



## AUSTRALIA'S FIRST? THE HISTORY OF THE BOWMAN FLAG RECONSIDERED

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### INTRODUCTION

Those with an interest in heraldry and in vexillology in Australia will at some time or another have come across the Bowman Flag, which ostensibly commemorates Nelson's victory at Trafalgar in 1805. This beautiful, fragile and enigmatic banner has, for over a century now, been claimed, without any real questioning of its provenance, as the origin of some of the formal symbols of Australia. This paper will raise some questions about that provenance. Previous researchers have focused on the images or symbols on the flag, but this paper examines the history of the legend of the flag and will also suggest some alternative origins for the flag.

### THE LEGEND

When the news of Lord Nelson's naval victory at Trafalgar on 21 October 1805 reached the distant colony of New South Wales on 11 April 1806, the Bowman family at Richmond in the Hawkesbury District (about 60 kilometres north-west of Sydney) held a community celebration at their farm, Archerfield, after the Governor of the Colony had declared that Sunday 20 April 1806 would be a day of General Thanksgiving. The patriarch John Bowman erected a flagpole, and his wife Honor cut up her white silk wedding dress and made a swallow-tailed banner. Honor and her daughter Mary then painted a heraldic design on the banner, showing an intertwined rose, thistle and shamrock on a shield supported by a kangaroo and an emu, between a top motto ribbon reading 'Unity' and a bottom ribbon bearing Nelson's signal 'England expects every man will do his duty'. The flag was passed down through the family over the next hundred years, was given to the local primary school on the centenary of Trafalgar, and then transferred to the Mitchell Library a decade later. It was generally agreed that this was the oldest example of an Australian-made flag, and that the supporters of the shield are the origin of all subsequent coats of arms using a kangaroo and/or emu supporters, including the present Commonwealth coat of arms assigned by George V in 1912.

### TRACKING THE LEGEND

The year 1905 was marked by numerous celebrations and events across NSW, including in the Hawkesbury District, marking the centenary of Trafalgar.<sup>1</sup> It was in this context that we find the first published record of the flag.

In October 1905 Richmond School established a museum<sup>2</sup> which included a memorial to local men who had served in the Boer War.<sup>3</sup> It was reported in the *Windsor and Richmond Gazette* that;



*The official opening of the superior public school museum took place on Friday last, Mr Brinsley Hall, M.L.A., performing the ceremony. Mr Blumer, the district inspector, on behalf of the department, received the museum cabinet in which the specimens are to be kept. It bears a plate with the names of the 24 soldiers who represented this district in the South African war, and is placed in the school by the peace demonstration committee in recognition of their patriotic services."*<sup>4</sup>

In December 1905 the local newspaper reported that the headmaster now had in the collection;

*the flag which braved the breeze on Mr. Bowman's farm when the news reached there after the battle of Trafalgar in 1805. The gold lettering, "England expects every man to do his duty," is in splendid order*

*and as good as the day it was done. The blue rosettes are somewhat faded and the kangaroo and emu are a little worse for wear. We doubt whether there exists another flag that was hoisted at the time.*<sup>5</sup>

Three years later in 1908, a rather lengthier exposition of the flag was undertaken at an Empire Day celebration in Richmond. Federal MP Joseph Cook, later sixth Prime Minister of Australia, ‘unveiled’ the flag, remarking to his audience that:

*It was mainly, though not solely due, to the public-spirited action of their esteemed townsman, Mr Edward Campbell, that this flag was brought to light.*<sup>6</sup>

He also noted that the flag was in good condition and well preserved. As in 1905, the story was simply that John Bowman had flown the flag on his property upon hearing the news of Nelson’s victory.<sup>7</sup> There were also reports of the unveiling of the flag in one of the Hunter Valley newspapers, highlighting that John Bowman was the grandfather of two heads of Bowman families in the district.<sup>8</sup>

Eight years passed until, at the end of 1916 (in the wake of battles such as Jutland and the Somme) reports appeared in the press that the Mitchell Library had ‘discovered’ the flag at Richmond School, and wanted it for their collections. It was described as being bunting, pennon-shaped, and bearing a Norman shield, in a good state of preservation but the colours a little faded. It was also stated that the flag had been given to the school by “the Camerons”,<sup>9</sup> descendants of John and Honor Bowman via a grand-daughter, who were individually named and included the wife of Colonel John Lamrock. Colonel Lamrock had been recently appointed a Companion of the Bath and lauded as one of the last men to board the last boat to leave ANZAC.<sup>10,11</sup> The flag was variously called a relic, a historic flag and, for the first time, the Bowman Flag.<sup>12</sup>

At this point, the story of the flag was about its donation to Richmond School’s museum on the centenary of Trafalgar. It was in good condition, the donation attributed to various descendants of John Bowman<sup>13</sup> (including the wife of an Anzac hero), and John Bowman had flown the flag on his property after the news of the victory at Trafalgar in 1805. It was a rather plain story, and its associations with themes of sacrifice, duty and remembrance were more significant than any accuracy regarding its obscure historical origins.



**Above:** The Bowman Flag in its frame as photographed in 1908 (*Image from the collections of the State Library of New South Wales digital order number d1\_11340*)

Ownership of the flag having been transferred to the Mitchell Library, it was placed on display there, with little more by way of press coverage, although items would appear in the newspapers from time to time.<sup>14</sup> Some of the reporting was, however, based on material produced by William Applegate Gullick, the NSW Government Printer. Gullick sought to place the flag into a broader context of Australian symbols, and in doing so made assumptions and assertions which were accepted uncritically by others due to his reputation

as an authority on such matters. In 1908, around the time of the Empire Day celebrations, Gullick arranged for the Government Printing Office to photograph the flag at the school.<sup>15</sup> This photo is the earliest image of the flag.<sup>16</sup> He advised Attlee Hunt, Secretary of the Department of External Affairs, that he had discovered “absolutely the origin of the so-called Australian Coat-of-Arms”, flown by Bowman in 1805<sup>17</sup> and handed to the school by a “direct descendant”.<sup>18</sup> Hunt asked if he knew where it was made, to which Gullick replied there was no “definite record” as to whether the flag had been made “in Australia, or at home”.<sup>19</sup>

Gullick’s discovery arrived at a fortuitous time for Hunt. The first coat of arms for the new Commonwealth of Australia had been granted by Edward VII that year, but the design was quickly embroiled in controversy, and almost as soon as it was granted the quest began for new arms. Gullick was invited to submit designs and, not surprisingly, they favoured using the kangaroo and emu supporters. The current Commonwealth Arms, granted by George V in 1912, is largely Gullick’s design.<sup>20</sup>

Gullick printed a portfolio of images of coins and banknotes under the title ‘Origin of the Australian Arms’ in 1914.<sup>21</sup> The first image is of the framed flag in Richmond School, which he described as a white satin banner, flown by John Bowman on his farm in 1805<sup>22</sup> and presented to the school by his great grandchildren in 1905. Gullick earlier provided the same information to a Sydney journalist in 1910 when showing him his collection of lantern slides depicting the evolution of the ‘Australian Arms’.<sup>23</sup>

It was presumably Gullick who, once he had been made aware of the flag’s existence at the school, used his influence with the Mitchell Library trustees to have the flag acquired by the library. This was not without misgivings from the school, but the *force majeure* of the Library trustees prevailed in 1916.<sup>24</sup> After 1916 the flag in its new glass frame hung in the Mitchell Library for many years, occasionally the subject of a newspaper article. The story gradually became embellished over time. Gullick died in 1922, and the locus of story-telling increasingly became centred on the Mitchell Library.

In 1935 a press series in Sydney on pioneer families states that John Bowman, “one of the earliest free settlers”, was “the original owner” of the first flag to bear the Australian Arms.<sup>25</sup> “Even then”, commented the reporter “there seems to have been men who looked into the future and visualised not a convict settlement but a commonwealth”.<sup>26</sup> Perhaps not surprisingly, the emphasis on John Bowman being a ‘free settler’ coincides with the end of Melbourne’s centenary celebrations, with its oft-repeated claims that ‘no convicts here’<sup>27</sup> and a centenary controversy about a plan to exhibit the fake convict ship ‘Success’.<sup>28</sup> The location of the legend within a ‘free settler’ context is significant because this was a time when another myth, the ‘convict stain’, was perhaps at its strongest.<sup>29</sup>

In 1946 a story in the *Sydney Morning Herald* stated that John Bowman had designed the flag, and that it was “the handiwork of his daughters”.<sup>30</sup> This is the earliest mention of any designer or maker, or of the involvement of any Bowman women. This brief story coincided with the debates in the British Parliament over the new Labour Government’s proposal to discontinue the £5,000 annuity granted to Nelson’s legal heirs in 1805, and was widely reported in Australia. Saliently, the reporting often noted that this was contrary to Nelson’s will that his mistress Lady Emma Hamilton and their daughter Horatia be provided for, both of whom had subsequently lived in genteel but honourable poverty<sup>31</sup> - a temporal conflation of press reporting on the Bowman and Nelson daughters significant for introducing women into the legend of the flag.

