

摘要

本文着眼于美国殖民地早期,《圣经》对美国政治文化形成产生的深刻影响和形成过程所发挥的重要作用。可以说,《圣经》为美国的建国者们提供的一幅蓝图,这种植根于基督教思想并且在不断发展的政治文化深深影响着美国的政治行为。

基督教思想在美国政治文化形成的过程中起着极其重要的作用。在一个以基督教(尤其是新教)思想立国的移民国家,美国人对其移民先祖信奉的宗教以及其圣典《圣经》怀有一种特殊的敬畏之情。殖民地时期,整个社会处于一个《圣经》崇拜的语境之中,这也为对美国文化各方面产生深刻的影响提供了先决条件。早期的建国者们也不可避免的将基督教中的某些思想应用到政治领域中,从而影响到美国的政治文化,这也是美国政治文化一个显著特点。因此,《圣经》不仅成为了美国精神信仰的支柱,更是政治文化的根基。

宗教对政治文化的影响主要集中表现于两方面:一是宗教思想对政治文化的影响;另一方面是一些宗教组织直接或间接参与政治活动从而影响政治。本文侧重于前者,即分析基督教思想是如何渗透于美国的政治文化,及在美国政治文化形成期间所发挥的重要作用。

本文结合当时的社会背景或典型事件来阐述来源于《圣经》中的两个理念对早期美国政治思想文化和政治制度文化两方面形成过程中所起的作用。那么这些源于《圣经》的理念是如何发展,演化成为能够影响到美国政治文化形成的重要思想的呢?本文将重点分析两个概念:“山巅之城”和“契约”思想。“山巅之城”这个概念对美国外交指导思想的起源、形成以及外交决策的制定有着巨大影响。“契约”思想是美国联邦制度建立的源泉,为美国—这个新生的国家提供了一个行之有效的

政治制度。

关键字： 圣经 山巅之城 外交政策 契约 联邦制

Abstract

This thesis is intended to explore the Bible's profound influence on the formation of American political culture since the colonial times of the America.

Although nowadays the Christianity, Judaism, Moslemism and many other sects coexist in United States, founded by immigrant Christians the United States of America has always held a special sentimentality and even superstitious awe for the religion of its forefathers and its Scripture, the Bible. It was natural for the nation founders to apply some important ideas of the Bible to political field. As a result, the Bible' influence permeated in American political culture from the beginning. Therefore, the Bible has been the bedrock of American political culture. This unique historical condition served as a prerequisite that the Bible was brought to bear on American political culture.

This thesis confirms that the Holly Bible almost provided the United States with a blueprint during the formation of its political culture. Christianity, some key Christian notions in particular, has been exerting persistent influence on the political actions throughout the history. Then, what influences have these notions been exercising on American politics? And how did these Christian notions find their way into the political field?

The religious influence on politics mainly concentrates on two aspects: one is the influence of the religious ideas exercising on the development of American politics, the other is the religious groups' direct or indirect participation in politics, through which they can influence the governmental decision-making. This is the deliberate pressure

which religious activities posed on the operations of politics. The thesis mainly focuses on the former aspect. The analyses make it clear that the forefathers of the US put the religious thoughts into practice naturally and spontaneously. The thesis mainly elaborates on two aspects, one is how certain ideas of the Bible effected the principle of American foreign policy, and the other is how the ideas of the Bible exert an influence on the adoption of American polity. The two aspects not only form the main contents of American culture but also embody the typical feature of American culture. Two key Christian notions exerted major influence on the American political culture: one is the notion of “A City upon the Hill”, which gave the American people a sense of mission and then laid a foundational principle for American foreign policy; the other is the notion of “Covenant”, which inspired the Founding Fathers of America to pursue an ideal polity for the newly born nation.

Key Words: Bible A City upon the Hill Foreign Policy Covenant

Federalism

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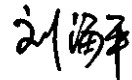
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Chapter 1 Introduction

Christianity is an important part of American life, which has influenced the nation's political culture greatly. This has been the case since the beginning of the nation. The Anglo-American Puritans, along with Separatists, the Pilgrims, have had a profound influence on America in the past times. It is well known that America is a country practising the doctrine of separation of the Church and State. This doctrine was established by the First Amendment to the Constitution. By the common sense, the doctrine means that, in America, politics and religion have nothing to do with each other. However, when I read the American early history, I was so impressed by the fact that the United States is such a highly religious nation. The settlement of the United States of America had a religious root, for it was settled by people of deep religious convictions in the seventeenth century who crossed the Atlantic Ocean to practice their faith freely. And what is more important, one of the most prominent features of the U.S. political culture was influenced by Christianity. Some people may be surprised that American political culture, the principles of foreign policy and the adoption of U.S. polity in particular, have a Christian root. But, if we trace the source of American culture, it is not difficult to find that Christianity and its Canon had played a key role in the formation of the U.S. political culture.

Religion as a social ideology plays an important role in the development of human society. Religion, in history, gradually has an impact on human worldview and values, shaping the cultural traditions of different nations. Religion, Christianity in particular, has been exerting great influence on the western culture and has played

a dominant role in the realm of the superstructure, linking closely to the political structure.

Christianity was originated in Judaism and it was a Jewish sect at the very beginning. But with its development, Christianity has a strong motive to spread its doctrine throughout the world. Christianity absorbed the creeds of Judaism which were recorded in the Old Testament and inherited its monotheistic thought. All these words spoken by God to Moses, *I am the LORD your God and You shall not have other gods before me* (Exodus 20:1-3) in the Ten Commandments decide the monotheistic nature of Christianity.

As a result, the logic of monotheism is that if you believe in the monotheistic God and obey the uniform moral standard prescribed by God, then God will bless you. If you are blessed by God, you will become mightier; On the contrary, any one or any nation betraying God will be punished.

These beliefs landed on the new Continent of America with first settlers and initiated a new era of European culture combined with American wasteland reality. When facing the wasteland and countless difficulties, however, there was no established government, the settlers spontaneously sought the religious norms to solve the problems. Beliefs always serve as the basis for a nation's culture. Therefore it is sure that strong religious atmosphere and piety will influence the social culture greatly. Political culture, as one part of American culture, is natural and inevitable to hold and demonstrate the features of the culture.

This thesis explains what functions some of the biblical notions performed

during the formation of the American political culture and attempts to disclose the feature of the American political culture, which has an inborn close links with the Christianity. At the same time the thesis tries to find out the source of this feature, that is to say, how these biblical notions evolved and developed into such important thoughts that could influence the formation of American political culture and why? In order to answer these questions , the thesis mainly deals with two core notions “a City upon the Hill” and “Covenant” which played the key role during the formation of American foreign policy and its polity— federalism.

However, most of the scholars, especially western scholars, often focus their attention on the professional fields: theology or politics which are too abstract and ambiguous to understand fully. This thesis deals with this topic from a new perspective: analyzing textual message. The preference is given to some texts and cases that could show the correlation between US religion and politics. And it is conducted on the basis of the combinations of theory and demonstration, historic facts and present situations. Meanwhile, this thesis absorbs the research achievements of religion and politics and makes a comprehensive research.

Western scholars have always been attaching great importance to the religious research, especially Christian research due to the specialties of their cultural background. Many famous scholars made great contribution to this subject.

