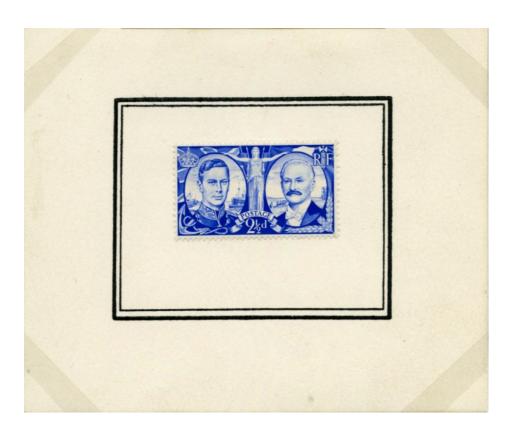


Proposed Anglo-French Issue

1940



On 3 September 1939 France and Great Britain declared war upon Nazi Germany. In the following months an unprecedented degree of co-operation arose between the two countries on military, political and economic matters, which caused many hopeful observers to envisage an even closer union, extending beyond the war and drawing in other countries. The earliest recorded example of this enthusiasm seeking philatelic expression is that of M. Fernand Griffon, of Étables in Brittany who on 30 November 1939 wrote to both King George VI and President Albert Lebrun of France, suggesting a stamp for simultaneous release in both countries, either in separate languages and denominations, or, size permitting, combining both. The design would include a figure representing Peace and the legend 'Notre But' (Our Aim). He referred to bi-lingual stamps displaying the denomination in both local currencies issued in the Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides from 1925 to 1938.

M. Griffon's letter to President Lebrun was forwarded to the French Postal Administration, the PTT, who replied with a polite acknowledgement. His letter to King George VI was passed to the Foreign Office, who made no subsequent reply and, in fact, seem to have promptly mislaid it. Later, when the proposal had been taken up officially and was moving toward

fruition amidst wide public interest, M. Griffon wrote to various bodies, including the French Press, the PTT, the BBC and Buckingham Palace, in a vain attempt to win recognition as its originator.

The initiative in fact came from M. Jean Giraudoux, the playwright and novelist, as head of the French Government Information Bureau. In a speech on 29 December the French Premier, M. Edouard Daladier, had expressed the mood of solidarity with Britain and spoken of a 'possible federal organisation of the future between the European states' which would spring from this wartime experience. In the wake of this, M. Giraudoux made a broadcast address to Britain on the evening of the following day in which he described the two nations' historic mutual respect and, to quote THE TIMES of 1 January 1940, 'proposed as a design for future postage stamp use, the two figures representing France and Great Britain, with their leopard and cock'.

AROUSAL OF PUBLIC INTEREST

In response to this, Dr Ernest Barker, recently retired as Professor of Political Science at Peterhouse College, Cambridge, wrote a letter published in THE TIMES of 5 January proposing 'a common postage stamp . . . circulating as an alternative to the ordinary special stamps of the two countries'. He suggested that the design be 'the simpler the better . . . our King on the one side and the figure of France on the other'. The object would be to strengthen further the close association that had already come about: 'What already exists is a working union . . . a nascent federal union'. Meanwhile interested reactions to M. Giraudoux's original proposal were appearing almost simultaneously in the French press, who in turn noted the suggestions put forward by Dr Barker. On 8 January Barker reiterated his proposals directly to the GPO, which now became involved.

Fresh impetus was given to events by a speech given at the Mansion House by the Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain, on 9 January, in which he suggested that the close Anglo-French association that had arisen during the war would prove far too valuable to give up after it. This led to renewed correspondence in THE TIMES on 13 January, with letters urging issuing a stamp to mark allied solidarity in the centenary year of the adhesive postage stamp. Subsequent correspondence raised again the precedent of the New Hebrides stamps and culminated on 1 March with a sweeping call for a 'single postal area with one system of stamps and rates of postage', with a Customs union and single coinage.

APPROACHES TO THE GPO

While public interest continued to mount on both sides of the Channel, Geoffrey le Mesurier Mander, Liberal MP for Wolverhampton East, approached the Postmaster General, Major G C Tryon MP. By 18 January it had been agreed that Mr Mander should put a parliamentary question to the PMG, asking that he consider consulting the French government regarding 'a Franco-British stamp with a design of two figures representing . . . the unity of the two countries'. Pressure of business meant this question was not asked until 31 January, when the PMG replied that in view of the Postage Stamp Centenary issue due in May, he could not consider another issue 'at the present time'. Importantly, the PMG left open the possibility of an issue at a later date, and indicated his willingness to hear further representations, while Mr Mander took the opportunity to suggest the French stamp issued for the British Royal Visit of 1938 as a possible model. The same idea was raised in France, where one philatelic commentator declared of the 1938 stamp: 'Le timbre anglo-français idéal existe dejà.'

