Terrible as an Army with Banners

Richard E. Bennett

The purpose of today's address is to identify and appreciate the dual allegiances of the early Latter-day Saints (LDS) from 1830 to 1848 as shown by their respect to the banners of both God and country. Furthermore, I aim to show that though tested to the breaking point, such allegiances were not incompatible with the tenets of their new faith. The undergirding theology and abiding political principle to this coupling of devotions may be best found in the New Testament. When once, tempted by his adversaries, Christ took a Roman coin and looking down upon its image of the Emperor calmly responded: "Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's."[1]

My grandfather, Oscar Simpson, knew something about dual allegiances. Born in England, he loved both Canada and the United States. During the 1937 festivities surrounding the completion of the 8.5-mile-long Thousand Island Bridge System spanning the mighty St. Lawrence River and connecting upstate New York with eastern Ontario, he put a Canadian flag on his left bumper and an American on his right and with his family drove proudly along with the presidential and prime ministerial cavalcade of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Mackenzie King.

I inherited something of this same ability of being able to carry the water on both shoulders. Raised to respect and revere the Canadian Red Ensign, when I was in Montreal in February 1965, I witnessed the new Canadian Maple Leaf flag being raised atop flag poles and tall buildings in that predominantly French-Canadian metropolis. As much as I had grown accustomed to the past, I felt a new stirring and love for a bilingual, bicultural country that this new banner would try to represent, bring together and inspire.

Thus as a scholar of Mormon history, I have been prepared to see our past with binoculars rather than a single-lens spy glass. What I see in our history

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is a primary allegiance to their vision of the kingdom of God, but one that need not nor did not exclude or prohibit their love of king and of country.

At this moment of political gridlock in Washington, with such LDS senators as Mike Lee on one side of the aisle and Harry Reid on the other, it may be an opportune time to remind everyone everywhere that Mormonism is a religion, not a political philosophy. Our history tells us this repeatedly. And while much has been said and written of late with respect to the "Mormon moment" and of Governor Mitt Romney's recent unsuccessful bid for the American presidency, the message of Mormonism is not America, nor is it aligned with either conservative or liberal politics, Republican or Democratic ideologies. It is, rather, all about the kingdom of God, or rather its vibrant interpretation thereof, a restoration of Christian Primitivism, a modern church with an ancient priesthood commissioned to evangelize the world. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints may be headquartered here in Salt Lake City, but, as an institution with an international commission, it must be free to fly under many flags, "clear as the moon, and fair as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners."[2]

Our purpose today is to study five armies with banners during the formative periods of early Mormon history. We will look first at Zion's Camp of 1834; the Nauvoo Legion from 1839 to 1844; the army of missionaries to Great Britain from 1838 to 1841; the Mormon Battalion in its 1846/47 march to California as part of the United States Army of the West; and finally the Army or Camp of Israel as the Saints embarked upon their forced exodus from Nauvoo to these Rocky Mountain valleys. They had different purposes and often competing allegiances but they also shared significant compatibilities.

The fundamental, revolutionary, message of early Mormonism from the time of its organization in Palmyra, New York, in 1830 was God's "controversy with the nations," that the original true Church of Christ had been driven into the wilderness, that a great "calamity" or apostasy had occurred leaving all humankind in spiritual "captivity." The answer to such a problem was that God had restored his true faith through the Prophet Joseph Smith as evidenced by his translation and publication of the Book of Mormon, another book of scripture believed by Mormons to be equal to the authority of the Bible. Furthermore, this restored Church would herald in the Second Coming of Christ. Thus, like William Bradford and his Pilgrim Puritans of 200 years before, Joseph Smith was intent on building the New Jerusalem, a Zion city on a hill, in Independence, Missouri, for all the world to see. Within a year of the founding of this Church, several hundred Latter-day Saints had migrated west

to Missouri in hopes of so preparing the Kingdom of God; that the Kingdom of Heaven could indeed come in the form of Christ's literal return.