Religion in American Life (1963) is written by James W. Smith and A. Leland Jamison. They analyze the diversified religions in American society from the Colonies Era to the year of 1960. Darrett B. Rutman’s *Winthrop’s Boston: Portrait of*

a Puritan Town, 1630-1649 (1965) describes the Puritans' various social, political and cultural achievements and failures. Anson Phelps Stokes and Leo Pfeffer have their monograph: *Church and State in the United States* (1975) which gives an all-around introduction about the unique principle and situation of this principle practiced in the United States. And many important documents which described the relationship between the church and state were included. Catherine L. Albanese's *America: Religions and religion* (1992) describes America's different religious styles. Michael Lienesch's *Redeeming America: Piety and Politics in the New Christian Right* (1993) represents a political scholar's approach to conservatism and religion. Daniel J. Elazar is the leading figure among these scholars, and he has made great contribution to the Christian theology and the theological politics. *Covenant as the Basis of the Jewish Political Tradition: Kinship and Consent* (2002a) is one of his masterpieces. Philip Hamburger argues in his book, *Separation of Church and State*, that the separation of church and state has no historical foundation in the First Amendment. The detailed evidence assembled in the book shows that 18th century American almost never invoked this principle. Edwin Scott Gaustad and Mark Noll edited the book: *A Documentary History of Religion in America* (2003) which samples many different religious traditions in America by using the collections of original letters, diaries and so on.

Domestic research works on the relation between American religion and politics started rather late. Most of the scholars have two research emphases: one is the contradictions arising in execution of the separation of Church and State. That is the

incompleteness of the separation; the other is the religious groups' influence on governmental decision-making through concrete religious activities. There are also many famous scholars and their representative works in domestic academia.

The Relationship of American Church and State written by Liu Peng expounds several examples of incompleteness of the separation of Church and State in America. The paper gives many examples about the religious groups and their political activities through which they influence the government. The papers, *Historical Reflections on the Separation of Church and State in America* and *Religion and Politics in America* written by Dong Xiaochuan have the same theme with Liu Peng's.

American Politics and Religion in 20th Century is one of the masterpieces written by Prof. Dong Xiaochuan, a renowned professor of Northeast Normal University. The book gives a panorama of the religious sects in America and how different religious groups exert their influences on politics through their religious activities.

The book, *God and American: Christianity and American society*, is written by LEI Yutian. It covers a wide range of the religious influence on American society.

From the literature review, it could be found that there is still room for the exploration of the influence of Christianity on American political culture. This thesis is written with the intention of filling the gap.

The thesis consists of 5 chapters. Chapter 1 is an introduction to the thesis. Chapter 2 starts with a brief introduction about the important role that Christianity

plays in American social life. And then, the thesis explores that, from the beginning, the United States has already had a bibliolatrous context, which has served as the precondition that Christian could exert influence on the American political culture. Chapter 3 focuses on the key notion, a City upon the Hill, which is important to the formation and implementation of the U.S. foreign policy. The thesis also gives the readers other notions that the Chosen People, Sense of Mission and Manifest Destiny related to the key notion. These notions have greatly influenced the American attitudes towards the outside world for they laid a foundation for the foreign policy. It is the very reason why America always assumes the air of a world leader and asserts that it has the mission to “save” the people who are, in Americans point of view, still in the “ sea of bitterness” in the far corners of the world, even if the inhabitants there do not welcome such efforts. Chapter 4 elaborates on the notion of “covenant” which is the core notion of the whole Bible. At that time, in the colonies, there were many civil societies under the rule of the covenants of religious form. The Mayflower Compact was the typical example of such covenants. The notion of Covenant is closely related to the notions of “federal”, “federation”, “federalism”. As a result, federalism which stemmed from the religious notion “covenant”, which gave American Founding Fathers great inspiration when they were searching an ideal polity for the newly born nation. Then, from historical point of view, the thesis explains that federalism was a wise choice of institutional framework for the United States. Chapter 5 is a brief conclusion for the whole thesis.

Chapter 2 “One Nation under God”

—The Bibliolatrous Context in America

Christianity is the center of American culture and the Judeo-Christian God was, and remains today, the only real anchor and hope of America. It is no wonder that the Bible has been the most popular and practical book in American society and has always been enshrined by the people. As a result, it has made a great influence on the national values, the social culture, and especially on the politics in the United States.

2.1 The Significant Social Position of the Christianity

The doctrine of the Separation of Church and State was established by the First Amendment of American Constitution. However, it does not mean that religious worship is limited or prohibited in this country. On the contrary, the religion takes up a pretty special position in the country. As John Adams once told Thomas Jefferson that *Without Religion this World would be something not fit to be mentioned in polite Company, I mean Hell* (Levenick & Novak 2005). The following facts will show the importance of God in American social life.

Christian belief and Christian worship in the United States is more pious than those nations with comparable levels of secularization, modernization, and economic prosperity. The United States has a higher percentage of people believing in God and attending church services. In the United States, 94 per cent of people believed in God,

while only 72 per cent of the French and West German people expressed the same faith. Fifty-six per cent of the Americans polled found religious beliefs to be very important, while only 36 per cent in Catholic Italy, 23 per cent in the United Kingdom, and 12 per cent in Japan made the same claim (Pei 1998).

The piety to Christianity is not embodied only by the number or percentage of the believers; Christian elements are also present in the conduct of some affairs.

The pledge of allegiance to *the Star and Stripes* declares that this is “one nation under God”. This phrase is a prominent representation of the American’s God “love knot”.

American national motto is “In God We Trust”, which is printed on every U.S. dollar; and the United States is the only country that imprints the God on the bills. And in this Christian nation, the Bible is still used in courts of law across the land. The first Continental Congress in 1774 had invited the Reverend Jacob Duché to begin each session with a prayer. And this has become a tradition. Nowadays, Congress has an official chaplain to open the session. And there is a professional Protestant chaplaincy in the Senate and the House of Representatives.

The Court itself begins each day with the proclamation “*God save the United States and this honorable Court*” (Mukai 1998). It was adopted because justices in the 1820s actually wanted to call on God to save the United States and the Court (Gingrinch 2002) and state legislatures also begin with prayers.

George Washington , when he became General of the Continental Army, he encouraged the use of the chaplains in the military(Brody 2002).When the war

against Britain began, the Continental Congress provided for chaplains to serve with the military and they were paid at the same rate as majors in the Army. From that time on, the chaplains have been playing the role of spiritual leaders in American army.

As aforementioned, in the United States, Christian is the central theme. American President's religious belief shows the significant social position of the Christianity thoroughly.

Almost every American President attaches himself to Christianity piously. Statistics shows that 39 of the total 43 Presidents in the United States are Christians, while the other four are closely connected with churches. The reason of high rate of the American President believing in God, not only lies in their own mental need, but also, and more importantly, lies in the voter's attitudes. According to an opinion poll, 70 per cent of the voters will not vote for the presidential candidate if he does not believe in God even if he is not politically dissident (Lei 1994). The phenomenon shows, from another perspective, the significant position God takes in the hearts of American people.

It is no wonder that Donald Bishop (whose Chinese name is Pei Xiaoxian) considered that America is the developed country where the religious atmosphere is the most intensified (Pei 1998). In such a developed country, why are so many Americans devoted to Christianity?

2.2. The Christian Root of U.S.A.

Generally speaking, religiosity always has a mate that is unenlightened, uncivilized state. However, that is not the case in the United States of America. It is well known that America is a country with high level secularization, modernization, and economic prosperity. Then, why do Americans attach themselves to God in such a high ardor in such a developed country?

