

!

" #\$\$%&\$' (!) \* + , - . / & + ! - 0 ! 1 ( 2 / 3 / - 0 ! \$ 0 % ! 4 - 2 ' / 5 . !

6789:678;!

!

< = > ? @ A = B ! !

AB ! @ CD ! !

? ED 1 A > ? B ! A E ? " AB ? @ A = B !

!

1 ( \$ % / 0 3 ! 4 \$ 5 F ( ' ! 6 !

!

!

!

!" #\$\$%&' !() \* + , ! & - . / 0 % # 0 ! - \$ 1 1 , ! 2 \* / / \* & - # / . 0 0 / ! !

G-/.!>(0'(#!6789:678;! " #\$\$%&'(!)\* +, -. /&+!-0!1 (2/3/-0!\$0%!4-2'/5.!

<=>?@A=BIABI@CD! ?ED1A>?B!AE?" AB?@A=B!

!!

@\$H2(!-!!>-0'(0'.!

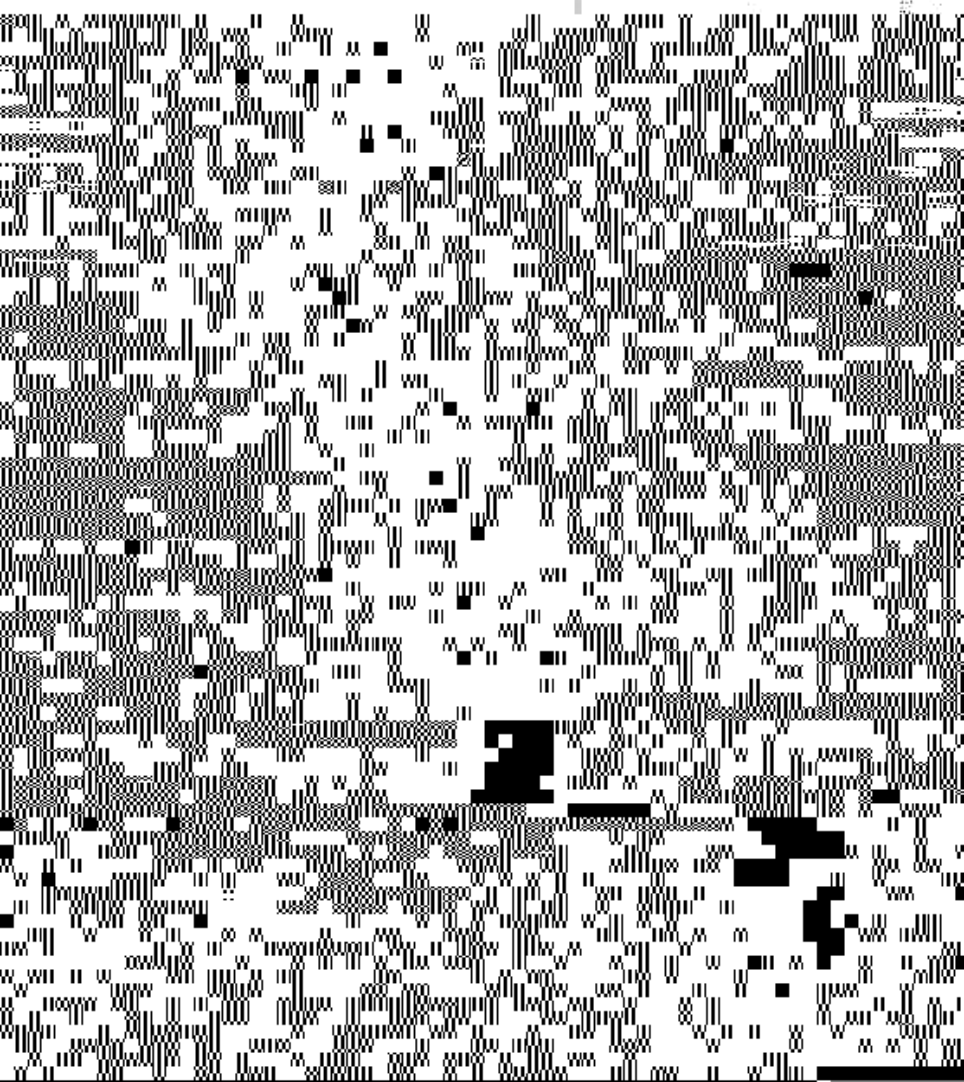
C&0'/03'-0J!)\$+&(2!4K!WhoAreWe?TheChallenges toAmerica'sNational Identity!"