No flags or banners that I know of announced their arrival. However, the 24-star American flag of these ardent religionists, most of whom heralded from New England and New York, did not represent the same liberties or viewpoints as the American flag of Southerners who predominated in Jackson County, Missouri, i.e., "Little Dixie," in the early 1830s. Regardless of their peculiar religious convictions, these newcomers were regarded as Northern Yankees, opposed to slavery, perceived abolitionists whom the Southern way of life would not tolerate. With the bitterness and rancor of the Missouri Compromise of twelve years before still a bad taste in Southern mouths, and the Nat Turner Rebellion of 1832 a terrifying reminder of the perils of slave insurrection, the Mormons could not have chosen a worse time, a more unforgiving place, or among a more difficult or distrustful people than they did their Zion of 1832–1833. Independence, Missouri, was hardly their place of joy and independence. Before long, they were driven out of Jackson County to find refuge in other more remote areas north and across the Missouri River.

Figure 1. The 24-Star United States flag in use from 1822 to 1836 following the admission of the state of Missouri into the union. Source: jacobolus (username) et al., commons .wikipedia.org.

Zion's Camp

Stung by such inhumane and illegal treatment of his people, Joseph Smith organized "Zion's Camp," a military band of some 500 armed men, to march all the way from Kirtland, Ohio, to Independence to "redeem Zion," and regain their lands and properties by bringing pressure to bear, preferably politically, but by force, if necessary.

Zion's Camp did not march under the flag of the United States. Neither a militia of the State of Ohio nor of Michigan or of any other state through which it marched; it was a Church-sponsored regiment. It kept its purposes secret and tried to march without detection for fear of interruption. Joseph Smith led the expedition, often with his standard bearer beside him. The only mention of a flag came late in the march, in mid-June 1834 at the Salt River encampment in eastern Missouri. There, Levi Hancock, after making an elegant-looking flagstaff, took a square piece of white cloth, tipped it with red paint, and hung it as their flag. He further decorated it by painting an eagle thereon and printing the word "PEACE" in big letters. His flag aroused great interest among the settlers who saw it. "When we passed settlements many would come and exclaim 'peace' and walk off," Hancock noted.[3]

Figure 2. Zion's Camp—"The Lord's Army marching to the deliverance of Zion." Source: LDS Church History Library.

Zion's Camp never saw military action. It may well have failed in its efforts to align itself with Missouri militias and reclaim lost and stolen properties and belongings in Jackson County, but it did test the mettle of Joseph Smith's leadership and among his devoted followers, developed a core of leadership that would serve the young church well for years to come. Brigham Young, for one, later said that all he had ever learned about leading people, he acquired from Joseph Smith in Zion's Camp. Hancock's banner of peace represented a dual, mixed message: On the one hand, an intent to fight if necessary; on the other, a peaceful resolution that proved a blessing to the Saints eventually.

Another mention of banners in Missouri came during their resettlement four years later in Far West, several miles north of their original Independence colony. Given to celebrating the 4th of July as others did, in 1838, they erected

one of several "Liberty Poles" that mark our early history. During yet more persecutions, Luman A. Shurtliff, along with several others, "went into the timber of Goose Creek, got the largest tree we could and made a liberty pole." Early the next morning, 4 July, they "raised the pole, raised the Stars and Stripes, and then laid the cornerstone of our [proposed] temple. We then assembled under the flag of our nation and had an oration delivered by Sidney Rigdon."

Rigdon's speech was a vitriolic castigation of his enemies, both from within and from without the church, and contributed in large part to increased difficulties and misunderstandings, both of which were foreshadowed by what then happened to the Far West Liberty Pole. "On Sunday," Shurtliff continued, "a cloud came over Far West, charged with electricity, and lightning fell upon our liberty pole and shivered it to the ground. When the news reached me, I voluntarily proclaimed, 'Farewell to our liberty in Missouri.'"[4] Shortly afterwards Governor Lilburn W. Boggs issued his infamous "extermination order" leading to the forcible expulsion of an entire people out of the state. Some 7,000 trudged east across the state that winter before eventually finding refuge in Quincy, Illinois, in early 1839.