2.2.1 The Religious Reform in Europe

By the end of the 15th century, the Roman Catholic Church seemed as strong as ever professedly. But as to the problem of the utmost importance of “salvation”, the Roman Catholic insisted that *only the pope, through his agents, could grant indulgence* (Kishlansky 1998: 416) which deprived the public’s right to communicate with God directly. Actually, it was a way used by the Church to control the believers. What is more, Church became a money-making machine. The Pope raised money by selling indulgence and church posts. At the same time, Church enjoyed a regular tax, the tithe, one tenth of the farm produce (Xu 2001: 228). In this case, the cry of religious reform was rising everywhere in Europe. The Reform first erupted in the small German town of Wittenberg with Martin Luther as its representative. In book which was edited by Blaine (2003: 320), Martin Luther refined his spiritual philosophy.

an individual’s everlasting salvation came from faith in God’s goodness rather than from the performance of good works...all who believed in God’s

righteousness and had achieved their faith through the study of the Bible were equal in God's eyes...neither pope nor priest, neither monk nor nun could achieve a higher level of spirituality than the most ordinary citizen.

The Reform rapidly spread outside Germany to England, Switzerland, France and other European countries. John Calvin who believed that the gift of faith was granted only to some people and that each individual's salvation or damnation was predestined before birth, which was famous as the "predestination". During the course of the Reformation, Protestantism was emergence as one of Christian denominations. After Reformation, Christianity has three main denominations: Roman Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant. And within the Protestant, there are several denominations.

2.2.2 Protestant's Position in England

Christianity had already existed for almost 1,000 years in England before the Reformation began. The Reformation had been carried out during the reign of Henry VIII in England. The church in England was strongly unwilling to financially support the church in Rome because they never saw any of the benefits that arose from these taxes and they were hardly associated with the Roman church rather than the fact that they were required to pay them. By the Act of Supremacy in 1534, King Henry VIII had taken control of the Church in his country away from the Pope, but little else had changed. The Church of England was the official and only church approved by English rulers. If the ruler were Protestant, all the people of the realm were required to follow the Protestant beliefs. If the ruler were Catholic, everyone was required to

follow the Catholic beliefs. All the religion was dictated strictly by the government. In fact, it was a “State Church”. Anyone that objected to the beliefs of the State Church would be arrested, questioned and even thrown into prison and executed. At that time, the function of English church had changed to some extent, as Maxwell (2003) once said *because it was an extension of the government, the English church was as subject to political abuse and favoritism as any other governmental agency.*

There were two major groups of Protestant who disagreed with the beliefs and practice of Church of England. One was called “Puritan” because they wanted to “purify” the church which they still wanted to stay in, but hoped to change its forms of worship. The other was called “Separatist” because they wanted to separate from the Church of England thoroughly. Because they believed there were still so many changes needed to be made in the Anglican Church. The only way for them was to “separate” from the state church. After Queen Elizabeth I died in 1603, James VI of Scotland became James I of England and then his son, Charles I succeeded to the throne as the King in 1625. During the reign of the two kings, thousands of Protestants were persecuted and many of them were forced to leave for others countries to practice their religious beliefs. They considered that their hope and dream would be realized in the New World where there was almost a virgin land and had not an established religion. Besides the English settlers, there are also the people from the Dutch, France, Germany, Switzerland, Spanish, and so on. Those people fled their homeland to the vast wasteland in order to avoid religious and political prosecution together with fortune seekers. In fact, the overwhelming motive of the

immigration was to find a place that could help them realize their religious ideal.

The facts noted above clearly show that American originated from the Christian immigrants who came from Europe in early 17th century. The Protestants with their strong beliefs transplanted from Europe in the new continent endowed American colonies with a bibliolatrous context. As a result, since the colonial times, the United States of America has always held a special sentimentality and even superstitious awe for the religion of the forefathers and its Scripture, the Bible. This tradition has been uniquely inherited and preserved in American culture.

2.3 Christianity in American Colonies

2.3.1 The Christian Denominations in North America Colonies

Coming with these religious immigrations, their religious beliefs were also transplanted in this New World. Among these religious believers, Protestants were majority. By the 1760s there were a seemingly endless array of religious groups in America, including Anglicans, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Lutherans, Baptists, and Quakers – all of which were Protestant groups. As a result, from the early beginning, Protestantism was the mainstream religion of this New Land in colonies era. As a matter of fact, religion is the fulcrum of American history.

2.3.2 The Special Function of Bible in North America Colonies

The Christianity transplanted from Europe in the New Continent endowed American colonies with a bibliolatrous context. The early settlers had considered the

Bible was the source of spiritual power and incentive. And the Bible had been enshrined as the supreme authority. The Protestants firmly believed that all the problems, whether religious or secular, could be solved by the teachings of the Bible. Thus, the Bible was cited as the authority for law. Anyone who disagreed with Biblical doctrine, or presented different ideas, was banned from the colonies, or even worse. Henceforth, the authority of the Bible had been uniquely inherited and preserved in American culture. Its influences have been running through the development of American history and permeating in all the aspects of American life, especially on the formation of American political culture. As the facts noted above, it is easy to draw a conclusion that the bibliolatrous context and its absolute authority served as a pre-condition for the Bible exerting a great influence on American history development. From that time on, the Bible has been American nation's pillar of spiritual belief and the bedrock of political civilization.

2.4 Summary

As aforementioned, the importance of God in the foundation of the nation and the formation of American political culture is clear. The God is so central to understanding America, for American culture was founded upon the basis of Christian belief. Because of the important position in American culture, the feature of American political culture is distinguishable and predictable. Just like the eighty one year old Benjamin Franklin (often considered one of the least religious of the Founding Fathers) insisted that *the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this Truth--that God governs in the Affairs of Men* and continued *without His*

concurring Aid, we shall succeed in this political Building no better than the Builders of Babel (cited in Junto Society 1953). It was inevitable that those elected as nation-builders would place their government in a religious frame. Therefore, it is important for us to understand exactly where the Bible's message came from, how these were accreted, and how these "spiritual resources" have influenced on American political culture?

Chapter 3 “Chosen People” Building “A City upon the Hill”

—The Headspring of U.S. Foreign Policy

Americans always consider themselves as chosen people and they believe that God's favor has made America into the richest and most powerful nation on the earth and the world's only remaining “superpower”. The United States was considered as a special country chosen by God. Therefore, it should set a shining example for all the humankind to follow. American also feels that their nation has the mission for historic development and destiny of humankind, which is to save all the countries in the world from the “sea of bitterness”. Usually, these ideas were implemented in the pretext of God. This tradition deeply roots in American culture, and fundamentally influences the American perspective on and attitudes towards the outside world. It also exerts profound influence upon the mentality of the decision-makers of the United States. Then, how have these ideas found their way into the American political culture. The analysis is given in details in the present chapter.

3.1 The Notion of “A City upon the Hill”

3.1.1 The Notion of “Chosen People”

The notion of Chosen People came from the Judaist's belief that Lord chose Israelis as the people of God and redeemed them from the hand of Pharaoh, king of

Egypt. This was seen in the words that Moses spoke to all Israelis during their journey to Canaan,

The LORD your God has chosen you to be a people for his own possess out of all the peoples that are on the face of the earth. It was not because you were more in number than any other people that LORD set his love upon you and chose you, for you were the fewest of all peoples; but it is because the LORD loves you, and is keeping the oath which he swore to your fathers.

(Deuteronomy 7: 6-7).

With the rise of Christianity, especially during the Religious Reform in Europe in the 16th century, the connotation of Chosen People changed but its denotation remained intact.