On 31 January, shortly after his exchange with Mr Mander in the House of Commons, the PMG received a letter from M. Jules Julien, the French Minister of Posts, dated 26 January. M. Julien described how, after promptings from various quarters in France, the suggestion had arisen that the two postal administrations should simultaneously issue a special stamp, and understood that a similar project was afoot in Britain. He would be eager to implement such a proposal, 'the realisation of which would provide renewed confirmation of the close unity between our two countries'. If the GPO were agreeable, he suggested a conference to plan the details.

The PMG agreed to M. Julien's proposals, subject to their practicability. Some thought had already been given to the matter by the Deputy Director General, Sir Raymond Birchall, in a minute of 22 January, which presented the options: (a) a 'common stamp', postally valid in both countries; (b) a 'common design', issued with different denominations in each country; (c) separate designs 'in accordance with the artistic traditions of each country, but embodying identical features, eg, the heads of His Majesty the King and the French President'. There was some apprehension at creating a precedent post-war whereby the GPO might be forced to adopt such French practices as pictorial stamp designs and charity surcharges. The DDG also doubted whether a common stamp was practicable, due to the fluid exchange rate between sterling and the French franc: this was confirmed in a meeting with Treasury officials on 5 February. On 8 February, at a meeting with the Postal Services Department, R J Fanshawe, the Controller of Stores, supplied a minute by D P Dell of his department, pointing out difficulties in achieving the 'common design' option; the GPO were contractually bound to the printers Harrison & Sons Ltd for production of all but high value stamps, which effectively limited special issues to Harrisons' photogravure process, whereas French stamps were normally either letterpress or recess printed. Similarly, British stamps had to be printed on Crown-watermarked paper, while the French used their own paper with the 'RF' watermark. It would thus be difficult to produce stamps of identical appearance in both French and British versions of the same design, and 'invidious comparisons might arise as regards the quality of production reached in the respective countries'.

PROPOSAL WELCOMED BY KING

Aside from these problems, however, the Stores Department considered that an issue in the ½d to 3d range of values could be made in September or October. On 12 February the PMG wrote to Sir Alexander Hardinge, the King's private secretary, advocating an Anglo-French stamp of common design, and seeking His Majesty's reaction to the possible omission of his portrait from the design if the French did not wish to feature President Lebrun. The alternative would be to represent both countries by heraldic, pictorial or allegorical means; Major Tryon cited the 1938 Royal Visit stamp as an example and added that the French had no precedent for depicting a current head of state. (There was in fact a precedent with Napoleon III.)

Sir Alexander replied next day that the proposal commended itself to the King, who would be willing for some other symbol to replace his head if the portrayal of himself and President Lebrun were unacceptable to the French. On 21 February the PMG replied to M. Julien, assuring him of support. He warned that the proposed issue could not be made before 1 September at the earliest. A common design featuring the King and President was the option preferred by the GPO; the stamp should be distributed as widely as possible in values suitable for both inland and overseas use. Most details could be settled at a meeting in London whenever it was convenient for M. Julien's representatives to attend, although he welcomed an early indication of the French views on design and the time the issue should remain on sale.

PRELIMINARIES

M. Julien's agreement to the above was sent on 3 March, and the meeting set for 18 March. Preliminary discussions were held on 11 March between the Director of Postal Services, Colonel F C G Twinn, plus several officers of his department, and Messrs Fanshawe and Dell of Stores; it was felt that the normal protracted process of design selection might not be acceptable to the French and had, in any case, failed to produce a result of distinction for the Postage Stamp Centenary issue. It was decided that the task would go to a single artist, ideally Edmund Dulac. Being of French origins he should hopefully be acceptable to the French, while 'no artist in this country is more skilled in designing stamps'. As to wording on

the stamp, it was felt this should include a caption such as 'Franco-British Alliance' and 'Postage'. The Inland Revenue were consulted on this latter point and, toward the end of the month, re-stated its position as laid down in 1910 and 1936 that there was no absolute requirement for either 'Postage' or 'Revenue' to appear on stamps and simply wished to be consulted if 'Revenue' were omitted from any stamp used for revenue purposes.

