

AUSTRALIAN STATE FLAGS (1865-1904): A BRITISH ADMIRALTY LEGACY



Ralph D Kelly

I have now the honour to inform you that the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty have laid down the following rules as to the flag to be borne by any vessels maintained by any colony.

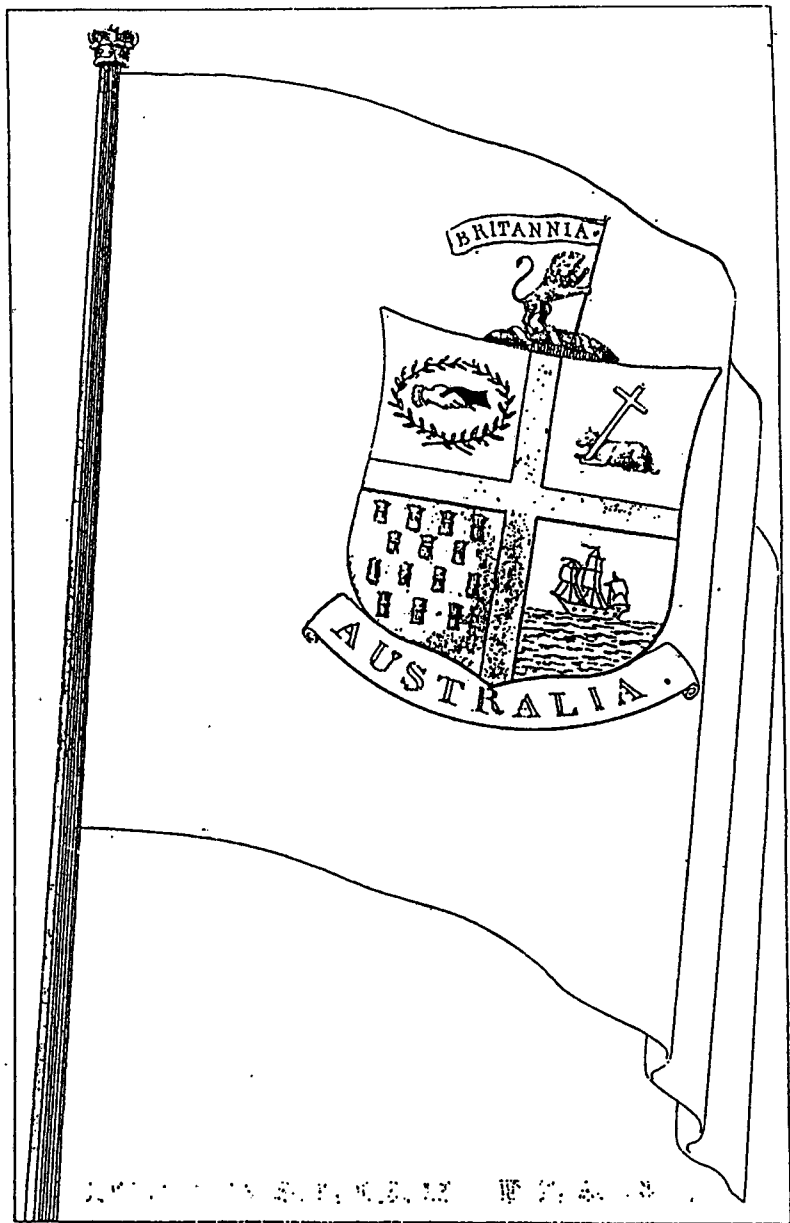
You will take care that these instructions be in future strictly complied with. I have at the same time to request you to furnish me with a correct drawing of the seal or badge which is to form the distinguishing mark adopted by the colony.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant

Edward Campbell

So began, on 22 December 1886 (1) a sequence of correspondence over a thirteen year period between the British Secretary of State for the colonies and the governors of the colonies in Australia, that led to the adoption of badges appearing in the fly of the British blue ensign - a pattern which continues today as the form of the flags of the States of the Commonwealth of Australia.

This paper seeks to describe the evolution of the distinguishing badges for each of the Australian colonies, from the adoption of the various designs and, in several cases, substantial changes in their design. Archival material has been extensively reviewed, some of which, most likely, for the first time by a vexillologist. Some of the "missing links" in our vexillological history will be revealed and a logical framework of analysis will be offered, which should also be of assistance in understanding the colonial era flags of other countries in the British Commonwealth.



New South Wales - 1830 Proposal
By "The Friend of Australia"

As the historical record unfurls, it will be seen that, except for rare instances, none of the Australian colonies initiated any of the steps leading to the adoption of their flags. Despite each of the colonies having responsible government, all decisions were subject to the approval of the British Colonial Office, which did not act without the advice and consent of the British Admiralty. The approval processes were slow and subject to a fundamental contradiction; the Admiralty wanted distinctiveness of design, yet it insisted on uniformity of practice. This denied a strong local Australian identity and resulted in several flag designs notable for their lack of practicality and aesthetics.

At this point I would like to recognise the work done by John Edwards, whose article, *The Flags of Tasmania* (2) both inspired me and pointed the way for my investigations of the other state flags. This paper has, however, relied most on the records maintained by The Mitchell Library, State Library of N.S.W, particularly their microfilm copies of the files of the Public Records Office, London (3), Archives Office of N.S.W. and the Queensland State Archives, each of whose assistance is here acknowledged and thanked.

In 1830, a retired officer of the East India Company, using the pseudonym, "The Friend of Australia" (4) suggested, amongst other imaginary accounts and advice, a flag for ships built in the Colony of New South Wales (Figure 1). On a Yellow field (5) is a coat of arms with a gold cross overall. The quarters are white with black and white hands of friendship, white with a golden lamb holding a cross, green with 14 sheafs of wheat and blue with a ship. A gold lion holding a banner with the name *Britannia* stands on a torse coloured green and gold. The flag was suggested to overcome the problem of colonial built vessels not having an Admiralty recognised flag being liable to seizure. This problem was encountered by New Zealand in 1830, which led to adoption of a flag by the Maori Chiefs in 1834. (6)

The proposed flags illustrated in John Nicholson's 1833 chart (7) may also have had similar motivation. Despite a thorough search of the historical records, no official approval of these designs has been found, either by myself or John Vaughan, who has done much to popularise these flags in recent years. (8) Usage of at least the New South Wales Ensign at various times during the Nineteenth Century is undoubted, appearing in several paintings of the period and of course it was revived as the banner of the Federation movement in the 1890's, especially north of the Murray.

The origin of the existing state flags, however, dates to a decision in 1864 abolishing the use of squadronal colours in the Royal Navy. One aspect of this decision was the granting of right to wear the British blue ensign to merchant ships employed in the public service or whose commanding officer belonged to the Royal Naval Reserve (9). Use of the red ensign

was confirmed as the proper colours of all other British registered merchant vessels, except for some yachts which had warrants to fly ensigns of other colours.

In 1865 the British Parliament enacted *The Colonial Naval Defence Act* empowering each of the colonies to acquire vessels of war and to maintain a volunteer force of seaman, which would be available for general service in the Royal Navy in periods of emergency. (10) The Admiralty established rules that provided for vessels maintained by a colonial government to "wear the blue ensign with the seal or badge of the colony in the fly thereof" and for vessels of war to wear the same flag with the addition of a blue commissioning pennant. (11) None of the Australian colonies is known to have responded to the request to send a drawing of their seal or badge.