During the Reformation, the famous Reformist, John Calvin, who believed that *many are called but few are chosen...those who were predestined to salvation, "the elect", were obliged to govern; those who were predestined to damnation were obliged to be governed* (Kishlansky 1995: 425). Calvin claimed that each Christian could prove himself to be chosen for salvation by God through hard work and success in this life (Perry 2003). In this way, with the proposal of the theory of predestination, the Protestants became Chosen People of God. Chosen People was then referred to Protestants rather than the Israelis after the Reform. When the reformists' theology was spread among Europeans and taken to America with the early settlers, this new belief of Chosen People sprang in the New Land with American people becoming the Chosen people of the theory. And the New Land was

considered as the Promised Land given by God the same as the Canaan given to the Israelites, the original Chosen people. As a result, most of Americans have this feeling in their minds, *we have been chosen by God to achieve a task in America, we are the new Hebrews. God hath opened this passage unto us* (Whitaker 1613).

3.1.2. The Source of “A City upon the Hill”

You are the light of the world. A city set on a hill cannot be hid. Nor do men light a lamp and put it under a bushel, but on a stand, and it gives light to all in the house. Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works and give glory to your Father who is in heaven. (Matthew 5: 14-16).

The paragraph noted above gives the source of the influential notion “a City upon the Hill” (it is also known as “a City Set upon a Hill”, “a Shining City upon a Hill”, the first term is more popular in the academia), which has been influencing America fundamentally and thoroughly. The notion, brought to the New World by the Chosen People and evolved into American political ideology, serves as a pivotal base of drawing up foreign policy.

3.1.3. “Chosen People” Setting Foot on the New World

In accordance with the first chapter, it was known that under the reign of James I and Charles I, the Protestants were persecuted being regarded as religious dissenters. Having been persecuted, the mass of dissenters had to flee their mother country to practice their religious dream. Virtually, every immigrant to arrive in the

“New World” was attempting to escape an oppressing force, find freedom and opportunities, or a combination of the both. Thus, the colonies served as a refuge for those being persecuted because of religion, race, gender, or beliefs that differed from those of the persecutor.

In the following decade, more and more Puritans migrated to the New World in search of religious refuge from English persecution. Among these religious groups, a Cambridge-educated lawyer by the name of John Winthrop soon emerged as the leading figure of Puritan immigration. These puritans considered themselves who had an “Errand in the Wilderness” (Banas 1996) and were famous for creating a godly community that would serve as an example of Christian behaviors and society. The situation was described by the following poem.

They set sail from England with a dream.

Their new nation would be a guiding light.

It would be an example for the whole world.

John Winthrop spoke of a “City upon a Hill”.

This vision for America continues to this day (Finley, 1998).

Through the first chapter, it is known that Puritans envisioned an idealized community in which all citizens would focus their lives on the words of God. That is to say, their big dream was founding a new Christian nation. Rather than fleeing the corruptions of a wicked world, the Puritans hoped to establish in New England a pure church that would offer a model for the churches in England. John Winthrop was the principal figure in the event who was a prominent early Puritan minister. He was

first Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony who was considered, more than any other man, the founder of the colony and was influential in shaping the character of early New England, and then in shaping what came to be known as the “puritan” attitudes in American culture and politics (Norton 1998).

In October 1629, John Winthrop became the second governor of Massachusetts. And in March 1630, he led a group more than 2,000 people left for the Massachusetts to build a “paradise” for the Puritans. Winthrop considered himself just like Moses delivering the Israelis out of the hand of the Egyptians and advanced to Canaan a Promised Land flowing with the milk and honey given by the God (Yang 2006). The Puritans who came to the New World regarded themselves as God’s elect, called to establish New Israel. These Chosen People believed New England was which the Promise Land which Lord gave to His loyal sons.

3.1.4 The Development of the Biblical Notion—“A City upon the Hill”

It was on aboard of the Arbella (the ship that carried Winthrop and other future leaders of Massachusetts) , that Winthrop gave his sermon, “A Model of Christian Charity” , in which , Winthrop clarified the importance of model power of Puritan community. That paragraph reads as follows:

for wee must Consider that wee shall be as a Citty upon a Hill, the eies of all people are uppon us; soe that if wee shall deale falsely with our god in this worke wee have undertaken and soe cause him to withdrawe his present help from us, wee shall be made a story and a byword through the world, wee shall open the mouthes of enemies to speake evill of the wayes of god and all

professours for God's sake;... (Boston 1838).

Translated into the modern English, it goes

...We must consider that we shall be a city upon the hill, the eyes of all people are upon us. So that if we shall deal falsely with our God in this work we have undertaken, and so cause Him to withdraw His present help from us , we shall be made a story and a by-word through the world. We shall open the mouth of enemies to speak evil of the way of God, and all professors for God's sake... (Pan 1998: 28) .

Winthrop urged that the Puritan colonists of New England found the Massachusetts Bay Colony their new community into “A City upon the Hill”, an example to the world. With those words, he laid a foundation for the New World. They meant to build an earthly paradise under the call of the God and reestablish a commonwealth, based on the teachings of the Bible and restore the lost paradise and build the wilderness into a new Garden of Eden. Thereafter American people themselves have using a “city upon a hill” to refer to America. The nation would be a City upon a Hill, a shining model to be envied and emulated by the rest of the world. Meanwhile the “City” upon the Hill could *let your light shine before others, so that they may see your good works and give glory to your Father in the heaven* (Matthew 5: 16). This feeling served as spiritual power of the early settlers to overcome the uncountable difficulties.

The shining City in their minds was something glorious and holy. It was a City that they imagined which they themselves can bring down from heaven to earth. It

was entirely possible, they thought, with Christian motivation, to establish and build a truly Christian nation, and a Christian world. However, when they arrived in the New World with enthusiasm, the early settlers saw before them the desolate, virgin forest and the wasteland stretched to the line.

How could these early settlers change wilderness, a relatively backward new land, into such a land? The sense of divine election and the identification of the Americas with ancient Canaan were used as the spiritual power to build their Holy City. They believed that to build a Holy City, they must do God's work on this earth. Therefore, they involved serious commitment to work and enjoyed simple pleasure. They believed that only hard working could make wilderness prosperous. And only prosperity could meet the requirement of God and through which could attract the eyesight of the world, becoming a real shining model to be emulated. Hence, hard working became one feature of these Protestants and then became one of the national characteristics. Meanwhile, these early settlers firmly believed that they were the Chosen People, and God would bless them to overcome the difficulties which they thought that was nothing more than a trial given by God. As God's chosen people, the colonists had a sacred responsibility to do God's will. Distasi described this feeling in the article that *we cannot but acknowledge that God hath graciously patronized our cause and taken us under his special care, as he did his ancient covenant people* (2006). The Puritans' almost single-minded pursuit of a perfect society based on biblical teachings resulted in impressive success in secular affairs.

3.2 Extension of the Notion— “A City upon the Hill”

3.2.1 A Sense of Mission

Since this “City” was a model of social and religious order, it should be admired and imitated by all nations around the world. Thus, the United States was seen as “a light to the nations” for the emancipation of mankind from the contagion of oppression and ignorance. Not only would the nation be an example to the world, but also the nation would take on a “servant” image as one called to liberate the captive and the oppressed. The Chosen people firmly believed that they shouldered an extraordinary mission to spread it to all over the world. America believed itself called to actively banish ignorance, superstition, poverty, and disease in the far corners of the world, even if the inhabitants of these foreign lands did not welcome such paternalistic efforts on their behalf. Always these actions were taken by the pretext of God. Ever since then, this kind of thought had been deeply rooted in the minds of immigrants. And this thought still can be found in the minds of modern Americans. Bennett (1977: 19) expressed the same feeling

When we see ourselves as citizens of our nation among the nations, we know that our God is the God of the whole world, of other nations as much as of the United States. This is where we should begin. God has no favorite among nations. God's love extends to all people. By God righteousness all nations are judged.

