

“A symbol of our place in the world”: The Raising of the National Flag on Canadian Warships, 15 February 1965¹

By Kenneth W. Reynolds*

“Monday 15 February marked a turning point in the history of the Royal Canadian Navy.” These were the words of Commander Maurice Turner, captain of the destroyer escort Her Majesty’s Canadian Ship (HMCS) *Saskatchewan*.²

He wasn’t speaking of the creation of the Naval Service in 1910, or some great event of the Second World War, or the end of the Royal Canadian Navy (RCN) as a separate service within the Canadian military, but was referring instead to Proclamation Day—15 February 1965. That day, the National Flag was raised across Canada for the first time.

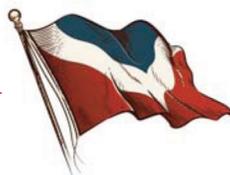
Within the RCN it also meant something else. It meant the loss of other beloved symbols, borne by Canadian warships in the First and Second World Wars and the Korean War—symbols under which Canadian sailors had fought, shed blood and, when necessary, died for King, country, and one another. They were symbols that signified the unity, at one time at least, of the navies of Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and other lands of the British

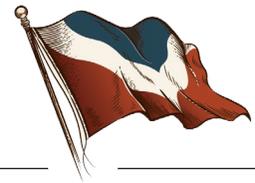
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Figure 1. Canadian National Flag. Source: Zscout370 (username), commons.wikimedia.org.

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Editor's Note / Note de la rédaction

The bi-national aspect of the North American Vexillological Association is one that enriches the pursuits of our organization immeasurably. The parallels and important differences between the flag traditions of the United States and Canada—and the interchange of ideas between vexillologists in both countries—provide important context for flag studies.

I had the privilege of attending the forty-ninth Annual Meeting of NAVA in Ottawa this fall. As our meeting was held just days before a federal parliamentary election, I was eager to explore the city and witness Canadian flag culture in person—and I was not disappointed! Canada's capital features numerous public flag displays, often grouping all thirteen provincial and territorial flags, on both government land and private property. As well, flags representing the European powers which historically controlled parts of Canada are seen.

Because of the meeting's proximity to universities and government facilities, we enjoyed the presence of numerous academics, military officers, and civil servants in the employ of the Canadian Crown. The program was filled with talks on the fascinating history of provincial and federal flags in Canada, and the ways in which flags have both reflected and influenced changing notions of Canadian identity. This year the Driver Award for Best Paper went to "An Orphaned Dominion?: Dominion Day and the Effects of Patriotic Memory on the Canadian Flag Debate," presented by Hugh Brady. You may know that Hugh is a native Texan, which only highlights the value of cross-border vexillological research. I heartily hope that many of the excellent papers from Ottawa will see publication in the pages of *Raven* or *Flag Research Quarterly*.

In this issue of FRQ, we bring you another important contribution to the literature of Canadian vexillology. Ken Reynolds originally presented his study of the Royal Canadian Navy's initial raising of the Maple Leaf Flag and final retirement of the White Ensign in 1965 at the forty-sixth Annual Meeting in Columbus, Ohio, in 2012. In addition to his excellent scholarship, Ken presents some breathtaking maritime photos from the archives. Ken's contribution was reviewed and approved by the editorial board of *Raven*, and should be considered a peer-reviewed article.

We are also pleased to present another installment in our ongoing efforts to alert our readers to vexillological scholarship appearing in other venues. If you don't have a subscription to any of the publications presented in our "Vexillo-Bibliography," please see your nearest librarian to request an Interlibrary Loan.

I know all who attended the Ottawa meeting were thrilled by the welcome given us by our Canadian colleagues. The welcome will surely be reciprocated by our American hosts in San José, California next October 14-16. Whether you are American, Canadian, or an international reader, we welcome you to enjoy Ken's fascinating research and to consider presenting your own work at San José or in the pages of *Flag Research Quarterly*.

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Guest Editor, FRQ

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FLAG RESEARCH QUARTERLY / REVUE TRIMESTRIELLE DE RECHERCHE EN VEXILLOLOGIE NO. 8

February / Février 2016
Vol. 3, Issue 1 / fascicule 1
ISSN 2334-4407

A research publication of the North American Vexillological Association / Une publication de recherche de l'Association nord-américaine de vexillologie. Published quarterly / Publié quatre fois par an.

Please submit correspondence and submissions to / Veuillez envoyer toute correspondance à l'adresse suivante: Flag Research Quarterly, Post Office Box 55071 #58049, Boston, Mass. 02205-5071 USA; frq@nava.org.

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Reynolds: “A symbol of our place in the world”: The Raising of the National Flag on Canadian Warships

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Empire in a single fleet: the Royal Navy writ large. These symbols were the White Ensign and, to a lesser degree, the Blue Ensign.

The White Ensign as well as the Canadianized versions of the Red and Blue Ensigns had been flown on Canadian warships in various combinations and at various times since soon after creation of the RCN (the use of the



Figure 2. The White Ensign being hoisted aboard HMCS *Huron* some time before April 1963. Source: Department of National Defence.

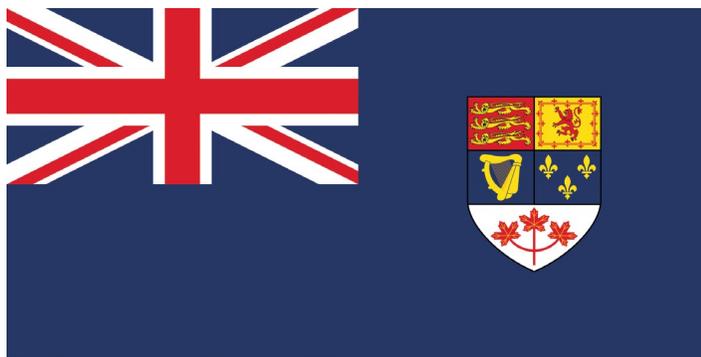


Figure 3. The Canadian variation of the Blue Ensign bearing the post-1957 version of the Canadian Coat of Arms. Source: Fry1989 (username), commons.wikimedia.org.

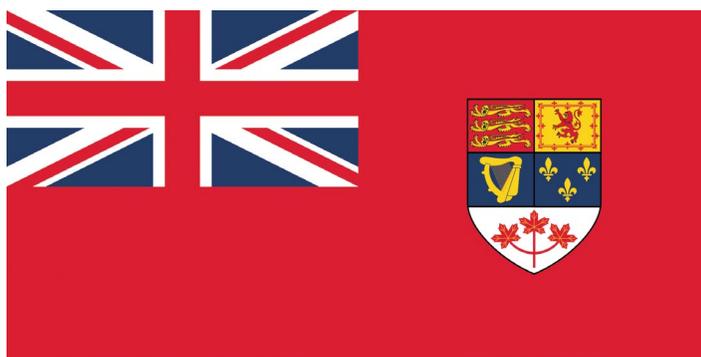
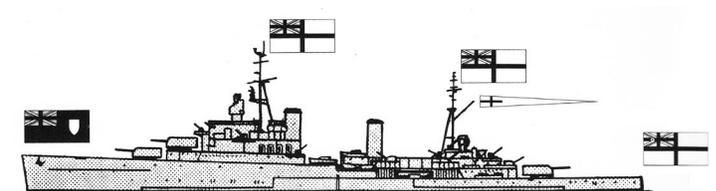
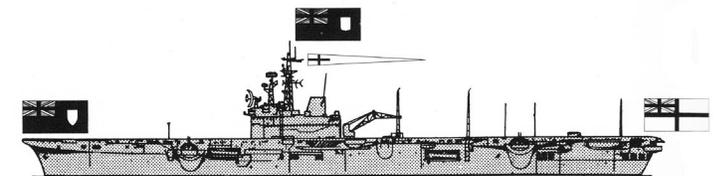


Figure 4. The Canadian variation of the Red Ensign bearing the post-1957 version of the Canadian Coat of Arms. Source: Fry1989 (username), commons.wikimedia.org.

