<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INSIDE</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Editor’s Note</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President’s Column</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2017 NAVA Membership Map</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steamboat’s a-Comin’: Flags Used Afloat in the Nineteenth Century</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Mississippi Identity: Summary of an Academic Project in Flag Design</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flag Heritage Foundation: Japanese Heraldry and Heraldic Flags</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional Groups Report: PFA and VAST</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Grants Committee Report</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Letters</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• New Flags</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Projected Publication Schedule</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oh Say, Can You See...?</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captain William Driver Award Guidelines</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treasurer’s Report</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flags for the Fallen</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual Meeting Notice, Call for Papers</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Editor’s Note | Note de la rédaction

Dear Reader:

Welcome to the first edition of Vexillum. Please allow me to explain its origins and our plans for it.

NAVA has a long history of publishing for its members and others interested in vexillological matters. NAVA News began in 1967 as a newsletter about association affairs, and later expanded its coverage to include reprints of newspaper articles about flags and original research papers. Raven has delivered twenty-four volumes of peer-reviewed vexillological research since 1994. In 2013, Flag Research Quarterly was launched to provide a forum for amply illustrated, shorter research articles. At the same time, NAVA News transitioned to an online-only publication.

While the association sees value in all three of our publications, we are regrettably unable to continue publication of NAVA News and Flag Research Quarterly in their current forms. Our budget is simply too tight. Therefore, we are consolidating the best content from both publications into Vexillum.

Vexillum will continue to bring you news about flag events, members of NAVA, and association activities. It will also continue to publish current original research from NAVA members and others, including some of the papers presented at our annual meetings. It will also serve as a forum for official association business, including announcements of our annual meeting, slates of nominees for officer positions, proposed budgets, and other matters.

We look forward to carrying on the good work published in NAVA News and Flag Research Quarterly through our new title, which will be mailed to all NAVA members on a quarterly basis.

In this issue, we are pleased to bring you two articles that were originally slated for Flag Research Quarterly. “Steamboat’s a-Comin’”, by Dave Martucci, is a fascinating look at the flags used on the steamboats that conveyed passengers around the East Coast in the nineteenth century. It may shed light on the many “antique”-appearing flags that are available for purchase on the collectors’ market. “Flags for the Fallen” was originally presented at the 2015 Annual Meeting. As Scot Guenter has written and spoken about several times in recent years, rituals involving flags are an important topic for vexillologists to explore, and we hope this addition to the literature proves interesting and useful. Elsewhere, we bring you news from regional flag associations, and some updates on association business, such as a financial report and information about our upcoming Annual Meeting in Québec City.

A note about our title: Vexillum was chosen through a deliberative process. Earlier this year, NAVA president Peter Ansoff invited members to submit suggestions for the title; then NAVA secretary Ted Kaye organized a poll of NAVA members, in which Vexillum was the most favorably rated choice by a large margin. After consulting with the Publications Committee about the attributes of a title that are desirable, the Executive Board rated their top choices from the submitted titles, and Vexillum also came out on top. After a thorough discussion at the March board meeting, a consensus emerged that Vexillum was the right choice.

“Vexillum,” of course, is the root of the English word vexillology. In Latin, it refers not to a flag as flown in modern times, but rather to a cloth suspended from a crossbar attached to a lance carried by Roman cavalry units.1 In classical Latin, the word was probably pronounced “wexs-ill-oom” with an accent on the second syllable. The traditional English pronunciation (“Anglo-Latin”) is “vex-ill-umm”, also with an accent on the second syllable. We look forward to hearing all the ways that you care to say it!

Please let us know how you like our new publication. We welcome all correspondence and submissions at VP2nd@nava.org.

Yours in vexillology,

Steve Knowlton, Editor

---

President’s Column | Chronique du président

Dear fellow NAVAs,

Welcome to the first issue of Vexillum. As Steve Knowlton explains in the Editor’s Column, this new publication replaces both Flag Research Quarterly and NAVA News, and will feature the types of content that previously appeared in both. This consolidation will make our publication process cheaper and more efficient, and will also satisfy the desire (expressed by many members) for a return to a print version of NAVA News. In some respects, Vexillum will be similar to what NAVA News was before the previous publications policy was adopted in 2012: a selection of high-quality illustrated research articles as well as coverage of flag-related current events, members’ doings, humor, and information about NAVA itself.

In addition to the practical aspects of our new publication, there’s an important philosophical dimension to it. Ever since I’ve been a NAVA member, there’s been tension between two competing ideas of what our association is supposed to be, and what it’s supposed to do. On one hand is our mission to “promote vexillology as the scientific study of flags,” as stated in our Articles of Incorporation. On the other is the reality that an international membership organization needs to attract a critical mass of paying members to exist and operate, and that our members will have many diverse flag-related interests. This dichotomy is not unique to NAVA or to vexillology. The chairman of the Airship Association in the United Kingdom, to which I also belong, said this in his most recent message to members:

“My personal feeling is that in the past we have taken ourselves too seriously and this is evidenced by the fact that we are seen…as boring, stuffy and old-fashioned. …We have missed the point that the Association is not composed of airships, it is made up of people who are interested in airships and […] in my experience, people join organizations, for the most part, in order to have fun.”

This is not, of course, to belittle our scholarly mission in any way—it remains the core of what we are, and we can be justly proud of what we have achieved in our first half-century of existence. The point we all need to recognize is that scholarship and “fun” are symbiotic components of NAVA’s identity, and must continue to be so in the future. Vexillum will exemplify this. It will complement our annual journal, Raven, as a source of quality scholarship, and will also be fun. Whitney Smith foreshadowed this duality in 1975, when he defined vexillology as “The scientific study of the history, symbolism and usage of flags or, by extension, any interest in flags in general.”

A final note: one of the reasons for consolidating our publications was to make it easier to maintain a regular quarterly publications schedule. In each issue, we’ll provide the publication dates for future issues (see page 13), and we will make every effort to meet them. We recognize that publications are our product, and that providing them on time is part of your expectation as a NAVA member.

Enjoy Vexillum!

Peter Ansoff
President, NAVA
pres@nava.org

Steamboat’s a-Comin’: Flags Used Afloat in the Nineteenth Century

By David B. Martucci

One of the things forensic vexillologists face when presented with an unknown flag is assessing that object’s place in the scheme of things, or what we call “context”. To some degree, clues to context are discovered when the examiner can determine the materials, sewing techniques, design, and finishing of the flag itself. If one is lucky, the flag’s owner has some historic information, or maybe the flag has a name penciled; if one is really lucky, the name is inscribed along with a date, or a brand name is stamped onto the hoist. Usually one doesn’t get many overt markers of provenance, and so then one must look at other similar flags and see if the flag in hand matches them enough to claim common context.

Unfortunately, there is often little “preexisting context” to work with. More than two decades ago, a member of the Gopher family of the Great Lakes band of the Chippewa tribe sent me a photo of a thirteen-star flag supposedly given to members of the Chippewa tribe in Minnesota in the early nineteenth century (figure 1). The family tradition held that the tribe was presented with a United States flag that had an eagle in the canton as a signal of safe passage, and that members of the tribe could get supplies from U.S. Army forts by displaying it.