The first official colonial flag in the region was adopted by New Zealand, which by a proclamation dated 10 January, 1867, adopted the letters "N.Z." as the badge on the blue ensign. (12) The letters appeared in red, fimbriated white, in the lower fly as shown in Figure 2. A similar flag for government vessels was apparently adopted by N.S.W., though no record of its usage or approval has yet been found. Figure 3 illustrates the white letters "NSW" on a blue background. (13)

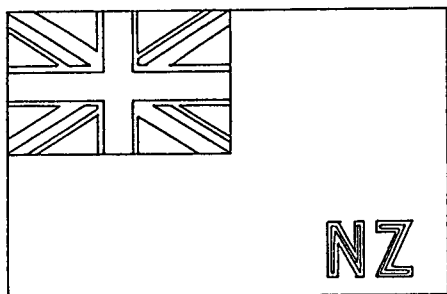


Figure 2.

New Zealand - Government Vessels
10 January 1867

R/W/B+

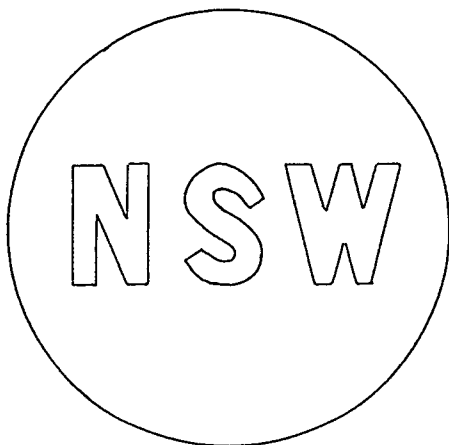


Figure 3.

New South Wales - Government Vessels
Circa 1867 - Status Unknown

W/B+

New Zealand in October 1869 adopted as its badge "the Southern Cross as represented by four five-pointed red stars, with white borders to correspond to the colouring of the Jack." (14) Other than later changes in the relative size and positioning of the stars, the blue ensign bearing this Badge (Figure 4) remains today as the national flag of New Zealand, though initially its use was limited to government vessels.

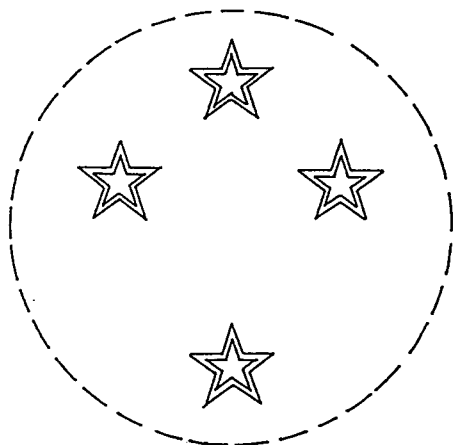


Figure 4.

R/W/B+

New Zealand - Government Vessels
23 October 1869

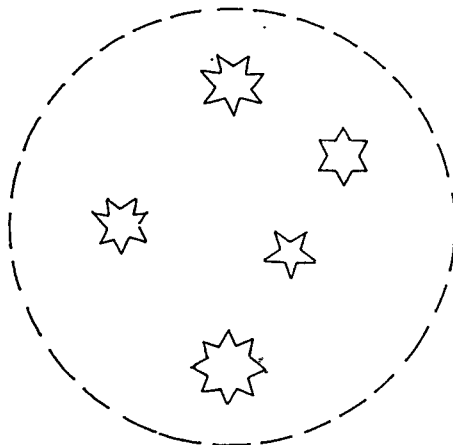


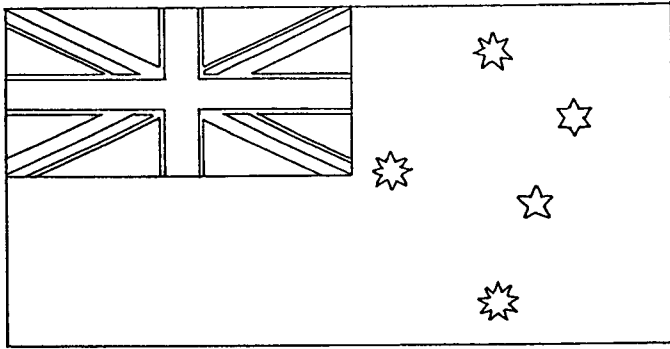
Figure 5.

W/B+

Victoria - Government Vessels
1 February 1870

Victoria was the first Australian colony to acquire a warship and up to Federation it maintained the largest of the colonial navies. Its first vessel was the war-steamer *Victoria*. From launching in 1855 until it was laid up in 1869 the "Victoria" is believed to have flown the undefaced red ensign. (15) *H.M.C.S. Nelson* in 1867 was commissioned as the first vessel to have official status under the Colonial Naval Defence Act. Two years later, on 9th February, 1870 a blue ensign with a white Southern Cross in the fly, (Figure 5) was raised on the *Nelson*. (16)

In transmitting the design for approval, consent to the use of a red ensign bearing the Southern Cross was also sought. (17) Note that the badge was, in effect, the white stars only - appearing directly on the field of the respective ensign, usually larger than the badge area with a 5,6,7,8 & 9 point star arrangement. (Figure 6) The Colonial Office referred the badge for the blue ensign to the Admiralty, but referred the red ensign badge to the Board of Trade, who separately approved its usage. (18)



W/R

Figure 6.

Victoria - Mercantile Marine
1 February 1870

During 1868, the British Admiralty negotiated with the British War Department and Foreign Office to stop the practice of military authorities and diplomats using the (undefaced) Union Jack in boats under their control. (19) The Admiralty drafted a formal Order-in-Council to authorise the use of Union Jacks bearing various distinguishing marks for the different services. The Colonial Office agreed to an Admiralty proposal that the governors of each colony be permitted to use a similar pattern - "the Union Jack, with the arms or badge of the colony emblazoned in the centre thereof." (20) The Order-in-Council was approved by Queen Victoria on 7 August, 1869 and was circulated to all colonial governors on 14 September, 1869, with a drawing of the form of the flag (Figures 7 & 8) and a request for a "Drawing of the badge with which it may be proposed to distinguish the flag of the colony under your government." (21) Note that the proportions of the Union Jack were the same as that used by the Army for Regimental and Queen's Colours, the normal pattern of which included a distinctive emblem, often surrounded by a garland. (22)

Western Australia was the first colony to respond, submitting a badge consisting of a black swan with a yellow background. (Figure 9). Governor Weld succinctly explained the choice, "This colony at its commencement, was usually known as the Swan River Settlement, and the black swan is represented upon its seal, and has been always considered as its special badge, or cognizance."(23). It should be noted that this badge pre-dates the first Victorian badge by one month. It remained unchanged until 1953, when the direction of the swan was reversed. (24)

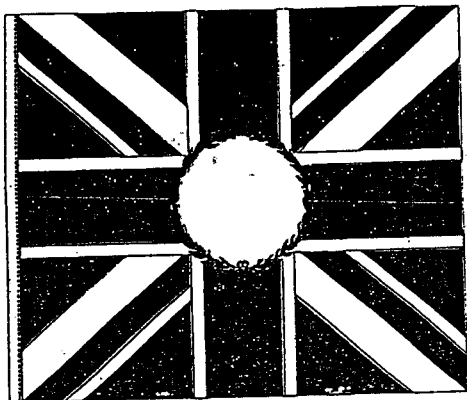
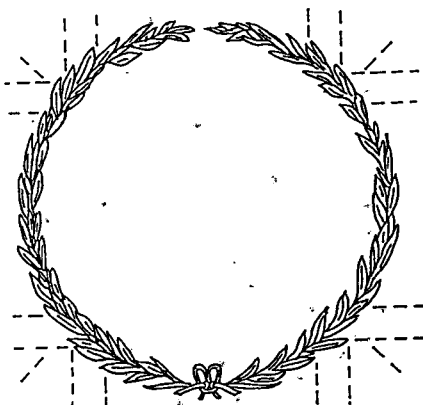


Figure 7.