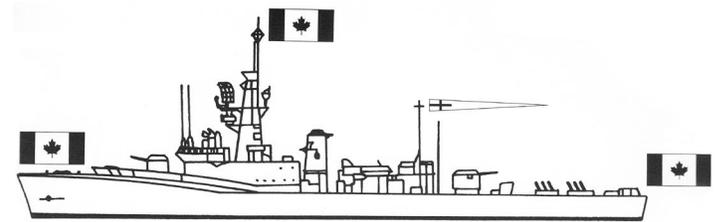
Royal Navy flag pattern continued until 1911, a year after the RCN was created). As Figure 5 depicts, from 1911 to 1961 the White Ensign flew from the ensign position at the stern (the back) and atop the masts of a Canadian vessel, while the Blue Ensign flew as the “jack” from the jack staff on the bow (the front). In 1961 the Red Ensign replaced the White at the masthead position(s) and, in 1965, the new National Flag replaced the various ensigns at the jack, masthead, and ensign positions.



1911-1961. White Ensign at stern; White Ensign at mastheads; White Commissioning Pennant; Blue Ensign at jackstaff as jack.



1961-1965. White Ensign at stern; Red Ensign at mastheads; White Commissioning Pennant; Blue Ensign at jackstaff as jack.



1965. Canadian National Flag as an ensign, a jack and at mastheads; White Commissioning Pennant.

Figure 5. The combination of ensigns on Canadian warships between 1911 and 1968. Source: Graeme Arbuckle, *Customs and Traditions of the Canadian Navy* (Halifax, N.S.: Nimbus Publishing, 1984).

As many will be aware, the adoption of the flag now so familiar to Canadians had a long and arduous journey from concept to reality. The nation was essentially split between a desire to formally adopt the Red Ensign as the national flag (the Red Ensign was, strictly speaking, only authorized for use on government facilities, but enjoyed widespread civilian use) and a desire to formally adopt a new and different design as the national symbol. The government’s announcement in 1963 that it intended to adopt a new design led to a veritable flood of designs from experts and amateurs alike, designs that ranged from the traditional to the artistic to the downright bizarre.

The debate over a national symbol even surfaced within the navy in a rather odd incident. On 1 July 1964 (Canada's national holiday, then called Dominion Day and since renamed Canada Day), the destroyer escort HMCS *Yukon* hoisted, against regulations, a homemade version of what appears to have been "Pearson's Pennant"—the proposed national flag design favoured by Prime Minister Lester Pearson. This was raised at sea—with the White Ensign at the ensign position, the Blue Ensign at the jack, the Red Ensign at the masthead, and the proposed flag at the gaff (which split off the main mast just below the masthead). The ship then sailed into the port of Londonderry, Northern Ireland, dressed as such until the Canadian squadron commander caught sight of it and ordered it removed.³



Figure 6. The "Pearson Pennant", the proposed National Flag design preferred by Prime Minister Lester Pearson. Source: Fry1989 (username), commons.wikipedia.org.

The story may have remained internal to the navy except that news of the incident was leaked to Robert Coates, a Member of Parliament and a supporter of the Red Ensign, who raised the matter in the House of Commons. The RCN admitted the incident had taken place and that the flag had flown from the masthead, but "only for a few hours."⁴

HMCS *Yukon*'s commander, Commander Robert Cocks, reported "the men had made the flag themselves on board ship and had hauled it up the main mast to see what it looked like" in "anticipation" of legislation adopting it as the national flag. He admitted that Naval Service Headquarters had not approved the wearing of the flag, and it was later confirmed that its hoisting was done upon Captain Cocks's initiative. The Department of National Defence's response noted the "proposed maple leaf design" had been flown at sea "but that there were no ulterior or sinister motives involved in the incident".⁵

Whatever the reasoning behind the hoisting of the Pearson Pennant aboard HMCS *Yukon*—and, given the paucity of documentation on the incident, where it fits exactly within the Canadian flag debate will probably never be known—at



Figure 7. HMCS *Yukon* at sea before 1965. Source: Department of National Defence.

least the media got something out of it. One newspaper's final response was to ask the ship's captain "what's next", a "full blown Mae West [life jacket] up there for the afternoon, or perhaps a skull and crossbones just to see if any Yankee clip-pers are about?"⁶

Meanwhile, the formal parliamentary debate in Canada over a national flag had already begun. By September a flag committee had been formed and, after weeks of deliberations, its recommendations went to House of Commons where a majority of members voted in favour of adopting the red and white maple leaf flag design in mid-December 1964. Two weeks later, on 31 December, Prime Minister Pearson announced that the newly-minted national symbol would be officially raised for the first time at a date in the near future as chosen by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.⁷

This decision had ramifications within the Canadian military, as Canadian Forces Headquarters explained at the end of December 1964. When officially unfurled, the National Flag was to be flown at the jack, masthead, and ensign staffs of all Canadian warships, in the process displacing the Blue, Red, and White Ensigns from their current locations. The new flag would also replace the White Ensign at funerals and court-martials.⁸

The loss of the traditional ensigns—particularly the White Ensign, which would be replaced as the national naval ensign by the National Flag—was bound to lead to a reaction from the naval community. By 1964 the RCN had been waging an internal struggle in terms of its identity for a generation, dating back at least to the Second World War. In a sense, this struggle included a tug of war over symbology, related to the question of whether the RCN was to be seen as traditionally British or increasingly Canadian.

When the RCN was formed in 1910, there was no question as to its identity—it was part of the imperial Royal Navy. Its first two warships were transferred from the Royal Navy and many of Canada's sailors from 1910 onward were either still-serving members or former members of the Royal Navy. Naturally, that identity began to change over time as

more and more Canadian-born sailors joined the RCN and warships began to be constructed in Canada. At the same time, however, the RCN still fell in line with the Royal Navy in terms of ship designs, training, operational tactics and planning, uniforms, ranks, and insignia. By the Second World War, the RCN was more Canadian in terms of its personnel and vessels, but was still British in terms of what it did and how it went about it.

The issue of symbols arose particularly during and after the Second World War. Although the basic appearance of a Canadian warship or a Canadian sailor was the same as one in the Royal Navy, little differences started to appear. For example, some RCN captains permitted maple leaves to be painted or mounted in metal on the sides of ship funnels.

Another example was the question of whether the tunics of RCN officers should bear cloth shoulder flashes embroidered with, or buttons stamped with "CANADA", as opposed to earlier imperial designs. This question was hotly debated. In the late 1940s relations between the officers and the enlisted men were difficult, a situation which had existed during the war as well, and resulted in a number of mutinies onboard individual warships. One of the underlying causes of these disturbances was a generational gap between those (often older) officers who believed the RCN should remain British in outlook, and those (often younger) seamen who believed it needed to be Canadian. One thing is clear, though; the continued use of the White Ensign does not appear to have been in dispute during that time.



Figure 8. HMCS *Magnificent* on her way to Egypt in 1957. Source: Department of National Defence.

