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The Star-Spangled Banner Forever be Furled: The Mormon Exodus as Liberty

Richard E. Bennett

“You wanted to know what we waited to move for,” wrote Sidney Tanner, an early Mormon pioneer, to his family in the East. “It was to go to a land of freedom where we could enjoy the peace of society and our liberty. We did not want to live in a country where there was no peace, no liberty and its citizens [were] not allowed their rights.”¹

So much has been written about the Mormon Trail that one wonders if there is anything of consequence to be said. Surely all the prominent details are well known. And were it not for the fact that new sources continue to come to light, one might almost agree to leave the topic alone. However, on closer examination, one soon sees that a host of subjects remains unaddressed and several fascinating themes yet undeveloped.

The purpose of this paper is to examine one such theme that played more of a role in the thinking and worshiping of the Latter-day Saint exodus than has yet been acknowledged—namely, their unfolding sense of liberty, a double-sided liberty that included both freedom from persecution and oppression and the freedom to worship as they pleased and where they pleased. It was a dear and cherished liberation bought at the price of sacrificed properties and lost lives that contributed enormously to the success of their enterprise. It also was abundantly attested to in their many writings, songs, symbols, and celebrations.

As to their relief to be far beyond their detractors and on their way west to a safe, free, and impregnable haven in the Mountain West, it is without doubt one of the most attested to subjects in all their writings. Irene Hascall, for instance, upon arriving in the Salt Lake Valley in late 1847, expressed this sen-

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timent as well as anyone:

This is our place of residence. It is in the midst of the Rocky Mountains surrounded on every side by impassable mountains and just one passage in and another on the west side which will not take much labor to stop an army of ten thousand. Now let the mobbers rage. The Lord has provided this place for us and if we are faithful the trouble and calamities of the Gentile nation will not harm. When all is past, we will step forth from our hiding place, the secret chamber spoken of in the Bible. I wish you would come and stay with us. You would, if you could see the future.²

Hascall's letter is indicative of the bitter-sweet attitude of many of the Saints. On the one hand, she can scarcely hide her excitement in finding long-sought safety and a place for refuge from past oppression. On the other, she speaks of dire forebodings and dark expectations, if not of revenge then of a certain sorrowful warning of impending calamity upon the America that drove them out.

Surely there would be a price to pay. From almost the very beginning of Mormonism, Latter-day Saint scripture had warned of pending calamities and pestilences prior to the second coming and millennial reign of Christ. As early as March 1829, one of Joseph Smith's earliest revelations had warned of "a desolating scourge [that] shall go forth among the inhabitants of the earth, and shall continue to be poured out from time to time, if they repent not, until the earth is empty, and the inhabitants thereof are consumed away and utterly destroyed by the brightness of my coming."³

This theme of collective hurt, of almost Old Testament style wrath upon their enemies, may well have been a carryover from earlier Missouri persecutions that came to the fore shortly after the martyrdom, reaching a crescendo pitch by the time of their leaving for the West. Along with references to freedom and liberty, their diaries are replete with condemnation, warning, and expectation of imminent premillennial judgment and wrath. Wrote Brigham Young just prior to leaving Winter Quarters for the West:

The whisperings of the Spirit to us have invariably been of the same import, to depart, to go hence, to flee into the mountains, to retire to our strongholds that we may be secure in the visitation of the judgments that must pass upon this land, that is crimsoned with the blood of Martyrs; and that we may be hid, as it were, in the clefts of the rocks, and in the hollows of the land of the Great Jehova, while the guilty land of our fathers is purifying by the overwhelming scourge.⁴

How much of such talk was mere rant and rave is difficult to decipher. Certainly "Brother Brigham" was skilled at using whatever argument he could to draw his people out into an unknown and forbidding wilderness. If somehow that unknown could be made to appear safer than the familiar, so much the better. Whatever the case, writer after writer picked up on the point until, in truth,

it became almost a tenet of their faith.

Eliza R. Snow, favored poetess and women's leader in the "Camp of Israel," captured well the sentiment of the rank and file as to their seeking religious liberty, fleeing their enemies, and warning of dire consequences upon America when she penned the following lines somewhere in Iowa Territory just one month after leaving Nauvoo:

Let us go—let us go to the ends of the earth—
Let us go, far away from the land of our birth;
For the banner of "freedom" no longer will wave
O'er the patriot's tomb—o'er the dust of the brave.