"Raise the Standard of the Cross in Every Land"

Our second army with banners in early LDS history may have been small, but one that paid enormously rich and lasting dividends. Between 1837 and 1841, a tiny regiment of Mormon missionaries began preaching their gospel message in Great Britain. Led by Brigham Young and the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, these "men with a mission" preached the gospel under Queen Victoria and the Union Jack. Proselyting with particular success in Herefordshire and the Potteries regions of western England, apostles Wilford Woodruff, Parley P. and Orson Pratt, England-born John Taylor, Orson Hyde, Willard Richards, Heber C. Kimball, and George A. Smith met varying levels of success, such that by late 1841, almost 5,000 Britons had converted. Commenting on their spectacular success, Brigham Young and Willard Richards wrote the following in a letter to Joseph Smith in September 1840: "We find the people of this land much more ready to receive the gospel than those of America, so far as they do receive it, for they have not that speculative intelligence, or prejudice, or prepossession, or false learning, call it what you please, which they have there. Consequently, we have not to labor with a people month after month to break down their old notions."[5]

It was in England that Orson Hyde issued his famous "A Timely Warning to the People of England" in 1837, similar to the one he had earlier distributed

in Toronto, Upper Canada, the year before. The success of the Mormon missionary efforts in Canada led directly to the expansion of their proselytizing efforts in England afterwards. It was in England also that the Church began publication of one of its most successful newspapers, *The Millennial Star*, which would continue in print for more than 130 years.


A TIMELY WARNING

TO THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND,

Of every Sect and Denomination, and to every Individual into whose hands it may fall.

BY AN ELDER OF THE CHURCH OF LATTER DAY SAINTS, LATE FROM AMERICA.

An 1837 broadside by Orson Hyde, the first LDS imprint in England
Courtesy LDS Church Archives

Figure 3. "A Timely Warning to the People of England of every Sect and Denomination, and to every Individual into whose hands it may fall," an 1837 broadside by Orson Hyde, the first LDS imprint in England. Source: LDS Church Archives.

Thrilled with their unexpected rich harvest of British converts, Orson Hyde confidently wrote to his wife, Marinda: "Let the enemies of the cross be confounded and put to shame before the sublimity and power of his arguments. Let him raise the standard of the cross in every land and nation where he shall go; and let the simple and broken hearted flock unto it and rejoice beneath its heavenly banner."[6]

One of the great meanings of the British Mission of the Twelve was that their American religious enterprise could succeed in foreign lands under many flags and in different cultures. Between 1837 and 1852 the total number of

PROSPECTUS

OF THE

LATTER-DAY SAINTS

MILLENNIAL STAR.

Prospectus for the *Millennial Star*. Courtesy LDS Church Archives

Figure 4. "Prospectus of the Latter-Day Saints" for "the Millennial Star*, Manchester," England, April 1840. Source: LDS Church Archives.*

conversions reached 57,000 from England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, "the most spectacular harvest of souls" in the words of historian W. M. G. Armytage, "since Wesley's time."[7]

The Nauvoo Legion

Our third "army with banners" must certainly be that of the Nauvoo Legion. Shortly after being officially chartered by the legislature on 16 December 1840, the Nauvoo Legion became the largest militia in the state of Illinois and eventually one of the biggest in the entire United States. Having learned some bitter lessons from his Missouri experiences with vigilante activities from both within and without Mormon ranks, Joseph Smith took every step necessary to establish this army, or legion, within the legal framework of the state of Illinois. He had learned from his Zion's Camp experience how *not* to run a militia and from the illegal activities of the Danites in Far West, the great importance of his directing and supervising the establishment of a legal city militia.

His detractors then and now notwithstanding, the Nauvoo Legion, of some 2,500 to 3,000 men at its maximum strength, was in response to an invitation by the state legislature in compliance with the United States Militia Act of 1792, and the Illinois Militia Act of 1819, that every male 18–45 years of age "shall severally and respectively be enrolled in the militia."[8] The local leader of the Nauvoo Legion may well have been Lt. Gen. Joseph Smith, but it answered to the governor of the state of Illinois which in 1841 was Thomas Carlin. The flags of the Legion may have included one of their own making and design, but it mustered and marched under the flag of the United States.