There are other references in the records Madaus brought to light, specifically flags made for use in the territory of the Chippewa Nations, that convinced me a real “Indian Peace” flag should have an eagle painted in natural colors with gold stars and finishing; these features were entirely absent on the Gopher family’s flag I was reviewing. So the flag did not match the “pre-existing context” in my opinion. Not to mention the machine sewing and other features that could only indicate a much later manufacture. I was unfamiliar with alternative contexts at the time, so I filed this in my memory bank and left it.

Over the years there were several such flags brought to my attention, and I began to look for the “missing context” for these flags. Although I cannot say with complete certainty I have figured all of these out, I can place the flags in question into a particular nineteenth- and twentieth-century context: maritime use, specifically as worn by excursion steamboats of the day. Extant flags from the period often have similar appearances to flags recorded in contemporary illustrations. A note: the flag specimens discussed here are not necessarily the same flags shown in the illustrations, but they constitute a similar type and were used in the same context as the flags shown in the illustrations.

Flags have always been important for ships. International law requires national flag display, and additional flags have been developed for marine use. By the early nineteenth century in the United States, customs had developed that included the use of ensigns, name pennants, port-of-call flags, and other types of flags. A book of the era states, “A ship or yacht, with all the sheen of her white wings, is incomplete to the artistic eye without the essential plumage of gay bunting.” The coming of the excursion steamboat magnified these customs and added decorative flags as well.

Following the Civil War, passenger excursion steamboat travel experienced tremendous growth, especially in the North. Regular lines had already existed, of course, but many more passengers started travelling these lines and the steamboat companies struggled to expand their fleets.

These ships wore many flags, beginning with the ensign, which was a United States flag, but with a design unique to each boat (a standard design for the U.S. flag was not adopted until 1912). The two examples shown here are just a small sampling of the many different designs in use (figures 2 and 3). Contemporary illustrations show ensigns flown prominently on steamships (figure 4).

There is evidence that ensigns adorned with an eagle in the canton were popular among steamboats of the era (figures 5, 6, and 7). As well, a controversial flag purported to date from
Figure 2. The “Parenthesis Flag”, a steamboat ensign. Source: Boleslaw Mastai and Marie d’Orange Mastai, The Stars and the Stripes: The American Flag as Art and as History from the Birth of the Republic to the Present (New York: Knopf, 1973), 115. Photo reversed.


Figure 7. The steamboat Armenia, painted by James & John Bard, 1848. Inset: (left) Detail of an ensign worn by the Armenia. Source: The Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn., https://thewadsworth.org/collection

Washington's inaugural also resembles flags flown on steamboats (figures 8 & 9). When encountering an eagle-canton U.S. flag with machine stitching typical of the late nineteenth century, a forensic vexillologist must consider the maritime trade as a potential "pre-existing context."

All of these boats also bore a "name flag", often on the same mast as the ensign. Many name flags were triangular burgees; as the term implies, the name flag was inscribed with the ship's moniker (figures 10, 11, 12, and 13). It appears from the paintings and photos that it was not uncommon to hoist the ensign on one side of the stern mast and the name flag on the other side (figure 14).

These boats were also "brilliant with flags and full of Coney Island suggestions," dressed with numerous decorative and patriotic flags and pennants (figures 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, and 21). Often including a steam-driven organ or calliope for music and many different large flags for color, these excursions were full of excitement and delight for the travelers.

There were, perhaps, tens of thousands of these flags made for the excursion steamboat trade, and these examples are but a few which provide the context for one of the most common flag types of the nineteenth century.

**The Bard Brothers**

James Bard (1815–1897) and John Bard (1815–1856) were twin brothers who made hundreds of paintings of sailing and steam vessels. Although not the only artists of such subjects, they were the most prolific and technically the best painters of these ships. Based in New York City, one of the busiest seaports of the nineteenth century, they were fortunate to have the appropriate talents for painting ship portraits that the leading businessmen of the day were willing to pay for.

The Bard brothers started a painting by going to see the ship and making a sketch, including notes of details of paint and ornamentation and, especially the flags. Figures 22 and 23 show examples of the attention paid to ships' flags by the Bard brothers.
Figure 10. A composite of different name flag styles depicted in the American Flag Company’s 1913 Catalog.


Figure 12. The steamboat *Columbia* (nicknamed “The Gem of the Ocean”), lithograph by Currier & Ives, 1872. Source: alamy.com

Figure 13. Name flag of the *Mary Eliza*, inscribed “James Udall, Great Neck”. Source: Mastai and Mastai, *The Stars and the Stripes*, 72-73.

Figure 15. Composite detail of the decorative flags worn by the Columbia. Source: alamy.com


Figure 19. The steam ferry Southampton, painted by James Bard, 1880. This was James Bard's last painting. Inset: Detail of flag with eagle surrounded by stars, worn by the Southampton. Source: The New-York Historical Society, http://nyhistory.org/exhibit/steamboat-southampton


Figure 22. Sketch of the steamship Brilliant by James Bard, 1868 (held at the Mariner’s Museum). Source: Morton and Peluso, eds., The Bard Brothers, 139.

Figure 23. (above) The name pennant and Boston city flag of the steamboat J. Putnam Bradlee. Source: Morton and Peluso, eds., The Bard Brothers, 152.
The venerable New York flag maker Sarah McFadden occupied 198 Hudson Street, in lower Manhattan, for over 70 years (figure 24). According to contemporary accounts, McFadden was a favorite of the Army, the Navy, the New York State Guard, the Long Island Sound steamers, the Hudson riverboat companies, and private yachtsmen.

Beginning in 1834, Sarah, or Sally Ann as she was commonly known, first working with her mother and family, made flags of all types right into the end of the nineteenth century. The New York Times reported that she made and sold some of the first American flags produced in New York City; and in the 1890s she was locally known as the Betsy Ross of New York. Shortly after the Civil War, she formed S. McFadden and Co., which became the S. McFadden Company after she passed day-to-day operations to her nephews, in about 1893.

McFadden was also the largest supplier of flags to the Confederacy in 1861–62, and even later her flags always got through blockade of the Southern ports (figure 25). Sally Ann died in 1904 and the business was carried on by her nephew “Uncle” Jimmy Harrison until at least 1920. Other flag makers also supplied the needs of business in New York; the last one still existing, of course, is Annin & Co.

Name Flags, Port-of-Call Flags & Decoratives
Flags bearing the name of the ship have been a custom since at least the first decade of the nineteenth century, if not earlier. Later in the century, ships began wearing flags that bore the names of the vessel’s ports of call. Decorative flags were often a hallmark of the excursion steamboat. Figures 26 and 27 demonstrate steamboats wearing combinations of name flags, port-of-call flags, and decorative flags. Steamboats still use name flags (figure 28).

The flags of nineteenth century steamboats, then, are a rich vein for vexillological inquiry. When one discovers a flag of unknown provenance, with a design that does not seem to be cataloged in the standard works, consider whether it may have originated as a steamboat ensign, pennant, or decorative flag. I believe the Gopher family’s flag is a steamboat flag, and there are probably many flags having similar origins that are now lurking in attics and closets across the country.


2 Tench Coxe to William Young, quoted in Madaus, “United States Flag in the American West,” 71.


4 “Jolly Undertakers: They Sink Shop Out of Sight and Go on a Merry Excursion,” New York Sun, June 5, 1885, 1; this article refers to “the big iron steamboat Sirius.”