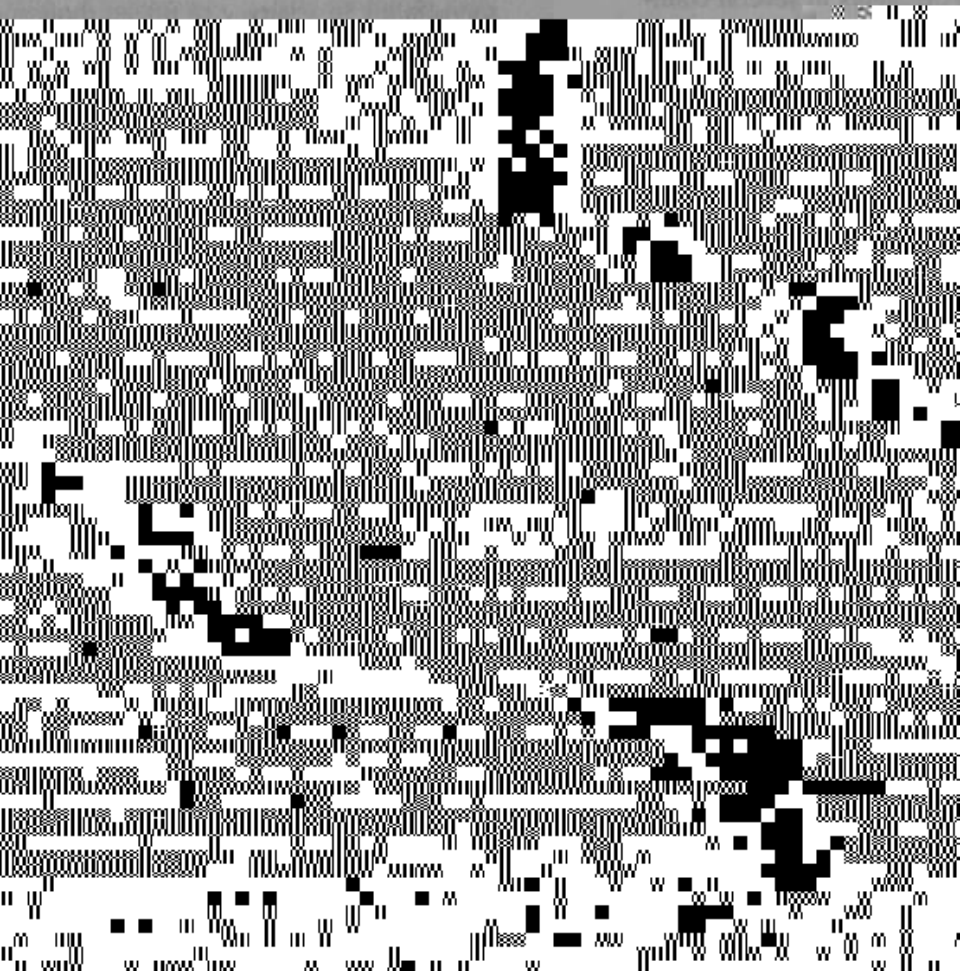
12

19

H78  
2024



and the responsiveness of government to the people. Religion in America, as William Lee Miller has observed, "helped to make the new republic a more complete one. . . . Here liberal Protestantism and political liberalism, democratic religion and democratic politics, and Christian faith, penetrated each other, and their influence upon each other." Protestant beliefs and the American Creed encompassed similar and parallel ideas and programs, as Higham has argued, forging "the strongest bond between the American people during the nineteenth century." Or as Jeff Spinner has observed, "It's difficult to disentangle what is Protestant from what is American. . . . The American Creed, in short, is Protestantism without God, the secular church."



their... of the... near above... Australia... right of the ten... e Protestant. A... tines produced...

116,000 employees of IBM in thirty-nine countries, for instance... individualism index was 91. Americans, however, were... that mean, ranking first with an index of 91, followed by... Britain, Canada, and Netherlands, and New Zealand. In... countries with the highest individualism indices were... index of scores in military decisions for 100 countries.

The In the absence of rigid social hierarchies, one is what one achieves. horizons are open, the opportunities boundless, and the rewards, and the re- them depends on an individual's energy, system, and pe- effort, the capability for and willingness to work.

and from the The work ethic is a central feature of Protestant culture beginning

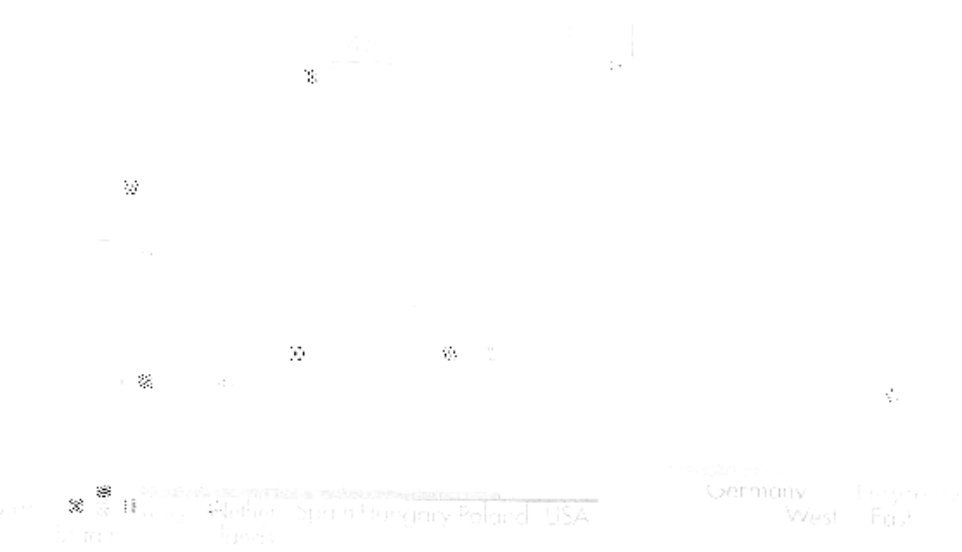




**Figure 4.1**  
Pride in Work

holders: "How much pride, if any, do you take in the work  
Would you like to do it for the rest of your life?"

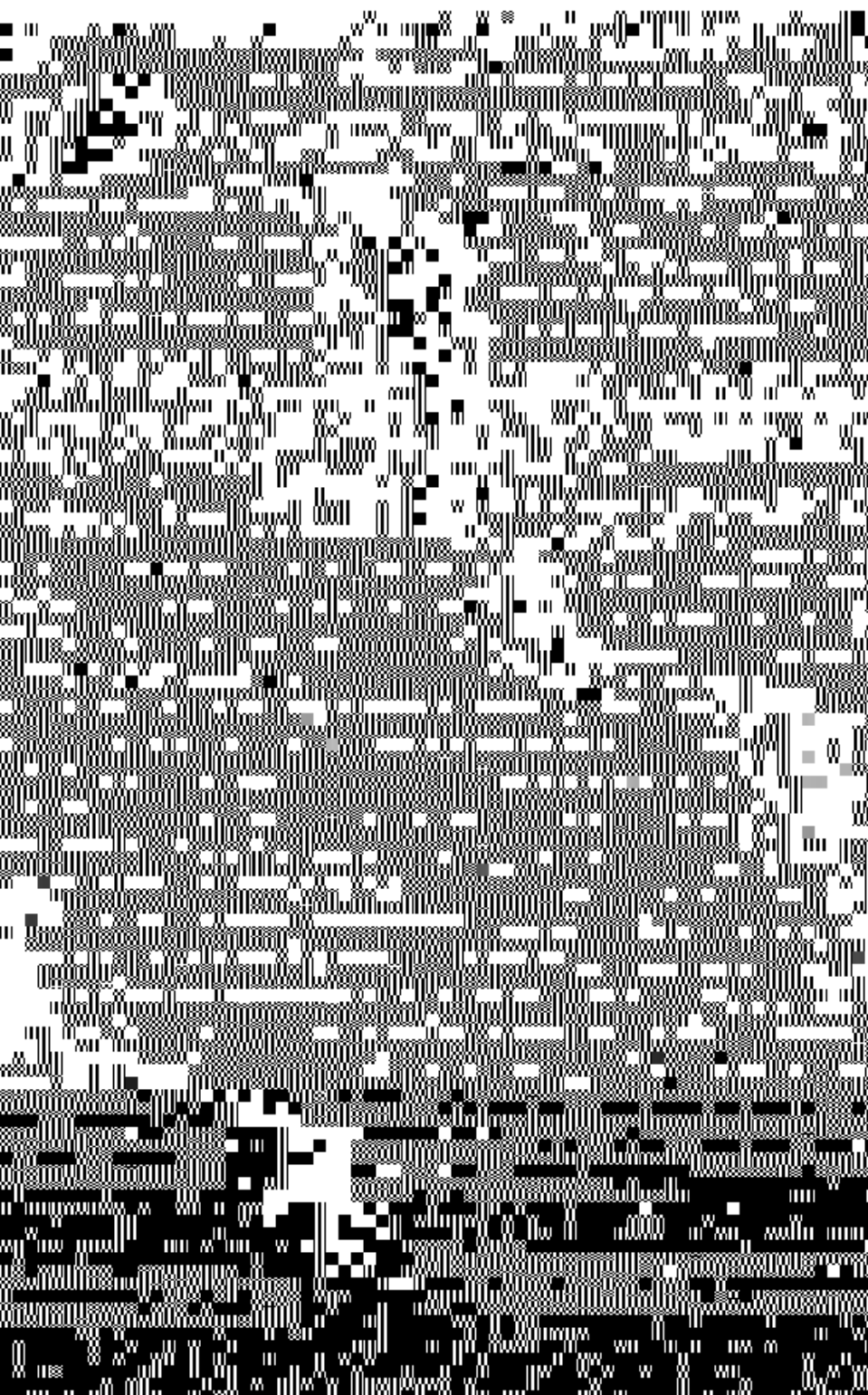
Question to j  
that you do?