Let us go—let us go from a country of strife—
From a land where the wicked are seeking our life;
From a country where justice no longer remains—
From which virtue is fled and iniquity reigns.

Let us go—let us go from a government where
Our just right of protection we never can share—
Where the soil we have purchas'd we cannot enjoy
Till the time when "the waster goes forth to destroy."

Let us go—let us go to the wilds for a home
Where the wolf and the roe and the buffalo roam
Where the life-inspir'd "eagle" in "liberty" flies—
Where the mountains of Israel in majesty rise.⁵

Wilford Woodruff, a respected leader and apostle, wrote at the end of 1847: "[We] have made a journey more than 1,000 miles to the Rocky Mountains, and sought out a place for a city, a stake of Zion, and a temple of the Lord that the Saints may have a place to flee to while the indignation of the Lord passeth over the nation that hath driven them out."⁶

As to their freedom of religion, the careful student will surely notice that the exodus had a profoundly liberating impact on the doctrines, practices, and governance of the Church. The fact of the matter is that in the necessity of movement and migration across river, prairie, and mountain, Church leaders had to adapt their theology and culture to new surroundings and dramatically changing circumstances—so much so that some wondered if what they were seeing was what they had once known.

For example, it was along their way west that Brigham accommodated the demands of the Mormon Battalion families in particular to allow for temple sealings (marriages) outside of the temple, giving rise first to Willard Richards' octagon/endowment house in Winter Quarters in 1846 and later to the Salt Lake Endowment House in Salt Lake City in the 1850s.

Likewise, it was in Winter Quarters that the bishop's role was redefined to become that of a true shepherd of the flock to care for the many sick and dying

at the Missouri. It was along the trail that the practice of plural marriage came more into view and much more fully understood than it had been back in Nauvoo. And it may also be argued that changing Church governance, particularly a fuller understanding of the need for a new First Presidency and the differing roles of the First Presidency, the Quorum of the Twelve, and the Seventy, was a legacy of the exodus. The point is that in their difficult travels, they found the freedom to reinterpret and apply their doctrines and revelations to fit their changing needs.

With such recurring references to these principles of liberty, freedom, safety, and divine wrath, were there any physical evidences of such sentiments? Was there, in fact, an obvious, recurring symbol of the Mormon flight to freedom?

Surely the overland trails were not without songs and symbols of many kinds. Of all the great western trail symbols, one of the best known is that “Great Register of the Desert”—Independence Rock. On 4 July 1830, William Sublette celebrated the fifty-fourth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence by christening that massive piece of granite on the Sweetwater River the name of American freedom—Independence Rock. Rising 136 feet above the surrounding terrain, this famous landmark has a circumference of fifty-nine hundred feet and covers a mass of almost twenty-five acres.⁷ A favorite stopping place for travelers of all political and religious persuasions, this natural monument still bears the rock-hewn inscriptions of the names of thousands of men, women, and children on their way west to new lands of hope and freedom. It remains a symbol of their endurance and of their commitment to America, more particularly so since most overlanders reached this landmark just about the time of the nation’s birthday.

Their accounts often make for colorful reading. John H. Brown, in an Oregon-bound camp coming on just two weeks behind Brigham Young’s vanguard company of 1847, tells of how his camp arrived at Independence Rock. “As we camped there and celebrated the 4th of July, our company also added their names, with dates, etc. We here read the names that had been placed there for years before ours.”⁸

Charles R. Parke, part of the vast number of later California gold seekers, tells of how he and his company celebrated the nation’s birthday at South Pass, not far to the west of Independence Rock. “Having plenty of milk from the cows we had with us,” he remembered,

I determined to [do] something no other living man ever did in this place and on this sacred day of the year, and that was to make ice cream at the South Pass of the Rockies. . . . I procured a small tin bucket which held about two quarts. This I sweetened and flavored with peppermint—had nothing else. This bucket was placed inside a wooden bucket or “Yankee Pole” and the top put on. Nature had supplied a huge bank of coarse snow, or hail, nearby, which was just the thing for this New Factory, with alternate layers of this and salt between the two buckets and with the

aid of a clean stick to stir with, I soon produced the most delicious ice cream tasted in this place. In fact the whole company so decided and as a compliment drew up in front of our tent and fired a salute.⁹