The Mississippi Identity: Summary of an Academic Project in Flag Design

By Chase Quarterman

The state flag of Mississippi is one of the most controversial public symbols in our country due to its canton, which displays the Confederate battle emblem (figure 1). A referendum on the question of changing the flag was held in 2001, but the voters of the state chose to retain the current design, which dates from 1894. In the current climate of perceived racial tension and occasional violence in the U.S., many Mississippi citizens believe it is time to change the flag to remove Confederate symbolism.

Growing up in Jackson, Mississippi, I was ambivalent about the state flag and the Confederate battle emblem. To me, it felt like an innocuous symbol of the South that represented Southern pride, rednecks, and Ole Miss (University of Mississippi) football. I had bumper stickers with Confederate symbolism on my bedroom door and attended several Ole Miss football games, where the stadium was filled with Confederate battle flags that undulated as the marching band played “Dixie” (figure 2). At the time, it felt like an expression of school spirit and camaraderie rather than the misguided use of a hate symbol. While attending Ole Miss in the late 1960s, my mother received multiple pompom-sized “Rebel” flags while on dates to football games. These flags were signed by her friends and later sewn into a quilt (figure 3).

Upon reflection, I (and members of my family) now see how the Mississippi flag displays imagery that, for many citizens, accentuates a painful history of bigotry and overshadows other, lighter interpretations of this symbol. Being white and middle-class, I was oblivious to the oppressive power this symbol had toward a large portion of my home state’s population (Mississippi is approximately 40% African American). A 2015 statewide poll substantiates this notion, showing that 77% of African Americans in Mississippi supported the removal of the Confederate symbol from the state flag.1

In early 2016, motivated by the news coverage concerning the flag of my home state, I began researching the history and controversy surrounding the Mississippi state flag; the research served as the basis for my master’s thesis in Communication Design at Texas State University. In the current political climate, with a bipartisan call for a flag change by Mississippi politicians, I realized that Mississippi has the opportunity to be a positive example of racial reconciliation by re-designing its flag. My thesis research included the history and iterations of the Confederate flag, the political and socioeconomic history of Mississippi, state culture, and both official and unofficial state symbolism.

Following this research, I designed symbol sets that embodied important aspects of life in Mississippi: the Mississippi River (figure 4), the southern magnolia (Magnolia grandiflora) which is the state flower (figure 5), local culture (figure 6), and native wildlife (figure 7). I utilized these symbol sets to create over 150 potential flags that my research led me to believe are relevant to Mississippi (figure 8). After receiving feedback from my thesis committee and family members, I finalized my flag design, which was shown in a thesis.

Figure 1. The Mississippi state flag. Source: https://www.clarionledger.com/story/news/politics/2017/03/08/amendment-added-bill-require-flying-state-flag-campuses/98005340

Figure 2. Ole Miss football fans waving the Confederate flag. Source: Tammen Maury/Associated Press

Figure 3. Souvenir Confederate flags sewn into a quilt. Source: Photo by author.

Figure 4. Symbol set for the Mississippi River.

Figure 5. Symbol set for the southern magnolia.

Figure 6. Symbol set for Mississippi culture.

Figure 7. Symbol set for Mississippi wildlife.

The Mississippi Identity continued on page 23
Japanese Heraldry and Heraldic Flags

Thanks to the generosity of the Flag Heritage Foundation, NAVA members are receiving the latest in its monograph series: Japanese Heraldry and Heraldic Flags.

The beauty and ingenuity of Japanese heraldry is widely appreciated, and for centuries it formed the principal design theme of Japanese flags. But its structure and components are poorly understood in the West. Clearly it works, but how does it work? In this volume, the Flag Heritage Foundation combines three new essays by heraldic and flag scholars, comprehensively presenting the grammar and vocabulary of the Japanese heraldic mon, and explaining and illustrating Japanese heraldic flag practice during the samurai period and in modern times. The book has 176 pages, with 38 color images (including 21 new original paintings) and more than 1,000 black-and-white text illustrations.

The Flag Heritage Foundation established its Monograph and Translation Series in 2009, under the editorship of NAVA member David F. Phillips, to publish worthy monographs on flags and related subjects, and to translate and publish in English monographs previously appearing only in languages inaccessible to most scholars.

Japanese Heraldry and Heraldic Flags is the seventh in the series. NAVA is grateful to the Foundation for continuing to provide highly-subsidized copies for our members, as well as free copies to scholarly institutions and libraries.

The Foundation welcomes suggestions for its publications program. To suggest a text for translation, or to submit an original or out-of-print manuscript for consideration, e-mail serieseditor@flagheritagefoundation.org.

Regional Groups Report

The Portland Flag Association (PFA) counts among its membership more than 50 flag enthusiasts in the Portland, Oregon metro area. The PFA met every two months in 2017, with 10–15 members at each meeting, and staged a Vexi-Day event in downtown Portland in October. Its website, portlandflag.org, hosts an active blog and a dynamic listing of city flag-change efforts. During 2017, the PFA also published six issues of its 12-page electronic newsletter, The Vexilloid Tabloid, which went to PFA members and over 200 other interested vexillologists in over 30 countries.

Interested NAVA members may be added to the VT mailing list by writing info@portlandflag.org; back issues are viewable on the PFA website. All are welcome to attend meetings—the second Thursday of odd-numbered months.

Over the last two years, VAST (The Vexillological Association of the State of Texas) has held an annual meeting each year, and published a number of issues of The National Standard, the bulletin of the association.

Some of the topics covered in The National Standard have been:

- The legality of Texas counties using taxpayer dollars to display flags during holidays
- The restoration and display of the original prototype of the Houston city flag, designed in 1915
- Amendments to the Texas Flag Code adopted by the state legislature in 2017

VAST, along with the Flag Research Center, is organizing the 28th International Congress of Vexillology (named HemisFlag), to be held on July 15-19, 2019 in San Antonio. A congress flag has already been adopted.

To read The National Standard or learn more about VAST or the 28th ICV, please visit http://www.texflags.org.
September 2, 2017
North American Vexillological Association
Dear Association Members:
I thought a bit of levity at your meeting might be fun. My husband, Walter Braunschweig, who was a proud vexillologist, passed in January this year. We had mentioned in his obituary that he was a vexillologist, explaining what that is. At his Celebration of Life I noticed a man I didn’t recognize and told him so. He responded that he came because he wanted to tell me a wonderful story—as follows: He went to the barber shop for a haircut and asked the barber if he knew Walt and knew that he had died. The barber said he did know him, but what really surprised him was to read in Walt’s obituary that he was a ventriloquist! Of course, all of us standing within hearing range were so tickled to hear this, and I thought you might enjoy it also.

Sherrill Braunschweig
[Walter C. Braunschweig, of Volcano, California, was a NAVA member for 20 years]

Projected Publication Schedule
In 2018, NAVA expects to publish the following issues:

Vexillum
- Issue no. 2 - June
- Issue no. 3 - September
- Issue no. 4 - December

Raven
- Volume 25 - December

Grants Awarded by the NAVA Grants Committee in 2017
by Scot Guenter

In 2017, the Grants Committee of NAVA awarded two grants.

The Cannon Research Grant, for “original research in various aspects of flag design and usage in North America”, was awarded to Carlos Alberto Morales Ramirez, currently pursuing a Ph.D. in Geography at the National University of Singapore.

The Guenter Dissertation Grant, awarded to “graduate students pursuing research which advances vexillological knowledge”, went to Annie Platoff, currently pursuing a Ph.D. in History at the University of Leicester.