Colonial Governor's Flag
7 August 1869



Centre - W
Garland - V
Ribbon - B

Figure 8.

Colonial Governor's Flag
[Detail]

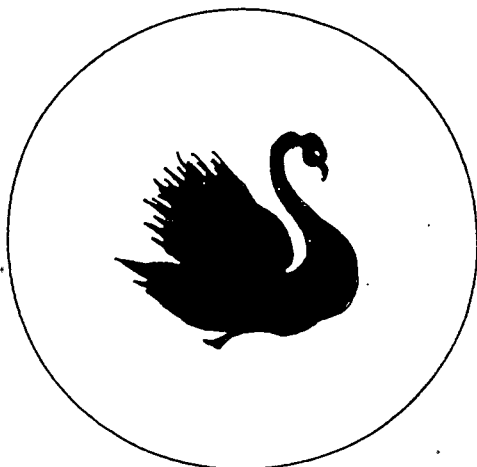


Figure 9.

Western Australia - Governor
3 January 1870

N/Y



Figure 10.

Queensland - Governor
22 March 1870

Lettering - Au & N/W
Centre - Pink & Brown Hair/B+
Diadem - Au

Queensland advised the Colonial Office on 22 March 1870 that it had adopted a badge (25), which is illustrated as Figure 10. The portrait head of the young Queen Victoria in profile facing right appeared in natural skin colours, and in her brown hair appeared, in gold, a representation of the Diamond Diadem. The blue centre field was surrounded with a white circle bearing the colony's name in gold lettering, shadowed in black. (26) The badge attested that Queensland was named in honour of Queen Victoria.

New South Wales adopted a badge for the Governor on 20 April 1870. State government publications from the early 1950's to date have incorrectly described this badge as being a "Red Cross of St. George on a silver field." (27) This badge never existed - the correct badge was "five stars (golden) representing the Southern Cross upon a blue ground, the whole to be surmounted by a Crown." (28), as shown in Figure 11. The origin of this design is not explained, but it should be noted that the Arms of the Anglican See of Sydney are blue with a four star Southern Cross. (29) The N.S.W. Governor also indicated that he would discontinue use of a "Governor's Flag" which was described as a "St. George's Cross with Crown in the centre on a white ground." (30) No illustration nor other information on this flag has been found, though Figure 12 is my interpretation of the description.

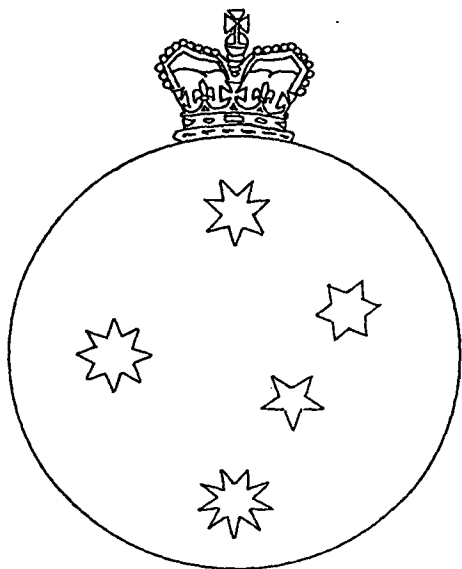


Figure 11.

New South Wales - Governor
20 April 1870

Y/B+

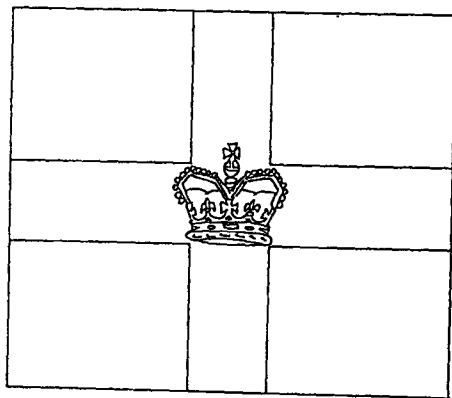
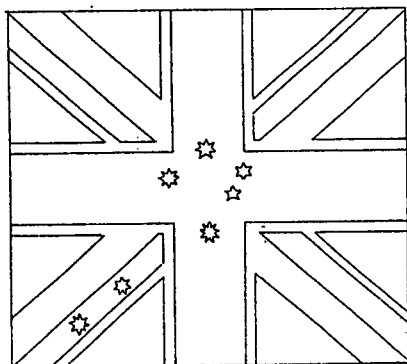


Figure 12.

New South Wales - Governor
Pre - 1870 (Reconstruction)

Au/R/W

South Australia submitted designs for flags for government and merchant vessels, as well as for the governor. The actual drawings sent have not been found, but the written description of the governor's flag suggests a design as shown by Figure 13. (31) The blue and red Ensign versions were most likely as shown by Figure 14: The badge was adopted in full knowledge of the Victorian badge, from which it was distinguished by the addition of the two pointer stars for the South Australian badge. The similarity with both the Victorian and N.S.W. badges caused concern at the Colonial Office and the Admiralty was asked for a suggestion as to how they could be made more distinctive. (32)



W/R

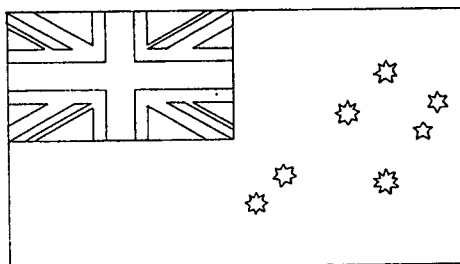
Figure 13.

South Australia - Governor
2 March 1870 - Proposal

Figure 14.

South Australia - Government Vessels
2 March 1870 - Proposal

W/B+



The Admiralty responded in July 1870 with the suggestion that the stars of the Southern Cross appear in white "upon a black escutcheon." (33) It is unclear whether the full version of the Southern Cross and Pointers (Figure 15) or the Cross only (Figure 16) was used. (34) My view is that Figure 16 was used on the governor's flag and was the Admiralty approved version, whilst Figure 15 was used on the blue ensign and I suspect that on the red ensign the Stars and Pointers continued to be used without a black badge, as shown in Figure 14.