Germany West  
Germany East  
France  
Italy  
Spain  
UK  
USA  
Poland  
Hungary  
Other  
Japan  
Brazil  
India  
China

percent of Americans said that to be an American it is necessary to subscribe to the work ethic. Ninety percent of Americans said they would work harder if necessary for the success of their organization and 87 percent said they would not welcome social change that placed less emphasis on hard work. In their attitudes Americans see themselves divided between people who are productive and people who are not.<sup>28</sup>

This work ethic has, of course, shaped American policies on government and welfare. Dependence on what are often called government entitlements, a combination of social security, unemployment insurance, and other programs, is a major part of the American social contract. The work ethic has also shaped American attitudes toward immigrants and people of other cultures. Americans are proud of their hard work and productivity and are often suspicious of people who do not work hard. This is especially true of immigrants and people of other cultures who are often seen as lazy and dependent on government aid.



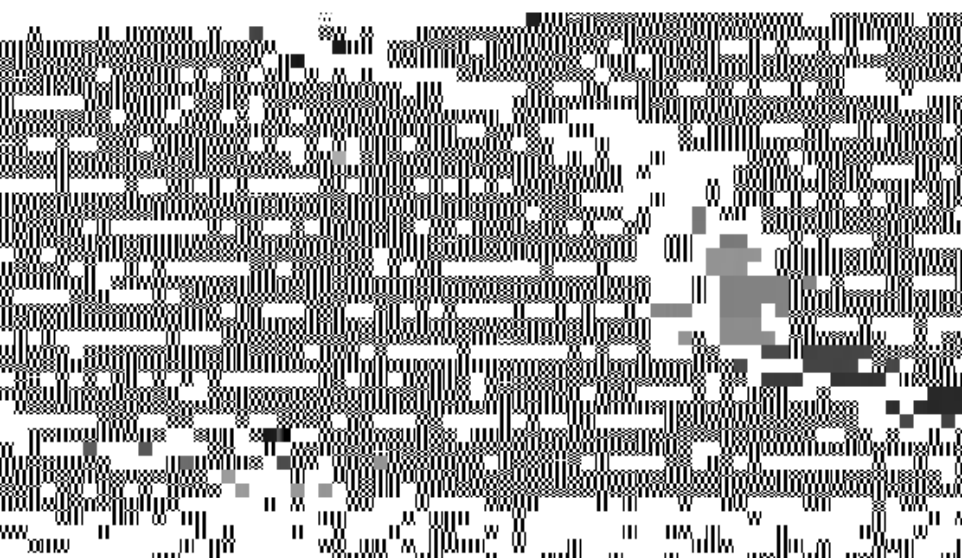
its professed values has grown out of some form of public rebellion from the abolitionists to the social evangelists to the early socialist party to the civil rights movement under Martin Luther King and the farm workers' movement under César Chávez. But so has every expansionist war and every form of oppression of racial minorities and immigrant groups.

Garry Wills concurs: "Religion has been at the center of our major political crises. Which are always moral crises—the supporting and opposing of wars, of slavery, of corporate power, of civil rights, of sexual codes, of 'the West,' of American separatism and claims to empire."<sup>11</sup> Historians identify four Great Awakenings in the history of American Protestantism, each of which was associated with and immediately followed by major events of political

inspired with doctrine and justification by Jonathan Edwards' sermons



sed it, the Awakenings, the first of which was the first popular movement to engage people from virtually all sects and denominations throughout the colonies. The Awakenings, in fact, were a series of revivals, and the first of these was the Great Awakening, which began in the mid-1720s and spread throughout the colonies. The Great Awakening was a religious revival that was led by preachers such as Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield. It was a time of intense religious fervor and spiritual renewal. The Great Awakening was a significant event in the history of the United States, as it helped to shape the religious and cultural landscape of the new nation.





In other instances, as with New Left organizations, the movement

entirely secular in definition, but some of its members

are in its ranks.

Dissenting Protestants also found a home in foreign policy

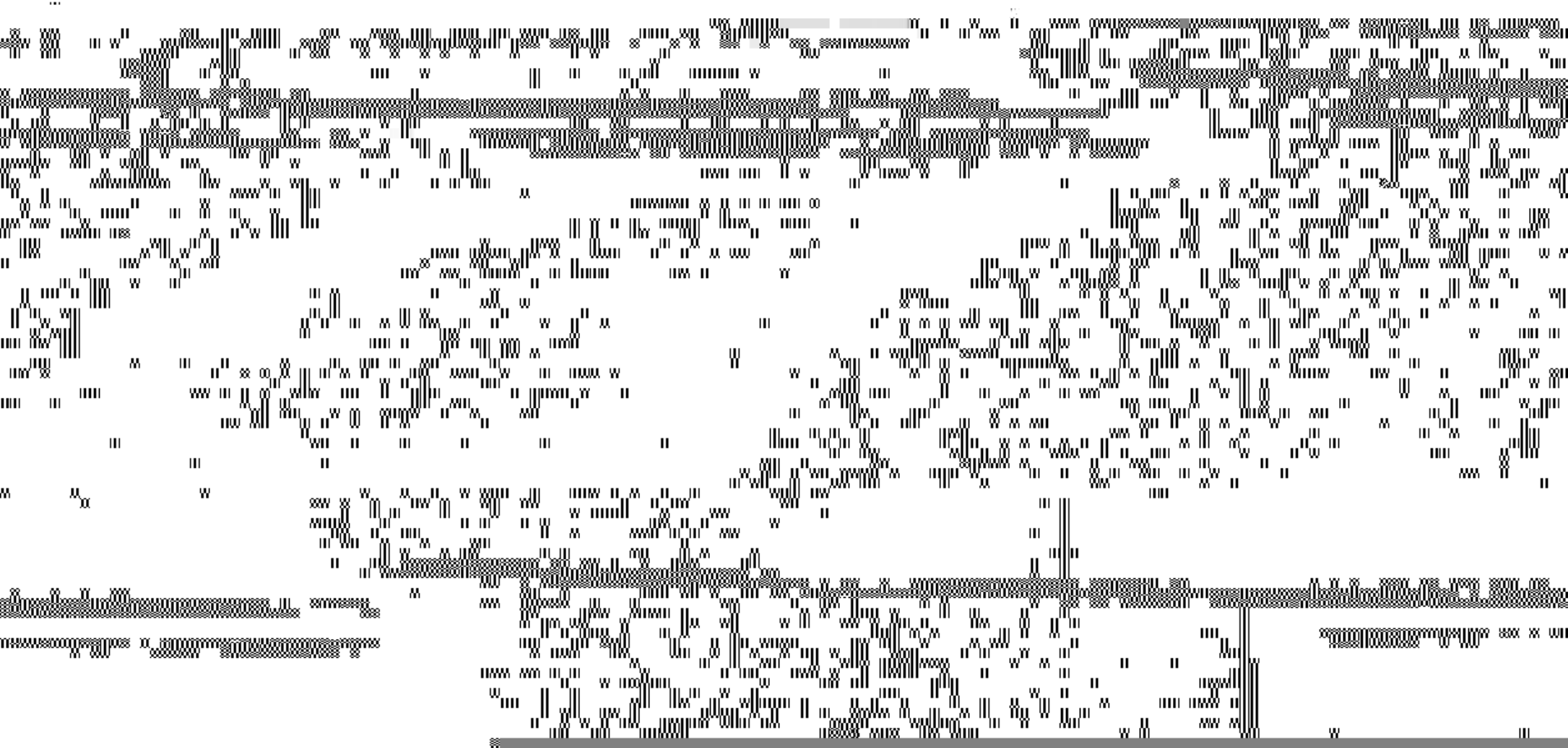
as well as its domestic politics. In conducting their foreign policy, mo