Both grants were for $500. Information on how to apply for these grants, and for the Grace Rogers Cooper Conservation Grant (for “conservation, preservation, and restoration of historic flags”), can be found at the NAVA website: http://nava.org/grant-programs

New Flags
Burlington, Vermont

In January 2017, Burlington, Vermont’s mayor Miro Weinberger and its city council asked Burlington City Arts (BCA) to develop a process to design a new flag for the city. Vermont native and college student Kiernan Nicholls had reached out to the city about updating the flag. BCA’s director, Doreen Kraft, wanted to “bring as many people as possible into the public process”, and tasked staffer Deb Caulo to coordinate the effort. The BCA launched a contest in September 2017, open to all residents of Burlington and offering a $250 prize. The competition guidelines cited the design principles of NAVA’s Good Flag, Bad Flag and the TED talk by Roman Mars, and provided examples of great U.S. city flags. By the October 15 deadline, 138 designs had come in. The very next day the six-member flag selection committee narrowed the field to seven finalist designs, which were quickly unveiled for public input and rating. The winning design, created by twin seventh-graders Owen and Lucas Marchessault, was adopted by the city council on November 27. The mayor expressed his delight and raised the new flag on December 31 during First Night, Burlington’s annual New Year’s Eve celebration. The designers described the five “layers” of the flag as representing “1) the sky; looking back to our rich history and ahead to the unknown future with perpetual hope, 2) the snow covered mountains—an indelible backdrop to our city, 3) the Green Mountain State, Burlington’s commitment to the environment, and higher education, 4) the breakwater protecting our spectacular waterfront, and 5) Lake Champlain, sustaining and enriching our community and lives.”

Liberty Lake, Washington

In May 2017 via Facebook, Dan Dunne, a member of the city council of Liberty Lake, Washington, launched an effort, coordinated by the Spokane Valley Arts Council, to design a flag for the city and its surrounding community, with a prize of $300. He received 46 entries. The council narrowed them down to 14 semifinalists and asked several designers to make minor changes. It selected three finalists for consideration by a small group representing the essential organizations of the community: Fire District, Water District, School District, City, Kiwanis, Rotary, and the local newspaper. Liberty Lake is a city of 8,000 in eastern Washington near Spokane. On January 18, 2018 the city announced the adoption of the winning design on its website. According to the designer, Rebekah Wilding, it “symbolizes the mountains that surround Liberty Lake and the silhouette of the historic pavilion. The lines of blue reflect Liberty Lake. The green is for the parks, golf courses, and open spaces throughout the community. The crown of the Statue of Liberty is inspiration and also symbolizes the activities and recreation the city provides, especially in the summer.” The fire chief announced that it would soon fly over Spokane Valley Fire Department’s Station #3, located in Liberty Lake.
A lecture on “Flags in National Anthems” was given by Robert S. Gauron at the 9th International Congress of Vexillology (ICV 9 / NAVA 15), held in Ottawa in 1981. The text of this appeared some seven years later in issue no. 124 of The Flag Bulletin.

The purpose of this note is simply to review the changes which have occurred in the interim, and to conduct a stock-taking of the position in 2018. And in presenting the results of this, it is worth repeating two notes of caution entered in the original article. One is that some anthems have many verses, not all of which are now in frequent use (the extreme case being Greece with 158), so mention of flags may be made only in parts of anthems which are seldom heard. The other is that there may be several translations of a single anthem, and these may differ widely in detail—even if there is only one version of the original, which in multilingual countries is seldom the case.

According to Gauron, in 1981 there were 166 independent countries, of which 161 had national anthems. Thirteen of these had no words, and there were five others of which the words were “unavailable to him”. In the pre-internet era, despite the existence of anthologies, he was partly reliant on the co-operation of embassy staff, and in some cases one or both of these was lacking. But of the 143 countries whose anthems had lyrics, he reported that 44 (or 31%) made mention of flags in either the title, one or more verses, or the chorus. More generally, he observed that “a national anthem may glorify a crisis such as a battle, pray for the safety of a ruler or country, praise a country’s natural beauty, or express the people’s aspirations.”

Gauron did not offer a definition of an “independent country”. But today there are 193 members of the United Nations, plus a further ten functionally autonomous de facto states, most of which enjoy at least a measure of diplomatic recognition—such as Taiwan, Palestine, and Vatican City. Of these 203 countries, all have national anthems, and all but four of these (Kosovo, San Marino, Spain, and the United Arab Emirates [UAE]) have lyrics.

The growth in the number of countries since Gauron gave his lecture is principally accounted for by the disintegration of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, plus the accession to independence of a number of former colonies, most of which are Pacific island states. A few countries have bifurcated (Czechoslovakia, Indonesia, Sudan)—offset by some amalgamations (Germany, Yemen).

Of the five countries Gauron reported as having no anthems, four (Angola, Comoros, Djibouti, and Tuvalu) have since remedied this deficiency, while the fifth (Cyprus) has simply borrowed that of Greece. And of the thirteen which he recorded as being wordless, all except Spain and the UAE have since found their voices.

But neither the tunes nor the words of anthems, once adopted, are necessarily eternal—any more than countries themselves. Of the 44 flag-referencing anthems recorded in 1981, one was of a country (the USSR) that no longer exists. Two countries (Australia and Ireland) have officially amended their lyrics to omit the verses in which mention of flags was made, as these contained historical references which are no longer politically correct. Mozambique has a new anthem which, like its predecessor, contains a reference to its flag. But the new anthems since adopted by four others (Nigeria, Oman, Romania, and Rwanda) now omit any such references.

The net result is that today there are 61 national anthems which make mention of flags—or 30%, little changed from the proportion reported by Gauron in 1981. These can be loosely grouped into six categories (which are not mutually exclusive):

1. Those which refer in general terms to honoring the flag, saluting it, pledging allegiance, etc (of which there are 45). For example, the anthem of Antigua and Barbuda contains the words…

   Raise the standard! Raise it boldly! Answer now to duty’s call,
   To the service of thy country, sparing nothing, giving all.

   …while that of Portugal enjoins the hearer to…

   Unfurl the invincible flag in the bright light of your sky!
   Let Europe cry out to the world that Portugal has not perished.

2. Those which refer specifically to the role of flags as battle honors (26 in number). Bolivia’s anthem, for example, asserts…

   For the sons of the mighty Bolívar have sworn, thousands upon thousands of times, To die rather than see the country’s majestic banner humiliated.

   … and that of Zimbabwe contains the call…
Oh lift high the banner, the flag of Zimbabwe,
The symbol of freedom proclaiming victory;
We praise our heroes' sacrifice, and vow to keep our land from foes.

3. Those which refer to seizing the flags of vanquished enemies (there are two such anthems). Nobody could accuse the composer of the Argentinean anthem of adopting an unduly measured view of the country's history...

Victory to the Argentine warrior covered with its brilliant wings,
And embarrassed at this view the tyrant with infamy took to flight.
Its flags, its arms surrender as trophies to freedom,
And above wings of glory the people raise the worthy throne of their great majesty.

4. Those which contain some description of the design of the flag (26 anthems), and perhaps of its symbolism. In the anthem of the Maldives...

We salute the colors of our flag; green, red and white,
Which symbolize victory, blessing, and success
...while in that of Samoa...

Oh! See and behold the stars on the waving banner;
They are a sign that Samoa is able to lead.