There was also anxiety about the need to include the name of the country if it proved necessary to omit the King's head, and whether the words 'Great Britain' alone might give offence in Northern Ireland. Intermittent exchanges had been taking place with the Foreign Office since early February, in which it became clear that, once issued, an Anglo-French stamp would be very difficult to withdraw during the life of the wartime alliance without the fullest consultation. These consultations had the side effect of establishing that the dual value stamps of the New Hebrides, previously cited as a precedent for an Anglo-French issue, were not a very apposite case: the postage had been based solely on the French Franc since 1938 precisely because the relationship between the two local currencies, as indicated on the stamps from 1925, had been arbitrary and artificial.

In a minute of 15 March Fanshawe pointed out the heavy pressures Harrisons were under, owing to the Centenary issue and impending postal rate increase:

'The expert photogravure technicians available are sufficient for normal output. They are, however, limited (in number) and even if the printers were able to recruit others, these would require months of specialised training. The technicians have been and still are, working overtime, night-work and during weekends and they are complaining of severe eye strain. It is impossible for them to continue at the present pressure. It is necessary to guard against a breakdown in their health as this would result in cessation of production.'

Under the normal timetable, assuming work started after the Easter break, April would be taken up by the preparation of an initial design, and May with the production of bromides and essays, their consideration by the PMG, the King, the French, and the Royal Fine Art Commission as well as the production of any revisions. By the time essays had been brought up to printing standard, cylinders prepared, Harrisons' staff holidays accounted for, the first proof sheets printed, bulk production under way and supplies distributed, it would be the beginning of October. Only if the April-May stages could be compressed into a shorter space could stamps be issued before 1 October.

DESIGNS SUBMITTED

While these discussions were afoot, the French PTT had commissioned M. Henry Cheffer, a distinguished artist-engraver and examiner at the École des Beaux Arts, who had designed

a number of stamps including the admired 1938 Royal Visit issue. Failing to contact M. Cheffer at the first instance on 23 February, another artist, M. Barlangue, had briefly been approached, but in the event the PTT received M. Cheffer's design on 8 March. Another prominent stamp artist, Monsieur D Galanis, also submitted a design with the strong backing of Senateur S Mallarmé, a former minister, but this was declined as neither solicited nor in accord with the GPO's design preferences as agreed to by M. Julien on 3 March. Like M. Griffon before him, M. Galanis would persist for some time in claiming credit for the idea of the Anglo-French stamp.

In Britain, Edmund Dulac had submitted an attractive design with the heads of Britannia and Marianne, symbol of the French Republic, as early as 6 February, with the encouragement of Frank Pick, chairman of the Council for Art and Industry; in this role Pick had been involved in the development of the Centenary issue and was an energetic promoter of new and better design in all fields (a contemporary GPO memorandum refers to 'Mr Pick's generous endowment of bounce'). It is not known whether this submission prompted the decision to invite Dulac on 11 March to be involved in the design project.

On 18 March the meeting between the two administrations took place in London; those present for the PTT were M. Julien, accompanied by E Quenot (whose position was analogous to Director of Postal Services) and L Genthon, Chef de Bureau in the former's department. The GPO were represented by Captain C Waterhouse (the Assistant PMG) in Major Tryon's absence, plus Sir Raymond Birchall, Colonel Twinn, R J Fanshawe, the Assistant DG (T H Boyd) and G W T Cairncross, W H Weightman and E P Bell of Postal Services. On production of M. Cheffer's design (in both a larger size and stamp-size) it was seen that most of the problems anticipated by the GPO had been effectively solved: 'the design was sufficiently symbolic of unity without the addition of a superscription'. In addition 'Postage' and the denomination could easily be substituted for their French equivalents in a British version of the design.

AGREEMENT REACHED WITH PTT

Other areas of agreement reached were that 'the Colonies and Dominions of both Empires' should be free to adopt the design for their own use, modified as necessary, and that the stamps should be issued in values including at least some of the inland and overseas rates for each country. (Subsequent correspondence is not explicit, but tends to indicate that the French favoured a smaller range and higher values than the British, and that a 1s 3d value, for which no stamp then existed, was added as a compromise to the ½d to 3d range preferred by the GPO.) The issue of 'at least the first denomination' should take place in Britain and France simultaneously as near as possible to 1 September; now that a design was ready to hand it was seen as practicable to bring forward the issue from 1 October. As

for the duration of the issue, it should remain on sale for at least the period of the war, and no further stamps should be produced by either country in values covered by the issue. The French said that they would not be able to print enough special stamps in the appropriate value to use them exclusively for their inland-postage rate but undertook to produce at least 50 million a year for this purpose. It was agreed that the dimensions should be double the normal size - this meant in practice 0.95in by 1.6in for the British and an effectively identical 24mm x 40mm (0.95in by 1.57in) for the French version.