st of the dissenting Protestants were in the forefront of the

movement.

the nineteenth century. At the same time, its emergence as a great power also made it possible for Americans to articulate a set of values and principles on which it had aspired to build its society at home and which its weakness and isolation in the nineteenth century had prevented it from promoting abroad. The result of this moralism thus became the central issue of American foreign policy in the twentieth century, as Americans in McDonald's words "retained their self and their self-interest as the primary concern of their country from 'protection' to 'protection'."





C. MANSFIELD is the William B. Kenan Jr. Professor of Government at Harvard University. Political philosopher and author, he is acknowledged as a leading translator of Niccolò Machiavelli.

HARVARD  
Harvard University

ELBA WINTHROP is a Lecturer in Extension and administrator of the Program on Constitutional Government at Harvard University. Her articles and essays have appeared in numerous publications.



THIS PUBLICATION MEETS THE MINIMUM REQUIREMENTS OF THE  
AMERICAN NATIONAL STANDARD FOR DURATION OF PAPER

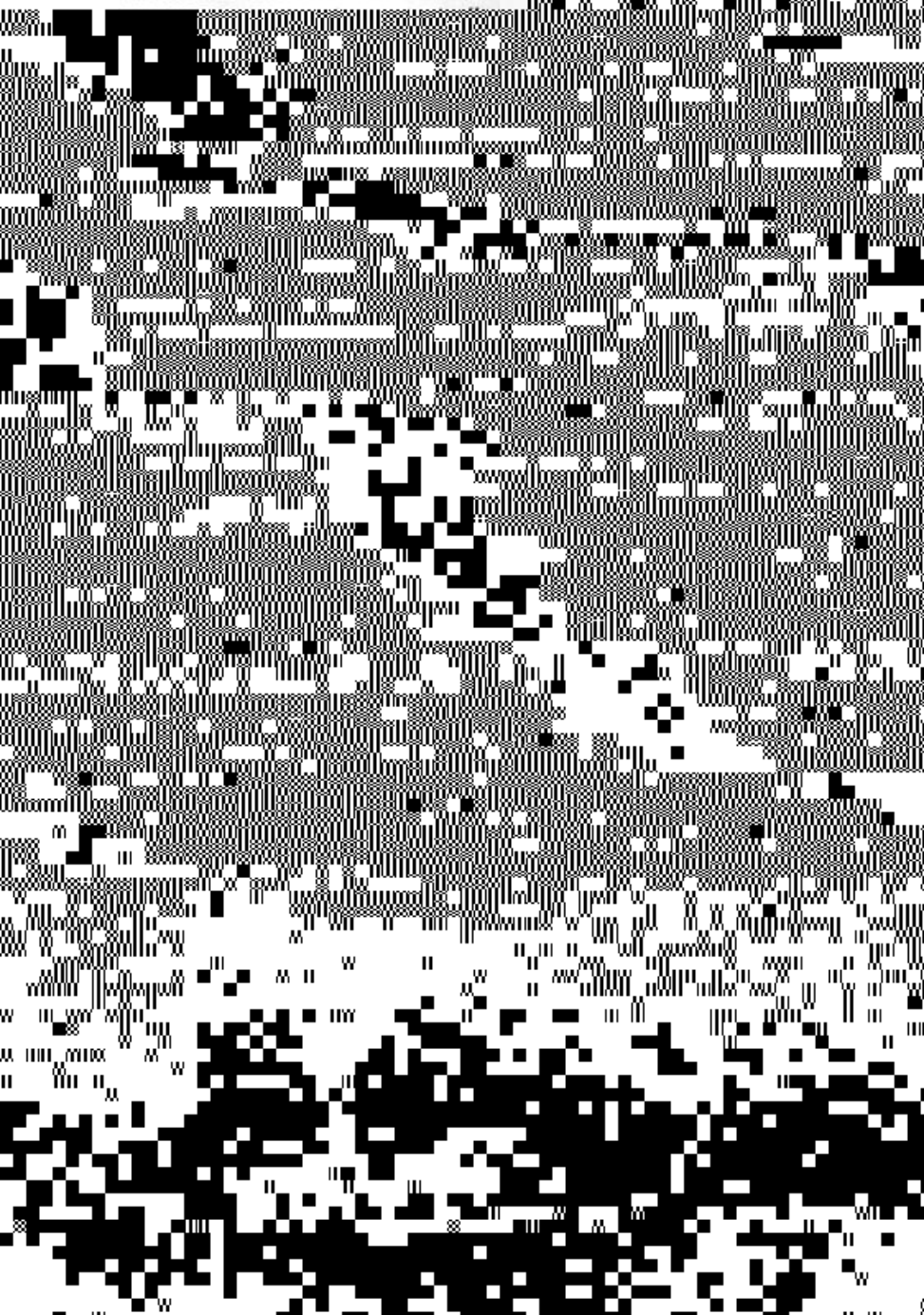
cannot be confused with the freedom to write: the former is at once less  
necessary and more dangerous. A nation ~~is not set bounds for it without ceas-~~  
ing to be master of itself; it sometimes must do ~~int~~ or continue t  
And further on I added: "One cannot conceal from oneself that

of de scrib:  
unlimited



non-jar, there one finds it at the foundation of all actions; it is the basis of all the rich and noble life of the nation. In the East the doctrine of self-interest is much to be commended, but at the same time it is less widespread and abundant among us, one still finds great devotions everywhere, as in America, on the contrary, and people devote a large part of their life with the aid of self-interest which shows how the selfishness of the individual disposes them to sacrifice a part of their time and

men in our time, and that I see in it the most powerful guarantee against themselves that remains to them. *The spirit of the world is the spirit of the world.*