Figure 5. Lieutenant-General Joseph Smith reviewing the Nauvoo Legion (artist unknown). Source: Charles Mackay, The Mormons, or Latter-Day Saints *(London, 1852).*

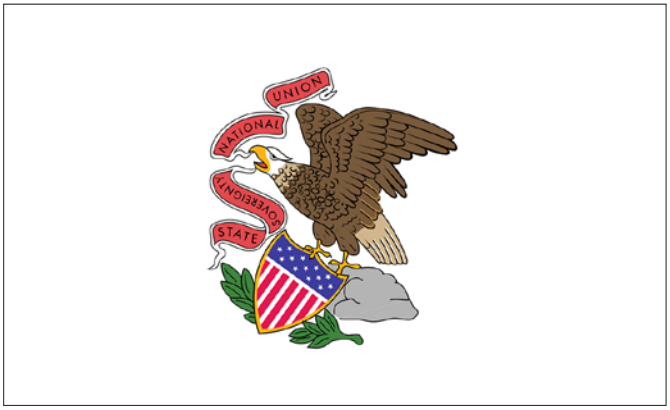

Figure 6. The 26-Star United States flag in use from 1837 to 1845 following the admission of the state of Michigan into the union. Source: jacobolus (username) et al., commons.wikipedia.org.

On 6 April 1841, the eleventh anniversary of the organization of the Church, several hundred militiamen, many in uniform and waving flags, gathered at the parade grounds in Nauvoo. At 9:30 a.m. Joseph Smith arrived in full military regalia, with his staff and field officers. Their wives followed in an elaborate carriage. When all the dignitaries were present, the ladies of Nauvoo presented their commander in chief with a silk national flag—"The 26-Star Flag" of the United States, which was respectfully received. (This flag became the official flag of the United States on 4 July 1837.) During the day, several flags topped with brass-colored eagles were held aloft including the aforesaid American flag, a large Legion flag that has never been definitely identified, and several small ones representing military units within the Legion.[9] Throughout the relatively short life of Nauvoo, the Legion was often called out for such special occasions such as 4th of July celebrations and the dedication of buildings, most impressively the Nauvoo Temple. Such patriotic celebrations, historian Roger Launius has argued, "served as a demonstration of loyalty for these [outside] observers of Nauvoo and accented the Church's common identity with the rest of America rather than its uniqueness."[10]

Figure 7. "Joseph Mustering the Nauvoo Legion," by Carl Christian Anton Christensen. Source: Brigham Young University of Art, commons.wikipedia.org.

Critics since John C. Bennett, that notorious scalawag, have long attacked the Legion as a band of religious zealots with its own anti-American purposes at heart. While it is true that the great majority of its enlistees were Mormon, it answered ultimately to the state as it most certainly did when so ordered shortly after the murder of Joseph Smith, its commander, in June 1844. Its charter repealed in January 1845, as part of a statewide political and legal effort to rid the state of a people Illinois had once welcomed with open arms,

the Nauvoo Legion was nevertheless ever an American construct and acted in compliance with state and federal law. It stands to this day as an example of how the people of Nauvoo maintained a fealty to both their church and their country and provided a precedent to the later Mormon Battalion.

"Much Credit is Due to the Battalion"

Nauvoo's happy days would not last. Persecutions intensified for a whole battery of reasons. Dissensions from within, coupled with plotting from without, eventually led to the killings of Joseph and Hyrum Smith in June 1844. A well-known Mormon scripture, likely written by John Taylor, condemned their murder and proclaimed their martyrdom: "They were innocent of any crime . . . and their innocent blood on the floor of Carthage jail is a broad seal affixed to 'Mormonism' that cannot be rejected by any court on earth, and their innocent blood on the escutcheon of the State of Illinois, with the broken faith of the State as pledged by the governor, is a witness to the truth of the everlasting gospel that all the world cannot impeach."[11] A short year and a half later, under the direction of Brigham Young, the first of the vanguard companies were crossing the Mississippi River on their way west as part of the famed Mormon exodus. One reason for their departure in February 1846 was out of fear of a possible intervention by a United States Army of the West distrustful of their true intentions. The truth is, however, the U.S. Army of the West eventually came inviting, not impeding, these struggling pioneers.