Joseph Wood, another 1849 argonaut, enjoyed a similar special South Pass freedom celebration:

I fired three rounds with my rifle—one for liberty, one for home and one for success. We had a few homespun extras for dinner of which we all partook heartily. They consisted of fried cakes, fried pie and apple sauce. . . . The celebration began in earnest in the pass at evening, fireworks were displayed and many large guns were fired. Companies of men would discharge their guns in rapid succession and among the hills they sounded very loud. . . . After a while all sounds died away save that of the wolves as they howled over the body of some dead ox.¹⁰

Another party, having just crossed over South Pass, also marked the day in a similarly happy mood. Oregon-bound Samuel Hundsaker reported:

We have enjoyed ourselves quite as well as could be expected in a country like this, with little else but wild sage for our cattle to eat. It is true we did not have the “Star Spangled Banner” to wave over us, but in its absence might be seen “floating over the breeze” a cravat, handkerchief, or something else, almost anything for an imitation. Until a late hour . . . the boys in our camp were quite merry, making Fourth of July speeches.¹¹

In stark contrast, for the Latter-day Saints on the trail in 1847, the glorious Fourth was a symbol of broken promises, shattered dreams and expectations, and unjust expulsions from their homes in Missouri and, more recently, from their City Beautiful—Nauvoo, Illinois. There were no gun salutes, no banners, and no ice cream. Only Norton Jacob, among all those in the Pioneer company of 1847, made even passing reference to the day, and then only critically. “This is Uncle Sam’s Day of Independence. Well, we are independent of all the powers of the gentiles; that’s enough for me.”¹²

John Smith, a Mormon pioneer in the Emigration Camp or “Big Company” following behind Brigham’s company that same year, expressed a similar sentiment. “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 worshiped God according to his laws.”¹³

It had not always been so. During their stay in Missouri and later in Nauvoo, the Latter-day Saints had well remembered the Fourth of July. Many were New Englanders with Revolutionary War ancestry and were proud of their American heritage. For instance, in 1838, Levi Hancock, at the request of Joseph Smith, composed a song in celebration of the war with England and of America’s independence from the British. Sung on the Fourth of July at the Far West temple site, their “Song of Freedom” was surely as patriotic as any other in

the land:

God armed our forefathers with power
And Washington came to their aid,
In wisdom he led the great battle
And soon made the Tories afraid.
He raised up the Standard of Freedom
And called for his brave volunteers,
Who all gathered quickly around him
And from their bold enemy steered. . . .

To celebrate this day of freedom
Don't let it ever be lost.
Remember the wars of our Fathers
And also the blood they have cost.
Go children, and tell the same story
To our children's children unborn,
How English lords, tyrants, and Tories
Have once caused your fathers to mourn.¹⁴

Five years later, in 1843, on what the Mormons were still calling “a happy day,” fifteen thousand people assembled at the grove near the Nauvoo Temple to listen to several speakers, including the Prophet Joseph Smith himself, extol the virtues of the Constitution of the United States while warning the government of the day to protect religious liberties and freedoms.

Yet even then some saw in the smallest things the coming conflict of allegiance. Wrote Wilford Woodruff of one most peculiar foreboding:

As the Romans took particular notice of any singular event as ominous of good or evil, so I will record a small circumstance that took place in my house this morning. Soon after I arose in the morning of this 4th Day of July my sword while hanging in its usual place unsheathed of itself and the scabbard dropped upon the floor leaving the bare blade suspended from the peg upon which it hung.¹⁵

If not the Fourth, the day the Latter-day Saints preferred to remember that exodus year of 1847 was 27 June, the third anniversary of the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. The enduring grief and deep sense of loss are difficult to exaggerate. Indeed, the entire Church was still in mourning. William Clayton, one of the finest trail recorders, expressed it this way.