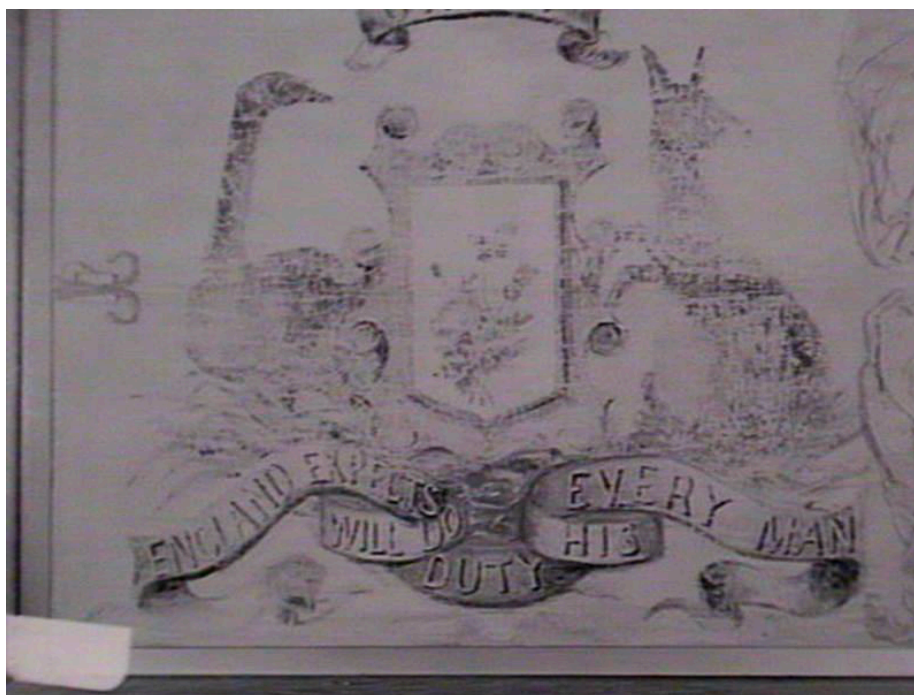
In the late 1940s the 2UW radio program ‘Treasures of the Mitchell’ aired an episode on the flag.<sup>32</sup> In this version, John Bowman and his neighbour Mary Pitt organised the victory celebrations in 1806. Mary Pitt’s cousin George Matcham was married to Nelson’s sister. In the manuscript for the program, Mary Pitt says “I wish we had a flag staff and a flag, John”, to which John responds “Could you women make us a flag?” “Why not an Australian flag” he asks (quite an achievement, as the word ‘Australia’ didn’t come into popular usage for another decade), with a shield and kangaroo and emu supporters. John asks whether there is enough silk to spare. “I dare say we’ll find enough between us”, says Mary Pitt, “And so the flag was made” says the narrator, after which it was raised to three cheers and a bonfire was lit.<sup>33</sup> The historical research for the script was undertaken by Thomas Mutch,<sup>34</sup> a library trustee, notable genealogist, Australian nationalist and multi-party politician.



An interesting link to the story of the Bowman Flag appears in a newspaper report in 1952 on the discovery in Edinburgh, Scotland, of a king plate awarded to Tony, Chief of the Merotherie near Tabralgar by William Bowman c.1840. It is stated that the plate, decorated with a “kangaroo and emu rampant”, was returned to R. Stuart Bowman in the Hunter Valley, a great-great-grandson of John Bowman. The story of the flag was also repeated, but now with the additional note that “Mrs John Bowman made a flag out of her wedding dress ... which is now in the Mitchell Library.”<sup>35</sup>

In 1959, the death of Mr Leslie Bowman in the Hunter, the last of John Bowman’s great-grandchildren, was marked by an article that claimed, while looking for material to make the flag, “Mrs Bowman remembered her white satin wedding gown ... brought out from England”. It also states that Richmond School did not recognise the historic value of the flag, and Edward Campbell, husband of one of John Bowman’s great-granddaughters, had found it nailed to the inside of a cupboard door in a neglected state. He then arranged for its cleaning and restoration, after which the Mitchell Library received permission to remove the flag to the Library.<sup>36</sup> This was 43 years after the Library had acquired the flag, and Leslie Bowman was probably the last of the Bowmans who could have claimed any personal recollection of the flag prior to 1905. Of course, he did not write his own obituary, but presumably the writer was either a family member or someone close to the family with some second-hand memories.<sup>37</sup> It can be assumed that, from this point, all further telling of the story now rested upon earlier iterations and a vivid sense of narrative.

In 1961 the Government Printing Office again photographed the flag, and the Mitchell Library catalogue note states “said to be by Mary Bowman.”<sup>38</sup> This appears to be the earliest attribution to Mary Bowman in particular for making the flag.



**Above:** The Bowman Flag as photographed in 1961 (*Image from the collections of the State Library of New South Wales digital order number d2\_10525*)

Frank Cayley’s 1966 publication *Flag of Stars* states that the flag is the earliest ever designed and made in Australia.<sup>39</sup> He writes that, inspired by the news of Nelson’s victory, John Bowman designed and made the flag and flew it at Archerfield, using a large piece of silk from his wife’s wedding dress and painting on it a long Norman shield bearing “an English rose, Irish shamrock and Scotch thistle”. The use of the kangaroo and emu supporters were the first example of them ever being used in this way. Cayley thanked the Mitchell Library for permission to use their image of the flag and for providing the details about the flag.<sup>40</sup>

By 1976 (ten years later) when the Mitchell Library decided to have conservation work undertaken on the flag, the story had taken on its now familiar outline. The conservation report, prepared by Western Australian Museum, states the flag was flown by John Bowman on his farm in 1805 to celebrate Nelson’s victory, and “it

is said to have been made by his daughter Mary, from the wedding dress worn by his wife Honor Bowman at their wedding in 1788.”<sup>41</sup>

The legend had assumed its definitive form, the form now easily accepted as both truthful and ancient. The legend was undisturbed for the next fifteen years until the eve of the Centenary of Federation.

A family history of the Bowmans was written and published by Elizabeth Bowman in 1999.<sup>42</sup> Ms Bowman stated that Honor Bowman made the flag from her wedding dress and painted the design upon it, after which it “was flown with great pride from a flagpole at Archerfield”.<sup>43</sup> However, she did express some doubt as to whether the kangaroo and emu supporters were the origin of the supporters on the Commonwealth Arms as few people outside the family knew of the flag’s existence in 1901, but thought the suggestion that it was the first flag devised in Australia to be more plausible. Ms Bowman concluded “The most precious relic relating to the family is undoubtedly the Bowman Flag”.<sup>44</sup>

## QUESTIONING THE ORIGIN STORY

More substantial public questioning of the story of the Bowman Flag came in the wake of the bicentenary of Trafalgar. Beginning on 21 October 2005, the Bowman Flag was put on public display at the State Library of New South Wales for a two-week period. A press report states that:

*No one knows for sure when John Bowman commissioned it, nor what motivated him to employ two of the continent’s most famous creatures as central motifs... According to the senior curator at the State Library, Paul Brunton, the execution of the flag is very sophisticated and must have been done by a professional painter of which there were a number in Sydney.*<sup>45</sup>

Paul Brunton goes on to give his interpretation of the meaning of the Bowman Flag:

*“It’s really clear on the flag that we were celebrating a British victory and an Empire victory but we were doing it in an Australian way,” Mr Brunton said. “The flag portrays a defiant Australianism, identifying with this new land.”*<sup>46</sup>

On the same day the exhibition of the flag commenced, both Paul Brunton and Elizabeth Stuart Bowman were speakers at a Trafalgar Day luncheon held by the Australasian Pioneers Club. The present authors have yet to locate a copy of Paul Brunton’s address, if such exists, but Elizabeth Bowman stated that she was “delighted to talk a little about our pioneering forbears who instigated the flag that Paul Brunton has been telling us about so vividly.”<sup>47</sup>

Ms Bowman went on to speak of John and Honor Bowman, of their four children, John, George, William, and Mary, and mentioned the professions of George’s nine sons, as well as brief general comments on the successes of several branches of the family as landowners. In concluding remarks, she offered some thoughts of the meaning embodied in the flag for the family:

*To revert to the flag. The family is very attached to this historic emblem and its symbolism. We all have photographs and many have a replica which is flown on state occasions. The word “Unity” has a special meaning for us and I like to think that perhaps it has promoted a sense of family unity over many generations.*<sup>48</sup>

The following year, Margot Riley, a curator at the Mitchell Library, writing in *Australiana* magazine, sought to clarify some of the historical context surrounding the purported 1806 creation of the flag.<sup>49</sup> Riley repeated a point made by Hunt back in 1908 but largely ignored or obscured since, that news of the victory at Trafalgar arrived in New South Wales in April 1806, six months after the event, so the earliest date for the flag would be 1806 not 1805. She further noted the press reporting in the *Sydney Gazette* through the late summer and autumn of 1806 of extensive and recurring flooding in the Hawkesbury District, and Bowman advertising his farm and other allotments for lease, making the holding of a large celebration with bonfire somewhat unlikely. Riley also noted that Mary Bowman was only nine or ten in 1806, so it would seem unlikely that she painted the flag. On the other hand, the “plain sewing skills” used in the flag would have been within the capabilities of most colonial women at the time, and the extensive trade between Sydney and ports in China and India means materials such as silk were widely available in 1806. She also notes that the wording of Nelson’s signal is exactly as it was transcribed in the *Sydney Gazette* of 13 April 1806, reproduced verbatim from an extraordinary edition of the *Cape Gazette* of 26 January 1806. Fidelity in reproducing the signal is not a

practice always followed in later years. Riley also questions whether any of the Bowman family had the skills and tools to mix and apply oil paints, or even ready access to them. She concludes that:

*As an expression of local patriotic fervour merging colonial and international content, its conceptualisation and execution in a remote farming community, amidst the rising floodwaters of the Hawkesbury River, is hard to conceive. Given its fragile fabric, flaking paint and ephemeral nature, the flag's two hundred year survival is even harder to believe.*" [emphases ours].

In 2008, public historian Bruce Baskerville gave an Australia Day address to the Hawkesbury Historical Society on the 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the overthrow of Governor Bligh. His focus was on the Hawkesbury settlers who had resisted the Usurpers (later known as the Rum Rebels), among whom John Bowman and Thomas Matcham Pitt were prominent. He noted that the news of Trafalgar had reached New South Wales just four months before Bligh's arrival and assumption of office, and accepted much of the story about the flag without question. It was proposed, without questioning the legend, that during 1808 and 1809, the flag had taken on a different meaning, as an emblem of the resistance to the usurpation:

Nelson was a naval hero and true patriot who fought for his king and country, unlike the Usurpers who had overthrown the duly-appointed governor for their own personal ends. Unity amongst the settlers was vital if they were to resist the rebels, as it was their duty to do. The intertwined floral emblems suggest the mixing of nationalities among the settlers, and placed upon a shield further suggests that this diversity gave them strength, just as the recent union of England, Scotland and Ireland had created a newer, greater Britain that Nelson had defended. The kangaroo and emu supporters, their heads turned warily over their shoulders, indicate the new country into which the settlers were putting their roots, and were ready to defend. The flag invokes the settler's loyalty to resist the Usurpers, its imagery patriotic without being obviously subversive.<sup>50</sup>

Earlier, in 2006, in another address to the Hawkesbury Historical Society on the history of common lands, Baskerville had quite unquestioningly accepted the legend when he stated:

*... the Bowman flag, traditionally said to have been made by the women of the Bowman household from Mrs. Bowman's wedding dress. Whether in Britain or in New South Wales, all would do their duty as expected, a pledge affirmed by the use of wedding dress materials symbolizing commitment and unity.*<sup>51</sup>

Since then, Baskerville has written further on the symbols used during the usurpation, especially the Great Seal of New South Wales. As he has researched and written, so he has come to increasingly question the legend of the 'Bowman Flag'.