At least not until 1957, when flying the White Ensign on Canadian warships was problematic for at least one ship. On 10 January 1957 the aircraft carrier HMCS *Magnificent* sailed into Port Said, Egypt, carrying the Canadian Army's contingent for the new United Nations peacekeeping operation in that country. Given the background to the situation—a stalled Anglo-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt in October and November 1956—Egyptian authorities were not comfortable with the presence of anything British. *Magnificent* was bedecked with the UN's blue and white insignia. At the

same time, she entered port flying the White Ensign at her stern, "virtually identical" to the Royal Navy carriers that had entered the same port during the crisis in 1956. This coincidence caused, in the words of her captain, "considerable consternation." *Magnificent's* commander, Captain A. B. F. Fraser-Harris, completely understood, as he was a Canadian-born but British-raised naval officer, born to British parents. As a naval historian later put it: "This apparent 'Britishness' was undoubtedly reinforced when Fraser-Harris greeted the local Egyptian military commander speaking with a refined English accent and wearing a uniform that, except for Canada flashes and an UN armband, was identical to those worn by British invaders two months previously."⁹ Not surprisingly, Captain Fraser-Harris's post-operation report reflected a considered desire to see the adoption of more "Canadian" military symbols.¹⁰



Nelson's Blood

Figure 9. British or Canadian?—part 1. Source: *The Ottawa Journal*, 7 January 1965.

In 1964 the Naval Officers Association of Canada (NOAC) took an immediate stance against the proposed replacement of the White Ensign by the National Flag. The association represented some 2,500 RCN officers and stated the government's order had been received with "indignation and regret." It continued: "We feel that a valiant fighting force has been grossly insulted and affronted to an extent that will eventually rebound to the discredit of Canada and its people. Well over 150,000 Canadians have served under the White Ensign in peace and war." NOAC was, however, willing to accept a redesign of the White Ensign—its Canadianization perhaps—that would see the Union Flag in the canton replaced with the National Flag.¹¹

Some retired naval officers were interviewed by the press and supported NOAC's view that the change would be detrimental to the RCN. Not surprisingly, comments from serving members of the RCN to the press appear to have been minimal. However, Rear-Admiral Michael Stirling, Flag Officer Pacific Coast, was relatively positive about the change: "I have served under the White Ensign for many years and I shall be sorry to see it go. But I don't feel strongly about it. It's a logical step, now that Canada has adopted the new flag." On the other coast and with a less optimistic opinion, Rear-Admiral William Landymore, Flag Officer Atlantic Coast, felt it was a "personal loss," but "our service duty is for the defence of the country so it will be clear to all men of all ranks that it is their duty to accept the change without question."¹²

Interestingly, an "anonymous ex-navy lower deck rating" (an ordinary sailor as opposed to an officer) raised a view of the proposed replacement contrary to what NOAC was presenting. He noted: "The White Ensign advocates are for the most part retired officers who took their officer training in England before the last war. It's only natural that they, imbued with a Nelson tradition and British naval superiority, should feel the way they do."¹³ After the fact, in 1966, A. F. B. Fraser-Harris, by then a retired commodore, wrote about traditions within the ongoing debate about service unification, arguing for a situation "in which Canadians can build future history and new tradition in the service of Canada whether by land, sea, air or space... Do we really need the support of such old symbols as flags, kilts or bell-bottomed trousers?"¹⁴

The government's intention that Canadian warships exchange ensigns with the new National Flag was quickly transformed into planning and orders. On 8 January 1965 Canadian Forces Headquarters began issuing instructions, although the date for Proclamation Day wasn't yet known, and recognized that "obviously ships either proceeding outside Canadian waters or already there, present the greatest problem of ensuring receipt of the new Canadian flag by proclamation day."¹⁵

Three weeks later the Canadian government announced that Queen Elizabeth had signed the proclamation of the new National Flag, to become effective on 15 February.¹⁶

Canadian Forces Headquarters was now able to issue further guidance for the military flag-raising ceremonies. In particular it noted the main ceremony would take place on Parliament Hill in Ottawa at 1200 hours local time and that "commanders of all military installations, ships and units are requested to lower the Red Ensign, Blue Ensign and service ensigns where appropriate [in] a ceremony consistent with that being held in Ottawa."¹⁷

Within the military ceremonial planning staff itself, there was undoubtedly recognition of what the White Ensign and the others meant to serving and retired Canadian sailors. For example, prayers proposed for the ceremony included the following: "May the remembrance of the courage, loyalty and self-sacrifice of the men who fought under this emblem in defence of our nation so fire us with patriotic zeal that we shall ever be ready to venture all, even life itself, in the same holy cause."¹⁸ Perhaps more important was the meeting on 12 January of the Chief of the Defence Staff and his senior leadership which discussed how it had been suggested that the service ensigns simply be lowered the night before the flag raising, with the new flag being raised on 15 February "with appropriate ceremonies." The military's opinion was that "it was not proper just to 'put away' the Red Ensign or

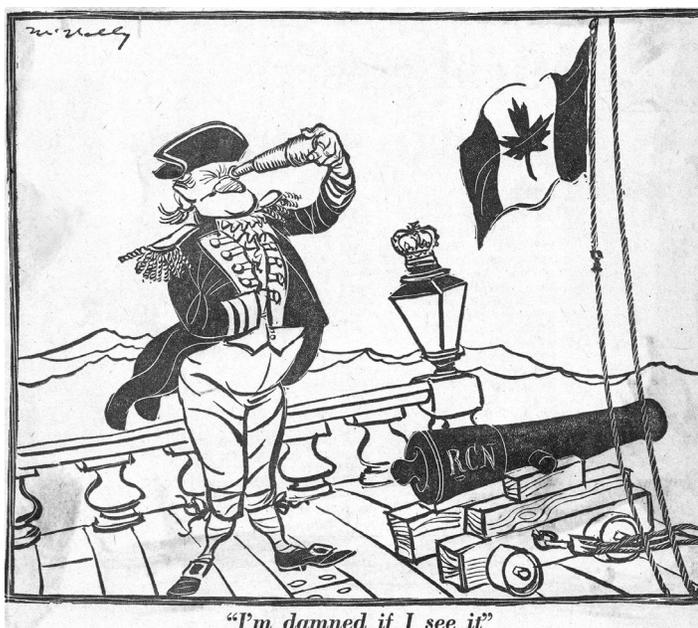


Figure 10. British or Canadian—part 2. Source: *The Ottawa Citizen*, undated.

other Service Ensigns without some ceremony” and generally agreed that some kind of combined (lowering and raising) ceremony would be created.¹⁹

On 15 February 1965 Canadian military units and establishments across the country and in locations around the world lowered the relevant service ensign or ensigns—White and Blue for the navy, the Red for the army, and the specialized Royal Canadian Air Force ensign for the air force—and raised the new National Flag in their place(s). The navy’s case is, however, particularly worthy of focus mostly because of the contentious nature of the change for the RCN.

The flag-lowering and –raising ceremony of February 1965 affected the RCN on land as well as at sea. After all, the RCN also incorporated commissioned (HMCS) “stone frigates” (naval reserve divisions), naval radio stations, and other shore establishments—all of which flew the White Ensign. Proclamation Day at these units saw ceremonies similar to the others held by Canadian military units on land at home and overseas.