5. Those which allude to a specific historical event (6 anthems). For example, the anthem of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia proclaims that...

Now once again flies the flag of the Kruševo republic
...in reference to a short-lived insurrection against Ottoman rule in the town of that name in 1903. Despite the assertion in the anthem, it is not known whether any flag was in fact used at the time—although, if it was, it cannot have been that now flown, the design of which was only created in 1995 to replace one showing the Star of Vergina, an emblem traditionally associated with Alexander the Great to whose use by Slavic Macedonia the Greeks took such exception that they imposed an economic blockade.

The anthem of the Dominican Republic contains a whole history lesson, with the exhortation...

Valiant Quisqueyans, let us raise our song with vivid emotion
And let's show to the face of the world our undefeated glorious flag.
And if an inattentive leader the splendor of these glorious events could ignore,
One has seen in Capotillo in the war the flag of fire wave.
And the fire that lets the proud lion of Castile become stupefied,
Removes him from the glorious beaches where the crossed banner waves.
...to understand which you need to know that the Quisqueyans are the indigenous inhabitants of what became the Spanish (i.e., Castilian) colony of Santo Domingo, and that the hill of Capotillo is where the Dominican patriots raised their standard on August 16, 1863, to launch the War of Restoration, in which the Spanish were defeated for the second time and Dominican independence was restored.

6. Those whose primary theme is a celebration of the flag itself. There are only two of which this can truly be claimed. One is Somalia, whose new anthem asserts...

Every nation's flag has its own colour. Ours resembles the sky above.
It is flawless. Love it faithfully. O white star, we are at your service.
You are above us, in every part of our land. Be celebrated O star,
Like the faraway sun. On the day you arose, our hearts were purified.
God will not dim you, O you our flag, we pray in the night.

But probably the most familiar example of an anthem which salutes the flag—while also recounting an episode in national history—is that of the United States, which was inspired by the defense of Fort McHenry at the entrance to Baltimore harbor against an attack by five British warships in the War of 1812...

Whose broad stripes and bright stars thru the perilous fight,
And the rocket's red glare, the bombs bursting in air,
Gave proof thru the night that our flag was still there.
Oh, say does that star-spangled banner yet wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?

For the benefit of those who were insufficiently attentive during school history classes to have discovered the answer to this question, it is helpfully provided by the second verse...

On the shore, dimly seen through the mists of the deep,
Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes,
What is that which the breeze, o'er the towering steep,
As it fitfully blows, half conceals, half discloses?
Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first beam,
In full glory reflected now shines in the stream:
'Tis the star-spangled banner! Oh, long may it wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave!

...before being repeated in two more.

For the record, the full list of countries with anthems that refer to flags now comprises Albania, Algeria, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bahamas, Belarus, Belgium, Benin, Bolivia, Brazil, Central African Republic, Comoros, Congo (Brazzaville), Costa Rica, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Fiji, France, Gabon, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea-Bissau, Haiti, Honduras, Iraq, Italy, Jordan, Kyrgyzstan, Lebanon, Macedonia, Maldives, Mali, Mexico, Monaco, Mozambique, Namibia, Nauru, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Palestine, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Samoa, São Tomé and Príncipe, Saudi Arabia, Seychelles, Somalia, South Sudan, Tajikistan, Tunisia, Turkey (and Northern Cyprus), Turkmenistan, USA, Vietnam, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

Comments and corrections welcome: john.cartledge@cantab.net.
Captain William Driver Award Guidelines

1. The Captain William Driver Award was established in 1979 for the best paper presented at the Association’s annual meeting. It is named in honor of Captain William Driver, who christened the United States flag “Old Glory.” The award consists of a certificate and an honorarium of US$250; the honorarium is usually underwritten by the Association’s organizational members.

2. The executive board determines the recipient of the award based on the criteria given below. At its discretion, the executive board may determine that no presentation delivered at the annual meeting has met the criteria for the award and decline to give an award that year.

3. The criteria for the award follow, in descending order of relative importance:
   a. The presentation should be an original contribution of research or theoretical analysis on a flag or flags resulting in an advancement of knowledge in the field of vexillology.
   b. It should be characterized by thoroughness and accuracy.
   c. It should be well organized and, as appropriate, illustrated.
   d. It should be delivered well, i.e., interesting for the audience as well as informative, such that it is easily comprehensible.

4. No presentation may be considered for the award unless a completed written text is submitted in advance of its delivery.

5. No single individual may be given the award more frequently than once every three years.

6. Because of the conflict of interest, current members of the executive board are ineligible for the award.

7. If at all possible, the executive board shall not give the award jointly to co-recipients. In extraordinary circumstances, the executive board may recognize another presentation with the designation “Honorable Mention.”

8. As a condition of being considered for the award, presenters agree that NAVA has the right of first refusal to publish their presentation in either Vexillum or Raven: A Journal of Vexillology within two years of the presentation date. This right of first refusal extends to both the actual recipient of the award and the remaining non-recipients. A presenter who desires to have his or her presentation published elsewhere may decline to have the presentation considered for the award, provided that the presenter makes this fact known before the presentation is delivered.

9. These guidelines should be distributed to presenters in advance of the annual meeting.


2017 Financial Report

With this report, NAVA resumes publishing financial results to the full membership for the first time since 2012. During the five-year period 2013–2017, NAVA ran cumulative deficits of $34,517, reducing the Association’s reserves from $51,431 to $16,914 (plus $5,324 in grant funds payable in the Cooper Conservation and Cannon Research Funds; in the last five years one grant was made for conservation and two for research).

No budget was adopted at the 2017 annual meeting. Based on the updated financial information and plans for the coming year, the NAVA executive board adopted a rationalized budget for 2018 at its January meeting.

Several board decisions are reflected in that budget: a) eliminating the reliance on the Philosophy Documentation Center for member intake, renewal, and database services—saving $12 per membership (reported on the Accounting line); b) combining publications (the former NAVA News and Flag Research Quarterly), and committing to a consistent publications schedule—saving on layout and mailing expenses; c) budgeting based on actual past results and forgoing major unbudgeted expenditures. The recent website/database upgrade project positions NAVA for growth at low cost.

We thank past treasurers Chris Bedwell and John Adcock for their service to NAVA during the past five years, and Lee Herold for serving as the Audit Committee for the 2013–2017 financials.

In his report, Lee wrote: “I have inspected the books and financial records of NAVA for the years 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, and 2017….I found them to be in good order and fairly reflecting the financial position of NAVA….In my opinion, the board can rely on the financial statements as presented for use in board decision making and presentation to the NAVA membership.”