As the preceding has indicated, the further we get from 1905, the more complex the story becomes. But, there is inverse relationship between this increasing complexity and the availability of records and memories of anyone with a first or even second-hand connection to the flag.

In this paper we do not claim to establish an alternative, unassailable truth to replace the current generally accepted account of the Bowman Flag, but we do seek to put forward a number of plausible possibilities regarding the origins and use of this intriguing vexillum.

Firstly, there is the possibility that the received history of the Bowman Flag is largely true. If so, then "family tradition" is the medium whereby its story is preserved for a century, when its public presentation leads to press reports which see the story of the flag told and expanded over the years, right down to the twenty-first century.

There are possibilities that the flag does appear in the printed record during the nineteenth century, but only obliquely. It may have been created in 1806, and then re-used for other purposes, such as an election campaign banner in the 1840s, or a fraternal lodge flag in the 1840s, or a militia recruiting flag in the 1860s.

It is also possible that the 1806 origin is not true, and that it may have been created for any one of the three latter purposes, which we will now examine in turn as possibilities.

## ELECTION CAMPAIGN BANNER?

The first election for members of the New South Wales Legislative Council was held in 1843, with it and the next two elections involving outdoor meetings and parades in support of various candidates. One finds mention of the use of flags and banners during election campaigns from the early 1840s onwards, ranging from the very general, simply noting that they were present at a meeting, to the tantalising (“over the head of the chairman was a small canopy made with the flag of Australia... whilst in various parts of the room were banners with appropriate mottoes”),<sup>52</sup> to the quite specific (“four other coaches... one of them carrying a large blue banner with an iron pot in the centre and the motto “Nothing like true metal”<sup>53</sup> and “Mr C. M. Doyle’s carriage, drawn by four horses, the carriage and horses being decorated with large rosettes of green and blue and several ripe cobs of corn, and a large green silk flag with a white harp.”)<sup>54</sup>

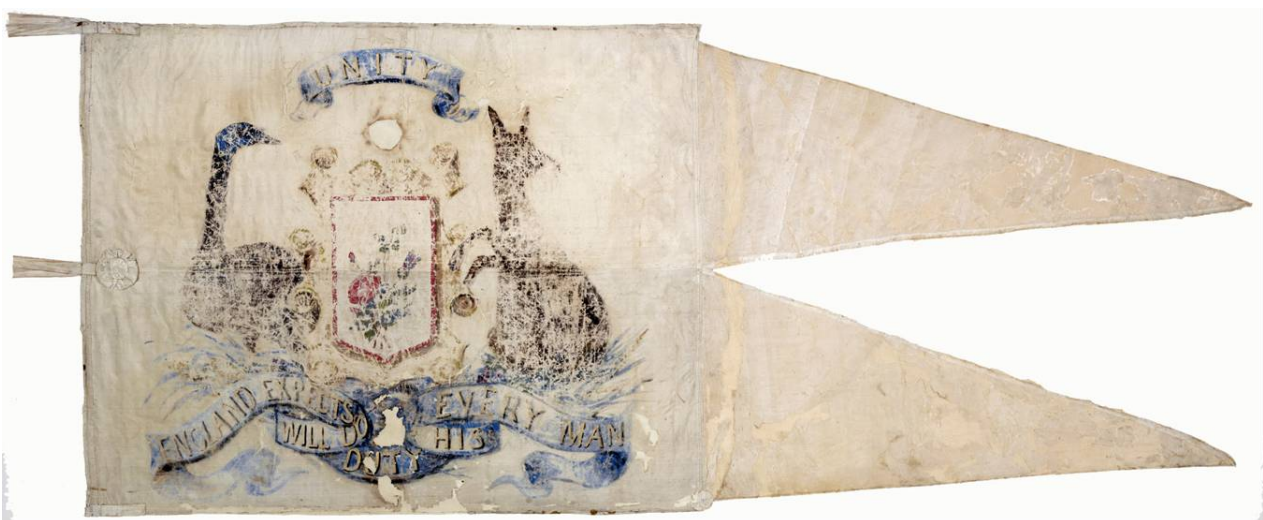
Frank Cayley mentions one such flag, the Wentworth-Bland Election Flag, and notes that the Mitchell Library holds “two good specimens” of this flag.<sup>55</sup>

It is worth comparing the Wentworth-Bland banner with the Bowman Flag. Both are made of silk. The Bowman Flag is more than twice the size of the Wentworth-Bland banner, the latter 48 centimetres tall by 82.5 centimetres wide, the former 92 centimetres tall by 221 centimetres wide: the Bowman Flag is nearly twice as tall and nearly three times as wide as the Wentworth-Bland Election Flag, which with two poles was clearly designed to be carried in a parade. It is simple in design, a mix of appliquéd pieces and largely black lettering. The names on the banner mean that it can be dated to the period 1843 to 1849, the only time William Charles Wentworth and Dr William Bland were both politically active.



It is also noteworthy that it is the words on the Bowman Flag, “England Expects Every Man Will Do His Duty”, which seem to be the key to dating it to 1806. This phrase, or paraphrases, or echoes or responses to it, were heard in political and other speeches throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century. The slogan ceased to be tied to the Battle of Trafalgar as an event simply defined by time and place, and became a catch-cry to inspire individuals to perform to the best of their patriotic ability. We shall see some tantalising examples further in this paper.

In the 1843 contest for elected members of the seat of Cumberland Boroughs, representing the towns of Windsor, Richmond, Liverpool and Campbelltown, one of the candidates was William Bowman, son of John Bowman. His opponent was Robert Fitzgerald, who was something of a populist in contrast to Bowman’s more conservative leanings.





A detailed report appeared in *The Australian*<sup>56</sup> of the meeting at which candidates for the seat were nominated contains material which, while not referring explicitly to the Bowman Flag, certainly seems to allude to it. The report begins with a general description of a parade by Fitzgerald and his supporters past many homes “gaily decorated with banners, bearing his colours...the banners were tasteful and splendid”,<sup>57</sup> and the banner at the head of the parade is delineated in detail as “[a]n elegant banner of blue, green and white satin, bearing a beautifully executed design of civilised man subduing the Kangaroo and Emu in medallion, encircled by the motto, “Advance Australia”.” There is no description of vexilla borne by Bowman supporters, beyond noting that they had “several elegant banners of light blue, bearing appropriate designs.” Was one of them the Bowman Flag? The banner at the head of Fitzgerald’s parade suggests that it may well have been a response to such a banner but conversely, if the Bowman Flag had been newly made for the election campaign, it may have been a retort to the Fitzgerald banner.

Earlier in the election campaign, at the nomination meeting in Liverpool on 15 February 1843, there seems to be an allusion to the motto on the Bowman Flag in a speech made in favour of Robert Fitzgerald by one of his major supporters, Mr G R Nichols, who concluded his remarks by saying: “I will now remind you that “Australia expects every man will do his duty”<sup>58</sup> Again, this is a maddeningly vague allusion, but combined with the mention of Fitzgerald’s banner described above, they would both seem responses to the Bowman Flag as we know it.

### FRATERNAL SOCIETY BANNER?

Another possible origin for the flag might be among the sometimes arcane symbols employed by Fraternal Societies. The shield bears a striking similarity to the central escutcheon used on regalia, certificates and on banners by the Independent Order of Odd Fellows Manchester Unity (IOOFMU), on which a rose, thistle and shamrock, and occasionally a leek, appear, usually intertwined or overlaying one another to some extent. While various Odd Fellow groups had existed since the mid-eighteenth century, the IOOFMU was formed in 1813. Numerous other Odd Fellow groups were created in the United Kingdom and elsewhere in the succeeding decades.



Fraternal Societies provided varying degrees of convivial social gatherings, sickness and unemployment benefits, and funeral funds. Members wore regalia, particularly when initiating new recruits, for formal dinners, and when discharging their obligation to attend the funerals of deceased members. Banners and flags were among the items displayed by the Fraternal Societies at Lodge meetings, funerals and at public parades attended by Lodge members.

It is unsurprising that individual members of such groups as the Freemasons, the Oddfellows and the Foresters who migrated to the Australian colonies felt drawn to the notion of founding related societies here. In a newspaper account in late 1841 it is noted that on 24 February 1836, “eight ancient Odd Fellows met together in Sydney, and determined to form themselves into a Lodge, which was accordingly done”.<sup>59</sup> This organisation, named the Australian Grand Lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows,<sup>60</sup> sought authority to operate “from the same Body which authorised the formation of the Grand Lodge of the Manchester Unity, and is therefore of the same standing.”

That the Australian Supreme Grand Lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows made use of visual identifiers is beyond doubt, as an account of its tenth anniversary Dinner notes that the venue “was fitted up with all the badges and insignia of the Order”.<sup>62</sup> The Australian





Supreme Grand Lodge displayed on the title page of its Laws and Constitutions an elaborate heraldic and allegorical ensemble, Faith and Hope on one side of a shield and a somewhat overburdened Charity on the other side. The shield and crest are both charged with a variety of symbols associated with Odd Fellowship. Beneath the shield is a motto-ribbon, a cornucopia, and dove. The base on which all of these rest is, however, distinctly Australian, with a three-fold division in which an emu, a bee-hive (emblematic of industry) and a kangaroo appear respectively. <sup>63</sup>

By 1845 a Lodge of this body had been established in Windsor, and named the United Loyal Hawkesbury Lodge. The founding of the United Loyal Hawkesbury Lodge was marked by a sermon preached by the incumbent of St Matthews Anglican Church, Windsor, on 18 June, 1845, the text published in a 15-page pamphlet later that same year.