DULAC ASKED TO RE-WORK ORIGINAL

The design was accepted with the proviso that Edmund Dulac should re-draw it for printing by photogravure. Fanshawe telephoned him with this proposal on 18 March. Dulac's immediate response was he felt it improper in principle to copy another artist's work, and would find doing so doubly objectionable if he disapproved of the design itself. It was after some persuasion, continuing into the following day, that he reluctantly agreed to do the work, Fanshawe's description of the Cheffer design having convinced him that there was no danger of mis-attribution, it being by no means in the Dulac style. Fanshawe's promise that 'we would not be mean with our fee payment', a point on which he had taken the precaution of consulting the Accountant General's Department, also seems to have assisted Dulac's decision.

On the same day, 19 March, Fanshawe visited Harrisons' High Wycombe works to show them the Cheffer design, which was pronounced 'very suitable' for photogravure. Next day Harrisons supplied two card-mounted sets of bromides, each with a stamp-size and a larger (x 4) version of the design, and on 20 March three rough essays, in the colours of the definitive 1½d (brown), 2d (orange) and 2½d (blue). The firm was also able to confirm a 'fair prospect' of meeting a 1 September issue date if final approval could be reached by the end of April.

On 21 March a statement that it was hoped to issue the stamps in the Autumn was made in the House of Commons; the same day Dell took one of the sets of bromides (no. 194) to Dulac's studio at Morcombelake in Dorset, together with a Dorothy Wilding photograph (no. 09382G) of the King and a picture of the 'standard' Crown. He also had a list of minor alterations to render the design suitable for photogravure in a British version:

definition of minor detail to be improved

'Postage' to replace 'Postes'

British value to replace '2F 50'

Union Jack to replace nautical Ensign

central figure to harmonise with rest of design

warship behind King to be replaced by merchant ships (at M. Julien's suggestion)

surround toned instead of white details of crown to be corrected lettering 'RF' to be improved King's portrait to be improved (from photograph).

EARLY REACTIONS TO DESIGN

Dulac thought the design 'a very bad one' which would get a very poor reception in neutral countries and described himself as 'morally injured' at having either to re-draw it or improve it drastically to achieve an adequate standard; he wished that he could either make substantial improvements or replace it altogether. He considered that the ovals framing the heads were too large and should be raised by 1/4 in; that the anchor, wheat, etc, around the lower borders were too small; that the King and President should be looking towards each other rather than both left-ward; and finally that the central figure was so poor as to be unidentifiable. (There was in fact some anxiety about the figure, which was thought might be a republican symbol and thus potentially offensive to the King; enquiries via M. Genthon ultimately established on 9 April that it was purely abstract, with no special connotation.) Dell argued that the design had to remain as agreed with the French; only later that day, following fresh discussions with Fanshawe and again with Dulac, was it agreed that the artist might make 'imperceptible' changes in those areas he so wished. Dulac suggested 100 Guineas (£105) as appropriate payment when the work was accomplished; Dell countered with 50 Guineas, and compromised on 75 (£78.75). On 27 March photographs of President Lebrun (a choice of three had been provided by Mme Boutilleau of the French Consulate the previous day) and an essay of the Cheffer design in brown were supplied to assist Dulac in his work.

FIRST DULAC ESSAYS

Dulac's version of the design was received on 1 April and bromides prepared by 3 April; on that date Colonel Twinn, the DPS, was able to compare nos. 190 (Cheffer original, full-size, that is 6 x stamp-size) and 191 (Cheffer, stamp-size) with 198 (Dulac, full-size) and 199 (Dulac, stamp-size). Although Dulac had visibly exceeded his brief in re-drawing the central figure almost outright, his version of the design was judged 'a fine piece of work'. 18 rough colour essays (six each in brown, orange and blue) were supplied by Harrisons the same day, followed by two more in each colour with improved tone on 8 April. As with all subsequent essays, these showed a value of 2%d.