Figure 8. "Leaving Nauvoo—South on Partridge," by Glen Hopkinson. Source: Glen Hopkinson, Tucson, AZ.

The request of Captain James Allen at the Mormon encampments in western Iowa Territory in late June 1846 for a battalion of 500 of their most able-bodied young men to fight in the war with Mexico is well known. We

need not rehearse its history here save to say that it mustered in nearby Council Point at Council Bluffs beginning on 16 July under a flag of the United States, rescued out of Nauvoo and hoisted atop another Liberty Pole. George Whitaker described the enlistment scene as follows: "The Camp then moved from Council Bluffs about two miles down to a small stream and set up what we call a liberty pole, raised a flag which consisted of a white flag. The United States flag was planted under it."[12] Five days later this Mormon army embarked upon a march of over 2,000 miles across raw desert wildernesses, one of the longest ever recorded in the annals of American military history.

If ever there was an example of maintaining dual allegiances, it was the Mormon Battalion. Committed to serving the demands of President James K. Polk and the United States government in its efforts to secure California for the republic on the one hand, and the hopes and kingdom-building aspirations of their prophet leader, Brigham Young, on the other, individual recruits sent their $42 pay allowances, collectively worth thousands of dollars, via Church couriers to their wives and families back at Winter Quarters at present-day Omaha and Council Bluffs across the Missouri. Their wives' sacrifices of most of their funds proved a godsend to Brigham Young and the church in meeting the enormous cost of moving thousands of his uprooted followers to the Rocky Mountains. As Young put it, "We consider the money you have received as compensation for your clothing, a peculiar manifestation of the kind providence of our Heavenly Father at this particular time, which is just the time for the purchase of provisions and goods for the winter supply of the Camp."[13] The battalion thus proved as much a blessing to the Saints as it did to the United States.

Figure 9. "Winter Quarters, 1846-47," by Carl Christian Anton Christensen. Source: Brigham Young University of Art, commons.wikipedia.org.

The contribution of this faith-based legion to the Mexican War effort in securing California for the United States is legendary. "History may be searched in vain for an equal march of infantry," wrote Lt. Col. Philip St. George Cooke in January 1847. "Nine-tenths of it has been through a wilderness where nothing but savages and wild beasts are found, or desert where, for want of water, there is no living creature."[14] He concluded his official report by saying: "Much credit is due to the battalion for the cheerful and faithful manner in which they have accomplished the great labors of this march. . . . All was accomplished with unity and determination of spirit."[15]

Figure 10. "The Mormon Battalion at Gila River, Arizona," by George M. Ottinger. Source: LDS Church Archives.

Just days before its discharge at Pueblo de Los Angeles, the battalion came together with a detachment of the New York Volunteers and Dragoons to celebrate the 4th of July 1847. The flag was hoisted and a national salute was fired. At 11:00 a.m. after parading, the soldiers assembled in a square around yet another liberty pole. There soon followed the reading of the Declaration of Independence followed by a speech at which point Levi Hancock of the battalion sang a patriotic song.[16] Just a few days later, the battalion was honorably discharged and most members soon made their way to meet family members back at the Missouri or on their way west to the Great Basin. Some, however, re-enlisted for a short time and participated in the finding of gold at Sutter's Fort near Sacramento before they, in turn, preferring family to fortune, moved east to their new Mormon city near the shores of the Great Salt Lake.

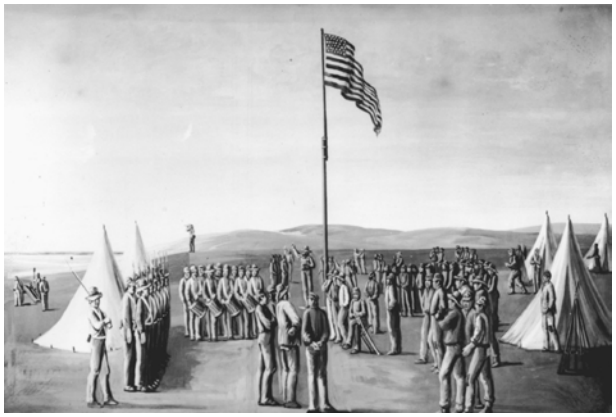

Figure 11. The Mormon Battalion's celebration of the 4th of July in 1847. Source: LDS Church Archives.

