

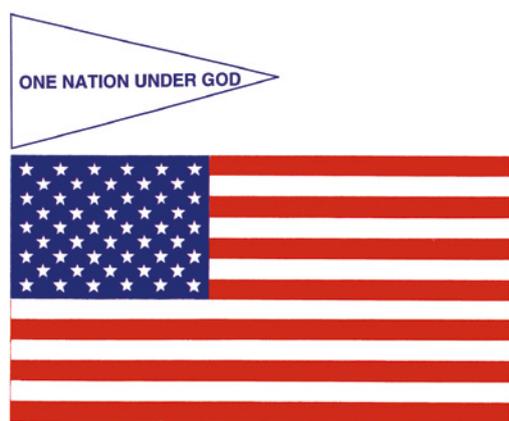
# “One Nation Under God”

## The Crusade to Capture the American Flag

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Since earliest times fetishes, relics, icons, and other objects believed to be imbued with sacred power have provided the social cohesion that guarantees the success of a government, an army, a social system, and the country as a whole. Understandably, symbols associated with those holy objects came to be incorporated in the battle standards, royal banners, and modern national flags of countries in all parts of the world. The tattoo of the Polynesian, the amulet of the Ashanti, the scapular of the European, the *sanjak sbarif* of the Afghani, and the Blood Banner of the Nazis are all linked together in essence and in function, if not in form. Each is the embodiment of the highest principles of a given society, justifying the power of life and death which the rulers demand over all citizens, on the premise that they represent an ineluctable force of the universe.



When the Constitution of the newly formed United States was drafted in 1787, its provision that “no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States” therefore constituted one of the most revolutionary and far reaching of its provisions. The exact opposite idea — namely that the fundamental qualification for every public servant was defined by his profession of faith in the state religion — had always been, in practice if not in law, the operating principle. Even mere citizenship or participation in the society depended on adherence to the religious faith of the ruler.

The premise of this new secular state was that domestic harmony could be achieved by having the government avoid either supporting or suppressing religious sects, allowing each individual and each group to pursue its own vision of the “true faith” or to abjure religious beliefs and practices entirely. In this way truth would presumably evolve from the free intercourse of ideas, the most

successful religions being those capable of convincing others of the correctness of their tenets and interpretations, yet leaving the unconvinced to pursue their own beliefs. In return the government was to provide an even-handed administration of the whole society, free from the fanatical attempt to promote belief among unwilling converts which had characterized so much of the past in Europe and elsewhere. This principle was embodied in the terse phrase in the 1791 First Amendment to the US Constitution stating that “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. . . .”

Americans slowly established myths about the meaning of their country and of citizenship. Over time the Stars and Stripes, the highest and most widely beloved of its symbols, came to be the embodiment and focus of that Americanism. While the flag was and is a statement about the meaning, the origins, the future, and the principles that Americans adhere to, the adulation, reverence, and respect associated with the flag has in no way replaced or dimmed the religious fervor of American citizens. Indeed among developed countries today few match the United States in the percentage of citizens who profess an active religious belief and a faith-based lifestyle.

The importance of the flag to the country has, however, meant that many religious organizations and individuals have sought to co-opt the meaning of the flag, to achieve in the eyes of the entire citizenry an ineradicable association between the spirit and meaning of the flag and the specific religious principles which they hold dear. This sectarian campaign to “capture the flag” under the slogan “One Nation Under God” forms the theme of this presentation.

The first national flag of the United States, the Continental Colors, was intentionally chosen to incorporate two concepts in its design and colors. The 13 stripes, by referring to the number of colonies participating in the Continental Congress, made a political statement. The colors — red and white or red, white, and blue — were the traditional ones of England and Scotland and thus of the British American colonies. The Union Jack was associated with the mother country and, appropriately, indicated the status of the colonists prior to the Declaration of Independence as British subjects united in demanding respect from the sovereign for their rights. In this context its crosses did not have religious significance per se but were a symbol of the state and the Crown.