James J. Ferrigan III
Treasurer
## NORTH AMERICAN VEXILLOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

### Budget/Actual Summary for 2013–2017 with adopted budget for 2018

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>INCOME</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dues</td>
<td>14,500</td>
<td>14,775</td>
<td>14,500</td>
<td>9,045</td>
<td>14,500</td>
<td>16,787</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Driver Award</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc. Sales</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>681</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ads</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributions—Gen'l</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>1,230</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>481</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrib.—Cons. &amp; Res.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,375</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributions—Publ.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAVA Mtgs.</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>9,321</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>9,355</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>11,418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL INCOME</td>
<td>23,770</td>
<td>27,024</td>
<td>23,770</td>
<td>19,966</td>
<td>24,800</td>
<td>30,080</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>EXPENSES</strong></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Publications</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAVA News / Vexillum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Layout</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>950</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printing</td>
<td>4,600</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mailing</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7,100</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>950</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,066</td>
<td>550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flag Research Qty</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Layout</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>713</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2,138</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printing</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4,378</td>
<td>4,600</td>
<td>4,246</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>3,922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mailing</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,965</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>1,016</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>1,930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7,056</td>
<td>7,100</td>
<td>7,399</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>6,826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAVEN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Layout</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>1,950</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printing</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>1,733</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>1,759</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>1,740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mailing</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>814</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>1,956</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5,600</td>
<td>4,498</td>
<td>5,600</td>
<td>4,042</td>
<td>5,600</td>
<td>3,806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEBSITE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fees/updates</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>4,302</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>4,075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEMAPHORE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Layout</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meetings—NAVA Mtgs.</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>5,901</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>12,927</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>11,904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.O. Box</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>477</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>612</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mailings / Postage</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>758</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>1,102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accounting</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5,004</td>
<td>4,800</td>
<td>4,833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supplies</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bank Fees</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>378</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telephone</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Driver Award</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contingency</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,150</td>
<td>1,561</td>
<td>2,150</td>
<td>2,177</td>
<td>1,970</td>
<td>7,476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfer to Cons. &amp; Res.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,375</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Projects</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>5,470</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL EXPENSES</td>
<td>23,770</td>
<td>21,043</td>
<td>23,770</td>
<td>37,609</td>
<td>24,770</td>
<td>37,034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surplus / (Deficit)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5,981</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(17,642)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>(6,955)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUND BALANCE</td>
<td>51,431</td>
<td>57,412</td>
<td>57,412</td>
<td>39,769</td>
<td>57,412</td>
<td>39,799</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Grants Payable | 5,234 | 5,074 | 5,174 | 5,574 | 5,324 |
Flags for the Fallen: Use of the American Flag in Funerals of Police Officers and Military Personnel

By Steven A. Knowlton

Americans watching the news on December 27, 2014, and January 4, 2015, were confronted by an unfamiliar flag in a familiar context. Two officers of the New York Police Department (NYPD) had been killed in the line of duty, and their funerals became national news due to recent tensions between the NYPD and many citizens of New York City. The coffins of Wenjian Liu and Rafael Ramos were covered with a green-and-white striped flag, where one would expect to see a United States flag. This flag turns out to be the flag of the NYPD (figure 1).2

To this observer, the use of the NYPD flag to cover the coffin of a fallen officer was monumentally significant. In most locales, slain public servants are typically covered with a flag of the civic authority governing the people they serve. For example, the Chicago Police Department has its own flag, but Chicago police coffins are covered with the city flag; the Michigan State Police have their own flag, but use the state flag for funerals; the Los Angeles Police Department also has a flag, but their police coffins are covered with the U.S. flag (figure 2).

For the NYPD to use its own flag, then, could be seen as highly significant. In a city where protesters claimed the police were detached and indifferent to the populace, the symbolism of a police force using an institutional flag instead of a civic flag to honor its fallen officers could easily be seen as showing that the police emphasized their own prerogatives over their civic duty. Such observations were only buttressed when a newspaper columnist addressed the topic by retorting to readers who questioned the practice that those readers should “mind [their] own business.”3 In short, it was a semiotic slam-dunk.

However, the question of which flag to use to drape a coffin is more complicated than it seems at first. For example, police forces in locales that are not, to this author’s knowledge, notorious for tension between civilians and officers also use service flags in their funerals, as seen in examples from Wales and Kenya (figure 3). And the use of the NYPD flag in officers’ funerals is not a recent development in response to criticism. Examples of its use date back to 1974.4

The choice of a flag seems to be a matter of local tradition. One guess is that the NYPD began to use its service flag to honor those officers who were ineligible to use the United States flag. The use of the national flag had originated in the funerals of...
veterans, including those who entered the police force after discharge from the military. While New York City has retained the distinction between officers with prior military service and those without, other jurisdictions have taken to using the United States flag to cover the coffins of all their officers killed in the line of duty.

Although the practice precedes what Radley Balko calls the “rise of the warrior cop”—meaning the wholesale adoption of military technology and tactics by police forces in the 21st century—police are typically organized in military-style ranks, and are often valorized similarly to soldiers when they are killed in the line of duty. Therefore, it is not uncommon to see police officers' coffins covered with the U.S. flag, and the rhetorical and anthropological significations of a flag-covered coffin can be analyzed similarly whether it is used for a soldier, sailor, airman, marine, or police officer.

Although the many activities of flag reverence that Americans engage in—such as reciting the Pledge of Allegiance, singing the National Anthem, and participating in elaborate “flag retirement” ceremonies—constitute part of what Scot Guenter calls “civil religion,” military and police funerals are the only traditional Christian services that incorporate flags. Shortly after the First World War, an Episcopal priest created “An Office and Ceremony for the Worship of Old Glory,” as a “God-bodying, and Oversoul incarnating” totem of the divine, but it never became widely used, perhaps because, as Guenter noted, it smacked of “polytheism, idolatry, or paganism.” So, we are left with funerals. Although the use of flags in funerals may be seen in services of other religions, it originates and is most common in Christian funerals, so this paper will limit itself to analysis of those ceremonies.

First, it will look at the origins and contemporary practices of covering coffins with flags. Then it will consider how the integration of a national symbol into a religious service transforms the meaning of each.

Before discussing the use of flags in funerals, one must understand the order of service into which the flag has been incorporated. Funerals are distinguished from memorial services by the presence of the corpse in the room where worshippers are gathered, which is most commonly either a church or a funeral home. In most Christian traditions, including Roman Catholic, Methodist, Episcopalian, Baptist, and Eastern Orthodox, the coffin is covered with a cloth called a pall (figure 4). The United Methodist church describes the symbolism of the pall: “The same pall is used in a congregation for all funerals and is a witness that everyone is equal before the table of the Lord.” Another explanation for the significance of the pall is found in the Presbyterian service, when these words from the Letter to the Galatians are pronounced as the pall is placed over the casket: “For as many of you as were baptized into Christ, have clothed yourselves with Christ. In his baptism [the deceased] was clothed with Christ; in the day of Christ’s coming, he shall be clothed with glory.”

Marc Leepson traces the use of national flags for funeral palls to the Napoleonic Wars, although it did not become widespread in the United States until the Civil War. Both Union and secessionist armies adopted the practice. In the north, the custom may have originated from a shortage of caskets, and the substitution of flags to cover the bodies before burial. The first use of the “Stainless Banner” of the south was, famously, to cover the casket of General Stonewall Jackson, who had been mortally wounded at the Battle of Chancellorsville.

In the early days of the practice, the custom varied in its details. For example, when General Winfield Scott was buried in 1866, and when former president Andrew Johnson had his funeral in 1875, flags were used to wrap their bodies rather than cover their caskets. This recalls the ancient practice of covering corpses with shrouds.