The sense of mission has been influencing fundamentally the American perspective on and attitudes towards the outside world. And it has a profound

influence on the mentality of the decision-makers of the U.S.A, which was embodied in the rhetoric of the American Presidents.

When George Washington gave his first inaugural speech on April 30, 1789, he declared that..., *and since the preservation of the sacred fire of the liberty and the destiny of the Republic a model of government are justly considered, perhaps, as deeply, as finally staked on the experiment entrusted to the bends of the American people* (Wang 2004: 5) . In his Farewell Address, he predicted that *It will be worthy of a free ,enlightened ,and, at no distant period, a great Nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a People always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence* (Wang 2002: 69).

Enshrined in such seminal documents as George Washington's Address, the sense of mission was inherited to nowadays. From time to time, the feeling was embodied by the "important persons" words and deeds. For instance, President George W. Bush, the famous sentence in his statement during the 2000 election campaign, reflected this feeling clearly, *our nation is chosen by God and commissioned by history to be a model to the world* (Bush, 2000).

3.2.2 Manifest Destiny

These Chosen People realized that God would provide the new land, but that they would also have to explore it. It was not enough to make all-out efforts just to establish a model to be followed by the rest of the world. From the landing of "Mayflower" until the unification of thirteen states, America was no longer a wild

land as the early settlers just arrived there. With the rise of its strength, the “beacon” set up by Americans was powerful enough to light up more area and more people. The American the original thirteen states really was a great limitation for them to carry on the mission appointed by God, because so many “the sufferings” outside the U.S.A were waiting for “savior” to come. Everything was ready for the American to take a forward step. It is safe to say that the proposal of Manifest Destiny is the result of the ever-rising power of America. Under such circumstances, to extend its border and expand its population became a must. The expansion of land and the growth of population mean that the light from the beacon could shine more on wider land. And their “City upon the Hill” became vaster and vaster. American had a belief that it was God’s will that Americans spread over the entire continent, and to control and populate the country as they see fit. The Puritan notion of establishing a “City upon the Hill” was eventually secularized and overflowed into a sense of Manifest Destiny.

The term Manifest Destiny originated in the 1840s. The phrase was first employed by John L. O’Sullivan in an article on the annexation of Texas published in the July-August 1845 edition of the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, which he edited. O’Sullivan (1845) claimed that

Our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions... and ...we are the nation of progress, of individual freedom, of universal enfranchisement. This

is our high destiny, and in nature's eternal, inevitable decree of cause and effect we must accomplish it. All this will be our future history, to establish on earth the moral dignity and salvation of man -- the immutable truth and beneficence of God. For this blessed mission to the nations of the world, which are shut out from the life-giving light of truth, has America been chosen...

It expressed the belief that it was Anglo- Americans' providential mission to expand their civilization and institutions across the breadth of North America. The doctrine of Manifest Destiny was based on the idea that America had a divine Providence, and was destined by God to expand its borders, with no limit to area or country which was not the act of occupying lands but of salvation.

Consequently, from the 19th century and up to the present time the concept has increasingly been formulated into U.S. foreign policy. Many historians consider this principle of "Manifest Destiny" to be the main spiritual engine driving American history forward. Although the doctrine was proposed in 1840s, in fact, as the early settlers got a firm foothold on the land, they began to expand their advanced civilization and the idea of liberty "altruistically" to the new realm.

Americans used Manifest Destiny as their proclamation of superiority and insisted that their conquests merely fulfilled the divine mission. that man was impelled by forces beyond human control. Under the guidance of this principle, three pivotal foreign policies were put forward.

The typical practice was the “Westwards Movement”. It was the act to spread the whites’ values which was advanced, civilized to people who were suffering and gave them light of revitalization. And the light, undoubtedly, was lit by God. However, the process always accompanied with violence. In order to “help” the Indians enjoy the light of God, in 1887, the Congress passed the Dawes Severalty Act aiming at making Indians more like white Americans and authoring the President to offer 160 acres to families and whoever met the conditions of the free land ownership would automatically become citizens(Wang 2002: 217). The act also provided schools to teach the white way of life for the Indians, asking them to learn English and take part in Christian religious services. It must be admitted that the policy of converting Indians life style and religious belief can be called “open” and “democratic” when compared with the direct military conquest and suppression against Indians based on the belief that Manifest Destiny excluded those people who were perceived as being incapable of self-government. To those Indians who were benighted enough not to adjust to the “advanced” life style, the government drove them to the Reservation Land and to those who refused to accept the Reservation Land, eliminating them physically naturally became the last resort of the “civilized” against the “barbarian”. Sand Creek Massacre (Nov. 29-30, 1864), Battle of Little Bighorn (Jun. 25, 1876) and Wounded Knee Massacre (Dec. 29, 1898) were launched one after another. But the white racists did not feel shameful about this. Colonel John M. Chivington, one of the organizers of Sand Creek Massacre, claimed that he believed it to be right or honorable to use any means under God’s heaven to

kill Indians. The result is the drastic decrease of the number of “uncivilized” and “unpurified” population.

The other typical embodiment of this notion is the practice of Monroe Doctrine which was a declaration of United States’ principles of foreign policy formulated by the 5th President, James Monroe, in 1823. The essence of the doctrine was manifested by the slogan that “America for Americans”. The doctrine has been used by the U.S. as a cover for its colonialist plan in Latin America for constant interference in the affairs of Latin American countries.

Another pivotal step of the Manifest Destiny was put forward by the proposal of the Theory of Sea Power. It was proposed by Alfred T. Mahan in 1890. Actually, it was the theory of overseas expansion in all sense—cultural, ideological and geographical. And it laid a basis for American global military intervention and territorial expansion which was followed by a series of wars.

Manifest Destiny was greatly responsible for acquiring American territory. Without it, American territory would have been only as large as the property surrounding its first settlement. The appearance and growth of the United States was born of a continuous Westwards Movement. In 1812, the United States had an area of only about 4.4 million square kilometers, but by 1852, its territory had increased to about 8 million square kilometers (Lai 1985: 405). American had enlarged their territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific Coast.

Manifest Destiny was then, (and is now), the spiritual energy behind the expansion of the young nation. With this “sense of mission” people were tempted by the boundless tracts and sparsely settled land. And America’s drive to explore and conquer new lands will never die.

3.2.3 The Dark Side

In addition to all the positive atmosphere and grand spirit Manifest Destiny created, it also created the dark side of American History. While the positive side of Manifest Destiny was a surge of enthusiasm and energy for pushing west, the negative side was the belief that the white man had the right to destroy anything and anyone. Tracing the path of Manifest Destiny across the West would highlight mass destruction of tribal organizations, confinement of Indians to reservations, and full blown genocide. The dark side of Manifest Destiny revealed the white man’s belief that his settlement of the land and civilization of its native peoples were preordained. In the name of this doctrine and in the pretext of God, Americans took whatever land they wanted.

3.3 Summary

The facts noted above shows the very reason why American alleged it has the right to fulfill the mission of spreading civilization to areas still in the unenlightened state and extended American standard of freedom and independence overseas. In Americans’ opinion, the acts spreading American values to people who were suffering and giving them revitalization undoubtedly were the lights from God. In

other words, God gave the early settlers the land as an award to his loyal sons who would in turn, take the responsibility to save the world *for God so loved the world* (John 3: 16).