The adoption in 1777 of the first Stars and Stripes

provided Americans an opportunity to express military, political, religious, ethnic, or other characteristics of their new republic. Instead the design chosen focused on the constitutional structure of the country by symbolizing the 13 states (as the colonies had been renamed), united in a confederation as free and equal units. The distinctive American national color, blue, formed the background of the canton which replaced the Union Jack. The thirteen stars “representing a new constellation” referred to the same units already symbolized by the stripes. It would not be until 1818 that the present flag pattern — with the stripes representing the original colonies and the stars representing all the current states — would be established. While a ring of stars has, among other uses, long been a Marian symbol, in the first Stars and Stripes it clearly made a secular reference to the 13 states. As Preble<sup>1</sup> pointed out, “Thirteen crosses would have shocked the sentiments of a portion of the people, who looked upon the cross as an emblem of popish idolatry.”

This secular symbolism was reinforced with the adoption in 1782 of the Great Seal of the United States. The original explanation of the design and symbolism of the obverse, while having no legal validity, indicates the direction of thinking at the time. It states that<sup>2</sup>

the colours of the pales are those used in the flag of the United States of America; White signifies purity and innocence, Red, hardiness & valor, and Blue, the colour of the Chief signifies vigilance perseverance & justice. . . The Constellation denotes a new State taking its place and rank among other sovereign powers.

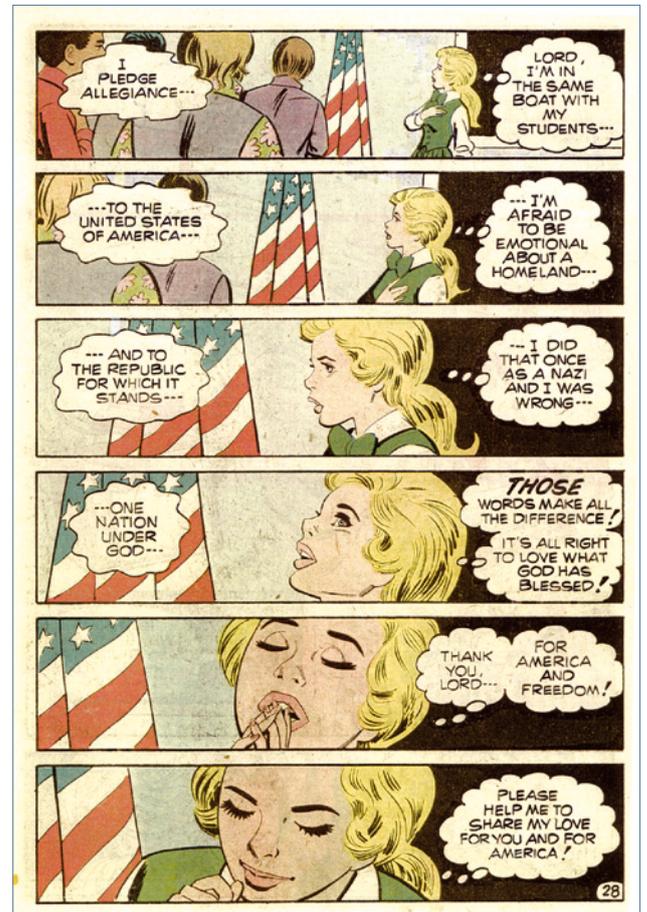
While the eye over the pyramid and the motto *Annuit Cœptis* (“He Has Favored Our Undertakings”) on the reverse of the seal are said to “allude to the many signal interpositions of providence in favour of the American cause,” it is significant that the reverse of the seal has never been cut and put into use, nor has it ever played any significant role in American national political symbolism. Moreover, the source of the motto *Annuit Cœptis* was Virgil’s *Aeneid*, where reference was made not to the Judeo-Christian deity but to the Roman god Jupiter.