The substitution of the Stars and Stripes for a traditional funeral pall was not uniformly accepted. Throughout the turn of the nineteenth-to-twentieth centuries, disputes arose

---

**Figure 3.** Police funerals in Wales and Kenya, using police department flags to cover coffins. Source: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-4396969/Full-police-funeral-Westminster-attack-victim-Pc-Keith-Palmer.html; http://www.haaretz.com/misc/haaretz.comsmartphoneapp/kenya-demands-un-remove-world-s-biggest-refugee-camp-1.5350021

**Figure 4.** A funeral pall. Source: http://abbotthall.com/product/speedship-ivory-cathedral-tapestry-funeral-pall
regarding the propriety of covering a coffin with the flag. While groups such as the Masons and the Junior Order of United American Mechanics called for the placement of the flag as a pall, members of Episcopal and Lutheran churches, including clergymen, refused to allow the flag on the coffin as it contravened established practices of using somber purple or black palls adorned by crosses. Fisticuffs occasionally ensued.17 (To this day, the Episcopal Church requires the use of the same pall for all funerals.) Despite this, the custom prevailed, so that by the time that William McKinley was buried in 1901, his coffin was uncontrovertially covered with a U.S. flag.18 In 1918, the Army adopted the official protocol of “placing a flag over the coffin and, following the funeral service, presenting the flag to the next of kin.”19

There exists today a formal body of regulations for the placement of the flag as a funeral pall, and an order for the presentation of what are called “military honors,” which usually occurs at the end of the worship service but before the interment of the body. John Hartvigsen notes that the flag is placed so that the obverse of the flag is always face up.20 In most cases, this has the effect that the blue canton, or union, covers the heart of the deceased.

For the presentation of military honors, representatives of the armed forces are dispatched at the government’s expense. The bugle tune “Taps” is played—often by a recording these days, due to the scarcity of buglers—following which the flag is removed from the coffin, and carefully folded thirteen times in a prescribed manner to create a triangular shape displaying only the blue canton with white stars (figure 5). It is presented to the next of kin according to the following formula:

A body of folklore has arisen surrounding the “meaning” of each of the 13 folds. Although the Department of Defense disclaims any such meanings, organizations such as the veterans’ group The American Legion do publish a script that is often recited at funerals of veterans. It includes text such as, “The first fold of our flag is the fold of life…. The third fold is made in honor and remembrance of the veteran departing our ranks, and who gave a portion of his or her life for the defense of our country to attain peace throughout the world…. The eighth fold is a tribute to the one who entered into the valley of the shadow of death, that we might see the light of day, and to honor our mother, for whom it flies on Mother’s Day…. The 12th fold, in the eyes of a Christian citizen, represents an emblem of eternity and glorifies, in their eyes, God the Father, the Son and Holy Ghost…. After the flag is completely folded and tucked in, it has the appearance of a cocked hat, ever reminding us of the soldiers who served under Gen. George Washington and the sailors and Marines who served under Capt. John Paul Jones and were followed by their comrades and shipmates in the U.S. Armed Forces, preserving for us the rights, privileges and freedoms we enjoy today.”21

Clearly, military and police funerals are heavily freighted with symbolic actions and totemic objects bearing both official sanction and unofficial reverence. Our next avenue of inquiry, then, is to investigate how those rituals and totems play into the larger symbolism of funerals—and how their use at a funeral affects the understanding of the flag by participants.

Humans have been burying their dead since at least 100,000 years ago, and perhaps as long as 400,000 years.22 This behavior precedes the earliest known religious artifacts, which date from 11,000 years ago.24 While the act of burying or otherwise honoring the dead has been a constant in human societies, the terms and rituals have varied greatly. Sociologists investigating modern American funerals have observed several social and emotional functions served by the funeral rite.

A Christian funeral is, before all else, a church service; and like all church services, funerals have the function of gathering the faithful together for worship, collective prayer, and instruction. The funeral has a particular theological emphasis, when the Christian understanding of death and resurrection is emphasized. The funeral is a rite in which death and its consequences—disruption of social relationships in particular—are acknowledged and addressed. For the bereaved in attendance, the liturgy offers two forms of solace. There is hope of resurrection of the deceased individual. And there is hope that the bereaved and the deceased will be reunited in another life. Both hopes lie in the belief of Christians that “God is more powerful than death.”25

Outside of the theological, however, funerals also serve social purposes. Leroy Bowman notes that the gathering of mourners provides a sense of social solidarity, and builds rapport between the family and the larger community. And most importantly for our inquiry, the celebration of the deceased’s achievements reinforces the social values the group shares by demonstrating that a life lived according to those values is worthy of remembrance.
Peter Manning writes, “The ironic consequence of collective rituals marking the passing of a member is the reassertion of the significance of life within that moral unit, and in the police case, of the respect and dependence of the society upon the police.”27

However, sociology only touches the surface of a funeral’s import. There is a deep human need to reflect on the role of the dead in the lives of those still living, as demonstrated by the hundreds of millennia that have witnessed funeral rites. Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall note that “the dead must, in a variety of senses, be put in their place.”28 Not disparagingly, of course, but rather to discover how the memory of the departed affects their survivors. For example, “What obligations [do] the living owe to them, and how in fulfilling those obligations [do] the living allow the dead to shape patterns of social organization, and religious and cultural outlooks? … In what ways [can] the living exploit the dead for their own social and political purposes?”29

The fallen soldier or police officer exerts a more powerful influence on the living than many others do. For example, their deaths are often presented as a sacrifice for the sake of the nation, the recollection of which should serve to inspire patriotism among those now alive. Abraham Lincoln spoke of “the mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone.”30

The memory of dead soldiers also influences public attitudes toward war. It is common for opinion polls to reveal that a majority of respondents favor continuing wars, even when victory seems elusive, because to end the war would constitute a “waste” of the lives lost earlier in the war.31

It is not coincidental that the use of flags in funeral services should have arisen during the Civil War. That great struggle forged in the American mind a mystical link between flag, nation, and memory. In response to the dire threat to the Constitution that was perceived by residents of the northern states, civilians embraced the flag with a fervor previously unknown. It made its way into church sanctuaries for the first time, and rhetorically became indissoluble from the nation, and was accorded a reverence like that accorded to George Washington and the Constitution before the war. Guenter calls this movement “the cult of the flag.”32 In the half-century following the war, groups such as the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Grand Army of the Republic sought to introduce of flags in schools and the spread of flag-reverencing ceremonies including the Pledge of Allegiance, flag-raising and -lowering rituals, and doffing one’s hat in the presence of the flag (figure 6).

The American flag retains its hold on the hearts of most Americans as the symbol of those rights most cherished. Few politicians wear Bill of Rights lapel pins, and the Fourteenth Amendment never flies over a baseball stadium. There may be something deeper than just a holdover from nineteenth-century practices, however. Carolyn Marvin and David Ingle theorize the American flag as a totem standing in for blood sacrifice—the offering of the lives of soldiers and police officers to the nation.33

Anthropologists recognize that in most societies, violence serves a constructive role in establishing group coherence. There is approved violence against outsiders—such as war or execution of those who transgress norms—that marks those within the group because they are exempt from the violence. And the deployment of violence against outsiders requires some to be sacrificed for the sake of the group, as no war is without casualties on both sides.

A totem is an object that carries a secret meaning, and is significant to those in a coherent group. Some Australian peoples, for example, choose an animal as their totem—it represents all who have been part of the group, living and dead, and the animal receives special protection from hunting. The animal is revered not for its own qualities but because it embodies the group. It is significant that the totem is a living thing—that can be nurtured and cared for, just as the group needs nurture, care, and protection. Similarly, Marvin and Ingle propose that the American flag is a totem of the unspoken fact that the dead of our armed forces were blood sacrifices. Just as animals were slaughtered in the ancient religions to propitiate the gods and improve the fortune of the clan, so also in modern America, our soldiers are killed at the behest of the group. To be sure, no one is slain atop an altar. But it is the policies of our national government, enacted by our democratically elected representatives, that put soldiers and police in harm’s way with the intention of benefiting the nation. Their deaths are not random violence, but rather sacrifices.