# Chapter 2 HOW THE AMERICANS

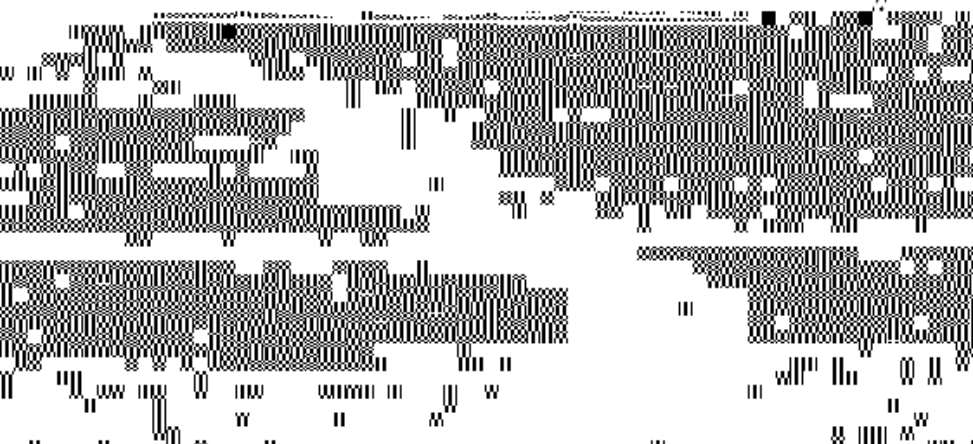
## ADHERE TO THE DOCTRINE OF SELF-INTEREST WHICH WE WILL UNDERSTAND IN THE VIEW OF RELIGION

... if the doctrine of self-interest well understood  
would be far from sufficient; for there are a  
great number of sacrifices that

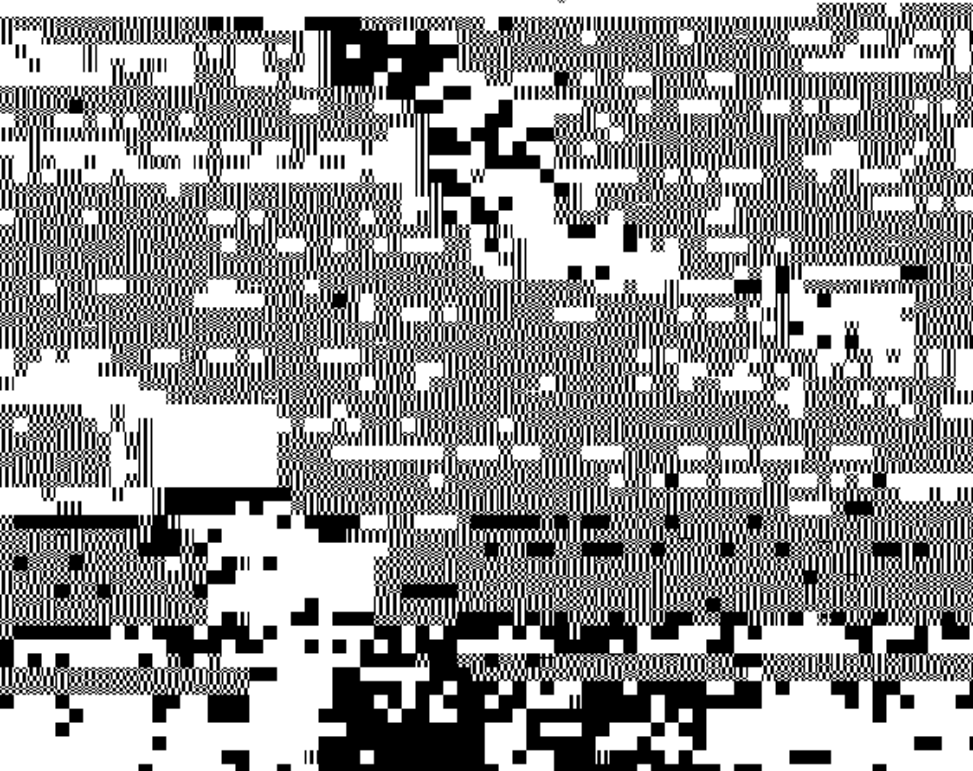
... only moved the legal  
sacrifices they impose in this world  
... instead of placing the prize for the se  
... they have ... it in the other

... that all those who practice virtue out of a self-spirit of  
... not only in view of recompense.

... Still, I refuse to believe  
... religion ... I hope



order, by fr associates himself with that great design; and all the while  
 the pleasure of contemplating  
 I therefore do not believe that the sole motive of religious men  
 but I think that interest is the principal means religion are  
 of to guide men, and I do not doubt that it is only  
 take hold of the crowd and become popular.  
 I therefore do not see clearly why the  
 should run away from religion  
 the contrary, that I am sorting out how it be  
 I suppose that to attain happi-  
 encounters and reasons con-  
 blindly yielding to the en-  
 that he has been habitually sacrificing without combating them, and  
 the pleasure of the moment the present interest of his whole life effort the

