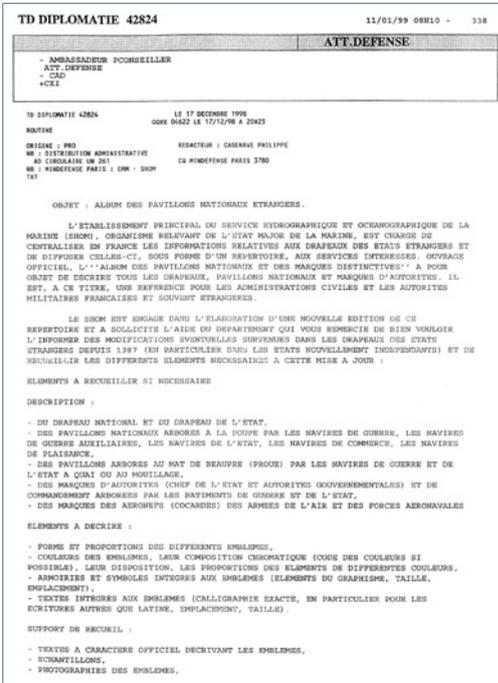
Fig. 3

Sans attendre, je commence la rédaction du manuscrit, cela me prendra 9 mois jusqu'en juillet 1999, et j'envoie les pages pour saisie à Daniel Roudaut, mon graphiste, en 20 lots de 10 pages.
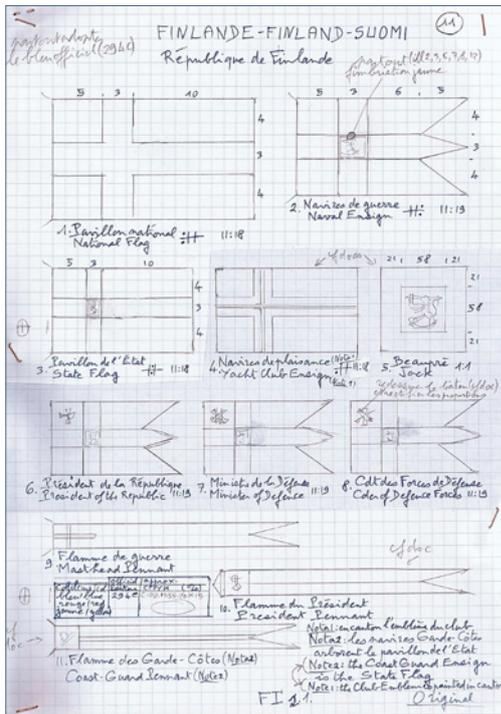

Fig. 4

Le 23 février 1999, Michel Lupant est pressenti pour rédiger l'avant-propos.

Le Contrôle

Chaque lot saisi (*épreuve 01*) est tiré en 5 exemplaires couleurs et soumis pour contrôle à
— Michel Lupant ;