Many proposals for the Great Seal contained very explicit references to the Judeo-Christian God, all of which the committee rejected. William Barton recommended a Latin motto meaning “With God’s Favor”; others suggested inclusion in the seal of the “God of Liberty,” the “Eye of Providence,” a representation of Moses and the pharaoh at the dividing of the waters in the Red Sea, the “Children of Israel in the Wilderness,” or the motto “Rebellion to Tyrants Is Obedience to God.” Religious sentiments were also largely absent from the battle flags carried by the Patriots during the American Revolution. It might be imagined that the slogan *Appeal*

*to Heaven* appearing both on a Connecticut regimental color and on the flag of the Massachusetts Navy<sup>3</sup> was a religious sentiment. In fact it was a cynical statement, referring in that era to the use of weaponry in the event that logical argumentation should fail in some dispute. In contemporary usage to “appeal to heaven” simply meant to resort to warfare to obtain one’s ends, the presumption being that the victor would have achieved his success because of divine favor.<sup>4</sup> Indeed that phrase was routinely inscribed on cannon barrels.

Part of the modern sectarian campaign to define the United States government and political system in avowedly Christian terms involves the misinterpretation of historical symbols in order to imply that it had been overwhelmingly the intention and practice of those who established the nation to organize it as a Christian rather than a secular country. In this spirit the symbols and colors of the Stars and Stripes are repeatedly defined as being Christian and the assertion is often made that divine inspiration was responsible for its choice.<sup>5</sup> Given the exalted role that the flag plays in American nationalism, culture, and history, these claims about the origin and meaning of the flag are highly significant.

Lawrence Phelps Tower advanced the thesis in several publications<sup>6</sup> that the Stars and Stripes was based on Dutch precedents of which the central theme was the advancement of religion, specifically Protestant Christianity. According to Tower, the red and white stripes of the flag were presaged in *Isaiah 53:5*, the phrase “with his



stripes we are healed” being interpreted as meaning that Christ’s favor was shown those who honored his sacrifice on the cross by manifesting it in their striped national flag. Tower claimed that the Dutch used red and white striped flags throughout their struggle for independence against Roman Catholic Spain. English dissenters living in the Netherlands then adopted that flag and brought it to the New World where the 1643 New England Confederation is said to have flown a flag of four red stripes on a white field. The number of stripes was then increased at the time of the American Revolution.



#### An Explicitly Christian Variant of the Stars & Stripes

Tower hypothecated that the stars in the Stars and Stripes “symbolized the Star of Bethlehem which guided the wise men to the manger in which the Christ Child was born.”<sup>7</sup> The “Star of Bethlehem thesis” had been advanced decades earlier by Schuyler Hamilton,<sup>8</sup> who said of the Patriots: “They cast their eyes to the Star of Bethlehem, and saw the stars singing together in God’s blue heaven. They looked to God rather than man [for inspiration in the flag design].” The National Flag Foundation<sup>9</sup> speaks of “possibly providential” events during the Revolution which were to lead to the success of the free enterprise economic system under the direction of “those men of extraordinary vision who were America’s Founding Fathers [and who] saw even in 1776 and 1777, that their nation would have many states and their flag many stars.” The new constellation referred to in the Flag Act of 1777, according to the Foundation, had been intended by them to represent “a new relationship of man to government, government to man, and both to God” and not simply a union of 13 states.

One religious leaflet<sup>10</sup> explains the colors of the flag as referring to “the spotless throne of God” (white), “the blood-drops of Christ which one day dripped on Calvary’s hill for the sin of the world” (red), and “the color of the heavens” (blue); “the shining stars remind us that those who are saved shall shine as the stars forever.” This salvation theme is reinforced in a handbill,<sup>11</sup> where the Stars and Stripes appears in color, which directly associates the promise of the Crucifixion with the United States flag. Its text proclaims “Your freedom pass to heaven,

at no cost to you — for God paid the charge in the red, white, & blue.”

“British Israel” adherents — who insist that Anglo-Saxons rather than Jews are the true descendants of the original Israelites — have made the Stars and Stripes a part of their own theory. One of their publications states:<sup>12</sup>

It was [George] Washington<sup>13</sup> who described [the flag] in these words: “We take the star from Heaven, the red from our mother country, separating it by white stripes, thus showing that we have separated from her, and the white stripes shall go down to posterity representing liberty.” It was destined to be! This separation and the new nation had been on the agenda of God. . .

That we should have a flag at all is found in the early days of our Israel forefathers. . . When the United States selected their flag it was chosen of the Israel colors of old, only new in arrangement and design to conform to their national destiny.