It is three years today since our brethren Joseph and Hyrum were taken from us it was the general feeling to spend the day in fasting and prayer. But the gentile companies being close in our rear and feed scarce, it was considered necessary to keep ahead of them for the benefit of our teams, but many minds have reverted back to the scenes at Carthage jail, and it is a gratification that we have so far prospered in our endeavors to get from under the grasp of our enemies.¹⁶

If the Mormons forsook the Glorious Fourth and Old Glory as their symbols

of liberty, at least until a later time, what did they have in their place? Evidence exists to show that the pioneers were very serious about a flag, but one of their own make and meaning—an oversized, multicolored banner or “Ensign to the Nations.” Writing in behalf of the Twelve Apostles in February 1847, Willard Richards instructed Jedediah M. Grant, then on his way to St. Louis, Missouri,

to procure on your journey . . . a sufficient quantity of the best and most suitable cloth or fabric by whatever name you may find it called, to manufacture or form a flag, or colors, for the camp, not less than 35' in length and 15' in width, composed equally of white, blue and red. Of the same or similar material as your judgment shall dictate you will get—in addition to the above—one half the amount of cloth of either the foregoing colors—in scarlet and also in purple, for insignia . . . be sure to select such articles as will long buffet the wind and weather, a charm to your own eye whenever you behold it; an honor to the union, a praise to the Saints, to be sanctioned by the Heavens and viewed with delight by all people.¹⁷

Joseph Smith had apparently contemplated such a flag shortly before his death. Brigham Young picked up on the idea and called for an enormous flag, large enough to fly over a mountain top, one that would have to be hoisted by pulleys as high as a hundred feet into the air. This banner would bear the motto, in bright red letters shaded with blue, “Religious Toleration.”¹⁸

Once in the Salt Lake Valley, Brigham again referred to his banner of liberty in one of his earliest addresses. “Up there on that table ground [referring to Ensign Peak],” he declared, “we shall erect the Standard of Freedom!”¹⁹ Whether this mission was ever successful is not known. Certainly there is no reference to such a monstrous flag in any of the camp journals. Because of weight restrictions, it was probably not brought along that summer of 1847, if ever. It would appear that the purpose of such a flag was to herald a religious society—but one which would also be “an honor to the union,” perhaps the antecedent to a future territorial or even state flag.²⁰

If, then, neither rock nor flag could pass as the Mormon symbol of exodus, was there yet something else? The answer is something so simple and commonly referred to in several of their journals that it has been strangely overlooked—their habit of raising “liberty poles.”

The origin of their liberty pole is not yet known. Likely, some knew of or remembered the famous Liberty Tree of Revolutionary War fame during the Stamp Act rebellion of 1765. Situated on Main Street in Boston, the Liberty Tree had been a rallying point for the Sons of Liberty in their fight against British taxation. Likewise, there was a famous Liberty Pole in New York where several fights had broken out between British troops and colonists in 1670.²¹ Whatever the early American origins of the Liberty Pole (and it may even be traced through antiquity to Roman times), it was more a Republican than it was a Puritan, or religious symbol, a rallying point for action, a gathering place for freedom's discontent.



Illustration by Susan Swan
The Early American Songbook
Prentice-Hall, Inc.

The Latter-day Saints had erected at least one such pole before their exodus from Illinois. Back at Far West, Missouri, at the height of anti-Mormon persecutions in July 1838, 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 temple. We then assembled under the flag of our nation and had an oration delivered by Sidney Rigdon.” The next day, however, came another bad omen predicting their argument with the nation. “On Sunday 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,” Shurtliff recalled, “I voluntarily proclaimed, ‘Farewell to our liberty in Missouri.’”²²

Later, during the difficult trek across Iowa Territory in 1846 and then to the Rocky Mountains in 1847, the Mormons erected at least four other such poles: one at Council Point, Iowa Territory; one at the Elkhorn River [Nebraska] crossing west of Winter Quarters; one erected by the Mormon Battalion upon completing their overland march to California; and, finally, one at their new Temple Block in The Great Salt Lake City in the Great Basin. There may have been more of them in such way stations as Sugar Creek, Garden Grove, and Mt. Pisgah, Iowa Territory, and elsewhere, wherever the Saints assembled in relatively large numbers.

There is no evidence to conclude that the Latter-day Saints borrowed the symbol from other overlanders. Most Oregon and California-bound trains were of various smaller groups and companies outbound from Missouri River towns—not a massive movement of an entire people, culture, or religion. They probably had no need of such a post.

Readers conversant with the Book of Mormon might argue that its origins can be traced to the ancient American prophet, Moroni, and his “title of liber-

ty” he presented to his people to rally their support at a time of civil unrest. “And it came to pass that he rent his coat; and he took a piece thereof, and wrote upon it—In memory of our God, our religion, and freedom, and our peace, our wives, and even our children—and he fastened it upon the end of a pole . . . and he called it the title of liberty.”²³ As plausible as this may sound, none of the diarists so far studied have made this connection.