Tasmania did not adopt a badge at this time.

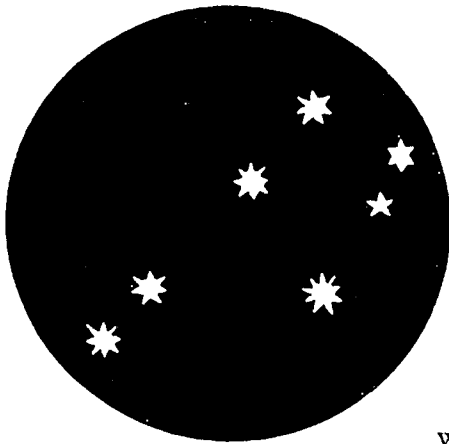


Figure 15.

South Australia - Government Vessels
22 July 1870 - Unofficial

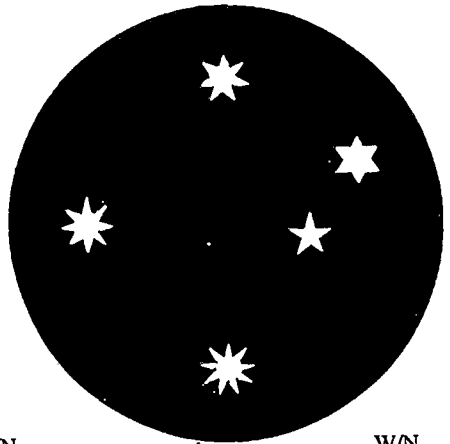


Figure 16.

South Australia - Governor
22 July 1870 - Official

In May 1874 the Colonies were circulated with revised drawings of the form of flag to be used by governors. The Admiralty proportions of 6 feet by 3 feet were recommended and the drawing of the garland was simplified, as shown by Figure 17. (35) A separate despatch was sent to those colonies which had not advised on the adoption of a badge, with a further reminder in January 1875. (36)

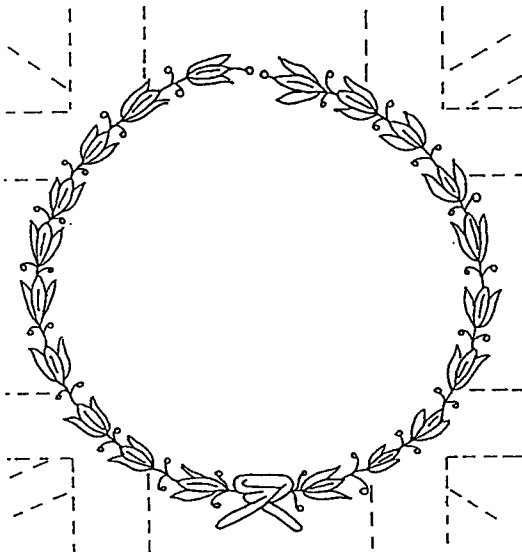


Figure 17.
Colonial Governor's Flag
21 May 1874 [Detail]

Centre - W
Garland - V
Ribbon - B

Tasmania did not respond until October 1875 when a badge with a gold lion was adopted for the governor's flag. (37) Curiously, the drawing sent to the Colonial Office (Figure 18) differs from that shown in the proclamation issued two weeks later. (38) The lion is more full bodied and facing right, with no details and the torse is in gold only. Also enclosed were the proposed flags for government and mercantile vessels, which were described in John Edwards' article on Tasmanian flags. (39)



Figure 18.

Tasmania - Governor
14 October 1875 - Proposal

Au/W



Figure 19.

Tasmania
29 November 1875

R/W

The Colonial Office recognised that Governor Weld's despatch had been sent prior to receipt of the Circular of 23 August 1875, however the colonial flags would be rejected as the badges differed and only a plain red ensign was to be used for merchant vessels. The lion was not the Seal of the colony, but was acceptable. (40) As Edwards has described, the Tasmanian government revoked the earlier flags and resubmitted new flags fully in accord with the Colonial patterns, changing the colour of the lion to red, most likely to give better visibility when used on the Blue Ensign. (41) Figure 19 shows the badge, which was subsequently approved and remains in use currently, without change. (42)

In the August 1875 circular, the Admiralty had requested that each of the colonies verify the accuracy of drawings of the various badges which it proposed to publish in the Admiralty Flag Book. A set of colour charts with the badges of all the colonies was circulated by the Colonial

Office with the comment that where the badge differed from the device on the seal of the colony "it was hoped that the first convenient opportunity will be taken of adopting the device on the seal" as this would "tend to promote uniformity of practice throughout the Empire." (43) The standard pattern of colonial seal at the time consisted of the British Royal Arms above a panel containing some localised drawing or an elaborate scene reflecting the virtues of Empire. Figure 20 shows the seal of Western Australia, which was the only Australian colony whose badge was the same as its seal.



Figure 20.

Western Australia - Seal

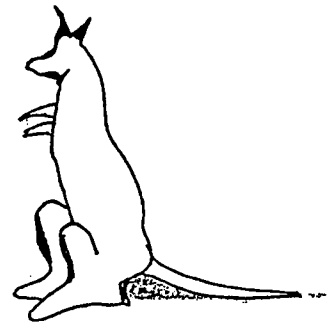


Figure 22.

South Australia

[Detail]

South Australia responded to the suggestion that it change its badge from the Southern Cross and pointers to the device on the public seal as the former badge was "inconveniently similar to that of New Zealand and Victoria." (44) Figure 21 illustrates the badge adopted, with its allegorical scene of Britannia being greeted by an Aboriginal seated on a rock by the seashore. Note that on the rocks behind the Aboriginal is a small rock carving of a kangaroo. (Figure 22)

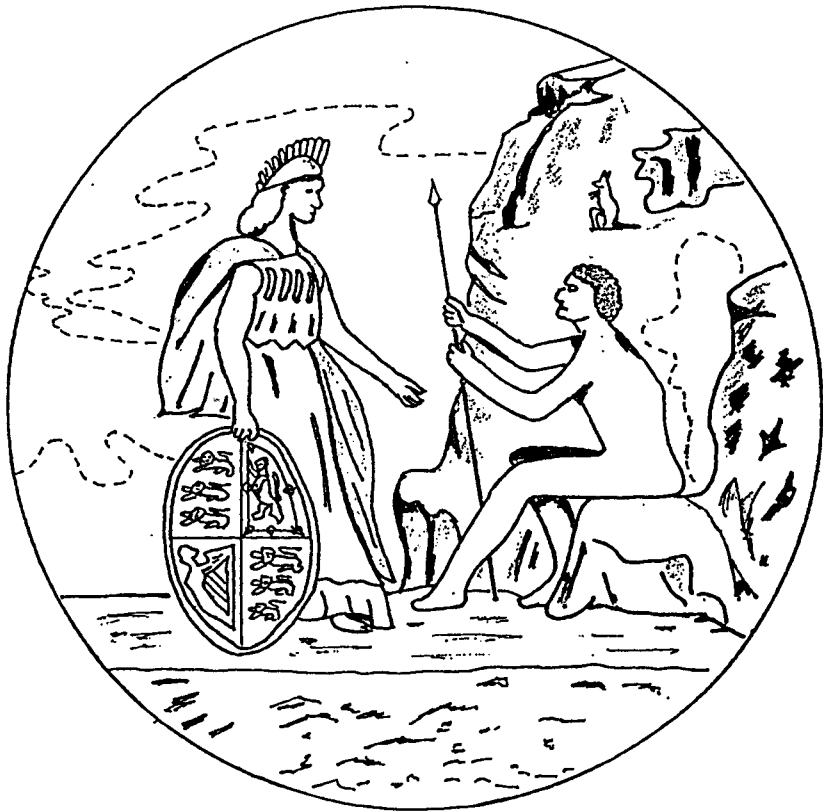


Figure 21.