Sadly, there are no engravings of regalia or symbols of the Odd Fellows adorning this little text, but the Reverend Styles' closing comments have an interesting possible allusion to the vexillum under discussion:

*May the establishment of your Lodge in this town be the means of uniting together in a bond of peace men differing in many points, and too frequently allowing such differences to interfere with the high duty, incumbent upon all, of living in unity and mutual forbearance...May you so experience in all your meetings the blessedness of dwelling together in unity, that you may rise to a due appreciation of the blessing of being faithful members of that sacred Brotherhood, which the Lord designed to be the centre of Unity upon earth, His own Holy Church" <sup>66</sup>*

The emphasis in the end of the sermon on unity resonates with the presence of that word on the Bowman Flag, and leads one to wonder if it were present at the Lodge's inauguration, either as a newly created item of regalia or "repurposed" by a member of the Bowman family.

This lodge clearly flourished, as on 12 July 1847

*"a number of the members of the Independent Order of Odd-Fellows in connection with the Grand Lodge of Australia, assembled in the Barraba Hall Hotel, Windsor, to commemorate the second anniversary of the formation of the United Loyal Hawkesbury Lodge." <sup>67</sup>*

How much longer this lodge persisted is not known, <sup>68</sup> and it was probably either disbanded or amalgamated with the Manchester Unity lodge, the Loyal Prince of Wales Lodge, which had also been established in Windsor in 1845. Any records or regalia may well have been passed on from the United Loyal Hawkesbury Lodge to the Loyal Prince of Wales Lodge.

To date no reference has been found to any Bowman family involvement with the United Loyal Hawkesbury Lodge, but there is a newspaper account that William Bowman attended the anniversary dinner of the Loyal Prince of Wales Lodge in Windsor in 1848. In 1856 this body attended a sermon by the Reverend Stiles, the theme of which was also unity. If any of the Bowman men were involved in Odd Fellowship, then it is quite plausible that they might have had an Odd Fellows' banner come into their possession.

There is, however, yet another possible scenario for the origins and purpose of this vexillum.

## **MILITARY UNIT BANNER?**

A final possibility which should be considered is that the Bowman Flag was produced as a rallying banner for a local volunteer military force. These had existed in the colony of New South Wales as early as 1800, although their history is discontinuous until the 1860s.

In 1860 the Hawkesbury Volunteers were formed. It was reported in the *Windsor Advertiser* of 22 September 1860 that at the meeting held "for the purpose of initiating a Volunteer Rifle Corps in Windsor", the presiding officer was one James Ascough, Esq. and that "[h]e said that, like England, Australia "expected every man to do his duty" and, he had no doubt, when the emergency arose, they would do theirs." <sup>69</sup>

The meeting continued with a speech by William Walker, Member of the Legislative Assembly, who spoke in favour of the raising of a unit of military volunteers, arguing that:

*“the best way to keep peace was to be prepared for war. He trusted that Australia’s sons would prove worthy of their British origin, and join in the Volunteer movement now about to be inaugurated.”*<sup>70</sup>

Once again, Nelson’s signal is alluded to, with England and Australia yoked together. An appeal was also made to British origins, origins which can be symbolised by the plant badges of rose, shamrock and thistle, and that Australia’s sons, who might be symbolised by the largest Australian bird and the largest Australian land mammal, would demonstrate their worthiness by supporting the Empire. Such words might have inspired an enthusiastic volunteer to make or have made a flag to use as a rallying point in the course of attracting recruits.

It took some time to recruit suitable candidates for the proposed unit, and meetings were held in various townships of the Hawkesbury to promote the scheme. The contribution of the ladies of the Hawkesbury was also expected, and from the numerous contemporary newspaper accounts this was to take the form of a set of “colours” for the unit. At one of the meetings held in mid-1861 a “very handsome design for the camp colours was also exhibited by Lieutenant Scarvell, the ladies of the district preparing to evince their appreciation.”<sup>71</sup>

Indeed, it seems that a very acrimonious dispute arose when some local women felt that they were excluded from the process. There was a vigorous series of letters published in *The Sydney Morning Herald*<sup>72</sup> and elsewhere<sup>73</sup> in which the situation was discussed and exclusion based on religious divisions was hinted at. A flag extolling unity and duty might well serve as an antidote to such bickering.

It is clear, however, that the regimental colours presented to the Windsor Volunteers were nothing like the Bowman Flag in appearance, and took the standard form of those in the British Army:

*“The colours were now unfurled, and are a very handsome set, bearing the name of the company in full on each. The camp colours were held by six young ladies dressed in white, and the large flag by Mr Cowper.”*

In the same edition of *The Sydney Morning Herald* the visit of the Governor, Sir John Young, during the course of which the colours were presented, was further remarked upon, noting that:

*The town was decorated with a profusion of flags of every size and shade; from the bridge on entering, and along the entire length of George-street, these were exhibited at every turn. In the designs of the banners the words “Welcome,” and “Advance Australia, were prominent; and although there was nothing very elaborate or pretentious in them, they fully answered their purpose.”*<sup>74</sup>

This suggests that flags similar to the Bowman Flag, often produced either by enthusiastic amateurs or skilled professionals, were certainly to be seen in large numbers in celebratory settings.

So, if the flag described as the Bowman Flag was in fact initially created as a recruiting banner or provisional unit colour for the Hawkesbury Volunteers, then how might it have ended up in the hands of the Bowman family? A possible answer lies in an event held eight years after the Hawkesbury Company was formed:

*Some years ago, when volunteering was comparatively in its infancy, on the occasion of a visit of the Hawkesbury Company at Richmond, Mr. George Bowman promised that when the Volunteers mustered a hundred strong he would give them a dinner... now the Hawkesbury Corps can boast of a hundred, and more, good men; and so Mr. Bowman was called upon to fulfil his promise, and right well that worthy gentleman has done it.*<sup>76</sup>

In a response to a toast the unit’s commander, Captain Edgerton said of the Volunteers that: “He was glad to say that he and they were always in unity, though he was somewhat particular, for what he wanted done he would have done to the letter.”<sup>77</sup>

Might it be possible that the utterance of the word “unity” was prompted by the presence of an old recruiting banner, which may have been presented to Mr George Bowman afterwards as a gift, to be used and displayed in efforts to recruit more young men from Richmond to the Hawkesbury Volunteers?



## THE BOWMAN FLAG AND THE ARMS OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

In 1908 William Gullick, the Government Printer of NSW, wrote excitedly to Atlee Hunt, Secretary for External Affairs for the Commonwealth of Australia, that:

*It may be interesting to you to have the enclosed photograph of what is absolutely the origin of the so-called Australian Coat of Arms, dating back, as you will see, to the year 1805... This is a subject which I have traced down through the tokenage, coinage and currency notes, and I thought, when I had run it down to 1817, I had got pretty well close to its origin; but at last have got to rock bottom in this old banner.*<sup>78</sup>

In further correspondence with Hunt, Gullick describes the assemblage on the Bowman Flag as the “first Australian Arms”<sup>79</sup> and “the old Australian Emu and Kangaroo Flag”.<sup>80</sup> He went on to promote the use of the kangaroo and emu as supporters in armorial bearings as having their roots in the Bowman Flag, as the following extract from a newspaper article shows:

*The origin, said Mr. Gullick, “of the use of the emu and kangaroo on arms in this country, is extremely interesting and not so well known as it should be. When the news of the glorious victory at Trafalgar on October 21, 1805, reached New South Wales, Mr. John Bowman, an enthusiastic and patriotic farmer at Archerfield, near Richmond, caused a white satin banner to be made, and had painted thereon a shield with a kangaroo on the right side and an emu on the left as supporters... it seems to have been absolutely the earliest example of the use of these animals in armorial bearings, and I have traced their adoption and use by banks public institutions, etc., right down through the century from that time.”*<sup>81</sup>

Gullick accepted the dating of the Bowman Flag to 1805 uncritically, and was able to make it fit into his view of the genesis of the arms of the Commonwealth of Australia. While not explicitly expressed, Gullick was probably pleased that the flag was connected to a free settler with no convict associations, as in several places he expresses an aversion to symbols of “convictism”.<sup>82</sup>

The reporting of Gullick’s view as expressed in the newspaper article cited above is probably what led to the general acceptance of the Bowman Flag being the *fons et origo* of the Kangaroo and Emu supporters, but he also printed a book (possibly only a press proof) in 1914 titled *Origin of Australian Arms*. It is not known how many copies of this work were produced, but it seems to have been a very small number. It is foolscap folio in size, with only ten unnumbered pages, including the inside back cover, and consists chiefly of photographs. Text is minimal, with a single-page introduction titled “Early Australian Arms”. In it Gullick writes that:

*It is perhaps unfortunate that in adopting the existing Commonwealth Coat of Arms, that authority obtained its grant for a combination which overlooks in the placing of the supporters, the correct historical origin. The emblem, as originally designed in 1805, had in it all the sentiment of “Unity,” which later crystallised into the Federation of Australia in 1901.*<sup>83</sup>

In this introduction and elsewhere in the book Gullick continues to place the date of the flag as 1805, rather than 1806, thereby attributing John Bowman with powers of prescience. In the Gullick - Atlee Hunt correspondence, he had already written that “By Bowman it was flown in 1805”<sup>84</sup> In his response Hunt politely writes:

*“As a matter of strict accuracy I suppose it would be more correct to date the first flying of this banner as 1806 rather than 1805. The Battle of Trafalgar took place only on 21<sup>st</sup> October of that year.”*<sup>85</sup>

Despite having asserted that he had, prior to the discovery of the Bowman Flag, tracked the origin of the “Australian Coat of Arms” to 1817, Gullick provides no evidence of this in his book. After a page devoted to a photograph of the Bowman Flag with a transcript of the card label and some minimal further text, the next page reproduces two currency notes from the Bank of New South Wales, without any further explanatory text. The first of these printed notes, a Ten Shilling note with some blank spaces left to insert further details, features a tiny emblem composed of a black shield on which the word “TEN” appears in white lettering, with an emu as the *dexter* (viewer’s left) supporter and a kangaroo as the *sinister* (viewer’s right) supporter all enclosed within a belt and buckle inscribed with the words “Sic Fortis Etruria Crevit” (the motto which appeared on the Great Seal of New South Wales). The section including the date of the note reads “\_\_ day of \_\_ 182\_”, so it could not have been printed any earlier than late 1819, and possibly as late as 1829. Gullick may have arrived at the date of 1817<sup>86</sup> by assuming that the device printed on the 1820s currency note was used by the Bank of New South Wales from its founding in 1817, without any further evidence.