The first pole of the trek west was hoisted in June 1846 at the mustering-in grounds for the Mormon Battalion near Council Point, on the Iowa side of the Missouri River across from Winter Quarters. For purposes of enlistment into the U.S. Army of the West, below their own white flag was also an American flag. George Whitaker described the 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 U.S. flag was planted under it.”²⁴

The second was raised at the Elkhorn River, some thirty miles west of Winter Quarters, in the spring of 1847 to mark the rendezvous point for wagons and teams bound for the West in either the vanguard or the later emigrant companies. This liberty pole was a fifty-one-foot-high willow tree pole planted six feet deep in the ground with pins eighteen inches apart from top to bottom (for climbing purposes) with a pure white flag at the top.²⁵

Although some diarists noted that the white flag was “a signal of peace to the Indians,” it was also clear that most in addition viewed it as a symbol of political and religious freedom. Consider the one erected on their new temple block in Great Salt Lake City or 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 on the temple block at 9 a.m. Their latest liberty pole had been raised especially for the occasion. 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 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.”²⁶

Next, below their standard, amid further shouts of acclamation, were lifted a sheaf of wheat, a bundle of barley, another of oats, and, lastly, one of corn—symbolizing a saving harvest. They then assembled within and all around the bowery to listen to remarks from Parley P. Pratt and John Taylor, camp leaders. “All went off in good order and feelings,” remembered Isaac Haight, and “a splendid dinner was spread under the bowery for the occasion.”²⁷ After dinner, which lasted from noon until 2 p.m., the remainder of the day was given over to dancing, instrumental music, “prayers and preaching.”²⁸

Their expressions of liberty and delight included more than the liberty pole. Sometime during their festivities, they sang Parley P. Pratt’s new composition

entitled “The Harvest Song,” which was written specifically for the occasion and which was sung to the more familiar tune “How Firm a Foundation.” His lyrics contrasted vividly with those of Levi Hancock a decade before and captured well their new exodus spirit of gladness and freedom:

Let us join in the dance, let us join in the song,
To the Jehovah the praises belong;
All honor all glory we render to thee
Thy cause is triumphant, thy people are free.

The gentiles oppressed us the heathens with rage,
Combined all their forces and hosts to engage;
They plundered and scattered and drove us away,
They killed their shepherd, the sheep went astray.

Full long in the desert and mountains to roam,
Without any harvest, without any home;
They're hungry and thirsty and weary and worn,
They seemed quite forsaken and left for to roam.

But lo in the mountains new sheep folds appear,
And a harvest of plenty our spirits to cheer;
This beautiful vale is a refuge from woe,
A retreat for the Saints when the scourges o'erflow.

The States of Columbia to [pieces] may rend,
And mobs all triumphant bring peace to an end;
The star spangled banner forever be furled,
And the chains of a tyrant encircle the world.

The storms of commotion distress every realm,
And dire revolutions the nations o'erwhelm;
Tho Babylon trembles and thrones cast down be,
Yet here in the mountains the righteous are free.²⁹

Perhaps none of the above should be interpreted as an attempt by the Latter-day Saints to remain permanently apart or to secede from the United States. Although feelings were mixed, most sensed that the manifest destiny of American expansion was fast on the way and that they, unwittingly perhaps, were part of it. Many of the returning Mormon Battalion soldiers were certain that their newfound mountain refuge was about to become part of America. In fact, news of the war-ending Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in which upper California had been ceded by Mexico to the United States would reach them early in the fall of 1848, if it had not already done so.³⁰

The point is that for now, the Latter-day Saints felt safe and secluded and at liberty to live and worship as they pleased. And if and when America must catch up to them, they would be in a position of political power as the first set-

tlers, an advantage they had never enjoyed before in the East.

The sense of escape, of freedom from persecutions, and of newfound liberty to worship as they so desperately desired was most certainly a contributing, motivating factor to both the cause and the success of the Mormon exodus experience. And with it came warnings and convictions of divine wrath upon America, surely a topic for further research and development. Such emotional underpinnings and spiritual convictions found expression in their various symbols, songs, and celebrations. And while much has been said about their roadometers, prairie post offices, and other trail innovations and designs, it may well be that we have overlooked and underestimated the importance of the “liberty pole” as the visual symbol of their religious and political convictions while on their way west.