South Australia

24 March 1876

Sky:	B-- & W	Britannia: -	
Ground:	Brown Shading	Armour:	Grey
Sea:	B & V-	Cloak:	Grey
Rocks:	O & Brown, shading	Dress:	B -
	Dark Brown & V--	Lower dress:	R
Kangaroo:	N (outline only)	Skin & Feet:	Pink
Aboriginal: -		Hair:	N
Skin:	Brown ++	Helmet:	Bronze
Hair:	N	Shield:	Gold with Arms Proper

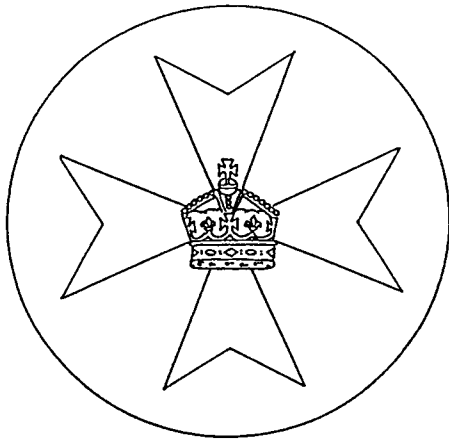


Figure 23.

Queensland
23 March 1876

B-/W

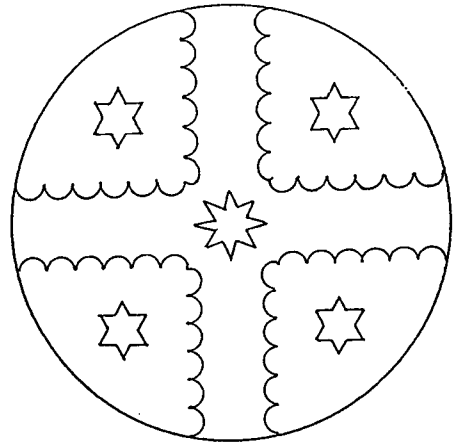


Figure 24.
Centre Star - Y
Other Stars - B
B/Y

Queensland
Alternate Design

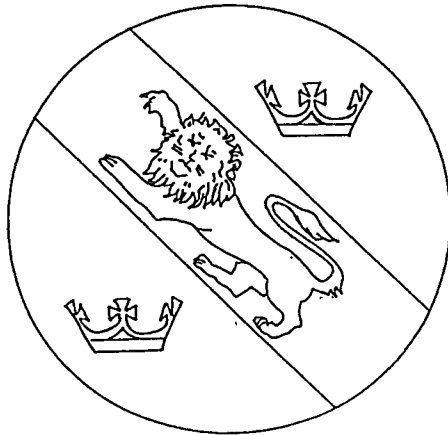


Figure 25.

Queensland
Alternate Design

Y/R/B

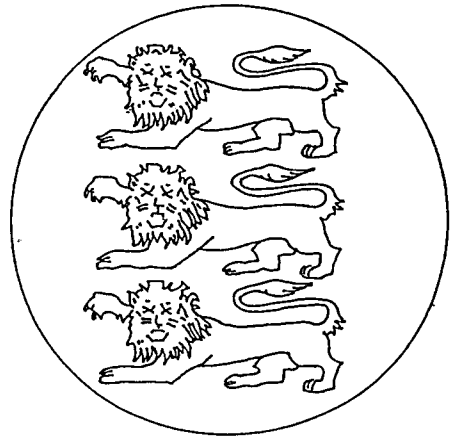


Figure 26.

Queensland
Alternate design

R/Y

Queensland's seal apparently did not have any distinctive device, but the difficulties of representing the Queen's profile in bunting had led to the need for a new device. The acting Colonial Secretary, the Treasurer, William Hemmant produced four designs for Governor William Cairns. The preferred design was a Maltese cross in dark blue on a white field, charged with an Imperial Crown. (45) (Figure 23).

The other designs were:

Figure 24 - yellow with an engrailed blue cross with an 8 pointed star in yellow in the centre and a blue star in each of the corners;

Figure 25 - a gold lion passant guardant on a red bend and gold crowns in each of the blue fields; and

Figure 26 - a gold badge with three red lions passant guardant.

No explanation of the designs was provided, but it is apparent that the Colony was seeking to use royal symbols less difficult than the Queen's profile. The cross and stars pattern would have been an allusion to the Southern Cross, particularly as the centre star was referred to as "pointer star." The Maltese cross was, in my view, derived from the cross which appears on English crowns, though it may also have been an allusion to the Southern Cross used on the other colonial badges. (46)

New South Wales also decided to change its badge, in this instance in response to Admiralty criticisms that the crown should form part of the badge within the laurel wreath, and that the badge used by the Governor and on the blue ensign should be the same. (47) The seal was regarded as too elaborate and impractical to use. Francis Hixson, the President of the Marine Board was consulted by the Governor and recommended a badge with a St. Georges Cross bearing four 8 pointed gold stars and a lion passant guardant. (Figure 27)

The drawings submitted to London were prepared by James Barnet, the Colonial Architect and did not include the shadowing on the St. George's Cross, which has appeared in official drawings in later years. (48) This shadowing did appear in the line drawing in the proclamation in the *Government Gazette* of 18 February 1876, but not on the first draft of the notice. The inclusion of this shadowing in current official specifications of the flags appears to be the result of the limitations imposed by the printing processes for the *Government Gazette*, rather than a conscious element of the design. Again no indication of the meaning of the design was given, though the design was probably a simplified version of what was then the semi-official arms of N.S.W., which featured a cross bearing five stars. (49)

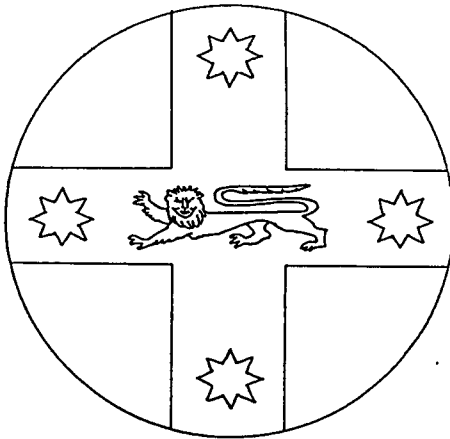


Figure 27.