This flag of ours is a testimony in emblazonry of the history and destiny of this servant nation in Israel — *and therefore it is of God*. This is the Bible-based story of Old Glory. . . The climax chapter — titled “The Kingdom of God on Earth” . . . is to be written with the peoples of the world as His manuscripts and, under the direction of the Author himself, Old Glory will take on a new glory as America becomes dedicated to the glory of God!

An official booklet issued by the US Marine Corps<sup>14</sup> takes a more ecumenical point of view in describing the supposed divine origins of the Stars and Stripes:

The star, a symbol of the heavens and the divine goal to which man has aspired from time immemorial, and the stripe, symbolic of the rays of light emanating from the sun, have long been represented on the standards of nations, from the banners of the astral worshippers of ancient Egypt and Babylon and the 12-starred flag of the Spanish Conquistadors. . . to the present patterns of stars and stripes. . .

Not all the attributions of symbolism and origin for the flag are based on the predominantly Protestant segment of America’s Christians. Professor J. C. Monahan wrote:<sup>15</sup> “A feature of our flag, long neglected. . . is the fact that a red, white, and blue flag is a Catholic Flag.” The red, he claimed, is for St. Joseph, blue for the Blessed Virgin Mary, and white for Christ. Colonel James A. Moss<sup>16</sup> insisted that “the colors red, white and blue may trace their ancestry back to Mount Sinai, when the Lord gave

Moses the Ten Commandments and the book of the law and they were deposited in the Ark of the Covenant within the Tabernacle whose curtains were of scarlet (*red*), *white*, *blue* and purple.”

It is a small step to take from the flag having been divinely inspired to its having been designed by God himself. There are many poetic expressions of this concept, including the poem “*The Flag’s Birthday*” by Mary A. P. Stansbury:<sup>17</sup>

Now, as the stars above us together show His praise,  
Who set them in their courses and marked their  
trackless ways,  
Let us upon our banner our states united shine,  
And a new constellation proclaim the hand divine!

There are also many who hint that the whole world will eventually be united under the Stars and Stripes:<sup>18</sup>

I’ll bear thee up, thou dear old flag,  
Of origin divine,  
Until upon they azure fold  
A hundred stars shall shine.  
Float on, old flag, until they stripes  
Shall all the nations heal,  
And tyrants over all the earth  
Shall thy just vengeance feel.

The nation’s Manifest Destiny, which many Americans believed in especially following the Civil War of 1861-1865, led to widespread expressions of that sentiment of the heavenly mission of the Stars and Stripes. Explaining national success in terms of divine approbation was characterized by such poems as Kate Putnam’s “Our Flag.”<sup>19</sup>

Oh, symbol-hope of all the world!  
The pledge of Liberty!  
A stronger hand than ours unfurled  
Thy mighty prophecy.  
Let all thy starry splendors shine!  
Chime, bells, in sweet accord!  
Earth cannot harm that holy sign, —  
The banner of the Lord!

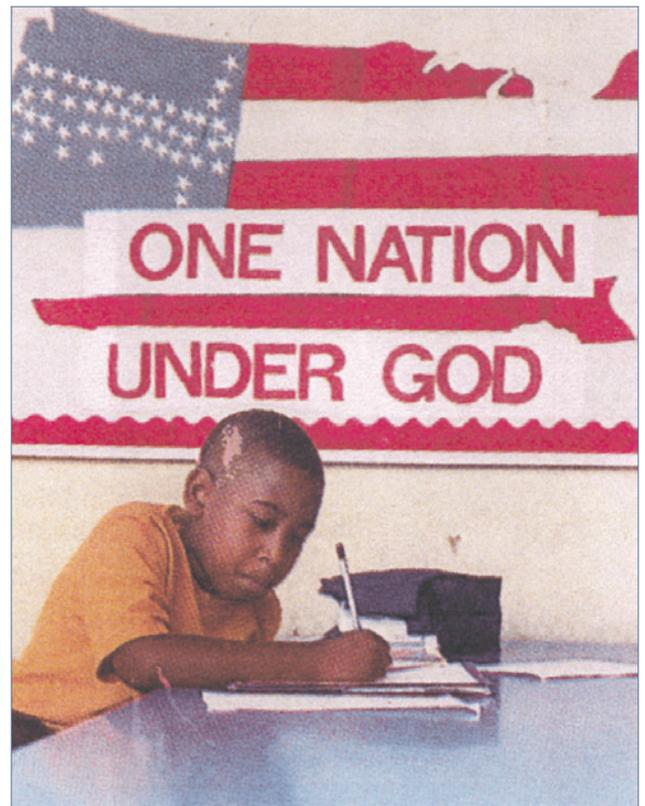
Franklin B. Ham, a chaplain of the Civil War (Union) veterans’ organization, the Grand Army of the Republic, told students of the Vineyard Street Grammar School in Providence, Rhode Island,<sup>20</sup>