Members of HMCS *Niagara*, the RCN contingent with the Canadian military liaison staff in Washington, DC, participated alongside army and air force personnel in one ceremony

held at the Canadian Embassy and another at NATO’s Supreme Allied Command Atlantic (SACLANT) headquarters in Norfolk, Virginia.²⁰ Rear-Admiral Stirling, Flag Officer Pacific Coast, led a large flag-raising ceremony at the land-based HMCS *Naden* in Esquimalt, British Columbia.²¹ In Cornwallis, Nova Scotia, the ceremony incorporated not only the sailors of the land-based training unit HMCS *Cornwallis*, but also public servants, school children, and the local Sea Cadet corps.²² Meanwhile, in the town of Frobisher Bay, Northwest Territories (now Iqaluit, Nunavut), Lieutenant A. S. Brockley, officer commanding the naval radio station there, read the Queen’s proclamation, lowered the White Ensign, raised the new flag in “a brief ceremony,” and shortened the service because the temperature outside was -4°F (-20°C).²³

But it was at sea, onboard warships, where the ceremony in February 1965 arguably held the most symbolism of change between the old and the new. Despite the essential contributions made by naval shore establishments during the Second World War, it was warships that were sunk and whose crews almost entirely supplied the officers and men found on the navy’s list of wartime fatalities.

Gauging the reaction of Canadian warships to the loss of the White Ensign and the raising of the National Flag is no straightforward matter. However, there is one type of document, routinely submitted at the time, which helps. The monthly “report of proceedings” was an internal report signed off by a ship’s captain and sent directly to his Flag Officer in Command, noting a ship’s activities, comings and goings, and highlights for a given month. While not perfect documents—for example, there was no expectation that any report would reveal that a particular captain thought the replacement of the White Ensign to be absolutely reprehensible or disgraceful (although some may have thought exactly that)—the reports of proceedings are still very useful as evidence.

On 15 February 1965 there were forty-one commissioned warships in the RCN, including an aircraft carrier, destroyers, destroyer escorts, frigates, minesweepers, an operational support ship, an escort maintenance ship, a training vessel, and a submarine. The navy was in the midst of downsizing, the larger historical context to this entire story being the ongoing integration of trades (for example, the creation of a single training system) across the RCN, Canadian Army, and Royal Canadian Air Force and the move toward the unification of the three services into the single Canadian Armed Forces in 1968. Throughout this period the navy continued to shrink and to merge its identity into the Canadian Forces. Such developments as had already taken place by 1965 undoubtedly weighed on the minds of ships’ captains when the National Flag was hoisted on their vessels.



Figure 11. Two American Marines—perhaps the NATO duty personnel for the day—prepare to lower the Red Ensign (which does not appear to have the Canadian coat of arms embroidered on it) at NATO’s SACLANT Headquarters in order to replace it with the new National Flag. Source: Department of National Defence.

As the story in *The Crownsnest*, the RCN's magazine, later put it, the lowering of the beloved White Ensign and the raising of the new National Flag was "observed in ceremonies, sometimes emotion charged, but all pledging loyalty and devotion to Canada and its flag."²⁴ The responses to these ceremonies (reports of proceedings exist for thirty-four of the forty-one vessels then in commission²⁵) range from no mention at all to matter-of-fact responses, claims of being "the first to" or "the last to", to being impressed, to actual excitement.

Some captains made no mention at all of the flag-raising ceremony held onboard their ship in the monthly report. These included HMC Ships *Algonquin*, *Antigonish*, *Buckingham*, *Fort Erie*, *Lanark*, *New Waterford*, *St. Croix*, *Swansea*, and *Victoriaville*. Care should be taken not to automatically assume that an absence of mention means the commander of the ship was opposed to the change in ensigns—there's simply no way to conclude anything from a non-mention. After all, it can also be observed that the reports for HMC Ships *Algonquin* and *Antigonish* are extremely short and didn't say much of anything and that the report for the frigate HMCS *New Waterford* pointed out that the ship was in drydock in Montreal undergoing a refit and most of its crew was scattered about fulfilling other duties.²⁶ Ironically, one other ship didn't mention the ceremony in its report. HMCS *Yukon*, still commanded by Commander Robert Cocks, described, instead, the last-minute abandonment of a planned visit to the port of Manzanillo, Mexico. Its ceremony took place at sea.²⁷



Figure 13. Some of HMCS *Yukon*'s chief petty officers posing with the White Ensign after the ceremony. Source: Department of National Defence.

Other warship commanders had very little to say about the ceremony or were very matter of fact about it. Lieutenant-Commander William Hughes, captain of the frigate HMCS *Beacon Hill*, based in Esquimalt, British Columbia, noted only that "the White Ensign was replaced by Canada's National Flag."²⁸

Onboard HMCS *Bonaventure*, the RCN's sole aircraft carrier, then in the harbour of San Juan, Puerto Rico, Captain Robert Timbrell later reported extensively on the "colourful Flag Raising ceremony," but without any particular emotive comment. He did note the presence of Canadian, Puerto Rican, and British dignitaries and Puerto Rican media, a 21-gun salute from the American naval base, and a fly past of twelve Tracker aircraft from the RCN's 880 Squadron and four Sea King helicopters from its 50 Squadron.²⁹



Figure 12. Commander Robert Cocks reading the Queen's Proclamation to the ship's company onboard HMCS *Yukon* on 15 February 1965. Source: Department of National Defence.



Figure 14. The ship's company of HMCS *Bonaventure* on the aft deck to witness the flag-raising ceremony. Source: Department of National Defence.



Figure 15. The White Ensign and the National Flag being exchanged on a temporary ensign staff on the aft deck of HMCS *Bonaventure*. Source: Department of National Defence.

Commander Charles Leighton, captain of the destroyer escort HMCS *Terra Nova*, then anchored in Halifax, was likewise understated. He reported “the Canadian Flag was raised on the Ensign and Jack Stuffs in place of the White and Blue Ensigns.”³⁰

Onboard HMCS *Nipigon*, a destroyer escort based in Halifax and captained by Commander Donald Saxon, the ship’s company was formed up in its divisions (the various organizations within the ship which the crew belonged to), the Royal Proclamation authorizing the new Canadian flag was read, and prayers were offered, Saxon pointing out the ceremony was held for this “memorable occasion.”³¹

Commander Turner’s HMCS *Saskatchewan*, mentioned at the outset and moored in Esquimalt, also held a similar ceremony, the “turning point” he noted not being described as a call for celebration or mourning.³²

In San Juan, Puerto Rico, the frigate HMCS *Cap de la Madeleine* was awaiting the start of a naval exercise on the day. Lieutenant-Commander Francis French noted that “a quietly dignified ceremony was held during which the White Ensign was hauled down and the new Canadian flag was hoisted.”³³

Onboard the destroyer escort HMCS *Restigouche*, anchored in Halifax, Commander Bernard Thillaye reported that the “ship’s company went to divisions when the White Ensign was lowered for the last time in HMCS RESTIGOUCHE, and the New Canadian Flag was hoisted in accordance with the Queen’s Proclamation.”³⁴

Commander Alexander Kilpatrick, captain of the destroyer escort HMCS *Qu’Appelle*, was very matter of fact in his report on the ceremony. Onboard his ship, then in the Pacific Ocean on the way back to Esquimalt, the White Ensign was lowered and, simultaneously, the National Flag “hoisted with due ceremony.” With the ship’s company at divisions, the Queen’s proclamation was read, prayers given, “God Save the Queen” and “O Canada” were played “by means of tape” and he addressed the officers and men present (unfortunately, his address was not recorded).³⁵

Onboard the destroyer escort HMCS *Assiniboine*, also anchored in Halifax, Commander Walter Blandy’s later comments on the ceremony were short and to the point: “the new National Flag of Canada took the place of the White and Blue Ensigns.”³⁶

Other captains took the opportunity to point out that their vessel was the first to do something, or the last, with respect to Proclamation Day. The destroyer escort HMCS *Columbia* was near Land’s End, England, at 0800 hours Greenwich Mean Time when its ceremony was carried out, the White Ensign being lowered and the National Flag hoisted. Commander Peter Hinton felt that his vessel “was probably the first Canadian warship to hoist this ensign.”³⁷



Figure 16. The exchange of naval ensigns onboard HMCS *Fraser* on 15 February 1965. Source: Department of National Defence.