New South Wales
3 February 1876

Y/R/W

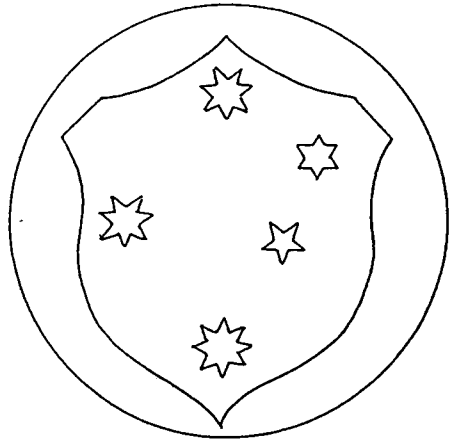


Figure 28.

Victoria
[Admiralty Drawing]

W/B+/W

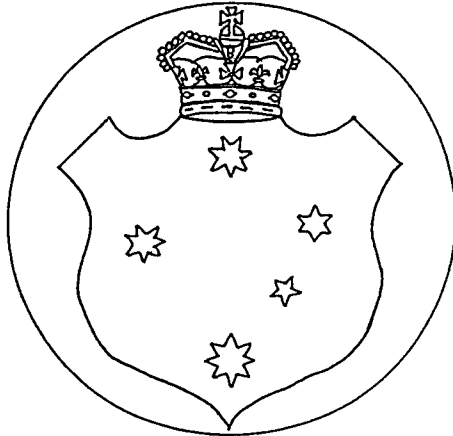


Figure 29.

Victoria - Governor
21 March 1877

W/B+/W

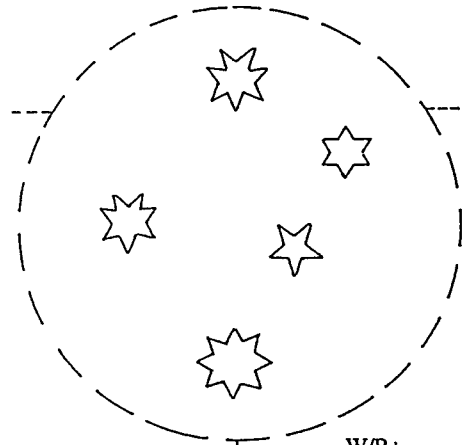


Figure 30.

Victoria - Government Vessels
30 November 1877

W/B+

For **Victoria**, the Admiralty chart showed a Southern Cross badge on a blue shield upon a white badge. (Figure 28) This perplexed the Victorian government, which instructed the governor to inform the Colonial Office that the Victorian badge did not include any shield and consisted of five white stars representing the Southern Cross.(50)

The Admiralty responded that five white stars could not be seen on the white shield in the centre of the governor's flag. (51) Captain Charles Payne, Chief Harbour Master of Victoria accepting the logic of a blue shield to bear the Southern Cross, suggested the addition of an Imperial Crown above the shield to better distinguish the badge from that of New Zealand. (Figure 29) (52)

The Admiralty in approving the revised badge made the observation that the blue shield would be difficult to see on the blue field of the ensign where the shield shape would tend to disappear. (53) Rather than take the suggestion to change the badge further, Victoria responded by amending the proclamation to confirm the absence of the shield on the version appearing on the blue ensign. (54) Figure 29 appears to have continued in use on the governor's flag whilst on the red ensign the old badge without crown continued in use, relying on the earlier incorrectly given approval. (55)

A further change however occurred in 1901 when the Imperial Crown was changed to a Tudor Crown, as shown in Figure 30. (56) Sometime over the following years, the rendition of the flag further changed with the stars pointing vertically and spreading outside the confines of the badge area, with the current pattern dating from 1953 when the St. Edward's Crown was adopted.

Also in 1901, the **Queensland** badge changed to use a Tudor Crown, and later to the St. Edwards Crown. In addition the colour of the Maltese cross also changed sometime over the years from its original dark blue to the present light blue. (57)

Part of the difficulties Victoria faced in 1876 were caused by **New Zealand** having similar procedural problems. When New Zealand adopted its badge in 1869, it also decided that it would use four white stars on the Union Jack - placed directly on the red ground of the St. George's Cross. (58) This was incorrect, as any badge needed to be placed within a laurel wreath. Separate correspondence, which has not been sighted, apparently led to the Admiralty showing a badge of 4 white stars on a blue field for the governor's flag. as shown in Figure 31, and commenting that New Zealand should not have two badges. (59) However, in New Zealand a badge for the use of the governor had been proclaimed in 1874. (60) Figure 32 shows that this was white with four red stars with the letters "N.Z." in red in the

centre. The Admiralty expressed a preference for the "badge without the letters N.Z." but suggested that the Colonial Office write to New Zealand stating that it would need to choose between the badges it had in use. (61) However, in the confusion over the Victorian badge the matter was apparently overlooked for some time.

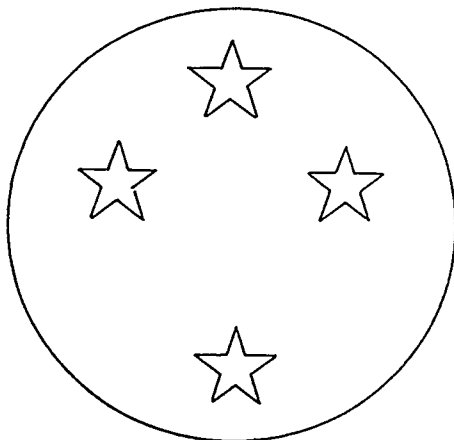


Figure 31.

New Zealand - Governor
[Admiralty Drawing]

W/B+



Figure 32.

New Zealand - Governor
29 October 1874

R/W+

The Admiralty then designated the New Zealand badge as being four red stars on a white field (Figure 33), both for the governor's flag and the badge for the blue ensign, ignoring the existence of the version of 1869, Figure 4. (62) The Admiralty had apparently thought the phrase "badge without the letters N.Z." to mean Figure 32 without the letters, rather than the original version without letters, Figure 4. New Zealand accepted this new badge for the governor and retained the red & white stars on blue for government vessels - continuing the practice of using two badges which the Admiralty had sought to stop.

In January 1904, a new badge was proclaimed by South Australia, Figure 34, replacing the 1875 seal badge. Whilst the primary impetus for change was probably the impracticality of the old seal, it has come to light that the piping shrike was proposed as the new badge as early as March 1901. (63) The timing of the new badge was related to a proposal for the preparation of new public seals to reflect the change in status from colonies to states and a proposed Australian Commonwealth seal which would combine the badges of the six states.

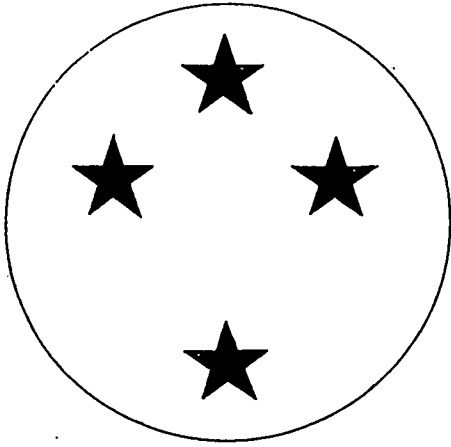


Figure 33.

New Zealand - Governor
18 January 1877

R/W



Figure 34.