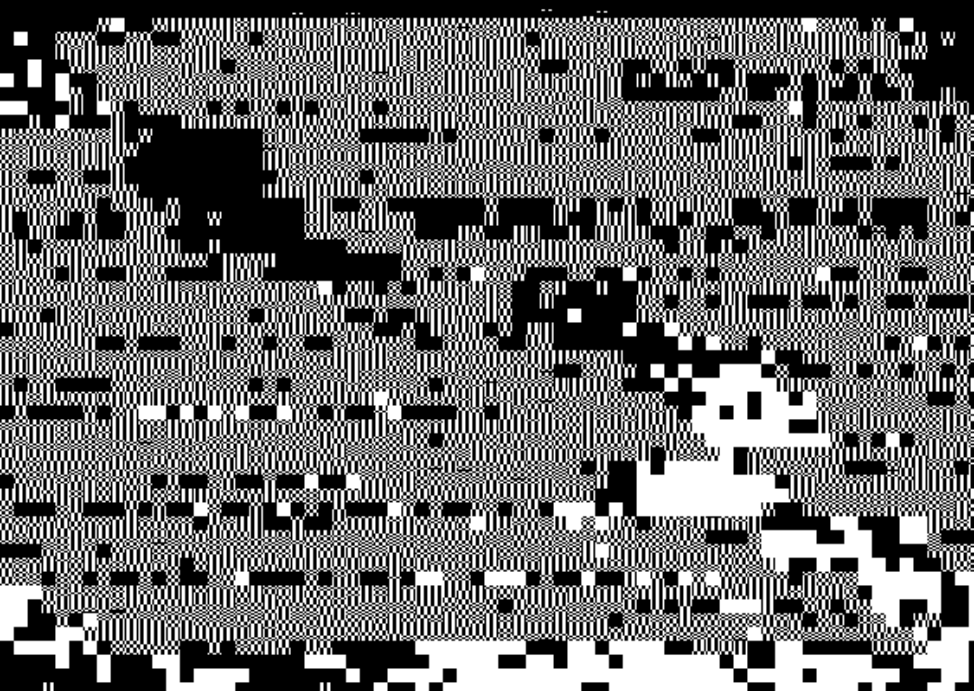




der, and it is often difficult to know when listening to them if the principal object of religion is to procure eternal felicity in the other world or well-being in this one.



cept will continue to be... They never get their...



of human passions here, for it is in its course, and in its course, its course.

## Chapter II ON THE PARTICULAR EFFECTS THAT THE LOVE OF MATERIAL ENJOYMENTS PRODUCES IN DEMOCRATIC CENTURIES

One could believe, from what precedes, that the love of material enjoyments must constantly carry Americans toward disorder in mores, trouble the peace of their families, and finally compromise the fate of society itself. The passion for material enjoyments produces disorders in democracies than in aristocratic peoples.

It sometimes happens that the lassitude of affairs, the excess of wealth, the idleness of the members of a state turn the heart of an aristocracy little by little toward material enjoyments at home. At other times, the display of the riches of the people without robbery, the nobles of their fortune, forces them to turn away from power and, closing their eyes to their undertakings, abandons them to the restiveness of their desires; they then fall back heavily on themselves, and they seek forgetfulness of their passions in enjoyments of the body.

When the members of an aristocratic body, this, of material enjoyments, they ordinarily gather together with an energy that the long habit of power has given them.

For such men the search for well-being is not enough; they must have a constant and more energetic ambition. They seem to want to vie with each other to excel in the art of living; more glorious, and freer an aristocracy has become; the more it knows itself deprivileged, and whatever the splendor of its claims has, the more it is surprised by the brilliance of its rivals.

The strongest of its passions, its love of well-being, shows itself to be exclusive, universal, but contained. It is not a question of



AMERICANS ARE RESTIVE IN THE MIDST OF THEIR WELL-BEING

regard of Heaven. I would be surprised, if mysticism did not soon make  
progress in a people so uniformly preoccupied with its own well-being.  
It is said that the persecutions of the emperors and the tor-  
tured people of the deserts of the Thebaid;\* but I think that it  
delights of Rome and the Epicurean philosophy of Greece.  
In the American spirit, however, laws did not restrain  
the search for well-being, one  
cannot be occupied with material things  
more experience and would moderate  
it does not know where to settle, and it often  
the bounds of a common sense.

WHY THE AMERICANS SHOW  
THAT THEY ARE RESTIVE IN THE MIDST  
OF THEIR WELL-BEING

Chapter 13  
THE AMERICANS  
IN THE MIDST  
OF THEIR WELL-BEING

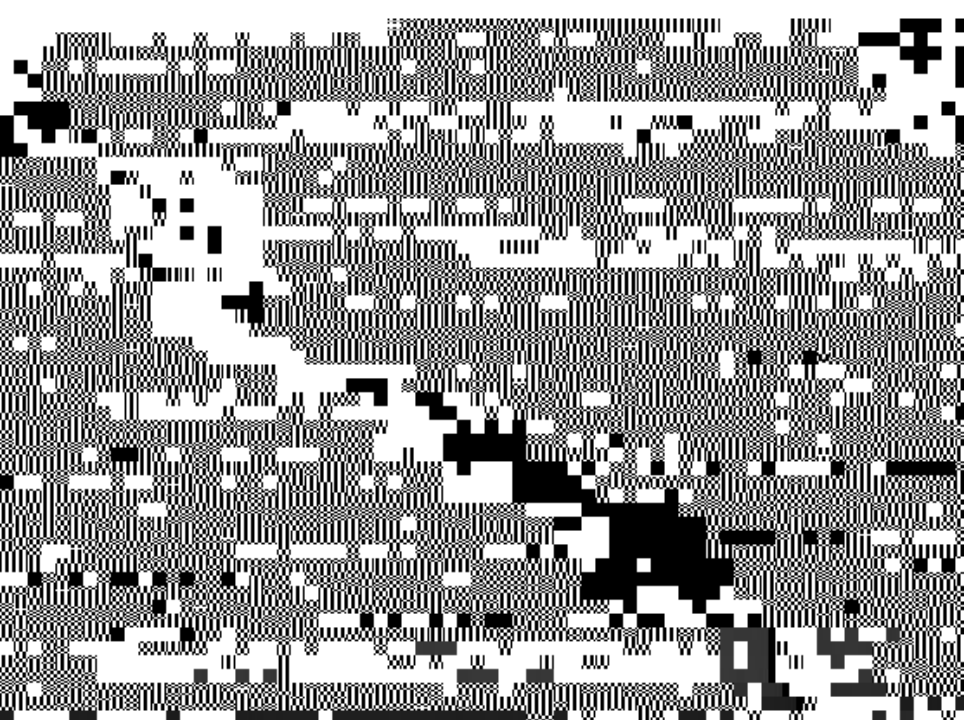


without which the trouble of acquiring the enjoyment would surpass enjoyment. Most souls are, therefore, at once ardent and soft, violent and generous. They are bound to the same goal.

Equality leads men by a still more direct path to several of the effects that I have just described.