And so I say to you to-day, and I solemnly declare it to be my honest belief, that that flag was created by a mind which was directed by God Himself Now if the Creator inspires men to write and think, is it

not just as reasonable to assert that He inspired men to make our flag, which has proved a boon to the searchers for freedom and liberty?

Many members of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints (Mormons) hold traditions regarding “the standard of the nation” which is to be raised as the flag of “the Kingdom of God and his Laws.”<sup>21</sup> The design of the flag of the Earth under that future universal republic to be known as Zion America has not yet been revealed but it may prove to be the Continental Colors since, according to the claims made by High Priest Francis M. Darter of the Kingdom of God, a Mormon dissident, that design had been presented by a divine messenger to a committee of Congress meeting on 13 December 1775 to decide on the first American flag.<sup>22</sup>

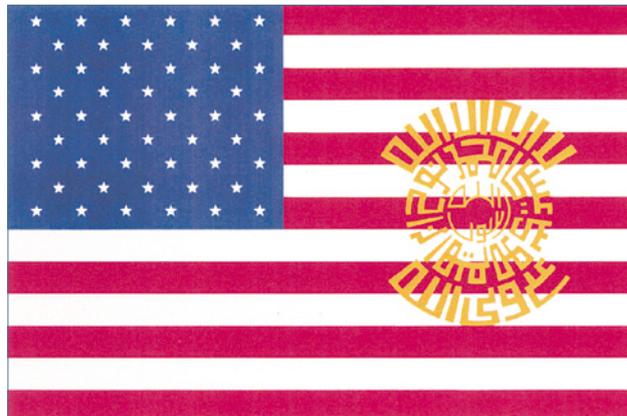
The Stars and Stripes has been widely vaunted as a flag symbolizing both the will of God and the divine mission of America, yet paradoxically there are a number of circumstances where attempts have been advanced to modify the national flag of the United States, in order to reflect its presumed Christian orientation more clearly. Although similar modifications made by others, such as the imposition of the figure of a Native American or of the peace symbol on the Stars and Stripes, have frequently led to charges of flag desecration, the use of a cross on the flag or as a finial for its staff or as a shape into which the stars may be rearranged does not seem to engender similar public opposition, nor has non-military usage of a religious pennant over the Stars and Stripes, although such is forbidden by the Flag Code.



In 1964, for example, following a decision of the US Supreme Court that group prayers in public schools were unconstitutional, religious organizations in New Jersey, New York, and Connecticut started a campaign to fly a pennant inscribed *One Nation Under God* above the Stars and Stripes. The Knights of Columbus and the Holy Name Society of the Corpus Christi Roman Catholic Church were successful in getting not only private homes and businesses to fly that pennant but also a number of public buildings. The American Civil Liberties Union, the Americans for Democratic Action, and a number of Jewish and Unitarian groups resisted use of the pennant on public buildings under the same provision of the US Constitution which had been cited by the Supreme Court in the school prayer cases — the First Amendment prohibition of state-promoted religion. In rejoinder Mayor John Knowlan of Hasbrouck Heights, New Jersey, stated that:<sup>23</sup>

The pennant is a reminder that we have Almighty God looking out for our national welfare. It is in the Declaration of Independence, it is in the flag salute, it is part of the history and tradition of our country. This is not a specific religion. The great things in our history have been done acknowledging God.