South Australia
13 January 1904

W & N/Y+
Branch: V & R

In reviewing the development of the Australian state flags it can now be seen that they can be categorised into several phases:

1. **Local Flags** - Flags designed in the colonies for local use, only some of which had official status. The main flags in this category are the New Zealand flag of 1834, the New South Wales flags of 1831, the Queensland separation flag of 1859 and the Tasmanian colonial ensigns of 1875.
2. **Colonial Naval Flags** - Badges designed in response to the Colonial Naval Defence Act and Circular of 22 December 1865; i.e. New Zealand's 1867 and 1869 badges, Victoria's 1870 and a possible N.S.W. badge. (Figures 2, 4, 5 & 3)
3. **Governors' Flags** - Badges designed in response to the Order in Council of 7 August 1869 and Circular of 14 September 1869; i.e. Western Australia's current badge, the 1870 badges for Queensland, N.S.W. and South Australia and the 1875 Tasmanian badge. (Figures 9, 10, 11, 15 and 19)
4. **Admiralty Flag Book Badges** - Badges designed in response to the proposed publication of the Admiralty Flag Book and the Circular of 23 August 1875; i.e. South Australia's 1876 badge, and the current badges of Queensland, N.S.W. and Victoria. (Figures 21, 23, 27 and 30)

5. **State Flags** - Badges designed since Federation, i.e. South Australia's current badge (Figure 34) and the alterations in the shape of the crowns of Victoria and Queensland in 1901 and 1953, and the alteration in W.A.'s swan in 1954.

The designs show that the Southern Cross has an even richer meaning in Australia's vexillological history than previously established, with 4 of the 6 Australasian colonies that had badges in the period 1870 - 1875 featuring the Southern Cross.

The English emblems of the lion and crown today feature on 3 of the State badges, which is partly explained by their adoption initially as distinguishing marks for the Governor's flag, more than as local symbols for maritime ensigns. Only the Western Australian and South Australian badges are truly distinctive state symbols.

The reasons for the designs adopted remain few, but this paper has provided some new light on the processes by which the badges were adopted and this hopefully will enable other sources to be located. We now have a better understanding of the design influences and some of the meaning behind the current state flags. These influences are varied, but above all else it is apparent that the British Admiralty influence is pervasive - its rules dictated the form of the colonial flags and other details of the badges, so that today the Australian state flags represent a continuing legacy of the British Admiralty.

NOTES:

Citations used for Source Documents:

- Mitchell** - Mitchell Library of State Library of N.S.W.
NSW- State Archives of N.S.W.
PRO - Public Records Office, London (Microfilm in Mitchell)
Qld.- Queensland State Archives

Abbreviations used:

- Circular**- Circular Despatch from Secretary of State for Colonies
CO- Colonial Office, London
Gov.- Governor of Relevant State

FOOTNOTES:

1. Circular, 22 December, 1865 (NSW - "Governors -1866", 4/1355)
2. *Crux Australis*, Vol. II No.5., p. 4-55.
3. Australian Joint Copying Project, Part 2 - Colonial Office, referred to herein by PRO microfilm number. Equivalent Colonial Office reference numbers are also available.
4. *The Friend of Australia, or, a plan for exploring the interior and for carrying on a survey of the whole continent of Australia*, attributed to T.J. Maslen, 1830, Hurst Chance & Co., London.
5. The yellow field was described as being the Imperial Colour of China, "emblematical of the similar geographical situation of Australia & that it will arrive at the rank of a powerful Empire."
6. The account of the seizure of the barque *Sir George Murray* and the adoption of a New Zealand flag is described in *The New Zealand Ensign* by W.A. Glue, 1965, Department of Internal Affairs, N.Z.
7. Plate III - "Code of Signals for the Colony of NSW", *NSW Calendar & General Post Office Directory*, 1835.
8. Refer to *Flags of Australia* wallchart by J.C. Vaughan, 1984, Standard Publishing House, Rozelle, NSW. Also insert to *The Flag Bulletin*, Issue No. 127.
9. Order in Council of 9 July 1864, reproduced as Appendix E in *Flags at Sea*, Timothy Wilson, 1986, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, U.K.
10. Act 28 Vic. Cap. 14, enclosed with Circular of 19 May, 1865 (NSW - "Governors - 1865", 4/1353)
11. Circular of 22 December, 1865 (NSW - "Governors -1866", 4/1355) It should be noted that the earlier circular of 19 May, 1865 included a copy of a letter from the Admiralty dated 10 May, 1865 which stated that Colonial vessels of war should wear the White Ensign with either the Arms or such other distinguishing mark of as may be chosen by the Colony. (NSW - "Governors -1965", 4/1353)
12. Refer to W.A. Glue, pages 12-13. It should be noted that a suggestion of four stars to represent the Southern Cross was then rejected as the Southern Cross was not the exclusive property of New Zealand. It is apparent that whilst this badge was adopted under the 1865 rules it was introduced in response to a need for a flag for government vessels not warships.
13. The badge is shown on the enclosure to Circular of 23 August, 1875 (Qld - "Governors - Vol XVI", A/46210)
14. Proclamation dated 23 October, 1869, included with Despatch from New Zealand Governor of 15 December 1875 (PRO No. 2402)
15. Refer to p 15-26, *Australian Colonial Navies*, Colin James, 1986, Australian War Memorial, Canberra. The *Victoria* was not regarded as a legal warship by the Admiralty, and the local legislation regulating its service was disallowed by the British Government.
16. The flag raising was described in *The Argus* newspaper of 10th February, 1870 which is quoted in the *Insignia* folder issued by the Victorian Government (n.d.)

17. Despatch No. 30 by Viscount Canterbury dated 28 February, 1870. (PRO No. 2026)
18. A notation appears on the Despatch of 28 February, 1870 stating "I do not know what Dept. would settle the question as to whether Victorian Merchant Vessels might carry the Colonial badge on the Red Ensign, but perhaps the Board of Trade might be asked if they are aware of any objection to their doing so." (PRO No. 2026) Approval was provided by CO Despatch No. 64 dated 22 July 1870 (PRO 2026)
19. Admiralty letter to Colonial Office of 11 January, 1869 (PRO 2377)
20. Extract from Order-in-Council of 7 August, 1869 (NSW - "Governors 1869", 4/1357) In the accompanying minute paper to the Admiralty letter (19) is the comment, by Sir F. Rogers that "consideration of some 40 badges is rather a daunting task" and another comment, apparently by Earl Granville that "In some cases they (Admiralty) are very particular as to the adoption of Flags."
21. Circular of 14 September, 1869 (NSW - "Governors 1869", 4/1357)
22. Several examples are illustrated in *Military Flags of the World 1618-1900*, by T. Wise and G. Rosignoli, 1977, Blandford, Dorset, especially Plates 63 & 64. A less square form is now used by the Army, with proportions of 4:5 being standardised in 1898. (Refer to *British Flag Proportions*, L. Loynes, *The Flag Bulletin*, Vol. XII, No.2, p.85.)
23. Despatch No.3 to Colonial Office of 3 January 1870 (PRO 1663)
24. There is no apparent reason why the swan was illustrated facing right. In the the Seal of the Colony and the Postage Stamps of the time, the Swan faced left. It should be noted that this original right facing badge explains why the Australian Commonwealth Arms show the swan facing right when the current badge and State Arms use a left facing Swan. No documentation of the 1953 change has yet been sighted, and the official State Government "Insignia" folder does not even mention that the Swan originally faced right.
25. Despatch No. 19 to Colonial Office dated 22 March 1870 (Qld - "Governor's Letterbook, Vol 4 - 1867-71)
26. The profile used was the same as that used extensively on British and Colonial postage stamps, including the first "penny black" issued in 1840. This design in turn was based on a medal engraved by William Wyon in 1837 to commemorate Queen Victoria's visit to the London Guildhall upon her accession. Refer to *The Stanley Gibbons Book of Stamps*, J. Watson, 1981, Collins, London
27. Refer page 4 of *Showing the Flag*, NSW Government Printer (n.d.), the text of which is essentially the same as used in various earlier Premiers Department information sheets. The origin of this mistake appears to be a misinterpretation of a comment by W.A. Gullick in *The New South Wales Coat of Arms*, 1907, in which he stated that the cross dividing the Coat of Arms of N.S.W. was "in allusion to the old badge of the Colony, the Red Cross of St. George on its silver field." This "old badge" was in fact the current badge, which pre-dated the 1906 N.S.W. Coat of Arms.
28. Despatch No. 63 to Colonial Office dated 20 April 1870 (PRO No.1838)
29. The Arms of the See of Sydney were granted 22 February 1836 as the Arms of the first Bishop of Australia. See *A Roll of Australian Arms*, C. Low, 1971, Rigby Ltd, Adelaide.