It may also be stated that their exodus itself was an expression of liberty sought and freedom found. If Frederick Jackson Turner argued that the frontier spawned a new era of individual freedoms, then might one not also conclude that the Mormon exodus into that same frontier represented a collective liberty, a group freedom, for an entire people in search of a place to live and worship as they pleased? And if that sojourn into the Great American Desert demanded of them new interpretations and applications of earlier doctrines and practices in the process—which their leaders seemed willing to give—then their exodus may have established the precedent that tradition would never master their religion. They indeed would be free to understand and apply their beliefs as their new and changing circumstances demanded.

Notes

1. Letter of Sidney Tanner, 13 April 1847, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University. Some of the quotations used in this paper were incorporated into my recent book, *We'll Find the Place—The Mormon Exodus 1846-1848* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1997).

2. Irene Hascall to Ophelia Andrews, 5 March 1848, LDS Church Historical Department, Salt Lake City.

3. Doctrine and Covenants 5:19.

4. Brigham Young to the Latter-day Saints at Mt. Pisgah and Garden Grove, Iowa Territory, 25 January 1847, Brigham Young Papers, Church Historical Department.

5. From the poem “Let Us Go” by Eliza R. Snow composed 22 March 1846 and quoted in *Personal Writings of Eliza Roxey Snow*, Maureen Beecher, ed. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995), 122.

6. Journal of Wilford Woodruff, 31 December 1847, Church Historical Department.

7. Robert L. Munkres, “Independence Rock and Devil’s Gate,” *Annals of Wyoming*, 40 (April 1968): 23-24.

8. Autobiography of J. Henry Brown, unpublished manuscript, Oregon Historical Society, Portland, Oregon, 10.

9. Journal of Dr. Charles R. Parke, 4 July 1849, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

10. Diary of Joseph W. Wood, 4 July 1849, The Huntington Library, San Marino,

California.

11. The Autobiography of Samuel Hundsaker, 4 July 1853, Oregon Historical Society.

12. Journal of Norton Jacob, 4 July 1847, Church Historical Department.

13. Journal History, 4 July 1847, Church Historical Department.

14. The Autobiography of Mosiah Hancock, typescript, 4 July 1838, 5-8, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

15. Journal of Wilford Woodruff, 4 July 1843.

16. Journal of William Clayton, 27 June 1847, Church Historical Department.

17. Willard Richards to Jedediah M. Grant, 25 February 1847, Brigham Young Papers. See also the Minutes of a Special Meeting, 26 February 1847, Brigham Young Papers. For more on this topic, see D. Michael Quinn's "The Flag of the Kingdom of God," *BYU Studies* 14 (Autumn 1973): 105-14.

18. *Ibid.*

19. Journal of Norton Jacob, 28 July 1847.

20. Thomas Bullock likewise noted Brigham's reference to the flag. "He showed the spot where the Ensign would be hoisted—and never have any commerce with any nation, but be independent of all." Journal of Thomas Bullock, 28 July 1847, Church Historical Department.

21. Hiller B. Zobel, *The Boston Massacre* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1970), 29, 181; also Edmund S. Morgan and Helen M. Morgan, *The Stamp Act Crisis—Prologue to Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953), 132.

22. The Biographical Sketch of the Life of Luman Andros Shurtliff, typescript, 33, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, BYU. I am indebted to my colleague, Alex Baugh of the faculty of Religious Education at BYU, for bringing these Far West accounts to my attention.

23. Alma 46:12-13. No evidence has yet been found, however, in their contemporary writings to tie the origins of the Mormon liberty pole to Moroni's title of liberty.

24. Journal of George Whitaker, July 1846, 21, Church Historical Department.

25. Journal of John Lyman Smith, 16 July 1847. See also the Journal of Eliza R. Snow, 19 June 1847.

26. Journal of Levi Jackman, 10 August 1848, Church Historical Department.

27. Journal of Isaac Haight, 10 August 1848, Church Historical Department.

28. Journal of Patty Sessions, 10 August 1848, Church Historical Department.

29. Journal of Levi Jackman, 10 August 1848, Church Historical Department.

30. Dale Morgan, *The Great Salt Lake*, 220. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed 2 February 1848. According to the terms, Mexico ceded Texas (with the Rio Grande as boundary), New Mexico (including Arizona), and Upper California (including San Diego) to the United States.