The Camp of Israel

Our concluding army with banners, this time of its own design, is that of the main vanguard company of pioneers that quit Nauvoo in February 1846 under the personal direction of Brigham Young. Calling themselves the "Camp of Israel," they went out well-enough armed and equipped with guns and cannons to ward off possible Indian attack to warrant the title "army." They were indeed as well armed as they were disenchanted with the United States. They certainly did not go west under the American banner and their ultimate destination then lay outside the boundaries of the United States.

There is no doubt that many genuinely distrusted the American government and desired to leave the country altogether. Harsh memories remained of persecutions suffered in Missouri in the 1830s and of Washington's refusal to counter Governor Boggs's extermination order. Though they continued to revere the Constitution and its protection of religious freedoms, many had lost confidence in the government to guarantee such rights. Evidence points to some sort of covenant many had made in the Nauvoo Temple "to avenge the blood of the Prophet Joseph and Hyrum Smith, on the United States and to overthrow her power."[17] Hosea Stout, captain of the Nauvoo Police, stated: "I confess that I was glad to learn of war against the United States, and was in hopes that it might never end until they were entirely destroyed for they had driven us into the wilderness and was now laughing at our calamities."[18] And said Wilford Woodruff, one of their chief apostles, "I feel to resign my citizenship because I cannot enjoy it."[19]

This ambivalent attitude towards America was best shown in how the Mormon pioneers celebrated the 4th of July in 1847. Whereas most other emigrant companies celebrated the 4th with fireworks, flag-wavings, lavish dinners, games, and other merriments of all kinds, to the Saints on the trail in 1847 the glorious Fourth was a reminder of broken promises, shattered dreams, and unjust expulsions from their homes in Ohio and Missouri and more recently from Nauvoo. There were no gun salutes, no banners, and no homemade ice cream. Wrote a disconsolate Norton Jacob: "This is Uncle Sam's Day of Independence. Well, we are independent of all the powers of the gentiles; that is enough for me."[20] And John Smith, a pioneer in the much larger emigration camp that followed just weeks behind in the wake of Brigham Young's vanguard company, put it this way: "We do not feel to celebrate the birthday of the independence of the United States, as we have been driven from its boundaries because we worshipped God according to His laws."[21]

If the Mormons were intent on settling beyond the reach of the United States, did they have in mind the establishment of their own theocratic government? And if so, did they anticipate as some have argued, a flag of the Kingdom of God?[22]

In answer to these questions, it now seems all but certain that serious thought had been given to the establishment of such a theocracy with its own flag, at least temporarily especially in a land beyond the confines of America. Joseph Smith himself proposed such a flag.

According to official Church minutes, at a 26 February 1847 meeting of Church leaders at Winter Quarters, Nebraska, just days before their departure west, Joseph Smith was said to have discussed such a banner just days before his death in June 1844. While he "did not give a description of size, shape and colors, it was commenced out of white cloth the day before Joseph died." Brigham Young at Winter Quarters suggested that such a silk or linen flag be 16' x 8' and be hoisted by pulleys as high as 100' on a mountain and visible for miles around. As for colors, Young said, "I go in for purple and scarlet, with red, blue and white, with the motto 'Religious Toleration' inscribed thereon in red, shaded with blue." Presiding Bishop Newel K. Whitney then motioned that "we write to Brother [Orson] Hyde, then in the Eastern markets, "to get the stuff."[23] That evening the council dispatched Jedediah M. Grant east with a letter authorizing him to secure material for a flag not less than 35' x 15'. The final product should be "an honor to the Union" and "a praise to the Saints."[24]

Yet even at this time, Young contemplated that by the time they reached the valley, or shortly thereafter, their new Zion home would be part of the

restlessly expanding Republic. For he said at this very same meeting that it would be called "the flag of the kingdom" or "the flag of the nations," but that such a flag would be raised "under the United States" flag.[25] In historian Ron Walker's words, "The American flag was not to be abandoned or placed aside."[26]