30. Despatch No. 63 to Colonial Office dated 20 April 1870 (PRO No.1838) The design and usage may derive from the honorary designation of N.S.W. Governors as Vice-Admirals from 1855 - 1872. The command flag of a Vice-Admiral is a St. Georges Cross with one red disc.
31. Despatch No. 31 to Colonial Office dated 2 March 1870 (PRO No.1778) The specific description referred to "the insertion of the two stars belonging to the Constellation, commonly called the Pointers, in the outer division of the Union Jack." I have not used a garland, as the description suggested that the Southern Cross appeared directly upon the Union Jack and the effect of the pointers would have been reduced by a garland.
32. Letter to Admiralty from Colonial Office dated 5 May 1870 (PRO No.1778). A notation on the Minute Paper complained that "this design has an irregular & straggling appearance ... However I suppose they may be allowed to consult their own taste."
33. Despatch No. 30 from Colonial Office dated 22 July 1870 (PRO No.1778) The reply from the South Australian Governor has not yet been sighted.
34. The attachment to CO Circular of 23 August, 1875 shows the badge without the pointers, though there was a full version in the adjoining space covered over by paper.
35. Circular of 21 May 1874 (PRO No. 2556) An earlier Circular dated 3 September 1873 had revised the proportions of the Union Jack but not the garland. These circulars also made it explicit that the Union Jack with garland and badge was for use by Governors "when embarked on boats and other vessels" but that the undefaced Union Jack was to be used on land.
36. Circulars of 28 May 1874 and 16 January 1875 (PRO No. 2556)
37. Despatch to Colonial Office of 14 October 1875 (PRO No. 2402)
38. Proclamation dated 9 November 1875 in *The Hobart Town Gazette*
39. *The Flags of Tasmania*, J. Edwards, *Crux Australis*, Vol. II No.5 pages 18-22.
40. Letter from Colonial Office to Admiralty dated 8 December 1875 (PRO No. 2402)
41. Despatch No 64 to Colonial Office of 29 November 1875 (PRO No. 2402)
42. Approval was given 19 April 1876 by the Colonial Office and the flags adopted by proclamation dated 25 September, 1876.
43. Circular of 23 August 1875 (Qld - "Governors - Vol XVI", A/46210)
44. Despatch No. 11 to Colonial Office dated 24 March 1876. (PRO No:2405) This badge was used on the Blue Ensign flown by *H.M.C.S. Protector*, South Australia's sole colonial warship.
45. Letter to Governor dated 15 March 1876 (Qld - "Letters to the Governor - Vol. IX", page 100)
46. Whilst this cross appears to be a Maltese Cross, it has flat edges and is correctly a Cross Formy, more recently known as a Cross Patee. This type of cross has been used on English Crowns since Henry VI. Refer *The Art of Heraldry*, A.C. Fox-Davies, Republished 1986 by Bloomsbury Books, London, pages 266-7. It is also

possible that the design was simply inspired by the then Maltese badge (a Red Maltese Cross), a drawing of which was included with the Circular Despatch.

47. Letter to Colonial Office from Admiralty dated 28 July 1875, enclosed with Circular of 23 August 1875. (NSW - "Governors - 1875", 4/1365)
48. Despatch No. 12 to Colonial Office dated 9 February 1876. (PRO No.2405). Original line drawings are included with the Executive Council Minutes of 15 February 1876 (NSW - "Colonial Secretary - Minutes 1876", 1/2355).
49. These Arms were included in the Despatch to London and are similar the unofficial Australian Arms which were widely used in the Nineteenth Century with large variations in their detail. Refer to *Aussie-ositys*, V. Lindesay, 1988, Greenhouse Publications, Vic. pages 36-43. The badge is also similar to the Arms of the University of Sydney, granted 14th May, 1857. These arms are white with a blue cross bearing an open book and four 8 pointed gold stars with a red chief with a gold lion passant guardant.
50. Despatch No. 99 to Colonial Office, 10 July 1876 (PRO No. 2405) The origin of the shield appears to date to the time of the approval of the Victorian badge. The South Australian badge was altered to a black background to better distinguish it from Victoria. Reference to a blue escutcheons could have been later interpreted as the Victorian badge appearing on a shield rather than simply directly on the blue field. Refer to Note 33 above.
51. Admiralty letter to Colonial Office, 15 September 1876 (PRO No. 2405)
52. Memorandum to Governor Sir George Bowen, 19 March 1877 (PRO No. 2408)
53. Admiralty letter to Colonial Office, 26 June 1877 (PRO No. 2408)
54. *Victorian Government Gazette*, 30 November 1877. Note that the proclamation was signed by the Commissioner of Trade and Customs, Peter Lalor - one of the former leaders of the Eureka Stockade !
55. This is confirmed by a drawing of the Victorian flags in a memorandum from the Victorian Premier to the acting Governor dated 27 August 1901. (PRO No. 2149)
56. Despatch to Colonial Office of 19 September 1901, quoted in "Insignia" booklet of Victorian Government (though this publication mistakenly refers to the St. Edward Crown instead of Tudor Crown). The change was made following a circular despatch dated 14 June 1901 which advised that the new King Edward VII had requested a change in the preferred form of the Royal Crown.
57. *The Queensland Flag Book* published by the Queensland Government clearly shows a light blue cross, though the official description only refers to the colour as "Azure".
58. Proclamation dated 23 October 1869, *New Zealand Government Gazette*.
59. This is the drawing shown in the chart enclosed with Circular of 23 August 1875.
60. *The New Zealand Gazette*, 29 October 1874.
61. Admiralty letter to Colonial Office, 30 May 1876 (PRO No. 2405)
62. Admiralty letter to Colonial Office, 21 December 1876 (PRO No. 2405)
63. Letter from Governor of South Australia to Governor General, 22 March 1901.