On 11 April Fanshawe met H C Bradshaw, Secretary of the Royal Fine Art Commission, for informal discussions as to its likely reaction to the design - it was pointed out that to reject

it on aesthetic grounds would cause considerable embarrassment to the Franco-British alliance. The GPO's position was naturally that such embarrassment must be avoided, and that in any case the design was 'a good stamp which would appeal to the general public'. Bradshaw conceded that he was 'not unfavourable' personally to the design, especially after Dulac's 'great improvement' on the original; he thought the RFAC's acting Chairman, Viscount Lee of Fareham, was 'likely to take a tolerant view . . . and would not subject it to severe criticism', so as to avoid controversy. The next day Fanshawe arranged for Bradshaw to borrow bromides nos.194, 198 and 199 and colour essays in brown and blue of both the Cheffer and Dulac versions to show to Lee and discuss with him. Viscount Lee's recommendation was that the RFAC was best by-passed in this instance; the 'political circumstances' of such a decision would be appreciated, whereas showing the design to its members and asking them to approve it regardless of merit would merely provoke trouble. Bradshaw recommended only that the surrounds of the ovals framing the heads be darkened, which Harrisons were requested to do; Fanshawe had made a similar suggestion on seeing the first essays, but had been persuaded by Harrisons that the result would appear old fashioned.

REVISED DESIGN SENT TO FRENCH

Fresh essays were supplied by Harrisons on 15 April; these were basically the 8 April essays amended by hand painting in watercolour. Two sets were in blue and two brown; one of the pair in each colour had strengthened lettering on the 'RF' and modifications to the backgrounds and flags; all four had darkened oval surrounds. The DPS, Colonel Twinn, took these to a Board meeting on 18 April; the next day W S Morrison MP, who had replaced Major Tryon as PMG on 5 April, wrote to M. Julien, returning Cheffer's original design and enclosing bromides of Dulac's revised version. He explained the changes made and those still proposed, namely the reduction in size of the ears of wheat, and asked for M. Julien's opinion as soon as possible.

On 24 April Fanshawe received 12 essays from Harrisons incorporating the latest changes, six in blue and six orange, and sent two of the former, singly mounted on cards, to Mr Cairncross of Postal Services. In his supporting note he explained: 'The appearance generally has been improved ... the wheat is less rigid and may be satisfactory after the tones have been lightened and the details made clearer ... The details of the crown are now satisfactory but the general effect is not quite bright enough.' He added that 'the modelling and tones of the heads and background require Dulac's expert touch', whereas in fact all the work on the design since 1 April had been done by Harrisons' own staff and Dulac's feelings of antipathy to the design ensured this remained the case. The most apparent difference in this latest essay was that the French Tricolour now overlapped the ears of wheat in the bottom right of the design. A reply was awaited from the PTT.

On 25 April a letter was sent to the PMG by Sir Alexander Hardinge at Buckingham Palace, enquiring on progress. In return a copy of the 24 April essay was sent on 1 May with the explanation that some slight improvements remained to be made, aside from any that might be requested by the French whose reply was awaited. The 'improvements' were not specified, but were contained in a list of suggestions passed to Harrisons by the Stores Department the previous day: principally, a white patch over the King's ear and a white spot at the end of his nose required attention; the tugboat and crows' nest needed to be less prominent in the seascape behind his head; more shading was called for on the rope and anchor to accentuate detail; the central figure's garment seemed to stand out stiffly from her body instead of hanging in loose folds.

DULAC VERSION WELCOMED BY PTT

On 2 May a reply was received from M. Julien welcoming the amendments to date as 'altogether appropriate ... M. Cheffer accepts them very willingly ... I feel able to regard the modified design as definitive'. On the following day the PMG was informed that the King found the design 'on the whole . . . quite satisfactory' but that the Crown depicted was 'the old fashioned one'. On consultation with Harrisons, it was suggested that the Crown used by Eric Gill in his stamp designs might be more appropriate and this was put in hand along with the other necessary improvements. On 9 May a total of 32 card-mounted essays were supplied in red, blue, orange and violet; Fanshawe forwarded a set of these to Postal Services with the comment that the Crown appeared too large and too near the King's head, while slight improvements were still required to the central figure's bust and the 'lay' of the rope. PSD in response found the essay a 'marked improvement', but asked for a little less stiffness in the drawing of the wheat and the restoration of its uppermost ear to the foreground of the flag.