The kangaroo, and to a lesser extent the emu, fascinated Europeans. They were completely unlike anything they were familiar with. Even before British settlement, engravings of the kangaroo after the painting made by George Stubbs were widely available in Britain and on the Continent. The fascination continued after the establishment of British settlements in Australia, with both creatures depicted widely in various media.

One example of a class of artefacts on which the kangaroo and emu were widely (but not universally) used was on the king plates, a type of regalia worn suspended from the neck and modelled on the gorgets worn by infantry officers. These were presented by officials and settlers to Aboriginal men, and sometimes women, who were perceived by settlers as being “chiefs”, or even “kings”, among their own people.<sup>87</sup> As noted above, there is a connection from the Bowman family to at least one extant king plate which can be clearly established, although this can only be dated to the 1830s.

Governor Lachlan Macquarie was generally credited with awarding the first of these, and indeed tried to prohibit others from bestowing them. It is said that he presented the first king plate to Bungaree in 1816, and a late source states that this included the kangaroo and emu as well as Bungaree’s name and “title”. In contemporary portraits, however, only the text is apparent. It is difficult to date king plates, as they were handed out in hundreds, if not thousands, from 1816 until the 1920s or 1930s, and the earliest surviving ones which feature the kangaroo and emu can only be dated to the 1830s or so.

The engraving of kangaroos and emus on bank notes, whether as supporters of shields or standing facing one another in a landscape or flanking an assemblage of objects would have been widely circulated images from the 1820s onwards. When merchants began issuing metal tokens in the 1850s, these images were even more widely seen, and the arms depicted on them, usually quartered, with a variety of objects in each quarter, came to be seen as identifiers for Australia. One even finds such arms installed in quasi-official positions in courthouses in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and by the centenary of European settlement in 1888, seen universally as symbols of Australia.

It takes a fairly major leap of faith to assume that the Bowman Flag, even if can be dated beyond doubt to 1806, can be described as the origin of the use of the kangaroo and emu as supporters of the Australian coat of arms. This was Gullick’s hobby horse, and he tried to argue that the placement of the kangaroo as dexter supporter and emu as sinister supporter in the arms granted to the Commonwealth of Australia in 1908 was a betrayal of tradition, a tradition he felt was established by the Bowman Flag. When he submitted four designs to Hunt in 1910 for consideration as revised Commonwealth arms, he described the first one as a



*“[s]implification of existing coat, with animals placed in their proper position according to origin and usage.”<sup>88</sup>*

When Hunt forwarded the designs to the Prime Minister he focused heavily on the supporters, and there is an undertone that he is somewhat weary of Gullick’s enthusiasms:

*It will be seen that Mr Gullick has reversed the position of the animals. In doing so he is following the practice in the earlier days of Australia, when, though there was no official authority for its use, a design with the Emu and Kangaroo was commonly known as the Australian Coat of Arms, but in settling the design for the approved arms it was considered that the kangaroo was the more important of the two and therefore should occupy the more honourable post. In Mr Gullick’s designs he is in the minor position.<sup>89</sup>*

So Gullick was overridden on this point, but was able to vent his spleen a few years later on the first page of his *Origin of Australian Arms*, as has been quoted above. Despite the protestations of Gullick, and the uncritical repetition of his assertion by others, it cannot be reasonably argued that the Bowman Flag is the



“ancestor” of the present achievement of arms of the Commonwealth of Australia, which is the product of a much more complex process.

## THE FABRIC OF THE FLAG

In endeavouring to come closer to the origins and provenance of the Bowman Flag, we return now to the artefact itself, the materials it is made from, and what the various conservation efforts have revealed.

Over an eleven-month period between October 1976 and September 1977 the flag was subjected to extensive conservation work by the Western Australian Museum in Fremantle. The work cost about \$280, and was apparently funded by Bobby Bowman Zeleny.<sup>90</sup>

The key information about the flag, elicited during the conservation process, was as follows:<sup>91</sup>

- The material is a cream-coloured silk (not satin, or ‘bunting’)
- The tongues were in a worse condition than the palm, and silk fibres began disintegrating upon contact
- The oil paint was brittle and falling away in places
- There were several holes in the palm that had been trimmed, a patch placed behind each, and then crudely painted in matching water colour paint
- The flag had been glued to a backing board, possibly more than once as both water and alcohol soluble glues were found, and a different glue again had been used for the patches
- The design had been over-painted with ‘modern paint’, and infra-red photography was used to distinguish between old and new paint. The new paint was removed with water.
- The flag was washed in a disodium salt solution which removed extensive iron stains (from pins or nails?) and restored a sheen to the silk
- The tongues had to be reconstructed fibre by fibre in a very time-consuming process
- The ‘original’ holes were not disguised, but holes created during the conservation process from the disintegration of the fabric were patched with a colour-matched Japanese silk to hide them

From this technical information we can ascertain several facts relating to the stories of the Bowman Flag recounted above:

- The patching and over-painting may have been the ‘cleaning and restoration’ work commissioned by Edward Campbell in 1908, which may account for the early reports of it being in a good condition.
- The ‘original’ holes align vertically along the centre of the palm, suggesting it may have been folded for some time and the fold was exposed to some decaying agent such as dampness, insects or mice, presumably before 1905.
- The brittleness of the oil paint was revealed when the overpainting was removed, suggesting it was in a poor condition before the ‘cleaning and restoration’ in 1908.
- The conservator suggested the poor condition may also be a result of light damage, acidity (possibly from the backing board in the frame or a cotton backing cloth applied with glue), or the “Sydney environment” (which to someone used to the dry air of Western Australia probably referred to the relative humidity of Sydney).
- 

With regard to our quest, the report *seems* to reveal little. However, we can propose that prior to 1905 the flag was kept folded in a cupboard or similar place where it was damaged by vermin or dampness, and that the process of ‘restoration’ in 1908 may have actually caused further deterioration, a process that probably continued over the 60 years it was exposed to the light in the Mitchell Library.

We could also propose that there were various well-meaning but amateurish attempts to clean or further restore the flag (note the variety of glues). The comparatively poor condition of the tongues probably arose from the manner in which they were ‘folded’ or scrunched in the frame, weakening and breaking the fibres, but may

also point to some fraying or damage arising from being flown, possibly for relatively lengthy periods, before 1905.

In 1990, the flag was again cleaned and remounted, by Campbell Conservation of Roseville, Sydney.<sup>92</sup> The work was undertaken between October and December 1990. It was removed from the 1977 backing and frame, 'surface cleaned', remounted and reframed. The work cost \$3,000.<sup>93</sup> The only new information was a description of the fabric as "a fine tabby weave cream silk". It was noted that the kangaroo and emu were painted in oils (no mention was made of any other elements of the design), and the seams were hand-stitched and the edges of the palm and tongues is raw. The conservator also noted that the 1977 frame was too heavy, and the fabric was touching the glass. It was assessed as being in 'fair condition'.

Tabby weave is a plain weave, the most common sort of fabric weave. The selvage, or finished edge of the fabric, was visible from the 1977 restoration and cleaning, but the hand stitching of the seams through the centre of the palm is original. The appearance of the selvage indicates the long edges of the two pieces making up the palm are the original edges of the fabric.

On 11 June 2015, we were fortunate enough to be taken by curator Margot Riley deep into the bowels of the Mitchell Library to view the flag in its gloomy storage. After studying pictures and documents for so long, it was a revealing and somewhat emotional moment. A number of additional factors were revealed by the visit:

- The original paint colours are more vivid than any photograph reveals. The flowers seemed almost alive, the blue motto ribbons were truly blue, the emu's head is blue not brown, the grass is more bluish than green, the red border of the shield is much redder and more visually prominent.
- Three other features of the paint work stood out: there is a shadow on the right hand and bottom sides of all the elements, suggesting a sun was shining in the top left-hand corner of the flag; the scroll work around the shield is brown but with many gilt highlights that glittered in the light; and the paint on the kangaroo and emu was much more cracked and deteriorated than on the other elements.
- The lustre of the silk was clearly evident.
- The palm is actually composed of two pieces of rectangular silk, sewn together horizontally to form a square, while the tongues are another rectangular piece that has been cut in half diagonally to form each tail. The whole flag is composed of three pieces of silk each measuring roughly 17" x 47", or 450mm x 1200mm.
- There were originally six of the little blue rosettes, one on each of the ties, and one at each of the pennant attachment points. These three-dimensional rosettes originally framed the coat of arms.
- The hole between the shield and the upper scroll is sharply cut, as with scissors or a blade, while the other holes have less-defined edges. The conservator had noted this 'trimming' of the holes in 1977, but without further comment.

From these observations and discussion with Ms Riley, we can propose some further interpretations of the material evidence:

- The quality of the painting on the shield and scrolls suggests a professional or experienced hand, and there were sign-painters in the colony in 1806.<sup>94</sup> The shadow lines on the shield and scrolls may also indicate a commercial sign-painter. That the painting was the work of a 9-year old girl is unlikely.
- The kangaroo and emu seem stylistically different, and may have been painted by someone else and/or at a different time. Not only the style seems different, more naïve; but the paint seems to be of different quality – note difference in cracking.
- The blue colour of the emu's head suggests that the image was made from observation of actual emus and not second-hand from another picture (an emu head and upper neck is grey-blue). Can we take this as support for being painted in the colony, not elsewhere, by an observant settler, naturalist or artist?
- The blue colour in the grass may suggest fading of the yellow pigment that was mixed with the blue to create the green – the blue areas are not uniform, perhaps suggesting part of the grassy area was exposed to more light than other parts at some stage.