— David Prothero ;
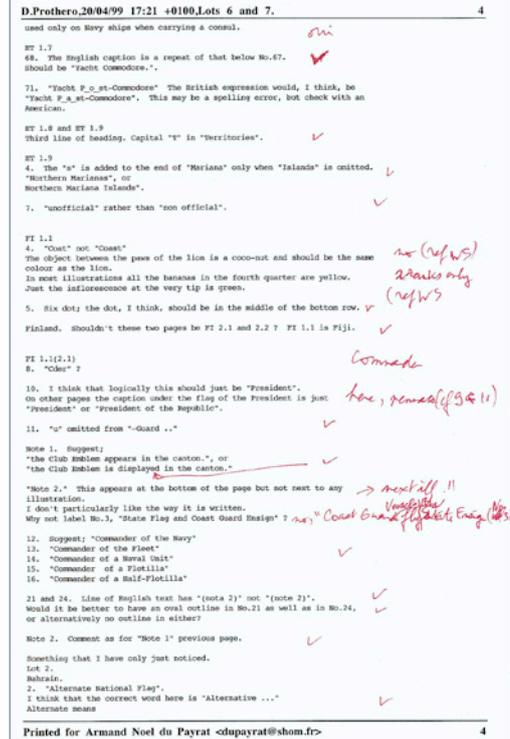
Fig. 5

— Philippe Rault ;
— + un vexillologue spécialiste du pays concerné
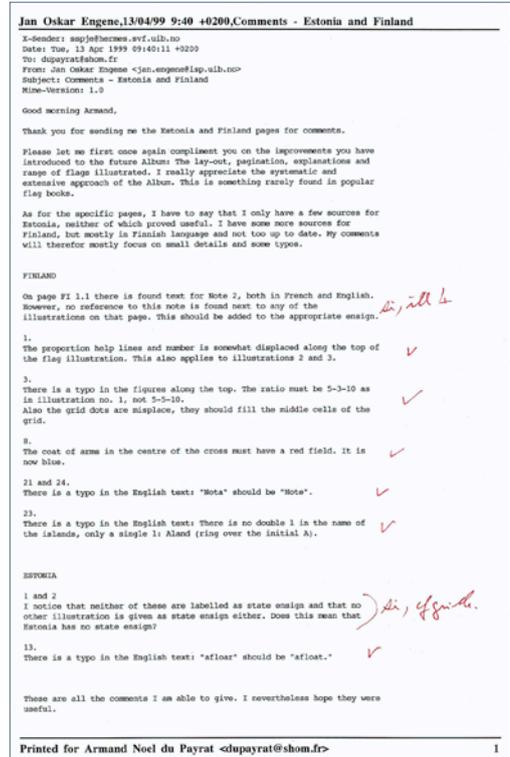
Fig. 6

Le retour des critiques m'amène à refondre, parfois très profondément, la page initiale,

Monsieur Roudaut en tire une épreuve sur papier *Matchprint.* que j'examine très attentivement, notam-

ment pour l'exactitude des couleurs.

Enfin, après les nombreux va-et-vient nécessités par les corrections, le *"Bon à tirer"* est signé lot par lot (entre décembre 1999 et mai 2000).

La Fabrication

L'impression est faite en tirage offset à l'imprimerie du SHOM, en septembre 2000, bien sûr je m'y intéresse de près.

Le 1er exemplaire relié sort le 19 octobre 2000, et après un dernier contrôle le Directeur de l'EPSHOM signe la Décision de Mise en Service.
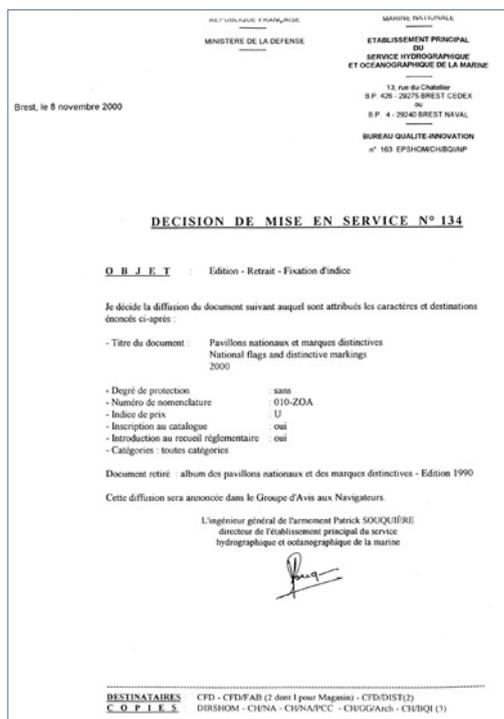
Fig. 7

La Distribution

Tous les navires et unités de la Marine Française sont servis, ainsi que les hautes Autorités de l'État.

Les "clients" de l'ancien *Album* (ceux qui avaient demandé les corrections) sont avisés.

Fig. 8

Les journaux français reçoivent un communiqué. Les ambassades en France reçoivent une information avec en particulier un extrait de l'*Album* les concernant. Je préviens le réseau de mes correspondants, avec l'aide notamment de la NAVA, de la SFV, du Flag Institute et de bien d'autres.

L'ouvrage est actuellement distribué à un rythme de 30 exemplaires par mois, et un retirage sera bientôt nécessaire.

Et maintenant...