The question of the stamp in the proposed new value of 1s 3d was raised again when Cairncross of PSD drew Fanshawe's attention to a proposal by the Assistant PMG, Captain Waterhouse, that this should be in cobalt blue; both men felt that this would lead to confusion with the ultramarine blue of the 2½d, with resultant problems for counter staff, and Fanshawe considered, in a minute of 14 May, that a good alternative colour could be found from the range available. On 17 May, another set of 33 card-mounted essays with the requested improvements was received. Fanshawe wrote to Cairncross that he thought the stage had been reached when approval of the essays in their current form might be sought from the King and the PTT, and those minor alterations still remaining resolved subsequently in collaboration with the printers - the reduction of a highlight in the hair over the King's ear, some improvement to the details of the rope, greater clarity in depicting the

Jewels of the Crown, etc. If the design could be approved by the end of the first week of June, the stamp could be issued in one or possibly two denominations on 2 September.

On 24 May the King was sent a copy of the latest essay, marked 'B' for comparison with the essay previously submitted on 1 May, enclosed again and marked 'A'; Sir Alexander Hardinge replied next day with the news that His Majesty entirely approves of the essay marked 'B', subject to the minor alterations mentioned. On 4 June a copy of the essay together with a large size (no. 201) and a stamp-size bromide (no. 202) were sent to M. Julien by the PMG with a request for similar endorsement; the French President reportedly approved these on 8 June.

FINAL ESSAYS PRODUCED

The final essays were received by the Stores Department on 14 June, consisting of 28 card-mounted stamps printed in red, blue, purple, and orange. Fanshawe proposed that Harrisons be instructed to proceed with preparation of cylinders for the 2½d value only, while awaiting formal approval from the PTT. By contrast with their earlier situation, Harrisons were now short of work and eager to print the stamps in a full range of values. Fanshawe's proposal was agreed by the DDG, Sir Raymond Birchall, next day.

On 17 June Mr Cairncross of PSD minuted Stores Department that they should proceed as suggested; later that same day he telephoned them with the instruction that all work on the Anglo-French stamp should be suspended. On 17 June the French government had sued for an armistice with Nazi Germany: there was no alliance left to celebrate. The stamps were a dead issue: there remained only the matter of paying Harrisons for their work, which amounted to some £455. Approximately £255 of this was for the purchase by the GPO of the cylinders that Harrisons had prepared; ultimately Harrisons bought back the cylinders for re-use at a similar price in January 1944.

PARTING COMMENTS

It will never be known what the public would have thought of the stamps; comments from some who actually saw the design at various stages ranged from 'atrocious' (Dulac to Fanshawe, 1 April) to 'particularly nice' (Harrisons to Fanshawe, 21 March). One informed quarter reported a near-explosive reaction when Frank Pick of the CAI visited Dulac in Dorset on a matter of business and, in the artist's small and cramped studio, inadvertently stumbled across the design. The experience moved Pick to address an anguished appeal to Sir Raymond Birchall on 4 April:

'It is so horrible and vulgar that I am compelled to protest at once . . . it will be a grievous mistake to publish such a stamp. It is without any imaginative appeal or propaganda value. It reminds me of a cheap biscuit tin or chocolate box. It is quite unworthy of a Government. There will be a flood of abuse and criticism which will destroy its purpose and injure goodwill . . . it is an outrage to sense . . . Someone must stop it rather than risk the row . . . Forgive me but this is a bad job.'

In another letter to Sir Raymond which followed on 10 April, Pick explained that he had been so horrified on confronting the stamp that it had continued to haunt him; he was sure 'the utter commonplaceness of the arrangement and trimmings' would get the GPO 'into serious trouble'. However, he concluded, 'the Post Office must do what it thinks fit and the public must say what it thinks when the Post Office has perpetrated its deeds'. It seems clear that, had the issue ever taken place, the stamps would have attracted more than a little controversy.

During 1941 the idea was adapted in the form of a proposed joint Anglo-American issue to celebrate co-operation between the two countries; this was examined with extreme seriousness until the end of the year, when it was dropped for political considerations and supply problems. The original concept of a joint issue with France was revived in February 1948 by C F Bradley of Brighton, who suggested that at a time of world unrest in war's aftermath, 'the sealing of the friendship of Great Britain and France would ensure a better security for both countries'. He was supported by his MP, W Teeling, mainly because of the export value of such stamps; this proposal went no further.

GILES ALLEN
3 December 1993

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