- Oil paints were available for sale in Sydney, and there were a number of artists and naturalists active in Sydney, in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. <sup>95</sup>
- The size of the three pieces of silk is very similar to the sizes of pieces of silk advertised in the *Sydney Gazette* during the early 1800s, such as silk handkerchiefs 17½ inches square or silk long cloths or neckerchiefs 1 yard wide. The two pieces of silk sewn together are each a bit over 17” in width, which is roughly the width of Chinese silk looms in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The 47” length of each piece is only a little over one yard.
- Silk was widely sold in Sydney in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century in shops in The Rocks, usually when a ship arrived with a cargo of merchandise for sale. Prices suggest it was a luxury item, and not cheap. <sup>96</sup>
- Silk was sold by, for example, Sarah Packer at Pitt Row in Sydney. She was also associated with William Baker, storekeeper at the Hawkesbury, so silk may have been available for sale at Green Hills. <sup>97</sup> Andrew Thompson also sold white and printed silks at the Hawkesbury. <sup>98</sup>
- Nankeen silk was a pale yellow or buff coloured silk, named for its similarity in colour to Nankeen cotton cloth. It was exported from Guangzhou (Canton) to Europe during the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, and was sometimes distinguished in the 1790s from Canton silk. <sup>99</sup> Examples of Nankeen silk from the period are very similar in colour to the flag.
- Margot Riley suggests that the silk in the flag is more likely to be Chinese than Indian, and more likely to be early 19<sup>th</sup> century as the fibre is not very processed. Most of the silk advertised in early 19<sup>th</sup> century Sydney is from ships arriving from India, but some is from China, either directly or indirectly via Penang. <sup>100</sup> The ties on the left-hand side are made of linen, and were not uncommon as a material and a method of attaching a flag to a pole in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.
- Making blue rosettes, artificial flowers and linen ties was a skill with which many colonial women of the period were familiar.
- The central ‘original’ hole between the top of the shield and the upper motto ribbon is cut in a roughly circular shape. Gullick noted in 1908 that the shield was surmounted by a rose as a crest. <sup>101</sup> His photo of that year shows what appears to be a rose, possibly painted but perhaps a three-dimensional cloth rose. Artificial flowers, some made of silk, were widely available in Sydney from the same shops selling silk, ribbons, ladies’ hats and other such accoutrements. <sup>102</sup>
- This rose crest was still evident when the flag was photographed at Richmond School in 1908, but was missing by 1961, and it is possible that, given its location on the possible fold line, it simply fell off and was either discarded or souvenired, or was removed during Edward Campbell’s 1908 cleaning and restoration, or some combination of these factors.

## CONCLUSIONS

Now that we have looked at the history of the history, at several alternative histories or explanations of its origins and use, and the various studies of the fabric of the flag, what conclusions can we draw?

There are three verifiable facts:

- The earliest documented reference to the flag was in 1905, a century after Trafalgar
- The only provenance mentioned in 1905 was that the flag had flown over John Bowman’s farm when news was received of Nelson’s victory.
- In the 1905 the gold lettering was described as being in ‘splendid order’, but the rosettes were faded and the kangaroo and emu ‘a little worse for wear’.

It can also be verified that the flag was cleaned, restored or conserved and re-framed in 1908, 1977 and 1990.

There is some important circumstantial evidence:

- Silk fabric of this quality and dimensions was available in Sydney in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century (prior to 1810). Silk was available in shops in The Rocks and also at the Hawkesbury. It was a luxury, or at least, a relatively expensive item.

- Commercial sign painters, engravers, naturalists and other artists were working in Sydney during the same period. Prices for their work indicate that this was relatively expensive.
- The sewing evident in the flag demonstrates skills that were within the capability of most colonial women in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.
- John Bowman was trained as a cabinetmaker, so quickly making a functioning flag pole in c1806, or at any time, would have been within his capabilities.
- The quality and style of the artwork suggests the kangaroo and emu were added at a later date, and/or with different quality paint, and/or by a different artist. A very tentative attribution of artists may be to John Lewin for the shield and motto ribbons, and to Joseph Lycett for the kangaroo and emu, but this would require much further study to determine. Lewin had been in the colony since 1800, but importantly, if Lycett was involved, his arrival in the colony in 1814 would mean that the kangaroo and emu were not depicted on the flag during any Trafalgar celebrations in 1806 or resistance to the usurpation between 1808 and 1810.
- The rosettes may also be a later addition, as may be the missing rose crest. These could have been added at the same time as the kangaroo and emu might have been added.

The chronology of the legend reveals further information:

The provenance in 1905 simply stated that the flag flew on Bowman's property in c1806. All other elements of the story have been accumulated since then.

The key additions to the story occurred at times of significant imperial and national events in 1905, 1908 and 1912, 1916, 1935, 1946, the early 1950s and the new nationalism of the 1960s and 70s. The questioning of the provenance is also associated with significant events, the lead-up to the Centenary of Federation in 2001, and the bicentenaries of Trafalgar and the usurpation (2006, 2008 and 2010).

The legend in its final form as we know it dates from 1976. It is only 40 years old.

The key authors of the legend are William Gullick, then Thomas Mutch, then Frank Cayley. It was Cayley's summary of the legend that became accepted by the Mitchell Library in the mid-1970s as the correct provenance.

The contribution of John Bowman's descendants to the legend is critical to appreciate. The Cameron great-grandchildren and Edward Campbell, in effect, 'saved' the flag from obscurity and brought it into the realm of national story telling. The focus then moved from the Hawkesbury to the Hunter with R. Stuart Bowman and then possibly Leslie Bowman gradually providing further family associations, crucially the role of the Bowman womenfolk. Further research may elucidate their contacts or connections with Gullick and Mutch, in particular.

The three alternative explanations for the origins and uses of the flag add some additional interpretation: The addition of the rosettes and the kangaroo and emu would be consistent with the design of election banners in the 1840s. William Bowman may have adapted the older flag for this purpose.

The similarity of the design on the shield with that of the Odd Fellows is a strong argument for a fraternal banner, but the presence of Nelson's signal, which is not a feature of Odd Fellows symbolism, counters this. The addition of the kangaroo and emu, a pairing that features in Australian Odd Fellows' imagery, could suggest an adaptation of an older flag, but the peripheral engagement of the Bowmans in Odd Fellowship suggest this is unlikely.

The flag may have been temporarily used as a local military banner, a use that may be supported by Nelson's signal, but again the Bowman's minor engagement with the volunteers could argue against such a use for any extended period. However, while these are all plausible alternatives to explain the adaptation of an older banner, there is no clear reference to the flag in any of the contemporary records around these events, and nothing in the Bowman family stories to suggest such an adaptation or use.



All these options relate to Bowman connections in the Hawkesbury, where the actual flag and the early documentation of the flag is also found. The connections with the Hunter Bowmans do not suggest any alternative explanations, although further research around the king plate may reveal further information.

The final alternative explanation, that proposed by Bruce Baskerville that the flag is an emblem of the Hawkesbury settlers resistance to the usurpation of 1808-1810, remains, based upon the evidence of the fabric, an understanding of the visual symbolism, and the historiography of the legend, plausible and possibly the reason for the original flag's creation. The declaration of loyalty evident in the heraldic symbolism is consistent with this argument, and with the general tone of the Bowman family stories.

While much more historical research needs to be done, we would argue that the priority at this stage is more research on the fabric. Specifically, further analysis is needed to answer these questions:

- (1) How old is the silk?;
- (2) What is its origin?;
- (3) What weight is the silk and what are the original dimensions of the pieces?;
- (4) What are the paint types and mixes?;
- (5) What are the ages of the paint?; and
- (6) What can be revealed about the identity of possible artists through comparison with artistic styles, subjects and methods?

Until then our conclusion is that John Bowman of Archerfield, in the Hawkesbury, acquired a rather expensive flag made of Chinese silk, painted by a professional artist with the symbols of the then-newly united three kingdoms of the British Isles, ostensibly to celebrate Nelson's victory at Trafalgar. The flag was possibly used by the Hawkesbury settlers as an emblem of their resistance to the Usurpers between 1808 and 1810. The settlers may have all contributed to the cost of the fabric and the artistry as a community endeavour. The kangaroo and emu were added to the flag design at a later date, possibly for the 1843 elections, with some of the decoration by women in the Bowman family.

The flag was held by John Bowman until his death in 1825, then passed by inheritance to his grand-daughter Eliza Sophia who married the Reverend James Cameron of Richmond and Kurrajong, and after the Reverend's death in 1905 was donated by his children, possibly by or at the instigation of his unmarried daughter Septima Stewart Cameron, to Richmond School at the time of the Trafalgar centenary.

In about 1908 the flag came to the attention of William Gullick, who at that time was advising the new Commonwealth Government on the design of a new coat of arms. His claim that the flag was the origin of the Australian Arms then entered the nationalist discourses of the new federation and was gradually built upon, quite uncritically, by later writers who accepted the evolving provenance, not only without question but further embroidering the legend. It is of more than passing interest that a Bowman descendant, family genealogist Elizabeth Stuart Bowman, was the first person to query the accepted version that, despite its seeming great age, was actually a very recent imagining.

While much more research remains to be done, we are confident in saying that the Bowman Flag is a very significant historical artefact, but it is not the 'absolute origin of the Australian Arms'.

It is associated with John and Honor Bowman and their descendants. It is, however, an emblem that represents a much more complicated and much less nationalistic history than has been ascribed to it.

Further researching and exploring that history will show, we believe, that the Bowman Flag is actually far more significant, in terms of vexillology, heraldry, women's history and the history of our Commonwealth, than has hitherto been credited.