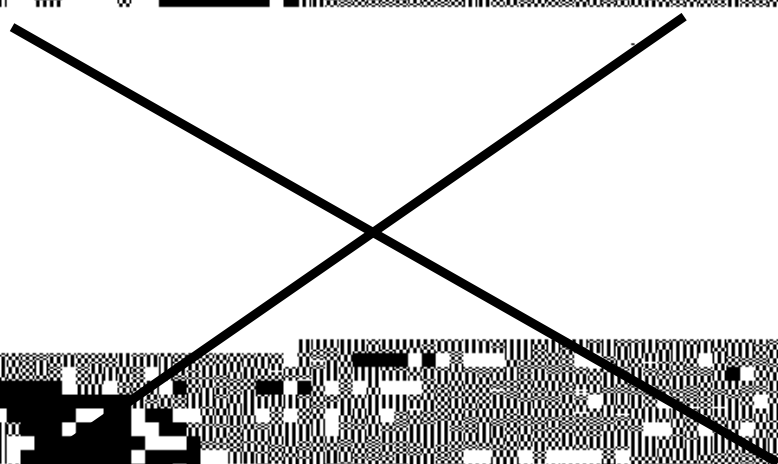
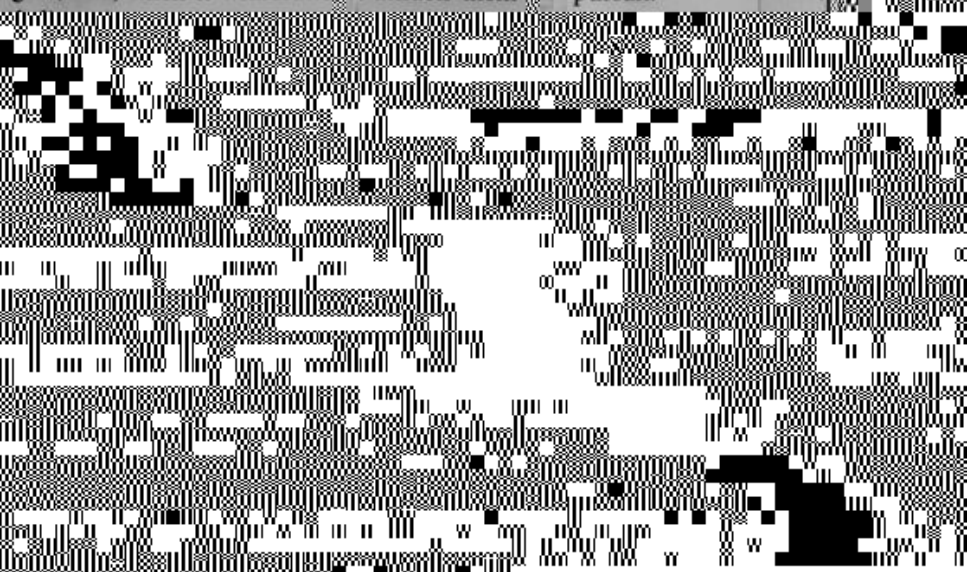
When all the prerogatives of birth and fortune are destroyed, when all professions are open to all, and when one can reach the summit of each or an immense and easy course seems to open before the ambitious. They will only fancy that they have been called to great destinies. But that is an erroneous

The same equality that permits each citizen to conceive of himself as a great man, renders all citizens



...and, when it withdraws, it attracts them in pursuit...

...the equality, in  
...their



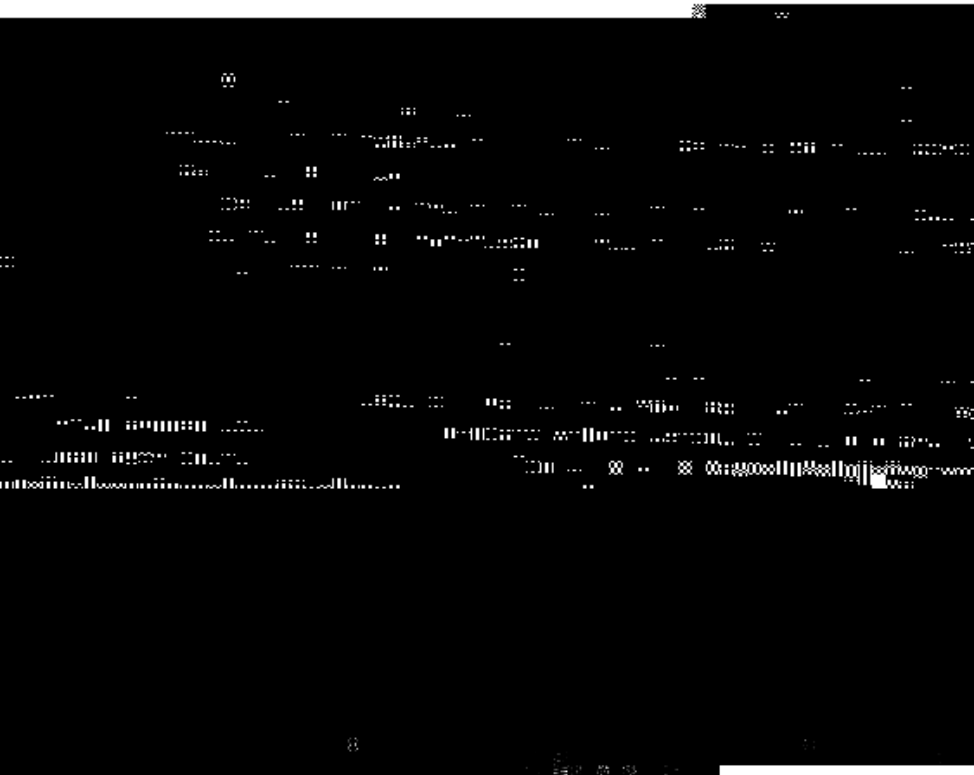


...er by the most ...  
 the human heart can-  
 United States bear witness  
 ... alternatively to a ... so strong and so similar  
 their freedom that it is to be believed th...  
 ... some place in their soul. In fact, Amer-  
 best instrument and the greatest guaran-  
 these two things for each other. They u-  
 in the public is with their firm, un-



...se ceases. A deen-  
 ... how, the soul finally comes  
 ates itself.  
 ...o commerce are deserted; each citizen,  
 s to a church; these strange discourses are  
 ... side for his ears. He  
 ... informed of the innu-  
 ... caused by pride and covetousness. He is told of the ne-  
 ... his desires, of the delicate enjoyments attached to ...  
 ...f. It is a true happiness that accompanies it.

... thus at times the American in a way ... away from himself, and as he  
 is torn away for a moment from the small passions that agitate his life  
 ... the passing ... that fill it, he at once enters in a ...  
 all is ... pure, eternal.



being it is the ... and that he will be the loss of his ...



not hesitate, and I would judge that its citizens risk brutalizing themselves less by thinking that the soul is going to pass into the dead and out of believing it is nothing.

Relief, in an idea of an immaterial and immortal principle, united for a time with matter, is so necessary to the greatness of its even when one does not join to it. Believing that after death the divine remains, and when one is contained in a material body the God is going to animate another

consider the body the secondary and inferior portion for whom they scorn it even as they fall under its influence, whereas they have a secret admiration for the immortal

and decided opinions about life, but the soul is not content with

ing in common with the body and to Platonic philosophy, a sort of sub-

ceives that in the times prior to him, and

who controlled materialism. These writers

are only very interesting. These

great literary reputations

of the human race

men the

And in the number of those who judge that to elevate religion in the eyes of peoples and to put the spiritualism that it professes in honor, it is good to give its ministers indirectly a political influence that the law refuses them.