In 1985 the Flag Research Center received a letter from the Reverend Charles L. Abraham Cayton of Trinity World Mission in Maysville, Missouri, concerning his proposed alteration of the Stars and Stripes. Based on his Biblical studies, he had come to the conclusion that the star which attracted the Magi to Bethlehem when Jesus was born must have been a six-pointed star, since it was to symbolize the Messiah. He therefore concluded that six-pointed stars should be incorporated into the Stars and Stripes “out of respect, honor, and reverence to the Christ of our Salvation... the flag of a Christian nation.” He further insisted that



our beloved Christian *president* George Washington commissioned Betsy Ross to use the six pointed star in the American Flag [and] she talked him out of it. It occurred [*sic*] to me, that she may have been another Madeline O’Hara [*sic* for Madalyn Murray O’Hair, self-described as the “most hated woman in America” for her role as president of American Atheists].

Cayton’s proposal for changing the flag included the statement that “our constitution, which states that we are one nation under God, having the inscription through out our monitary [*sic*] system, in God we trust, then it follows that the American flag should be graced with the biblical six pointed stars.”

While Cayton erred in his claim about the Constitution — nowhere does it include the word God — his argument is a widespread one in the community of those seeking to promote official recognition for Christianity in public institutions, procedures, ceremonies, and publications. Every victory in a legislature or court allowing the encroachment of religion on public property such as courthouses, other government buildings, military bases, and vehicles, and every new medium of expression for religious sentiments such as coinage, postage stamps, or documents becomes the basis for a claim to the legitimacy of further encroachment. Legislators generally support those demands because it is clear that opposition could mean potential loss of a future election. Defending the constitutional principles which protect the secular character of state-supported institutions is disvalued by a significant portion of the American public. Even judges frequently feel great pressure to find justifications for allowing the spread of religious symbolism within government.

One of the difficulties faced by opponents of religious symbols in public life is the fact that many familiar examples go back for a century or more. Not surprisingly in a country characterized by strong local political autonomy and with a population that has always had a professed majority of Christians, many graphic and written expressions of religious beliefs were adopted decades ago when



minorities which might have felt them unacceptable did not protest. One of the widest areas of usage was in the civic heraldry of American cities, counties, and states. The number of instances and the detailed legal arguments and proceedings involved in legal challenges to them would require an extensive separate study.

One of the great difficulties for those who have attempted to maintain America's constitutionally-mandated secularism by objecting to public-arena use of symbols that are clearly sectarian is the recent development of two arguments which turn all traditional definitions and understandings on their head. Secularism, the strict neutrality of government in all matters relating to religion, neither favoring nor disfavoring it, has itself become a "religion" according to the sectarian argument. In other words, those who insist that religion is a personal matter which governments should not interfere with and that no religion should be allowed to control public institutions and practices, simply form one more sect in a country known for constantly inventing new religions and cults.

At the same time symbols which for hundreds or even thousands of years have been considered essentially religious in meaning are now often designated by sectarian forces as non-religious "cultural artifacts." According to this argument, to display (as in the seal of Bernalillo County, New Mexico) a cross with the slogan "In This Sign Conquer" — the well known Constantinian symbols of militant Christianity — is no more a religious act than displaying a photograph of the Statue of Liberty while quoting the well-known poem by Emma Lazarus. Therefore those in opposition to that cross and slogan are identified by the sectarians as adherents of a perverse anti-American cult they refer to as "Secular Humanism."

In this spirit Justice Sandra Day O'Connor of the US Supreme Court in *County of Allegheny v. ACLU, 492 US at 630 (1989)* — a court case concerning the utilization of public land for religious displays — referred to a certain class of religious practices as "ceremonial deism," suggesting that their religious significance had been so

diluted that one could reasonably label them simply as American cultural traditions. The fraudulence of that argument is revealed in the aggressiveness of those sectarian forces who seek by every avenue to maintain and expand the frequency and venues of such actions.