## END NOTES

- 1 For just a few examples, see ‘Trafalgar Day’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 October 1905, page 13; ‘Trafalgar Day’, *Newcastle Morning Herald*, 21 October 1905, p. 4; ‘Ireland and Trafalgar’, *Evening News*, 14 Nov 1905, p. 6.
- 2 The museum was first publicly mentioned on Friday 10 June 1904 at an official ceremony which was held to open the new school library, at which the Reverend Dr Cameron presided. Dr Cameron gave an opening address, whereupon Mrs Hall, the local Member of Parliament’s wife, “drew aside the Union Jack covering the school library”. “The head teacher, Mr A. J. McCoy...made a few more remarks, and intimated his intention of making a start with a museum in connection with the school.” - “Richmond Superior Public School | Opening of Library” *Hawkesbury Herald* 24 June 1904 p.10; The event was also reported in another newspaper the following day, highlighting that the “library” consisted of about ten dozen books and that the “ceremony took place in the school grounds, the books being on a table in the shed and covered with the Union Jack.” - “Opening a School Library” *Windsor and Richmond Gazette* 25 June 1904 p.11 Another speaker at the opening was Mr Edward Campbell who, like Dr Cameron, was married to one of John Bowman’s descendants.
- 3 In the *Windsor and Richmond Gazette* of 19 August 1905 a notice appeared on p. 7 which advised that, “if no objections are raised before the 22nd inst., the funds...to the credit of the Peace Demonstration Fund, will be applied to the formation of a museum in the Richmond Superior Public School. An advertisement in connection with this matter appears in this issue” - ‘Richmond’, *Windsor and Richmond Gazette* 9 December 1905, p. 12 In the classifieds section of the paper the aforementioned notice, addressed to “the Subscribers to the Fund for the Celebration of Peace” were essentially advised of the intention outlined above, with the added note that “[i]t is proposed to have a suitable inscription on the memorial.”
- 4 ‘Richmond’, *Windsor and Richmond Gazette* 28 October 1905, p.12. There is no indication of the size or design of this cabinet, but it is unlikely that it would have been of a size where a flag could be displayed alongside other “specimens”.
- 5 ‘Richmond’, *Windsor and Richmond Gazette* 9 December 1905, p. 12
- 6 ‘Empire Day at Richmond’, *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 30 May 1908, p. 7.
- 7 *ibid.* In the article it is reported that after unveiling the flag Joseph Cook “read the inscription which was as follows:- ‘This flag was flown by John Bowman on his farm, Archerfield, at Richmond, New South Wales, when the news arrived of the victory of Trafalgar, October 21<sup>st</sup>, 1805. Presented to the Richmond Superior Public School, May 25<sup>th</sup>, 1908.’ ” This inscription is somewhat different to that on the card which accompanied the flag to the Mitchell Library, which looks like it has been executed by a very professional hand with underlining of key words: “This Flag was flown by John Bowman, Esq<sup>re</sup> on his Farm “Archerfield”, at Richmond, N.S.W. when the news arrived in N. S. Wales of the Victory of Trafalgar, 21<sup>st</sup> October, 1805. Presented by his Great Grandchildren to Richmond Superior Public School. November, 1905.” “Esq<sup>re</sup>” and “in N. S. Wales” have been struck through with pencil and a later, less professional hand has further added “and transferred to the Mitchell Library, Sydney by the Department of Public Instruction, 1916”. So, either Cook did not recite the inscription correctly or in full, or the reporter writing the article failed to report it correctly, or the card that is now extant was written up at a later date.
- 8 “Local & General News”, *Muswellbrook Chronicle*, 3 June 1908 p. 2 . In this report it was stated that “[b]y the efforts of Mr G. E. Lyell, the present headmaster, this flag has recently been framed and hung in the main schoolroom.”
- 9 “Trafalgar | A Relic In Richmond | First Flag With Australian Arms | A Relic At Richmond”, *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 10 November 1916, p. 5.
- 10 “Local & General News”, *Muswellbrook Chronicle*, 3 June 1908, p. 2.
- 11 ‘Colonel Lamrock CB | Welcomed Home’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 November 1916, p. 7.
- 12 “The Bowman Flag”, *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 27 October 1916, p. 4.
- 13 *ibid.* “[t]he descendants of John Bowman who were concerned in the gift are Mr. C. B. Cameron, Leadville; Mrs R. Hope-Waugh, Neutral Bay; Mrs. J. Lamrock, Kogarah, wife of Colonel Lamrock, C.B. ; Mrs. F. S. Icely, Wahroonga; and Miss Cameron, of Wahroonga.”
- 14 William Freame “Old Sydney” *Windsor and Richmond Gazette* p.3 gives a brief description of the flag and a brief summary of its legend, noting that “Additional interest attaches to the flag that it is the first object on which the

- emu and the kangaroo are displayed together.”; Beverley Berry “Australia’s First Coat of Arms” *Sydney Morning Herald* 21 September 1946 p. 7.
- 15 Gullick’s awareness of the flag may have come about due to the press coverage of the Empire Day Celebrations, so the sequence is Empire Day celebrations in late May 1908, press reports May and early June 1908, Gullick takes a trip to the school in June to take a photo or arranges for one to be taken, and has it in hand when he writes to Hunt on 10 July 1908.
- 16 ‘Bowman flag in a frame Public School Richmond’, Government Printers Office, June 1908, State Library of NSW, digital order no. dl\_11340.
- 17 Hunt to Gullick, 15 July 1908, Department of External Affairs file 08/7124, National Archives of Australia (NAA) writes “As a matter of strict accuracy I suppose it would be more correct to date the first flying of this banner as 1806 rather than 1805. The Battle of Trafalgar took place only on 21<sup>st</sup> October of that year it (*sic*) would probably be well into 1806 before the news reached Sydney.” Notwithstanding Hunt’s official title, his functions also made him the principal public service advisor to the Prime Minister.
- 18 Gullick to Hunt, 10 July 1908, Department of External Affairs file 08/7124, National Archives of Australia (NAA).
- 19 Gullick to Hunt, 8 September 1908, Department of External Affairs file 08/9242, NAA. ‘Home’ referred to the United Kingdom.
- 20 Bruce Baskerville, ‘Coat of Arms’, *Symbols of Australia: Uncovering the stories behind the myths*, Melissa Harper and Richard White (eds.), UNSW Press and National Museum of Australia Press, Sydney and Canberra 2010, pp. 106-113.
- 21 WA Gullick, *Origin of Australian Arms*, December 1914, no publication details, possibly a press-proof produced by the NSW Government Printers Office, with no final publication taking place.
- 22 Once again Gullick gets the earliest year in which the flag could have been flown wrong.
- 23 ‘The New Coinage | Kangaroo’s Tail Wrong | Commonwealth Coat of Arms | Interesting Origin’, *Evening News*, 31 March 1910, p. 6.
- 24 Mitchell Library to Giles (Richmond Public School), 6 November 1916, ML1916-143, Mitchell Library.
- 25 ‘Pioneer Families | No 7 The Bowmans of Liberty Plains’, *Smith’s Weekly*, 5 January 1935, press clipping in file PXN 195 ‘Notes on Bowman Flag’, Mitchell Library.
- 26 *ibid.*
- 27 This claim remains in contemporary debates and records, for example Malcolm Turnbull, ‘Beneath the Boulevards: James Boyce’s ‘1835: The Founding of Melbourne & The Conquest of Australia’, *The Monthly*, July 2011; PROVguide.
- 57 Convict Records, Public Record Office Victoria, 2015: <http://prov.vic.gov.au/provguide-57>
- 28 ‘Plan to Exhibit “Convict Ship” Success in England | Australians will Oppose Scheme to Exploit Centenary’, *Daily News* (Perth), 18 January 1934, p. 7.’ ‘Old Myth Still Lives | That Alleged Convict Ship | Action is Sought’, *Newcastle Sun*, 18 January 1934, p. 1.
- 29 see Babette Smith, *Australia’s Birthstain: The Startling Legacy of the Convict Era* (Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest 2008), Chapter 9 ‘Best Forgotten’ *passim*.
- 30 ‘Australia’s First Coat of Arms’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 September 1946 p. 7. It should be noted that Mary was the only female child of John and Honor Bowman, so it should be “daughter” rather than “daughters”. The article also makes the claim, not seen either before or since, that “the flag was treasured and flown on subsequent great occasions by Bowman’s descendants”.
- 31 ‘Nelson Lost Trafalgar | Second Battle’, *Worker* (Brisbane), 16 December 1946, p. 3.
- 32 ‘Treasures of the Mitchell’ was first advertised in November 1945, but was no longer being scheduled when regular radio programs began to be listed in the daily newspapers in late 1949.