Meanwhile, in the Pacific Ocean, southeast of Japan, the destroyer escort HMCS *Fraser* staked its claim to “becoming the last ship in the RCN to lower the white ensign.” Commander Richard Carle kept this flag aside in order to be able to present it to the Naval and Maritime Museum once back at Esquimalt.³⁸

Lieutenant-Commander Thomas Irvine, captain of the frigate HMCS *Stettler*, noted that his vessel had been released from its dock at Esquimalt “immediately after the flag changing ceremony had been carried out and presumably became the first ship under way in local waters wearing the new Canadian flag.”³⁹

Other captains were nostalgic about the exchange of ensigns, and notably sad at the loss of the White Ensign. The training vessel HMCS *Oriole*, the last sailing ship serving in a Commonwealth navy, was docked in Esquimalt harbour on 15 February 1965. Lieutenant-Commander W. D. Walker formed up his ship’s company for the ceremony, later writing: “This was an especially sad occasion for ORIOLE. Not only were we sorry to lose the White Ensign but to lower it from the last commissioned sailing vessel in the world today entitled to fly it was indeed a sad occasion.”⁴⁰

On Proclamation Day the operational support ship HMCS *Provider*, one of the RCN’s largest ships at the time, was docked in Carlisle Bay, Barbados. Onboard, Captain Kai Boggild and his crew held their ceremony on the aft portion, near the ensign staff. The ceremony was carried out, like so many of the others, with Boggild later reporting the “feelings of the Ship’s Company were matched by the weather—sunny periods with intermittent rain squalls.”⁴¹

Commander George MacFarlane onboard the destroyer escort HMCS *Chaudière*, then berthed at San Juan, Puerto Rico, provided a demonstrative account of the ceremony, calling it an opportunity “to say a fond and sad farewell to the White Ensign, and greet the new Canadian Flag. The ceremony was one heavy with emotion and a memorable one which will certainly leave a lasting impression in the minds of those who attended.”⁴²

HMCS *Annapolis*, another destroyer escort then moored in Halifax harbour, noted that Proclamation Day was “a day which will not soon be forgotten by those serving in the Atlantic Command of the Royal Canadian Navy.” The ship’s company had been formed up in its divisions, with the lowering of the White and Blue Ensigns and the raising of the National Flag scheduled for 1200 hours sharp. Commander Robert Peers noted: “Fittingly at 1159 a ray of sunshine penetrated the clouds to illuminate the Ensign in its last minute. There were few dry eyes.”⁴³

If there was one word used most often to describe the ceremony it was “impressive,” in a sense that didn’t necessarily convey whether the captain in question was happy or sad about the situation. Lieutenant-Commander Albert Campbell, onboard the frigate HMCS *Jonquière*, docked in Esquimalt harbour, wrote that 15 February 1965 was “distinguished” by the lowering and raising ceremony, and instructions for it “were carried out and provided a suitable dignified and impressive setting for this occasion.”⁴⁴

The destroyer escort HMCS *St. Laurent* was off Barbados when the day arrived. Commander Denis Lee later reported that his ship’s ceremony was led by Captain David MacKnight, the commander of the Fifth Canadian Escort Squadron, and described the ceremony as “most impressive.”⁴⁵

Onboard the frigate HMCS *Sussexvale*, Lieutenant-Commander Trevor Shuckburgh and his ship’s company were on their way down the Pacific coastline from California to Balboa, on the western entrance to the Panama Canal. His report was brief, but positive, noting the “historic day in our country’s history” when “an impressive ceremony was held for the lowering of the White Ensign and the raising of our National Flag.”⁴⁶

The frigate HMCS *New Glasgow* was travelling with *Sussexvale* on the way to the Panama Canal. Its captain, Lieutenant-Commander John Cavenagh, also used few words to describe the occasion, declaring it “brief but impressive.”⁴⁷

Finally, the captain of the destroyer escort HMCS *Gatineau*, tied up in Halifax harbour, only quickly noted the ceremony on his vessel, providing no particular details. However, Commander William Kinsman did go on to describe the ceremony he attended later that afternoon at HMCS *Stadacona*—the navy’s east coast headquarters ashore in Halifax—where the RCN laid up several White and Blue Ensigns and replaced them with the new National Flag. Kinsman described this as “a most stirring and impressive affair.”⁴⁸

Other captains were a little more animated in their reporting of the event. Onboard the escort maintenance ship HMCS *Cape Scott* attempts to carry out orders and hold the flag lowering and raising ceremony proved to be an adventure. At the start of February 1965 Commander Tony Law’s vessel was just ending a goodwill cruise of Chile and Peru and heading for, of all places, Easter Island/Rapa Nui. *Cape Scott* was returning there to pick up scientists and doctors as part of the Medical Expedition to Easter Island (METEI).⁴⁹

While still in Callao, Peru—the ship’s last port of call before departure—Commander Law had hoped to receive his allotment of National Flags for the upcoming ceremony. Unfortunately, as the captain reported, “they failed to generate and we were forced to go into production. With



Figure 17. The escort maintenance ship HMCS *Cape Scott*. Source: Department of National Defence.

the aid of the official description and a drawing taken from a Halifax newspaper cutting, the design team of Mr. Fowler and myself went into action.” (Charles Fowler was an architect and Commander Law a well-known artist.)⁵⁰

It wasn't easy. The “official description” consisted of the text of a naval message sent at the end of January acknowledging that the two National Flags wouldn't reach *Cape Scott* in time. The text reads: “New flag is ‘Union Jack’ red one quarter next to staff and one quarter in fly. Centre two quarters white. Centred on white portion is ‘Union Jack’ red maple leaf with eleven leaf points not including stem. Odd point is at top of leaf. Maple leaf covers three quarters of white portion in width and five sixths of white portion in height including stem which is straight. The overall portion should be one by width two by length.”⁵¹

Two days of failure were followed by success on day three in constructing patterns for the ship's sailmaker to make Canadian flags for the jack and ensign staffs. Law noted: “If flag collecting ever becomes as popular a hobby as stamp or coin collecting, surely as first issues with slight imperfections, the specimens would be very valuable indeed.”⁵²



Figure 18. The National Flag being brought forward at divisions onboard HMCS *Cape Scott* on 15 February 1965. Source: Department of National Defence.

Homemade flags in hand, the crew of *Cape Scott* and their passengers held the ceremony at sea on 15 February. It was reportedly well-covered as two naval photographers, film crews from the National Film Board and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, and print reporters were reported being onboard for the occasion. Commander Law's final comments about the ceremony were limited to noting that it “was the first opportunity that my ship's company had to see the new flag flying and I heard many enthusiastic comments.”⁵³



Figure 19. Leading Seaman T. Pico piping the National Flag up the staff onboard HMCS *Cape Scott*. Source: Department of National Defence.