Practices supposedly "grandfathered" into national life by the concept of ceremonial deism — even though all were instituted long after the adoption of the Constitution — include the use of paid chaplains for legislative bodies and for the armed forces, public invocations of God (at presidential inaugurations, in the opening of court sessions, and in the taking of public oaths), presidential proclamations of prayer, and use of the slogans "In God We Trust" and "One Nation Under God." Thus the courts found no problem with the prayer offered by the Reverend Billy Graham at the inauguration of President George Bush in 1989:

We recognize on this historic occasion that we are a nation under God. This faith in God is our foundation and our heritage all this we pray in the name of the Father, The Son, and The Holy Spirit. Amen.<sup>24</sup>

Proponents of state-endorsed religion constantly use these supposedly harmless exceptions in their attempt to enlarge the sphere of their privileges and activities. When the city of Zion, Illinois, for example, in revising its civic seal under court order introduced *In God We Trust* into the new design, the US Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit determined that that phrase had "no theological significance."<sup>25</sup> In 1959 the state of Ohio adopted the motto "With God All Things Are Possible," which is quoted directly from Matthew 19:26 — "but Jesus beheld them, and said unto them, With men this is impossible; but with God all things are possible." On 16 March 2001 the same US Court of Appeals voted 9 to 4 that the Ohio state motto was constitutionally acceptable, so long as no reference was made to the source.<sup>26</sup>

The main thrust of the "One Nation Under God" campaign began in the 1950s during the Cold War era when many believed that Americanism and Communism were the only possible alternatives for a world under the threat of nuclear war. Since the Soviet Union was avowedly atheistic, many believed that the United States needed vigorously to support religion — specifically Christianity — in order to be successful in the titanic struggle. "One Nation Under God" was added to the Pledge of Allegiance in 1954 and "In God We Trust" was made the national motto of the United States in 1956. Several amendments to the US Constitution were submitted to Congress which would have recognized the country officially as a Christian nation.

In 1968 flag desecration for the first time became a federal offense and 20 years later, following two Supreme Court decisions determining that such laws were uncon-

stitutional, a campaign began — which is still active today — to add an amendment to the Constitution giving Congress the power to enforce anti-desecration laws. In 2001 “In God We Trust” was added to the new state flag of Georgia and it has been proposed as an addition to the state flag of Tennessee.

The history of the flag desecration movement and the use of the mottoes “In God We Trust” and “One Nation Under God” are only part of many facets in the political struggle between sectarians and secularists. Religious symbols, including sectarian flags displayed in the armed forces, aspects of the Pledge of Allegiance ceremony in schools, use of crosses, mottoes, and the Ten Commandments on public lands and buildings, and the “See You at the Pole” movement are all deserving of extended study.

These symbols and ceremonies are only a small part of a wider campaign aimed at capturing legal recognition for Christianity — largely but not exclusively fundamentalist Protestantism — throughout the civil and military structure of the nation, its subdivisions, its schools, and court systems. As has been indicated, in some cases documented history has been misrepresented and supernatural claims have been advanced relative to the design and symbolism of the Stars and Stripes. In a free country it is the right of all individuals and groups of citizens to hold and promote any philosophy, political agenda, or religion they favor and to seek success in the electoral arena for those points of view by all legal means. Victory for the “One Nation Under God” partisans would, however, radically alter the political and social life of the United States.

Symbols have no inherent meanings. They are void of any content of their own but rather reflect the beliefs and actions of the people who interpret and use them. Thus over time the cross flags of the Scandinavian nations have lost most of their religious symbolism, essentially becoming purely national symbols for countries which are largely secular in their orientation. Likewise despite the clear historical and legal precedents which exist in the United States for considering the Stars and Stripes a secular symbol, there is nothing to guarantee that the “One Nation Under God” adherents will not be successful in converting the flag to an avowedly Christian emblem, both legally and in the minds of the majority.