As a result , since the beginning of the American history, the idea of “ a City upon the Hill” had become a central concept of the American self - perception and served as a basic principle of their foreign policy. American foreign policies makers attempt to reshape the world in their own image and spread their “advanced” value all over the world.

Chapter 4 The Notion of “Covenant”

— Headstream of Federalism

The idea of covenant is a central theme of the whole Bible. Therefore, someone once advised that the Bible’s two parts could be better described as the Old Covenant and the New Covenant. The Bible describes several famous covenants such as covenant with Noah, covenant with Abraham, covenant with Israelis, covenant with David and new covenant with humanity established by Jesus’ death and etc.

The idea of “Covenant” of the Bible reached the New World primarily through the Protestants, and then was transformed into a set of operational principles, institutions, and practices. As a result, religious-based covenantal thinking undoubtedly reached their minds when Founding Fathers were searching for an ideal polity for the young nation. Consequently, it was inevitable that such nation-builders would place their government in a religious frame.

4 .1 The Original Meaning of “Covenant”

The biblical word “*brit*” is for “covenant” in Hebrew term. The origin of the Hebrew word “*brit*” stemmed out of two Akkadian words “*bereiti*” and “*biritum*”. *Biritum* means “space between”, while *Bereiti* means “fetter” or “binding agreement” (Fielding III 2006). These words gave a general idea of the “Covenant”,

Between two parties, there should be a binding contract or oath concerning their relationship.

4.1.1 Famous Covenants Mentioned in the Bible

God's relationship with man was covenantal from the beginning (Smith 2006). First covenant described in the Bible was God's covenant with Adam (Genesis 2). It described how Adam broke the covenant and was cast out. Subsequently, God enters into covenant with Noah (Genesis 9), Abraham (Genesis 15), Moses (Exodus 24), David (2Samuel 7). Every time God gives to people a covenant, they break the covenant by disobeying God. Because people break the relationship, they are sent away from God's Presence and God's life. Adam and Eve were kicked out of Garden; Moses could not enter Canaan; David could not build the temple; Israel was conquered by Babylon. People broke these covenants by disobedience. So, God made a new covenant in Jesus Christ (Luke 22: 19-20). The coming of Christ brought a new covenant which was kept in Jesus himself. If anyone is in Christ, he is a new creation; the old has gone, the new has come. Thus the new covenant could not be broken. Jesus Christ fulfilled the righteous requirements of God's covenant and brings blessing to a new humanity. Now, a general conclusion can be drawn of the term of covenant. A covenant was a promise that was sanctioned by an oath. This promise in turn was accompanied by an appeal to a deity or deities to "see" or "watch over" the behaviors of the one who has sworn, and to punish any violation of the covenant by bringing into action the curses stipulated or implied in the swearing

of the oath. Although there are differences between the Old and the New Covenants of the Bible, there is a basic understanding in both of a correlation between blessings and obedience.

4.1.2 The Biblical Notion Practiced in the New World

Covenant and the covenant principle influenced political culture, endowing particular peoples with a particular set of political perceptions and norms, which shaped the way of given institutional embodiment and behavioral expression. From the beginning in the New World, the people and polities comprising the United States had bound themselves together through covenants to erect their New World order, deliberately following biblical precedents.

Some people argued that the covenant concept was formulated firstly by Hobbes, Locke. Thereafter, it entered into the American political tradition. Actually this idea entered into American political culture much earlier than these famous figures systematized it. The typical covenant, *the Mayflower Compact* occurred at least thirty years before the philosophers of Europe imagined it (Elazar, 2002b). By the time Hobbes and Locke formulated their compactual theories, as a matter of fact, there were already many compactual civil societies which were ruled by such covenants, though they had different names of the same nature in the New World in the colonial era, for instance, *the Mayflower Compact* of 1620, *the Fundamental Laws of Connecticut* of 1639, the '*Solemn Compact*' at *Portsmouth* of 1638, and its successor *the Charter of the Providence Plantations* of 1647, *the Pennsylvania Charter of*

Privileges of 1701 and thereafter many compacts or agreements were signed one after another. The exemplary transformation of the covenant notion into political practical was Massachusetts Bay Colony which was established by the Puritan based on the Mayflower Compact.

4.1.3. The Mayflower Compact

The Mayflower Compact was signed on November 11, 1620. This covenant bound all of the ships' people together in a civil society based upon their consent, which included both the religious and non-religious people.

The original document had disappeared, but fortunately a copy of *the Mayflower Compact* was found in William Bradford's *Of Plimoth Plantation: 1620-1647*, and it may be regarded as the most authentic text. It reads as follows

In y^e name of god Amen. We whofe names are vnderwriten, the Loyall subjecTs of our dread fouraigne Lord King James by y^e grace of god, of great britaine, franc, & Ireland king, defender of y^e faith, &c

Haueing vndertaken, for y^e glorie of god, and aduancemente of y^e chrisTian ^{faith} and honour of our king & countrie, a uoyage to plant y^e first colonie in y^e Northerne parts of Virginia. Doe by these prefents solemnly & mutualy in y^e prefence of god, and one of another, couenant, & combine our felues together into a ciuill body politick, for ^{our}y^e better ordering, & preferuation & fur= therance of y^e ends aforefaid; and by vertue hearof to

enacte, constitute, and frame such just & equall Lawes, ordinances, Acts, constitutions, & offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete & conuenient for y^e generall good of y^e colonie: vnto which we promise all due submiffion and obedience.

In witnes whereof we haue herevnder subscribed our names at cap= codd y^e ·11· of Nouember, in y^e year of y^e raigne of our soueraigne Lord king James of England, france, & Ireland y^e eighteenth and of Scotland y^e fiftie fourth. An^o: Dom ·1620· (the Mayflower Compact 2006).

Although the Compact was short, it served as the constitution of the Pilgrim Colony until Plymouth was merged into the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1692 by order of King William and Queen Mary.

4.1.4 The Background of Signing the Mayflower Compact

Under the persecution of the Church-State system of government of England, one group of Separatists moved to Netherlands in 1608. Dissatisfied with conditions there, they thought their hope lay in the new land of America and decided to move there.

The Pilgrims were from different walks of life. Only 41 of them were Pilgrims who had fled England for Holland, and then sought a new life in America where they could practice their religion in manner they chose. The rest of the passengers were merchants, craftsmen, skilled workers, and all that. They were not identified Reformed Protestants. Over 100 people, cut off from any government, without the

effective Charter and being outside the jurisdiction of the Virginia Company, someone of the group began to boast that *none had power to command them*, openly proclaiming that *when they came ashore, they would use their own libertie, for none had the power to command them, the patent they had being for Virginia and not New-England, which belonged to another Government, with which the Virginia Company had nothing to doe.* (Foner & Garraty 1991: 708). William Bradford, the Pilgrim leader, had vigilantly convinced some of non-Separatists who were called “Strangers” rather other than the specific names by him for grace would defy the Pilgrims if they did not landed a specified land granted by the London Company. At that time, the Pilgrims were away from the established civil order and without an effective charter to obligate the crew. Under such circumstances, drawing up an agreement to organize their own political body to control their actions was a matter of great urgency.