La correction N° 1 est rédigée avec les nouveautés survenus durant le processus et les erreurs signalées.
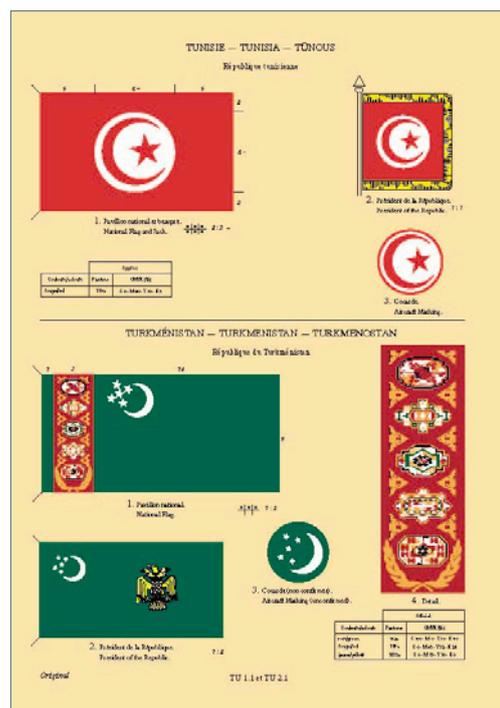
Fig. 9

L'ouvrage devrait être maintenu à jour sur la base de une correction payante par an.

Vous pourrez vous procurer le nouvel *Album* ici même grâce à l'initiative du Flag Institute, et ultérieurement auprès d'un quelconque de nos revendeurs ; je suggère comme le plus important:

Librairie maritime et d'outre-mer
17, rue Jacob
75007 Paris - France
Fax: +33 1 43 29 96 77
Web: http://www.librairie-outremer.com/

Enfin je serai toujours heureux de recevoir vos observations:

Armand du Payrat
EPSHOM - BP 426
29275 Brest cedex - France
Tel: +33 2 98 22 14 27 - Fax: +33 2 98 22 14 32
e-mail: dupayrat@shom.fr

Group Photo of the Particpants

1. Graham Bartram
1A. Andreas Herzfeld
2. Robin Ashburner
3. Phil Rendle
4. Michael Stamford
5. John Ford
6. Hansi Witherow
7. Željko Heimer
8. Bruce Nicolls
9. Hugh Witherow
10. Elena Monzon
11. José Brugués
12. Dov Gutterman
13. Ray Allen
14. Yolanda Fink
15. Roger Baert
16. Jarig Bakker
17. Irene Allen
18. Vladislav Sokolov
19. Ethel Clingman
20. Ilkka Ahlava
21. Hugh Boudin

22. Mason Kaye
23. Roger Sacher
24. Claire Le Roy
25. Alain Raullet
25A. Charles "Kin" Spain
26. Alfred Znamierowski
27. Gustav Söderlund
28. Karin Söderlund
29. Rolf Hinterberger
30. Aino Stolt Törnqvist
31. Peter Exner
32. Barbara Tomlinson
33. Jack Lowe
34. Sten Dahlström
35. Ingrid Dahlström
36. Michael Faul
37. Lars Stolt
38. Mike Clingman
39. Ethel Faul
40. Joäo Lourenço
41. Ian Sumner
42. John Hall

43. Debra Kaye
44. Rob Kaye
45. Scot Guenter
46. Emil Dreyer
47. Kim Suominen
48. Ulla Petrel
49. Ted Kaye
50. Elizabeth Bartlett
51. Kevin Harington
52. Jean Le Roy
53. Ralph Bartlett
54. Geoff Parsons
55. Michel Lupant
56. John Moody
57. Gerd Vehres
58. John Purcell
59. David Lister
60. Michael Frijs
61. Carita Culmer
62. Harry Oswald
63. Peter Orenski
64. Clay Moss

65. Philippe Rault
66. Roberto Breschi
67. Jaroslav Martykan
68. Aleš Brožek
69. Marcus Schmöger
70. David Martucci
71. Ron Strachan
72. Rob Raeside
73. Janet Martucci
74. Ralph Kelly
75. Wendy Raeside
76. Peter Wraag
77. Maria van Leeuwen van Rijt
78. Dieter Linder
79. David Prothero
80. John York
81. Daan van Leeuwen
82. Rudi Longueville
83. Tim Fallows
84. Bruce Berry
85. Armand du Payrat

Index prepared by Harry Oswald

Notes

Notes
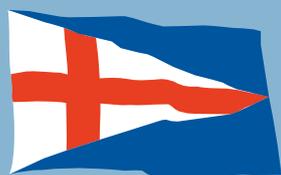
FLAG INSTITUTE

FLAG INSTITUTE

38 Hill Street, Mayfair, London W1J 5NS, United Kingdom