Figure 20. The exchange of ensigns onboard HMCS *Cape Scott*. Source: Department of National Defence.

A couple of other warship commanders proved to be even more excited about the flag ceremony. Onboard the destroyer escort HMCS *Mackenzie*, docked at Esquimalt, Commander Henry Wade felt the ceremony symbolized “the greater degree of participation in world affairs which our country has independently assumed. While it has been an honour for the Royal Canadian Navy to sail and fight under the White Ensign, the majority of my officers and men, particularly the younger ones, are pleased and proud to serve under a flag which is so distinctively Canadian.”⁵⁴



Figure 21. HMCS *Kootenay* before 15 February 1965 with a maple leaf attached to its funnel, but still flying the White Ensign. Source: Department of National Defence.

But it was likely Commander Christopher Pratt, captain of the destroyer escort HMCS *Kootenay*, who was the most effusive about Proclamation Day. Just before the White and Blue Ensigns were lowered onboard his vessel, then moored in Halifax harbour, he spoke to the ship’s company about what this day meant:

In a few moments we will watch as the White Ensign is lowered on board this ship for the last time.

Since the Royal Canadian Navy had its beginning more than half a century ago, we, and those who have gone before us, have been honoured to share this ensign with the Royal Navy and other Navies of the Commonwealth. No flag at sea has had a more glorious history, and it has been an inspiration to all who have looked up to see it flying over their heads in peace and war.

We shall always be indebted to the Royal Navy for our start in life, for having given us the heritage of a thousand years of sea power; it is a Service which alone for more than a century preserved the peace and had no equal in any ocean.

When the Royal Canadian Navy began, Canada as a country was only forty-three years of age; she had no foreign policy of her own, and for several years still to come, her external affairs were determined in London by the British Parliament.

Now Canada has her own place in the world; she makes her own foreign policy, and her ministers take an active and independent part in seeking a path through the wilderness between the Age of Power and the Age of Reason.

It is time for us to have our own colours, a symbol of

our place in the world. The birth of our new flag has been long and stormy; but it is a true product of parliamentary process, of negotiation and compromise, and it comes to us by the will of our people and from the hand of our Queen.

It comes to us innocent of any historical past, and with its future in our hands.

It is our honour to make of it what we will. Its glory will be our glory. If it is tarnished, it will be because we have failed. The new flag is ours to fight and die for, and there are Canadians, perhaps some here among us, who are bound to find that destiny. But above all, it is ours, and we shall take it to our hearts as the symbol of our Canadian Identity.

Ours is a dedicated calling. Dedicated because we are prepared to place the demands of duty before our personal preference, and to sacrifice ourselves for the good of our ship, our navy, our country and our Queen. We do this every day in some degree. Let us remember to offer these sacrifices, large and small, for the greater glory of our Canadian Flag, that it may fly with honour and respect and distinction in every part of the world.”⁵⁵

If Commander Pratt represented the younger “Canadian” view of things, Rear-Admiral William Landymore, Flag Officer Atlantic Coast, represented the older “British” view. Mentioned previously, HMCS *Stadacona* hosted a ceremony on the afternoon of 15 February 1965 where representatives of the individual ships’ companies of the thirty vessels of Atlantic Command, RCN, laid up their White and Blue Ensigns and symbolically took on the new National Flag.⁵⁶



Figure 22. The White and Blue Ensigns of Atlantic Command paraded for the final time at HMCS *Stadacona* before their replacement by the National Flag. Source: Department of National Defence.

During this ceremony Rear-Admiral Landymore spoke the following:

The ceremony which brings us together today marks an end and a beginning.

In a moment we will pay final tribute to two ensigns which for more than half a century have been the insignia of the Royal Canadian Navy. Then we will uncase and unfurl the new flag, and in so doing, will accept it into our keeping.

Over this past half century our ships have sailed to all parts of the world, in peace and war, wearing the White Ensign, and when in port or at anchor, both at home and abroad, the Blue Ensign has flown from the jack staff of our ships. It has also distinguished our naval auxiliary vessels.

It is never easy to break ties that link us with a proud and vital past. It is not easy to end old friendships if they cannot be renewed. I have no doubt, therefore, that for many of us here today and indeed, for many across Canada and throughout the Commonwealth, the separation of the White and Blue Ensigns from the Royal Canadian Navy, after so long a period, is an event we cannot help but experience with a feeling of regret.

Many of us have taken the White Ensign for granted and it may not have occurred to us that a change might some day be made. It is only when such a change occurs that we realize how attached we are to the familiar things around us. Those of us who have personal memories of the sacrifices of war will feel the greater loss, and yet, if we pause for a moment to reflect, I feel that what we really should experience on this occasion is a sense of pride and satisfaction.

I believe that this feeling should come from the realization that, throughout the whole period of the Royal Canadian Navy's association with the White Ensign, our Navy has upheld at all times the great honour and respect that this symbol has for centuries been accorded throughout the world. So many deeds of sacrifice and humility, so many acts of charity, so much comradeship, courage and loyalty are associated with the White Ensign that we should say to ourselves, "This ensign has been held in trust; that trust has been discharged and now it can be laid aside with pride and with honour." If we can say this, then surely regret must be short-lived.

Now, in place of the White Ensign and the Blue Ensign we will fly the Canadian flag; and it will be flown with honour and respect. It comes to us naked of tradition and barren of association but it comes demanding us and challenging us to give it honour and glory. Those of us who serve now and those young Canadians who will enter the naval service in the future must do so with a clear understanding that they will be responsible and answerable in peace and war for providing the new flag with an unblemished record to equal the unblemished history of the White Ensign. This is no matter to be treated lightly or carelessly. It will not be easy and it will not be painless.

Let us then mark this occasion by laying aside our ensigns with pride and with thanksgiving, for their tenure has been one of honour and renown. Let us rejoice in our new flag and resolve that in the years ahead it will be for all who serve, the embodiment of our loyalty and devotion,

to be made a worthy successor to those living symbols to which, this day, we bid our fondest farewells.⁵⁷

Less than two years later, in 1966, Rear-Admiral Landymore resigned his commission in the Royal Canadian Navy. An outspoken critic of the process of unification of the Canadian military services, Landymore became involved in a very public debate over the issue and was relieved by the Minister of National Defense, Paul Hellyer, in 1966. Nonetheless, unification took place in 1968 and the RCN, the Canadian Army, and the Royal Canadian Air Force were merged into the single Canadian Armed Forces.

For nearly fifty years there has existed an impression that the RCN in 1965 was opposed to the lowering of the White Ensign and its replacement by the new National Flag. It has been the goal of this paper to point out that, as in so many things in life, the truth may have been a little more complicated than that.

There was one final, subsequent, shipboard raising of the new National Flag—at least temporarily. On 24 May 1965, Commonwealth Day, the crew of HMCS *Bonaventure*, anchored in Plymouth, England, discovered that another warship at anchor there—HMS *Victory* (of the Royal Navy)—was wearing the Canadian flag at her masthead in place of the traditional Royal Union Flag.⁵⁸



Figure 23. HMS *Victory* flying the new Canadian National Flag on Commonwealth Day, 24 May 1965. Source: Department of National Defence.