The flag is the totem of blood sacrifice in the American system, partly because unifying totems available in other countries—monarch or state church—are not present, and partly because the cult of the American flag has imbued it with reverence. The flag, to those who accept its totemic power, represents group coherence and reminds the viewer that our collective good has called for blood sacrifice. The flag is often treated as a living thing—the U.S. flag code says so in as many words.34 Like other totems, it is protected from disfigurement, and honored with quasi-funereal rites when disposed of (figure 7). There are numerous tales of soldiers risking all to keep their battle flag aloft in the face of the enemy, even as one after another flag bearer has...
fell. I daresay that many of us feel what Robert Shanafelt calls “the same numinous awe” in the presence of our flag that Australians feel in the presence of their totems.36

That Americans widely accept this totemic use of the flag can be seen even in the way our children talk about the flag. Consider this school essay: “red stands for the blood that was shed for the unselfish sake of our country, white stands for the clouds that each brave Soldier’s soul passed while fighting and dying for our country, blue stands for the oceans where many hard battles were fought, and where many men died trying to protect the pride and freedom of our country.”37 We may also recall the words of flag-folding ceremony, that the deceased “gave a portion of his or her life for the defense of our country … preserving for us the rights, privileges and freedoms we enjoy today.” While this rhetoric ignores that facts that our freedoms are largely founded upon a culture that respects the rule of law and the lawyers who have pushed to expand that rule, and that most of our wars have been fought against distant enemies who posed little threat of invasion or occupation, it nonetheless speaks to the connection most Americans feel between the flag and the self-proclaimed principles that are the aspirations for the nation.

What’s more, Shanafelt reminds us, is that spatial orientation provides important metaphors for our understanding of social position.38 We have “upper” and “lower” classes, there are actions that are “beneath” a person’s rank, and so on. When we consider the sacrificed soldier or officer “under” the flag, we see a visible reminder of the collective to which that person subordinated himself or herself, even unto death.

The presence of an American flag at a funeral, then, neatly merges the theological, sociological, and anthropological uses of a burial rite. Recall that a funeral brings together the community and valorizes the group’s ideals under which the deceased lived; and the liturgy reminds the congregants that after death, the individual will be reunited with the larger communion of saints; and the rite itself is the occasion for the living to give meaning to the life of the deceased. The placement of the flag on the coffin mystically makes the funeral a time for the nation to be embraced by and to embrace the small community of mourners. As a totem for the sacrifice made or even just offered by the deceased, the flag recalls to the mourners the wider group—the nation—to which they belong. And the use of the flag at a funeral gives the flag a special meaning. While it collectively serves as a totem for all the fallen, to those who personally knew the dead, the flag henceforth will recall the individual they loved. The ritual solemnizing the totem of blood sacrifice thereby unites the corpse with the totem. The individual is covered with the flag so that his personal bravery, which is confirmed as worthy in the eulogy, is woven into the symbolic fabric of millions of men and women—all of whom are totemized by the flag—whose lives were sacrificed for the sake of the nation.

The funerals of Ramos and Liu, then, were less object lessons in symbolizing distance between the police and their communities, and more rituals to give their deaths meaning, not only to their families, but to the larger nation. The flags draped over their coffins remain mementoes in their families' homes, each flag carrying a reminder of their loved ones' blood sacrifice along with those of all who were killed in the service of the nation.

1 For coverage of the funerals, see “Updates From the Funeral of Police Officer Wenjian Liu,” New York Times, January 4, 2015; for protests, see “Protests Continue in New York City on Friday,” New York Times December 6, 2014.
2 Robert N. Lucente, former president of the New York State Chapter of the Fraternal Order of Police described the flag: “Five alternate bars of green and white (brilliant green being the traditional and sentimental Police color) symbolizing the five boroughs of Greater New York. On a canton of blue (the color of the uniform) a circular constellation of 24 white stars representing the original groups of villages, towns and cities of Greater New York.” Tom Carrier, “Vexi-Bits,” NAVA News 22, no. 2 (March–April 1989), 5.
3 Clay Thompson, “Puzzled by Stars and Stripes that are Green and White,” Arizona Republic, December 30, 2014.
10 Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) and the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, Book of Common Worship (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993), 912; see Galatians 3:27.
Recite the following phrases. Army: “This flag is presented on behalf of a grateful nation and the United States Army as a token of appreciation for your love one’s honorable and faithful service.” Navy: “On behalf of the President of the United States and the Chief of Naval Operations, please accept this flag as a symbol of our appreciation for your loved one’s service to this Country and a grateful Navy.” Air Force: “On behalf of the President of the United States, the Department of the Air Force, and a grateful nation, we offer this flag for the faithful and dedicated service of (Service member’s rank and name).” Coast Guard: “On behalf of the President of the United States, the Commandant of the Coast Guard, and a grateful nation, please accept this flag as a symbol of our appreciation for your loved one’s service to Country and the Coast Guard.”

30 Abraham Lincoln, First Inaugural Address, in A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents (New York: Bureau of National Literature, 1897), 3213.
35 U.S. Flag Code, section 176.
37 Anonymous student, quoted in Marvin and Ingle, 95.
Join your fellow members in Québec City, October 12–14, 2018, for the 52nd annual meeting of the North American Vexillological Association. We plan an exciting, flag-filled program of presentations, tours, vexi-bits, receptions, and camaraderie at facilities at the University of Québec near the conference hotel. The Whitney Smith dinner will be held at the Parliament of Québec. Full program and schedule information is posted on the meeting web page at nava.org.

NAVA 52 Organizing Committee
Luc Baronian, chair

Registration
A registration form is enclosed with this issue; easy registration is available online at nava.org. Early registration is US$195.

Watch these Deadlines:
- Early registration—May 31, 2018
- Papers/Displays, abstract—June 30, 2018
- Papers/Displays, final—August 31, 2018
- Regular registration—August 31, 2018
- Hotel reservation—September 10, 2018

Hôtel PUR Québec
NAVA 52's host hotel, the 242-room Hôtel PUR Québec at 395 Rue de la Couronne, stands a block away from the NAVA 52 meeting rooms at the University of Québec.

A block of rooms has been reserved through Sept. 10, 2018 for the nights of October 10–15. The room rate is C$199/night plus tax. Use the link on the NAVA website or call 800-267-2002 and ask for the “NAVA 52” or “North American Vexillological Association” rate. Reserve early—space is limited.

Call for Papers
NAVA invites all members to submit a paper abstract (3,000–4,000 characters) by June 30, 2018. A selection committee consisting of NAVA’s First Vice-President and two other NAVA members will judge the abstracts and select those to be presented by July 15. Papers will be judged equally for their scholarly content, their clarity, and their contribution to the advancement of vexillology. The selected candidates will then be asked to submit a full version of their paper AND PowerPoint file (if applicable) by August 31, 2018. Any eligible author according to NAVA’s bylaws and according to the Captain William Driver Award Guidelines (see page 16) will be considered for NAVA’s Captain William Driver Award.

Note: Presenters who have not provided a full version by the deadline will be deleted from the meeting schedule.

Send abstract and final paper to: Luc Baronian at vp1st@nava.org.