# THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH ABDERRAHMANE MIRA UNIVERSITY OF BEJAIA FACULTY OF LETTERS AND LANGUAGES DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH



# Authoritarian Heritage of Puritanism in Donald Trump's America

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for a **Master**degree in Literature and Civilization.

Candidate: Supervisor:

Ms. Zina BENKHELLADI Dr. Rachid MEHDI

**Panel of Examiners:** 

Mr. Mourad MEZIANI

Mrs. Ourida IDRES

Academic Year: 2020-2021

# **Dedication**

I dedicate this humble work to:

My gone uncle Zahir.

My mother, and my aunt Fouzia whom I consider as a second mother.

My brothers: Anis, Mahmoud, Nassim and Sid Ali.

My sister, Anissa.

My little sunshine Zahir.

# Acknowledgements

I want to thank my supervisor Dr Rachid MEHDI for all his advice to conduct this work and the teachers who paved the way to arrive at this level. A special thank goes to Miss Wissam BAOUZ, a friend and a teacher who embodies all the qualities of teaching.

A special thank goes to my mother, who has always sacrificed her life to give her children the best, and to my aunt Fouzia and her family, who always considered me their daughter.

I also want to thank all the friends who supported me. A special thank goes to my best friends Lisa and Feriel, and my friend Mélissa for all the laughter and tears we had in the library within these last months.

Finally, I'll be reconciling forever, Mrs Souad HATTOUM, who was the first to believe in me and thanks to whom I'm today writing this dissertation.

# **Table of Contents**

DedicationIl	[
AcknowledgementsIII	I
Table of ContentsIV	7
AbstractVI	[
General Introduction01	
Chapter I: Overview of Puritanism and Donald Trump04	ļ
Introduction	
1.Reformation in Europe04	
1.1 Reformation in England05	
1.2 Who were the Puritans?07	
1.3 The Emergence of Puritanism in England	
2.Puritans in America10	
2.1 Why Did They Go to America?10	
2.2 Pilgrims and Puritans	
2.3 Today's America and Puritans	
3.Donald Trump12	
3.1 Donald Trump's entry into Politics	
3.2 Donald Trump's faith	
Conclusion16	

Chapter II: The Heritage of Puritanism in Donald Trump's America17
Introduction
1.America's Contemporary John Winthrop17
1.1 The Puritan Mindset of Donald Trump17
1.2 Donald Trump, Nowadays John Winthrop20
2.Donald Trump the Nativist23
2.1 An Old Unusable past24
2.2 Donald Trump, Evangelicals and Puritans31
2.3 The Hope of White Evangelicals33
3.Donald Trump, Israel's Best Friend34
3.1 Puritans and Typology34
3.2 Evangelicals and Their Support for Israel35
3.3 The Supernatural Election
Conclusion
General Conclusion38
Work Cited40
Résumé (Abstract in French)

**Abstract:** 

This research depicts the puritan heritage within today's American culture the most mediatised

and criticised men in America within these last years; Donald Trump, relying on the Evangelical

branch, which permitted him to the road to the White House. This paper explores the hidden

influence of the Puritan ethic in Trump's mentality, the roots of his nativist immigration plan

and his specific relations with the nation of Israel within his four years in office. In addition to

exploring the Puritan Heritage surrounding Trump, we want this work to provide another image

of the President that we do not hear about in the News.

**Key Words:** Donald Trump, Puritans, Evangelicals, United States of America, values.

νi

### **General Introduction**

Known as the fathers of democracy, Puritans established a set of rules for self-reliance since their arrival in the New World. The Mayflower Compact remains the best example to illustrate their contribution to democracy in America. Besides, many other aspects of Puritanism forged American culture. Their belief of being the chosen people on the Earth made them real hard workers and led to the creation of the most powerful country in the World, the United States of America.

Donald Trump, one of the most successful real estate businessmen and TV reality show stars, "The Apprentice" in the United States of America is known for being a subject of the gutter press for decades. The media coverage intensified in 2015 when Trump decided to run for the 2016 United States of America presidential campaign representing the Republican Party. This affiliation to the Republican Party, which stands for conservative values in America and his friendly relation with Christian Evangelicals, which reminds of the Puritans's rhetoric made Trump appear paradoxical. This paradox created by the media mass never loses any chance to describe Trump as an opportunist whose aim is to make his name more known.

The presidential elections in the United States of America have always been a crucial moment for Americans who matter about politics and are also a worldwide high-profile subject. In 2016, the proclamation of Trump as the 45th President of the United States was received as a crash in American politics by the whole world. Trump is an intriguing figure to study. Indeed, the paradoxical status of the president attracted our attention. On the one hand, his approaches and politics are considered a threat by the media. On the other hand, his promises and plans are extolled by Christian Evangelicals and American nationalists. His temper and attitudes towards the latter, who were his fervent supporters, echoed the values of the first Puritans who settled in America in the seventeenth century.