Bonaventure's captain later wrote of the change in flags that "the British tended to avoid discussing the New Canadian flag although it was observed very closely by our visitors, many of whom were seeing it for the first time. One sailor was the recipient of a rather caustic comment by a Cockney on a bus in London who obviously had more than a passing interest in naval matters and who, after observing the Canadian sailor on the seat opposite him for a minute, commented 'Yer changed yer bluidy flag, why don't yer change yer bluidy uniform?' or words to that effect!"⁵⁹

Three years later the Canadian Forces did just that, replacing the separate service uniforms with a single design in the latest step in the Canadianization of military symbolism.

Notes

¹ Thanks to Lieutenant (N) Jason Delaney, Michael Whitby, Stephen Harris, Norm Jolin, and Barbara Dundas for their assistance with this paper.

² HMCS *Saskatchewan*, Report of Proceedings (hereafter ROP) for February 1965, 5 March 1965, Directorate of History and Heritage (hereafter DHH), Document Collection (hereafter DC) 81/520/8000, box 96, file 3.

³ *The Ottawa Journal*, unpaginated, 13 and 14 July 1964, DHH, DC 81/520/8000, box 111, file 4; naval message, YUKON to CANAVHED, 110935Z Jul 1964, DHH, DC 81/520/1460-3, box 71, file 3. There is no mention of the July 1964 incident in HMCS *Yukon's* report of proceedings for that month other than to note: "Ship dressed overall, at 1200, in celebration of the anniversary of Confederation." HMCS *Yukon*, ROP for July 1964, 5 August 1964, DHH, DC 81/520/8000, box 111, file 5.

⁴ *The Ottawa Journal*, unpaginated, 13 and 14 July 1964, DHH, DC 81/520/8000, box 111, file 4.

⁵ Ibid; naval message, YUKON to CANAVHED, 110935Z Jul 1964, DHH, DC 81/520/1460-3, box 71, file 3; naval message, CANAVHED to YUKON, 161714Z Jul 1964, *ibid*. Apparently, Captain Cocks was not formally disciplined for flying the proposed flag. *The Chronicle-Herald*, unpaginated, 4 August 1964, DHH, DC PRF, Yukon, HMCS.

⁶ *The Ottawa Journal*, unpaginated, 15 July 1964, DHH, DC 81/520/8000, box 111, file 4.

⁷ Naval message, CANFORCEHED to CANAVGEN, New Canadian Flag, 31 Dec 64, DHH, DC 97/23, file 43; Canadian Forces Headquarters Administrative Unit, Daily Order Part I, Order No 3, 6 Jan 65, New Canadian Flag, DHH, Kardex 110.006 (D1).

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Michael Whitby, "Views from a Different Side of the Jetty: Commodore A.B.F. Fraser-Harris and the Royal Canadian Navy, 1946-1964," *The Northern Mariner* xxii, no. 1 (January 2002): 16. Many thanks to Michael Whitby for bringing this article to my attention.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ *The Ottawa Citizen*, unpaginated, 6 January 1965, DHH, DC 81/520/1460-3, box 71, file 2.

¹² Ibid; *The Chronicle-Herald*, unpaginated, 4 January 1965, *ibid*.

¹³ *The Ottawa Citizen*, unpaginated, 6 January 1965, *ibid*.

¹⁴ Whitby, "Views from a Different Side of the Jetty," 25.

¹⁵ Memorandum, Canadian Forces Headquarters, New Canadian Flag, 8 January 1965, DHH, DC 97/23, file 43.

¹⁶ Press release, Office of the Prime Minister, 29 January 1965, DHH, Heritage Collection F-1-002.

¹⁷ Message, CANFORCEHED to CANAVGEN, The New Canadian Flag, 281700Z January 1965, *ibid*; naval message, CANFORCEHED to CANAVGEN, The New Canadian Flag, 281825Z January 1965, DHH, DC 97/23, file 43.

¹⁸ Message, CANFORCEHED to CANAVGEN, 051900E February 1965, DHH, DC 99/3, box 17, file 207.

¹⁹ Minutes of a Combined Chief of Defence Staff—Staff Meeting 1/65 and VCDS Weekly Planning and Coordinating Conference 2/65, 12 January 1965, DHH, DC 73/1223, box 75, file 1519.

²⁰ HMCS *Niagara*, ROP for February 1965, 2 March 1965, DHH, DC 81/520/8000, box 147, file 5.

²¹ HMCS *Naden*, ROP for February 1965, 19 March 1965, *ibid*, box 144, file 6.

²² HMCS *Cornwallis*, ROP for February 1965, 8 March 1965, *ibid*, box 139, file 7.

²³ NRS *Frobisher Bay*, ROP for February 1965, 9 March 1965, *ibid*, box 141, file 3.

²⁴ "The New Flag," *Crowsnest* 17, no. 2 (February 1965): 6.

²⁵ No reports of proceedings for February 1965 could be found for HMC ships *Athabaskan*, *Crescent*, *Grilse*, *Inch Arran*, *La Hullose*, *Ottawa*, or *St. Thérèse*.

²⁶ Various holdings, relevant reports of proceedings, DHH, DC 81/520/8000.

²⁷ HMCS *Yukon*, ROP for February 1965, 2 March 1965, *ibid*, box 111, file 5.

²⁸ HMCS *Beacon Hill*, ROP for February 1965, 4 March 1965, *ibid*, box 9, file 1.

²⁹ HMCS *Bonaventure*, ROP for February 1965, 8 March 1965, *ibid*, box 11, file 2.

³⁰ HMCS *Terra Nova*, ROP for February 1965, 4 March 1965, *ibid*, box 103, file 5.

³¹ HMCS *Nipigon*, ROP for February 1965, 2 March 1965, *ibid*, box 71, file 1.

³² HMCS *Saskatchewan*, ROP for February 1965, 5 March 1965, *ibid*, box 96, file 3.

³³ HMCS *Cap de la Madeleine*, ROP for February 1965, 6 March 1965, *ibid*, box 17, file 2.

³⁴ HMCS *Restigouche*, ROP for February 1965, 5 March 1965, *ibid*, box 88, file 2.

³⁵ HMCS *Qu'Appelle*, ROP for February 1965, 4 March 1965, *ibid*, box 84, file 4.

³⁶ HMCS *Assiniboine*, ROP for February 1965, 5 March 1965, *ibid*, box 5, file 1.

³⁷ HMCS *Columbia*, ROP for February 1965, 12 March 1965, *ibid*, box 25, file 6.

³⁸ HMCS *Fraser*, ROP for February 1965, 4 March 1965, *ibid*, box 37, file 2.

³⁹ HMCS *Stettler*, ROP for February 1965, 2 March 1965, *ibid*, box 100, file 10.

⁴⁰ HMCS *Oriole*, ROP for 1 January to 31 March 1965, 2 April 1965, *ibid*, box 75, file 3.

⁴¹ HMCS *Provider*, ROP for February 1965, 3 March 1965, *ibid*, box 83, file 7.

⁴² HMCS *Chaudière*, ROP for February 1965, 3 March 1965, *ibid*, box 21, file 4.

⁴³ HMCS *Annapolis*, ROP for February 1965, 1 March 1965, *ibid*, box 3, file 3.

⁴⁴ HMCS *Jonquière*, ROP for February 1965, 1 March 1965, *ibid*, box 51, file 1.

⁴⁵ HMCS *St. Laurent*, ROP for February 1965, 11 March 1965, *ibid*, box 93, file 11.

⁴⁶ HMCS *Sussexvale*, ROP for February 1965, 1 March 1965, *ibid*, box 102, file 3.

⁴⁷ HMCS *New Glasgow*, ROP for February 1965, 28 February 1965, *ibid*, box 68, file 4.