Thus, the Compact arose out of a need to maintain social and civic order and to ensure the group as a whole. Meanwhile there would have some legitimation against the challenges to its “legal authority”. Under the circumstances, they laid out the basis for their Christian government and their dream took on political form in the famous document known as the “Mayflower Compact”.

4.1.5 Significance of the Mayflower Compact

The signing of the Mayflower Compact had been called one of the most important acts known in American history. For it was *the first plan for a*

self-determining government in America (Cline 1999). Beyond its direct function, the Compact profoundly influenced the development of American history. It also laid the foundation of the American democratic tradition that served as the basis for domestic political affairs. This document stood as a cornerstone of American form of the democratic governments. Born out of necessity on the Mayflower, the Compact made a significant contribution to the formation of a new democratic nation. It was not only the founding document of New England and much of American civil society, but also represents the first step in the modern transformation of covenant into compact.

The principles written into this Compact were the basic ideals of American Democracy as we know it today. There were apparent democratic tendencies in the textual message.

Firstly, it was a compact established from the consent of the people. It gave each man the right to participate in the enactment of laws and assured him of “just and equal” treatment. This principle was a typical feature of a “democratic” government.

Secondly, the more important principle the Compact implied that the officials and figures of authority were all elected. This established the tradition of elected representatives serving in government. Once the Compact was signed, the signers elected John Carver (one of the Pilgrim leader) as the governor of their colony. *It was*

America's first democratic election of a leader and became the cornerstone of American form of democratic government (Cline 1999).

Thirdly, the Compact expressed their intent to establish just and equal laws upon which would be built a truly democratic form of government, for the Compact pledged to *enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions & offices*(Wang 2002: 8) These doctrines written into this Compact were the basic ideals of American democratic tradition in government. This Compact *foreshadowed our Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights and the U.S. Constitution* (ibid.). It remained the first hallowed document of the American constitutional tradition (Elazar 2002b). From hence, the democratic tradition deeply rooted in the American political culture.

4.2 The Federalism — Synonym of Covenant

4.2.1 The Original Meaning of “Federal”

The very word “federal” is from the Latin word “foedus” which is the Latin Vulgate Bible’s translation of the Hebrew word “brit” which means “formal agreement or covenant” (Elazar 1987).

Federalism, the term was first used in the Bible to describe the relationship between first representative man, Adam and the God. And then it described both the relationship between God and the Israelites and the governmental relationship between the twelve tribes of Israel and their national government in covenantal or

federal terms. Later, the federal ideas were broadly used to describe the covenantal relationship between individuals and families which led to the formation of a body politic. The essence of this partnership is self-rule and shared rule. To make it simple, we may say that federal ideas, in the broadest sense, regulates the political partnership between two or more parties, either individual, group, and polities, with the pre-condition that this mechanism is conducive to the pursuit of their common ends while respective integrities of all parties are not sacrificed . The result of covenant, in terms of polity, is a federal arrangement with participating units joined together by common framing institutions.

4.2.2The Precedents of Federalism

One of the most important covenants in the Bible is the Sinai covenant which developed the relationship between God and man, i.e. new relationships of both familial and political. At Sinai, the Decalogue (The Ten Commandments) with various traditions (or the specific applications) was given to the Israelites by the Yahweh, the God of them. The God was identified as the covenant giver. For, it was this God who delivered the assembled group from bondage in Egypt. This deliver was a free, voluntary act of the deity that formed the basis of the obligations that the community can either accept together with a lasting relationship to the God or reject. The Kingdom of Yahweh excluded the deification of any other factor in human history or nature. It was the common relationship to a single sovereign God that furnished the basis for a new kind of community which provided an effective way to

solve as such problems that how to maintain peace among a large and diverse population, perform the necessary social functions of cooperation and protection, and so on. As to the Israelites, by their public oath of allegiance *All that the Lord hath said will we do, and be obedient* (Exodus 24:7), they acquired the Decalogue and the traditions as a single national constitution and law (in fact, the two were not really separated), which was administered by a combination of tribal and national officers, and which served a federation of tribes, each of which was in itself compounded as a union of families — “houses” in the biblical term. As a result, through the Sinai covenant, Israel established the Lord as the chief governor and supreme magistrate of their nation, and it became a covenanted nation because God became their King. And it was administered by a combination of tribal and national officers, which served as a federation of tribes. This was a pronounced precedent of the application of federalism.

Subsequent to the Sinai covenant, covenants were used to link the governors and the governed under God. The model of such covenants was found in Joshua 24, where Joshua assembled the representatives of the twelve tribes of Israel and the tribal and national officers near Shechem, after the conquest and division of the land, to renew the covenant of Moses before God and reestablish the Israelite confederacy on a landed basis. As in this case, the covenant also established the basic distribution of authority and powers, simply accepting the frame of government established earlier. Thereupon, the very idea of federalism was initially a religious one, and born in the Bible which described both the relationship between God and the Israelites as

His people and the governmental relationship between the twelve tribes of Israel and their national government in covenantal or federal terms.

This biblically-rooted understanding of federalism had reached its fullest religious flowering at the time of the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries among the Reformed Protestants as expressed by Zwingli, the leading Protestant Reformer of Zurich, Switzerland and Calvin, the leading Protestant Reformer of Geneva, Switzerland; and Knox, the leading Protestant Reformer of Scotland (Perry 2003) . They developed the notion of covenant which understood the world as organized around the fundamental covenant between God and man and its subsidiary covenants among humans to achieve various social, political purposes (Elazar 2002b). It was from this religious understanding of federalism that a modern political understanding emerged. That is to say, the utilization of the covenant form for political foundation was derived from the utilization of covenants for the foundation of religious communities.

4.3 Federalism—the Quintessence of American Political Culture

Perhaps, the most important role “covenant” played was a factor in shaping political culture and behaviors. This factor is operationally the most significant dimension of covenant. Federalism is one of the eye-catching features of U.S. politics. The United States is always taken as the most typical and successful example of federalism; Federalism as a biblical phenomenon is common in Scripture. Theological federalism is similar to political federalism, an arrangement under which

states or smaller political entities cede some authority to a more centralized form of government or individual to act on their behalf.

4.3.1 The Background of the Selection of the US Polity

When America won her formal independence in 1783, according to the Peace Treaty with Britain, the newly born nation had an area of about 2,200,000 square kilometers with a population of about 3.5 million. Most of the people lived in the 13 states, near or on the Atlantic Coast (Lai 1985: 379). And more than two thirds of the total area was not occupied by the American yet. At that time, American faced the problem how to govern these colonies effectively and hold them together as a union tightly.

In addition, when the American colonies declared their independence from Great Britain, the colonies were pre-existing as political entities. The inhabitants of the early colonies founded their self-governing organizations in various regions, and they also united together to form certain polities for reasons of foreign affairs or defense. By the time of the American Revolution, citizens of this “New World” had more than 170 years’ experience of self-rule in hundreds of different self organizations. Moreover, no single self-governing organization was militarily powerful enough to fight against the British army and conquer all other colonies on the continent. And after the formal independence from Britain they still wanted to keep their previous identity. The feature of the North America colonies determined that Unitary or Organic government did not work here.

The American founders were searching for a suitable polity for this new country. Which political system can not only retain political identity but also have a strong national authority to hold these states as tight integration to defend itself at the same time. They drew upon that religious heritage from the experiences of the North American colonies, principally but not only New England. And then, they were inspired by polities in the Bible. Thereupon, when the American founders developed modern federation in 1787, the federalism they established followed very much the ancient federalism of the Bible whereby all of the constituent parts shared a common constitution and laws for those matters that were critical in the part.