Despite these plans, no such flag ever flew over this valley; at least there is no record of such. The long-cherished myth that it was raised on Ensign Peak, a mountain outcrop still very visible immediately north of Salt Lake City, has yet to be substantiated. Historian Michael Quinn has argued that a later variation of such a Kingdom of God flag was designed, one blue and white in color, with various stars and stripes, but this is beyond the time frame of this paper.[27]

Bland as it may appear, the primary banner of the Camp of Israel and of the early settlement of the Salt Lake Valley was a pure white flag. When the Mormon Battalion was mustered into the United States Army near Council Point, Iowa Territory, it did so under a white flag with the American flag below it. At the Elkhorn River, the rendezvous point for wagons and teams heading west with Brigham Young's vanguard company in the spring of 1847, they raised a 51' high willow tree liberty pole planted 6' deep in the ground with yet another pure white flag at the top.[28]

A symbol of peace and of political and religious freedom, it was a white flag that unfurled over their new temple block in Great Salt Lake City on what is now Temple Square, not far from where the present flagpole stands. On 10 August 1848, a day selected "to celebrate the first harvest raised in the valley," the entire population convened at the bowery at 9:00 a.m. Their latest liberty pole had been raised especially for the occasion. And first to be hoisted to the top, against a backdrop of cannon fire and shouts of "Hosanna to God and the Lamb, Forever and ever, Amen" was once again, a white flag—"our flag" as Levi Jackman put it—"not stained with any national device but pure and white [that] proudly floated in the pure, clean healthy northern breeze."[29] Not until word soon afterwards reached them of the war-ending, California-securing Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo did the American flag fly over the Mormon desert which by terms of this treaty became part of the United States.

Figure 12. The state flag of Utah. Source: David Rindlisbach, commons.wikipedia.org.

Conclusion

We have today briefly considered five banners in early Latter-day Saint history—Zion's Camp, the mission of the Twelve to Great Britain, the Nauvoo Legion, the Mormon Battalion, and finally the Camp of Israel. Each has its own particular story and its special set of flags or banners. While each had its own unique origin, the representations and symbols of each flag were not as ambiguous or ambivalent as they were representative of their dual allegiances to God and country. While there would yet be many controversies between Washington and Salt Lake City, particularly over plural marriage and other Mormon doctrines and practices—a controversy that would not find resolution until the 1890s—the Saints were anxious to join the American union. By rendering unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's, the early Latter-day Saints maintained their faith in God and their hope in America. It was an uneasy tension that eventually found resolution in January 1896 when Utah was admitted into the Union as America's 45th state.

This paper was presented as the Preble Lecture at the 47th Annual Meeting of NAVA in Salt Lake City, Utah, in October 2013.

End Notes

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14. Ibid., 171.
15. Ibid., 185.
16. Ibid., 216.
17. William Hall, *The Abominations of Mormonism Exposed Containing Many Facts and Doctrines Concerning that Singular People During Seven Years' Membership with them from 1840 to 1847* (Cincinnati, Ohio: I. Hart & Co., 1851), 49.
18. *On the Mormon Frontier—The Diary of Hosea Stout, 1844–1861*, ed. Juanita Brooks (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964), 1:163–164.
19. Journal of Wilford Woodruff, 3 May 1846, LDS Church History Library.
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25. Ibid.

26. Walker, "'A Banner is Unfurled,'" 77.
27. Historian Michael Quinn concurs with others in believing that no such flag of the Kingdom of God was hoisted on Ensign Peak in 1847 or 1848. However, he does believe that some such sort of flag may have been raised there, or near there, in 1853. He also maintains that "a flag of the Kingdom of God was subsequently designed and displayed" as early as 1859. The colors of this later flag were blue and white with 12–15 stars representing the twelve tribes of Israel and/or the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve. Variations of this flag showed various stripes. Quinn, "The Flag of the Kingdom of God," 2–5.
28. Journal of John Lyman Smith, 16 July 1847, LDS Church History Library. See also the Journal of Eliza R. Snow, 19 June 1847, LDS Church History Library and cited in Bennett, "The Star-Spangled Banner Forever be Furled," 37.
29. Journal of Levi Jackman, 10 August 1848, LDS Church History Library.