⁴⁸ HMCS *Gatineau*, ROP for February 1965, 4 March 1965, *ibid*, box 40, file 2.

⁴⁹ HMCS *Cape Scott*, ROP for February 1965, 1 March 1965, *ibid*, box 18, file 4.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*.

⁵¹ Naval message, undated (c. late January 1965), NAVSUPDEP HALIFAX to CAPE SCOTT, DHH, DC 97/23, file 43.

⁵² HMCS *Cape Scott*, ROP for February 1965, 1 March 1965, *ibid*, box 18, file 4.

⁵³ *Ibid*.

⁵⁴ HMCS *Mackenzie*, ROP for February 1965, 1 March 1965, *ibid*, box 60, file 5.

⁵⁵ HMCS *Kootenay*, ROP for February 1965, 3 March 1965, *ibid*, box 53, file 5.

⁵⁶ "The New Flag," *The Crowsnest* 17, no. 2 (February 1965): 8-9.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 9.

⁵⁸ HMCS *Bonaventure*, ROP for May 1965, 2 June 1965, DHH, DC 81/520/8000, box 11, file 2. Many thanks to Lieutenant (N) Jason Delaney for bringing this to my attention.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*.

Vexillo-Bibliography

Recent publications of vexillological interest

Compiled by Ken Reynolds and Steve Knowlton

Hank Whipple has published "**Sailing Under False Colors': An Historic Ruse de Guerre**" in *Corialis: Interdisciplinary Journal of Maritime Studies*, volume 5, number 2 (ISSN: 2163-8381). Online at <http://ijms.nmdl.org/article/download/15891/10023> The abstract reads:

This article examines the etymology, some historical highlights and today's relevancy of the everyday expression "flying false colors." The ruse de guerre was resorted to by all navies during the age of fighting sail. Our focus will be primarily on its Anglo-American law. However, its naval application is still condoned by the Geneva Conventions and encompasses only the use of flags but not modern electronic means of identification.

Catherine Austin and Farida Fozdar have published "**Migrant Responses to Popular Uses of the Australian Flag**" in *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, volume 15, issue 2 (ISSN: 1754-9469). Also online at https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Farida_Fozdar/publication/283476331_Migrant_Responses_to_Popular_Uses_of_the_Australian_Flag/links/56721afe08aeb8b21c6dde85.pdf The abstract reads:

Australian nationalism, once seen as laconic and understated, has become increasingly shrill over the last fifteen years. One evidence is the growing popular use of Australian flags, particularly their display on cars to celebrate the national day. Popular use of the flag has been encouraged by relevant government bodies, such as the National Australia Day Council. This article explores migrants' responses to the flag display. Qualitative interviews and focus group discussions identified a continuum of reactions ranging from inclusion to exclusion. Contrary to expectations, many migrants see it as simply a demonstration of festivity and pride, in which they feel included. While recognizing the flag display could represent exclusionary nationalism, migrants carefully attribute this usage to a limited number of individuals, rather than seeing it as emblematic of a more generally held sentiment. Additionally, migrants tend to read the flag through civic, transnational, and multicultural lenses, in order to see themselves as included in the identity that it is seen to portray.

Hülya Eşki Uğuz and Rukiye Saygili have published "**Symbols in the Formation of National Identity: Evaluation on Turkey in the Early Republican Period**" in the International Institute of Social and Economic Sciences' *Proceedings of International Academic*

Conferences (19th International, Florence). Online at <http://econpapers.repec.org/paper/sekiacpro/2805405.htm>
The abstract reads:

This study is on the formation of the Turkish national identity throughout the historical process defined as the Early Republican Period and function of the symbols in this formation process. In this study Early Republican Period is used to define the time slice between the years 1923 and 1938 in Turkey. Distinguishing feature of the period in question is redefinition of the state and society. In this redefinition process, symbols such as religion, Ottoman, sultan, flag, Islamic ummah, cult, madrasah, Quran, sharia, rayah, imamah, which are the elements of the symbol repertoire of the Ottoman society and constitute a meaningful whole, are replaced with Republic, nation, civilization, homeland, flag, Turk, hat, citizen, school. In line with the nationalization, civilizing and secularization principles, Republican discourse tried to reform both the symbols, which are the content of the cultural behavior, and the context, in which these symbols are formed and given meaning. In Turkish literature, opposition of the Kemalist nation formation process to the Islam and its symbols is frequently stated. In this study, it will be argued that Islam has played a key role in the formation of the Turkish national identity contrary to the general opinion and that flag and national anthem of the nation state are nourished by the Islamic references.

Nathan P. Kalmoe and Kimberly Gross have published **“Cueing Patriotism, Prejudice, and Partisanship in the Age of Obama: Experimental Tests of U.S. Flag Imagery Effects in Presidential Elections”** in *Political Psychology*, 21 October 2015 (ISSN: 1467-9221).
The abstract reads:

The American flag is a powerful symbol that campaigns seek to harness for electoral gain. But the flag's benefits may be more elusive than they appear. We begin by presenting content analysis of the flag's prevalence in 2012 U.S. presidential campaign ads, which suggests both candidates saw flags as advantageous. Then, in two experiments set during the 2012 campaign and a later study with prospective 2016 candidates, we find flag exposure provides modest but consistent benefits for Republican candidates among voters high in symbolic patriotism, racial prejudice, and Republican identification. These effects arise regardless of which candidate appears with the flag. Taken together, our results speak to both the power and limitations of the American flag in electioneering. Beyond practical implications for campaigns, these studies emphasize the heterogeneity of citizen's reactions to visual political symbols and highlight potent links between symbolic attitudes and a nation's flag.

Victor M. Olivieri has published **“Sub-State Nationalism in Spain: Primers and Triggers of Identity Politics in Catalonia and the Basque Country”** in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* volume 38, number 9 (ISSN: 0141-9870).
The abstract reads:

This article builds on recent attempts to explain divergent uses of sub-state nationalism to push for policies of assimilation or multiculturalism and drive popular support for independence. Using flag display as a measure of national and sub-national affiliation, it analyses the dynamics of discourses and policies in Spain before, during and after peak times of identity politics to provide a more nuanced understanding of the conditions leading to the activation of identity-driven policies. Substantive ethnographic evidence is presented to explain recent alterations to national discourses of identity, surprising reversals of immigration policies, and the modulation of Catalan and Basque independence movements. The main finding is that both identity discourses and resulting policies depend on the affinity for identity politics at the sub-state level, and this affinity is in large part primed by the popular perception of how secure sub-state national identity is against the 'official' state narrative.

Kenneth Pennington and Orla Lynch have published **“Counterterrorism, Community Policing and the Flags Protests: An Examination of Police Perceptions of Northern Ireland's Operation Dulcet”** in *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, volume 38, number 7 (ISSN: 1057-610X).
The abstract reads:

In 2013 Northern Ireland (NI) witnessed the most protracted period of public-disorder ever seen in the United Kingdom. After Belfast City Council voted to fly the Union flag in-line with the manner adopted in the rest of the United Kingdom, loyalist protestors blocked roads, attacked offices, and held marches through Belfast city center. During what became known as Operation Dulcet, police had to respond to the protests and violence, mindful of existing tensions in NI. This article reports on data collected from interviews conducted with officers involved in the policing of these events. The findings demonstrate that the police response was understood using narratives concerning the primacy of human rights, a focus on perceived proportionality, and ultimately, related to the potential violence linked to historic conceptions of community divisions in NI.