- 33 No title, radio script, undated, file PXN 195 'Notes on Bowman Flag', Mitchell Library
- 34 This is noted at the conclusion of the above-mentioned radio script.
- 35 'Historical Relic of Local Interest found in Scotland', *Singleton Argus*, 27 June 1952, p. 2.
- 36 'Historical Flag. For Argus 3.12.59', typescript, file PXN 195 'Notes on Bowman Flag', Mitchell Library.
- 37 Elizabeth Bowman provides as a source 'notes compiled by her father dated 3/12/1959', Elizabeth Bowman to Stephen Szabo, email correspondence, 5 July 2015, author's collection.
- 38 Mitchell collection - banner [i.e. Bowman flag, 1806 / said to be by Mary Bowman], Government Printers Office, 7 September 1961, Mitchell Library, Digital order no. d1\_10525.
- 39 Frank Cayley, Beneath the Southern Cross: The Story of Australia Through Flags (Reed, Sydney 1980), pp. 46-48; originally published as Flag of Stars (Rigby, Adelaide 1966).
- 40 *ibid*, p. 4.
- 41 C. Pearson to Miss S. Mourot, 30 April 1976, file PXN 195 'Notes on Bowman Flag', Mitchell Library.
- 42 ES Bowman, John and Honor Bowman of Richmond, New South Wales, and their Family (Archer Press, Singleton 1999).
- 43 *ibid*, p. 16.
- 44 *ibid*, p29. Email correspondence with Ms Bowman in 2015 indicates no further records pertaining to the flag, and known only within the family, were available to her at the time of researching the book or have since become available: Bowman to Szabo, 25 May 2015, author's collection.
- 45 James Woodford "Victory banner flagged as early inspiration for our coat of arms" *Sydney Morning Herald* 21 October 2005.
- 46 *ibid*.
- 47 Elizabeth Bowman "Bowman Family Pioneers" in *The Pioneer* April 2006 p. 10.
- 48 *ibid*. p. 12.
- 49 Margot Riley, 'The Bowman family's Trafalgar flag: symbol of patriotism or Australian Nelsoniana?', *Australiana*, Vol. 27, No. 3, August 2006, pp. 32-35.
- 50 'Ready at all times': The Hawkesbury resistance to the Rum Rebels', <https://historymatrix.wordpress.com/2013/08/06/ready-at-all-times-the-hawkesbury-resistance-to-the-rum-rebels/>, posted 6 August 2013, accessed 29 June 2015.
- 51 'The Hawkesbury Commons', <https://historymatrix.wordpress.com/2013/07/15/the-hawkesbury-commons/>, posted 15 July 2013, accessed 29 June 2015.
- 52 *The Maitland Mercury*, 4 March 1843. There is no indication given of the design of this purported "Australian flag" nor are the "appropriate mottoes" quoted.
- 53 *The Australasian Chronicle*, 22 June 1843.
- 54 *The Maitland Mercury*, 17 June 1843.
- 55 Frank Cayley Flag of Stars (Rigby, Adelaide, 1966) pp. 35-37; Frank Cayley Beneath the Southern Cross: The Story of Australia Through Flags (A H & A W Reed, Sydney, 1980) p. 28.
- 56 "Country News: Cumberland Boroughs Election" in *The Australian* 21 June 1843 pp. 2-3.
- 57 *ibid*. p. 2.
- 58 *ibid*.



- 59 *ibid.*
- 60 “Meeting of Electors at Liverpool” *Australasian Chronicle* 18 February 1843, p. 3.
- 61 “Australian Grand Lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows” in *The Sydney Monitor and Commercial Advertiser*, 29 November 1841 p. 2.
- 62 On the title page of its constitution and laws the full title of the organisation is given as Australian Supreme Grand Lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows. A variety of Odd Fellow organisations were to be established in Australia, with confusingly similar names.
- 63 *ibid.*
- 64 “Oddfellowship” in *Morning Chronicle*, 28 February 1846, p. 2.
- 65 Laws and Constitutions of the Australian Supreme Grand Lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows (Moffit, Sydney, 1846).
- 66 Reverend Henry T Stiles A Sermon, Preached at St Matthew’s Church, Windsor on Wednesday the 18<sup>th</sup> June, 1845, Before the Brethren of the United Loyal Hawkesbury Lodge, No. 7, of the Australian Supreme Grand Lodge, of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows (Sydney, 1845) pp. 14-15.
- 67 “Domestic Intelligence: Odd-Fellows” in *Sydney Chronicle*, 14 July 1847, p. 3.
- 68 In his book Odd Fellows: A History of IOOF Australia (Allen and Unwin, North Sydney, 1991), Geoffrey Blainey acknowledges the obscurity of the beginnings of Odd Fellowship in Australia, but does his best to trace the early days in New South Wales and Victoria. He refers to Australian Grand Lodge by various names, and touches on competition between the locally established organisation and “interlopers” from Manchester Unity, but it is clear that he is referring to the former when he writes at page 18 that “[e]very lodge of the IOOF in the neighbourhood of Sydney collapsed in the early 1850s.”
- 69 “The Hawkesbury Volunteers” in *Hawkesbury Advocate*, 9 March 1900, p.11, quoting *in extenso* from the *Windsor Advertiser* of 22 September 1860
- 70 *ibid.*
- 71 “Windsor - Volunteer Rifles” *The Empire* 27 June 1861 p. 5.
- 72 Letter from “A.M” *Sydney Morning Herald* 10 July 1861 ; Letter from “An Inhabitant of Windsor” *Sydney Morning Herald* 12 July 1861 p. 8; Letter from “A Volunteer” *Sydney Morning Herald* 15 July 1861 p. 2; Letter from “A Well-Wisher To The Corps” *Sydney Morning Herald* 22 July 1861 p. 8 are but some of these letters.
- 73 Letters appeared in *The Freeman’s Journal*, a leading Catholic publication, on 13 July 1861 and 20 July 1861 in which it was debated whether some ladies were excluded on the grounds of religion.
- 74 “The Presentation of Colours” *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 October 1861, p. 5.
- 75 *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 October 1861.
- 76 “Windsor: Volunteer Dinner” in *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 October 1868, p. 7.
- 77 *ibid.*
- 78 Letter from William Gullick to Atlee Hunt, 10 July 1908, 08/7124.
- 79 Gullick to Hunt, 22 July 1908, 08/7601.
- 80 Gullick to Hunt, 8 September 1908, 08/9424.

- 81 “The New Coinage – Kangaroo’s Tail Wrong – Commonwealth Coat of Arms – Interesting Origin” in *The Evening News*, 31 March 1910 p. 6.
- 82 *vide* W. A. Gullick *The Seals of New South Wales* (William Applegate Gullick Government Printer, Sydney, 1921) where he uses terms such as “the design of convictism” (p. 18), “convict emblems” (p. 12 and p. 24,) and “the old penal stage depiction” (p. 22) to describe some of the imagery of the Great Seal of the colony.
- 83 William A. Gullick *Origin of Australian Arms* (Government Printing Office, Sydney, 1914) p. 1.
- 84 Gullick to Hunt, 10 July 1908, 08/7124.
- 85 Hunt to Gullick, 15 July 1908, 8/7124.
- 86 Gullick to Hunt, 10 July 1908, 08/7124.
- 87 All information concerning the king plates is derived from the comprehensive book by Jakelin Troy *King plates: a history of Aboriginal gorgets* (Canberra, Aboriginal Studies Press, 1993)
- 88 Gullick to Hunt, 24 June 1910, 10/2923.
- 89 Hunt to the Prime Minister, 13 July 1910, 10/3071.
- 90 ‘Quotation for Restoration Work’, Western Australian Museum, undated, in file PXN 195 ‘Notes on Bowman Flag’, Mitchell Library; Elizabeth Bowman, ‘Bowman Family Pioneers’, address to the Union Club, Sydney, on Trafalgar Day 21 October 2005, printed in *The Pioneer* April 2006, pp. 10-13. The \$283 in 1977 now has a value of \$1,483, see <http://www.rba.gov.au/calculator/annualDecimal.html>.
- 91 ‘Bowman Flag | Report to the Mitchell Library, Sydney’, undated but after 2 September 1977, in file PXN 195 ‘Notes on Bowman Flag’, Mitchell Library.
- 92 ‘Quotation for Conservation Treatment’, 2 May 1990 and ‘Object Treatment Report’, no date, but appears to be December 1990, Campbell Conservation, copy provided by Mrs Elizabeth Bowman, 10 June 2015.
- 93 The \$3,000 in 1977 now has a value of \$5,540, see <http://www.rba.gov.au/calculator/annualDecimal.html>.
- 94 John Ritchie (ed.), *A Charge of Mutiny: The Court Martial of Lieutenant Colonel George Johnston for Deposing Governor William Bligh in the Rebellion of 26 January 1808* (National Library of Australia, Canberra 1988).
- 95 JW Lewin, ‘professor of Painting’, advertised for carmine paint, *Sydney Gazette*, 11 September 1808; Mr JW Lewin advertising his services painting portraits and landscapes, miniatures 5 guineas, portraits 40 shillings, *Sydney Gazette*, 18 September 1808; Lewin advertising his “Birds of New Holland”, painted, engraved and described, *Sydney Gazette* 20 November 1808.
- 96 In 1809, silk cloth was advertised at 45-75s/lb, *Sydney Gazette* 29 January 1809; Thomas Abbott offered a reward of 20 guineas for return of 15 silk bandanna handkerchiefs, *Sydney Gazette* 28 May 1809; Edward Wills had cloths and silk handkerchiefs to the value of £100 stolen from his shop in The Rocks, *Sydney Gazette* 30 April 1809; John Collis was selling ladies fancy silk handkerchiefs 6s each, *Sydney Gazette* 10 July 1808. In comparison, in

1809, bread was selling in the Sydney Markets for 5 pence/loaf, beef and mutton for 1 shilling 3 pence/lb, potatoes for 10-12 shillings/cwt, and fowls for 4-5 shillings/pair, *Sydney Gazette* 10 March 1809. In other words, one of Collis' ladies silk handkerchiefs had a retail value equal to the wholesale value of two chickens, a loaf of bread and half a pound of beef.

- 97 *Sydney Gazette*, 23 October 1808. For another example, Mrs Grant was selling plain, coloured and plaid silks, silk handkerchiefs, silk hose, sewing and twist silk, *Sydney Gazette* 7 May 1809.
- 98 'Advertisements', *Sydney Gazette*, 21 May 1809, p. 2.
- 99 William E Willmott, *Economic Organisation in Chinese Society*, Stanford University Press 1992, p. 92.
- 100 'Notice' Nankeen china and other silk handkerchiefs among the effects of the late Mr John Muirhead being sold at Simeon Lord's warehouse, *Sydney Gazette*, 29 June 1806, page 4; 'Ship News', The General Wellesley from Pulau Penang (with goods from Canton) including silk thread and sewing silk, *Sydney Gazette* 15 February 1807; Mrs Lewin was selling 'Nankeen silks of various colours', *Sydney Gazette*, 22 May 1808, p. 2.
- 101 Gullick to Hunt, 10 July 1908, "the crest is a rose, the Bowman family being English", in Department of External Affairs file 08/7124, NAA
- 102 For example, Mrs Ann Grant in Pitts Row was selling silks, artificial flowers, etc, *Sydney Gazette* 22 May 1808. There are at least 15 advertisements in the *Gazette* between 1805 and 1810 for artificial flowers.

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Full citations can be found in the relevant footnotes)

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