## Notes

1. George Henry Preble, *History of the Flag of the United States of America...* (Boston: Williams, 1880), p. 264.
2. Quoted in Richard S. Patterson and Richardson Dougall, *The Eagle and the Shield...* (Washington: Department of State, 1976 [1978]), p. 85.
3. The design is misrepresented in a contemporary British engraving of Commodore Hopkins as having the motto *An Appeal to God*.
4. For example, General Nathaniel Greene wrote on 20 December 1775 during the siege of Boston (quoted in American Archives, IV, p. 367):
 

There are great preparations going on in England, to prosecute the war in the spring... we can no longer preserve our freedom and continue connection with [England]. With safety we can appeal to Heaven for the necessity, propriety, and rectitude of [resisting the British by armed force].

In 1834 William Ladd in the *Pacificator* (quoted in Devere Allen, *The Fight for Peace* [New York NY: MacMillan, 1930], p. 34) stated:

The “appeal to heaven” by duel has long since been condemned by all true Christians, but the “appeal to heaven” by war, a much greater barbarism, still remains sanctioned by the Church, and is preceded by fasting and prayer.
5. There is an apparently unnoticed incongruity inherent in attributing Christian symbolism to a flag which contains 13 stars and 13 stripes, given the traditional Christian triskedekaphobia.
6. The best statement appears in *The Untold Story of Our Flag* (New York: United States Flag Foundation, 1956), passim.
7. Harry Millican, “Historian Believes Stars and Stripes Were Filched from the Early Dutch,” *The Milwaukee Journal Green Sheet*, 26 August 1955, p. 1, based on an interview with Tower released by United Press. Tower made several major factual errors in the flag-related information he presented, vitiating his religious interpretation of their origin and symbolism.
8. In his article “The Stars in Our Flag,” *The Magazine of American History*, Volume XIX, No. 2 (February 1888), pp. 150-153.
9. *The New Constellation, the Story of America As Told Through Its Flags...* (Pittsburgh PA: National Flag Foundation, 1977), passim.
10. *The Flag I Love* (Westchester IL: Good News Publishers, circa 1971).
11. Les Cox, *This Is Your Freedom Pass* (Indianapolis IN: the author).
12. C. S. Warner, “The Story of Old Glory,” *Destiny* (July 1943), pp. 9, 252-253, and 255.
13. There is no evidence that Washington ever made this statement attributed to him. The earliest citation of the quotation

apparently is in Wayne Whipple, *The Story of the American Flag* (Philadelphia: Altemus, n.d. [1910]), p. 46. It has often been quoted — and misquoted. On [www.smn.co.jp/gallery/amano/flag.html](http://www.smn.co.jp/gallery/amano/flag.html) on 10 August 1999 it appeared in this form: “The first President of the United States, George Washington, said ‘On the Stars and Stripes, the Stars represent the heaven, the red our homeland, Britain, and the white stripes intersecting over the red background the independence from Britain.’ “

14. *How To Respect and Display Our Flag* (Camden NJ: Alpha Litho, 1942).
15. *American Catholic Historic Researches*, Vol. 28 (January-October 1911), p. 257.
16. *The American Flag: Its Glory and Grandeur* (Washington: United States Flag Association, 1929), p. 25.
17. Quoted in Reverend George W. Gue, *Our Country's Flag* (Davenport IA: Egbert, Fidler, and Chambers, 1890), p. 44.
18. R. Tompkins, “The Soldier's Pride” as quoted in *Gue*, p. 33.
19. Quoted in Julia A. M. Furbish, *The Flower of Liberty* (Cincinnati: White, Corbin, Bouve, 1869), p. 48.
20. *Our American Flag, Unique Features of its Conception and Adoption...* (Providence: Snow and Farnum, 1901).
21. Francis M. Darter, *Ensign of the Nations, Kingdom of God...* (Salt Lake City: the author, 1946), p. 10.
22. Francis M. Darter, *The Kingdom of God, the USA British Empire...* (Salt Lake City: the author, 1941), p. 19.
23. Quoted in “The Pennant on a City Flagpole Stirs up a Growing Religious Storm,” *The National Observer*, 16 November 1964.
24. *135 Cong. Rec.* S67 (daily edition of 20 January 1989).
25. United Press and Associated Press reports of 7 and 8 January 1993.
26. John Nolan, “Ohio Motto Given Stamp of Approval,” *The Boston Globe*, 17 March 2001.