4.3.2 The Selection of the “Federalism”

From the origin of federal ideas in the Bible, it was clear that federalism was not merely an invention of the founding fathers, but a selection among the arrangements available to them. There are two main categories of the federal arrangements.

Federation generally referred to the modern federalism. *In a federal system, because national and states governments both are sovereign, each has the powers that are not subject to the other's discretion. Both the general government and constituent entities have direct access to citizens when exercising the powers* (Patterson 2003: 70). In a federation, strong constituent entities and a strong general government form a polity. The constituent units govern themselves while share a common constitutional government of the whole. Powers were delegated to both by the people; hence, both the general government and constituent entities have direct access to citizens when exercising the powers.

Confederation is a second form of federal arrangements. Confederacy is a second form of federal arrangements. *It is the type of government established by the Articles. A confederacy is a union where the states are alone sovereign. The authority of the central government is derived from the states, which can, at will, refine the central government's authority*(Patterson 2003: 70).The arrangement is looser in nature that an individual entity may secede from the union by prior agreement in the constitution without general consent. The Articles of Confederation, which was fully implemented in 1781, was practically the first Constitution of U.S., and symbolized the establishment of a confederation polity. Since the Articles of Confederation was written in the period of British government's effort to centralize the New England colonies, the authors of the Confederation were afraid of a strong central government in the new union. Therefore, the general government was given few powers and exercise of its powers was largely subject to the consent of states. In other words, the confederation lacked any direct enforcement powers. Consequently, the fate of the confederation was doomed. Five years after the implementation of the Articles of Confederation, Shays' Rebellion forced the leaders and politicians of America to take note.

As aforementioned, in the federal governments, there are a division of power between a general government and various subgovernments (in the United States as states), authority on the part of both governments to act directly on individual citizens, and a written constitution to help establish the respective powers of these governments and the boundaries between them. Adopting federalism could keep each

state as a political entity, and enable a national government which united these states as a political integration to exist at the same time. Hereby, federalism was an ideal polity for young America. James Madison (1830) indicated in one letter to Nicholas P. Trist that *the idea of a compact among those who are parties to a Govt. is a fundamental principle of free Govt.*

In this case, the way left for Americans was to establish a “federal government” as a framing institution of all the separate states under a covenant, which was the 1787 Constitution.

4.3.3 The Signing of the Constitution.

The constitution is one of the most important parts of the federalism. A written constitution establishes the respective powers of these governments and the boundaries between them. On May 25, 1787, delegates including the famous figures: George Washington, Benjamin Franklin etc. from 12 states (except Rhode Island) met in the Independence Hall in Philadelphia to attend in Constitutional Convention. After many heated debates, the convention was completed on September 17, 1787 with its completion of a Constitution and a federal government. This completion made these delegates feel relieved greatly and it was the hope of their country. Franklin expressed this feeling with pointing to a half – sun painted on the back of Washington’s chair, saying that *I have often and often, in the course of the session ... look at that behind the President, without being able to tell whether it was rising or*

setting; but now at length, I have the happiness to know that it is a rising, not a setting sun (Lai 1985: 384).

The Philadelphia Convention thereby devised a system of government that was known as “federalism”. The adoption of 1787 Constitution signified the beginning of the U.S. development into the most powerful country in the world. As defined by the United States Constitution federalism is a fundamental aspect of American government, whereby the states are not merely regional representatives of the federal government, but are granted independent powers and responsibilities. It is believed that the federal arrangement played a significant role in this process. Indeed, the change from Confederation to federation in 1787 was an important step in the process of centralization; From then on, governance in the United States took place at various levels and branches of government, which all took part in the decision-making process.

4.4 Summary

The covenant is a significant notion of the Holy Bible and it had a far-reaching effect on American political culture. As the core notion of the Bible, covenant, it could be said that, made great contribution to American eye-catching features of its political culture: “perfect” polity--federalism and the democratic tradition.

First and foremost, the notion played a pivotal role of the establishment of federalism. The inspiration of federalism which America established originated from the ancient covenant notion in the Bible. Hence, it can be said that the American

federal system is an outgrowth of the covenantal thought and the political experiences American people that converged about covenant by the late seventeenth century. The advantage of the federal mechanism is the convenience in pursuit of common interests which can hardly be attained by any single subordinate party. And Daniel Elazar (1987: 6) proclaimed that

in the modern and postmodern epochs federalism has emerged as a major means of accommodating the spreading desire of people to preserve or revive the advantages of small societies with the growing necessity for larger combinations to employ common resources or to maintain or strengthen their cultural distinctiveness within more extensive polities.

The covenant also planted the seeds of the American political democratic tradition. The Mayflower Compact created a community explicitly and founded the basis for its subsequent constitutional development. Like the English Magna Carta, the Mayflower Compact was often cited as one of the predecessors to the U.S. Constitution. The Mayflower Compact continued the idea of law made by the people and meanwhile this idea lies at the heart of democracy. With more pride than accuracy, John Quincy Adams once referred to that Mayflower Compact as *the first example in modern times of a social compact or system of government instituted by voluntary agreement conformable to the laws of nature, by men of equal rights and about to establish their community in a new country* (Elazar 2002b).

Chapter 5 Conclusion

After having reviewed the notions of the Bible, a conclusion could be drawn that the Holy Bible almost provided the United States with a blueprint during the formation of its political culture. From the times of the North America colonies to the modern age, God always stands at the heart of the American experience itself, guiding it, underscoring its central themes.

The notion of “a City upon the Hill” served as the source of the foreign policy. The formulation and implementation of the foreign policy is an embodiment of typical feature of a country’s political culture. American not only considers their nation as a model to follow but also feels that it has a divine Providence to “spread” their religious and social order as their mission. It is the reason why Americans always show their self-righteous superiority as the Chosen People over others by its diplomacy. But it does not mean that they should expect other nations in the world to accept the United States as an unquestioned authority on their internal affairs. This feature has been presented by its interruptive and invasive diplomacy.

The democratic tradition which was transformed from a Christian covenant has been playing a dominant role in the American political ideology. They strongly believed their federalism, which was founded in the light of the thought of “covenant”, was ideal to their nation. The notion of “covenant” of the Bible made a great contribution to the young country’s formation of political culture. From the practice of the biblical notion arise the American government democratic tradition. At the same time, from the same notion, American found the most suitable

government structure — federation. Guided by the democratic spirit, the federation has been ameliorating ceaselessly. And protected by the federal system, the democratic, to a large extent, is substantial for American. In the out-layer, the suitable government structure -namely- the federation gives a powerful support of the implementation of their foreign policy. In the same way, the feature of American foreign policy and its implementation would bring the government great benefits which would improve and strengthen the government.

As has been proved by history, after just a little over 100 years since the foundation of the United States of America, it became one of most powerful countries in the world. After hundreds of years' hard work, Americans had turned the wilderness into a prosperous country: it has higher scores on indices of human developments and now, it has become the strongest superpower in the world. The great achievements the United States made, Americans attributed it to the superiority of their political culture with the Christian root.

The guideline of the foreign policy and the U.S. polity, which form the important parts of a nation's political culture, all originated in the thoughts of the Bible. It can be concluded that the Christian notions have been served as the bedrock of American politics. The United States was founded, to a large extent, in compliance with the blueprint of the Bible, and the notions of the Bible were the headstream of the features of American political culture and formed the foundation of the American political culture.

And it is safe to say that once the United States stands in the World, the spirit of

the holy Bible never loses its significant position in Americans politics.

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