I feel more

to say is indeed going to harm the three eyes of pitiless-  
 the only efficacious means governments can use to put  
 immortality of the soul in honor is to act every day as if

it; and I think it is only by conforming scrupulously

to religion

teaching, giving us laws to know, and directing our consciences.

What I am saying to  
 cians. I believe that th  
 the dogma of the im  
 they themselves bel  
 to religion

## Chapter 16 HOW THE EXCESSIVE LOVE OF WELL-BEING CAN BE HARMFUL TO WELL-BEING

soul

the greatest  
 of the world

There is more of a bond than one would think between perfecting the soul and improving the body, and the desire to become a good man is a very natural and necessary one.

about that animals know only how to provide for their first and coarsest needs, whereas we vary our enjoyments infinitely.

firmly and consistently.

the man  
 of scorn

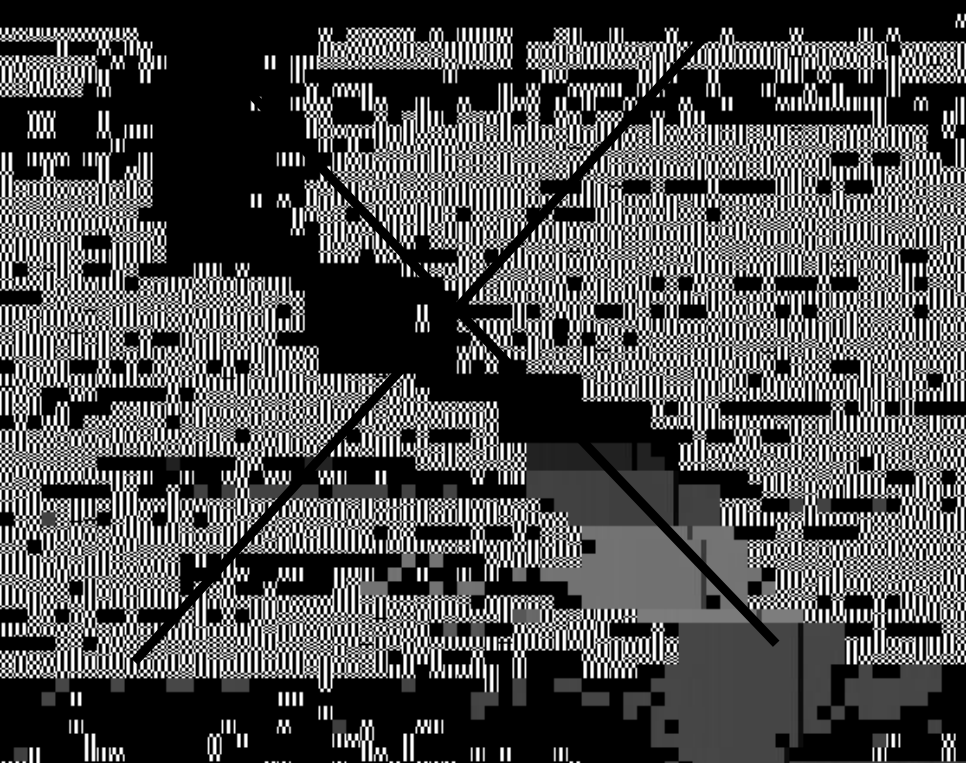
the brute the art of satisfying himself. It is because he is capable of elevating himself above the goods of the body and

How, therefore, does it come to pass that we provide for their first and coarsest needs, whereas we vary our enjoyments infinitely and increase them?

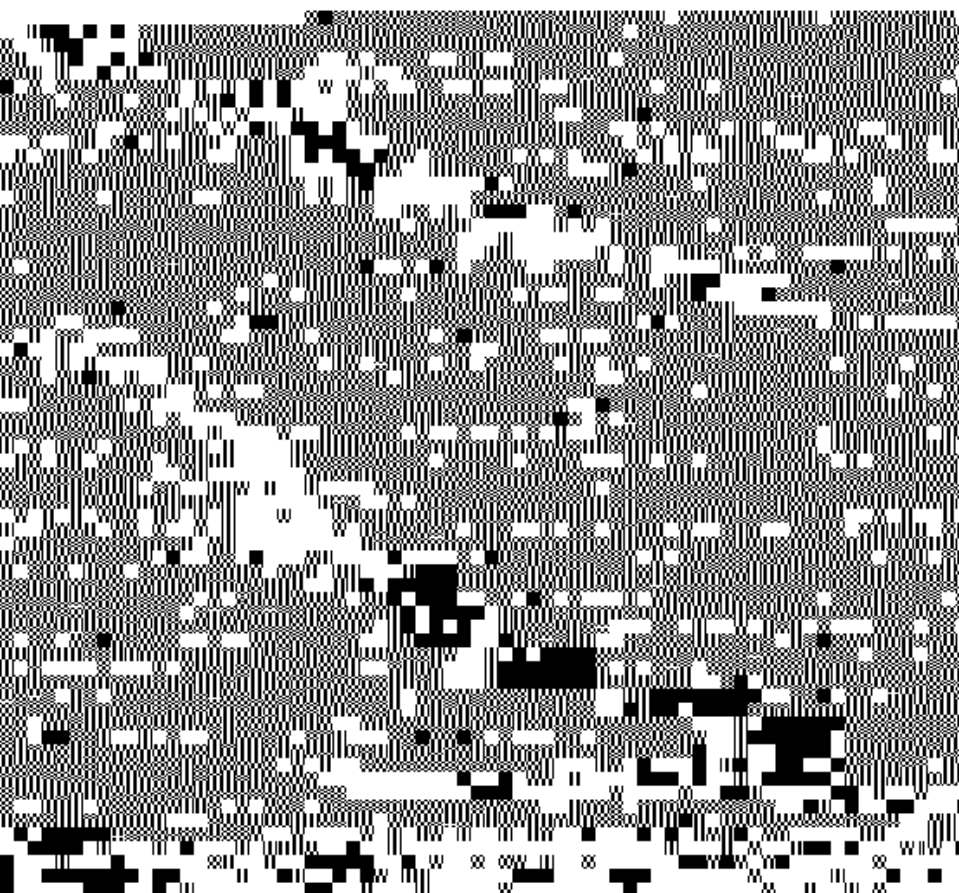
What renders

—of which beasts do not have any idea—that he knows how to  
 these same gods to a degree that they cannot conceive.  
 All that elevates, enlarges, extends the soul renders it a more capable of  
 succeeding in the very one of its undertakings that does not concern it.  
 All that enervates it, on the contrary, or debases it, weakens it for all  
 things, the principal ones as well as the least, and ...

even lit  
 multipl



ALL HONEST PROFESSIONS REPUTED HONORABLE



honorable necessity of the human condition, and when, on the other hand,  
work is always visible done wholly or in part for the consideration of a wage,  
the immense space that separated the different professions in all