The aim of this research is to demonstrate to what extent Trump's shocking personality impacted by the Puritans' culture. In this study, we will be exploring books, articles and speeches that will permit us to make the subject of our research coherent.

Stephen E.Strang, a Christian journalist, in his book, *God, Trump, and the 2020 election: Why He Must Win and What's at Stake for Christians if He Loses*, describes Trump as the saviour the United States of America needed. The purpose of writing this book is to convince Evangelicals to vote for Trump in the 2020 election, arguing that he will be the sole man who would restore Christian values for America. His book is divided into three parts. The first part aims to show what matters in the 2020 elections, the second points to emphasise the importance to well understand the character of Trump, and the last part deals with the Spiritual dimension surrounding the President.

In "White Evangelicals and the New American Exceptionalism of Donald Trump", Abram Van Engen observes change in Trump's behaviour between his first and second presidential campaigns. According to the author, the new rhetoric used by Trump is similar to the one used by Ronald Regan, who described America as an exceptional nation. According to the author, this shift is no more than a strategy by the Republican candidate to conserve his Evangelical base.

Jared A. Goldstein, in "Unfit for Constitution: Nativism and the Constitution From the Founding Fathers to Donald Trump", retraces the paradoxical history of immigration in the United States from its founding to the era of Trump. The author aims to show that Trump is nothing but a product of traditional values and principles which founded America.

According to the works cited, it becomes clear that scholars and researchers are aware of Trump's paradox beyond the gutter press. Through this research, the added value we are looking for is to show that the Puritan heritage in America is still alive and one of the best representatives of this last is no one than Trump.

This dissertation is divided into two chapters. The first is about a general overview of the emergence of Puritan movement in England, their influence on American culture, and a small biography of Donald Trump. The second chapter is analytical; it is divided into three parts. First, we discuss the Puritan mindset of Trump, then, we analyse the Evangelical's influence on the nativist agenda of the President, finally, we examine the friendly relationship of the United States with Israel during Trump's term.

# **Chapter I: Overview of Puritanism and Donald Trump**

#### Introduction

All along this first chapter, we will be dealing with a theoretical work that will give an overview of Puritan theology and Donald Trump early life. The first section of the chapter is an attempt to define and simplify the meaning of the Puritan movement. The second part section in a short introduction of Puritan theology in America and its effects on today's America. The last section, after examining briefly the influence of Puritans on American society, discusses Donald Trump's attitude toward religion.

# 1.Reformation in Europe

Reformation is regarded as one of the most important events in the western world. As he was one of the first who devoted most of his time to call into question the authority of the Roman Catholic Church, Martin Luther is pointed out by some scholars as the father of the Reformation. Accordingly, a small overview of Luther and his ideas is necessary to introduce our chapter.

In 1517, Martin Luther was a university professor at Wittenberg's university and a devoted monk at the Catholic Church. He was deeply devoted to religion but unconvinced by the Catholic soteriological doctrine. Indeed, he viewed "salvation was to be gained by being 'sin-free' at the time of death " (Taar.03). In other words, Luther maintained that people did not go to heaven or hell according to their works, simply because of the original sin of Adam. "He interpreted the force of the phrase 'by faith are ye saved as being 'by faith alone are you saved" (04).

In his *Ninety-five Thesis*, posted on Wittenberg church's door, on October 31st, 1517, he openly declared standing against the fraudulent practices of the Roman Catholic Church, the

most powerful institution and a symbol of Christianity in most parts of Europe. He also denounced the abuse of the power of papacy's practices.

The major points of what became later known as "Lutheran reformation" were that you could be saved by "faith alone". Vernacular versions of the Bible were to be encouraged, not only Latin Vulgate, so all men, because they are equal in God's eyes, could search for their faith, limit the powers of the Catholic Church institution who considered themselves as being the representatives of God on Earth and the only ones who vehicle religion. "No one knows or can influence who is damned and who is saved, so all men are equal and have the potential to become priests." (18), and getting rid of all the extravagant decorations found in the Catholic churches that were purely an invention to distract believers from the real message of the scripture. "Inside a typical church, one would find numerous visual aids designed to inspire and to teach: images of Christ's mother, the Virgin Mary; murals (wall paintings) of heaven, hell and purgatory; stories from the lives of those saints who might be persuaded to give members of the congregation some of their Grace." (18-19)

All in all, Lutheran Church aimed to teach the "real" message of God based on three biblical basis sacraments. This movement would be the fundamental root for all the theologies that would emerge later in Europe, such as Arminianism, Calvinism, Puritanism, and Anglicanism, known as the symbol of Reformation in England that we talk about in our coming section.

### 1.1 Reformation in England

Before the spread of Lutheran ideas, England was faithful to Catholicism, following scrupulously the instructions of the Roman Catholic Pope, Paul III. The birth of the Reformation in England came during Tudor's dynasty, when Henry VIII, king of England, wanted to divorce his wife, Catherine of Aragon because she did not provide him a male successor son. The problem was that Pope Paul III did not accept because it was forbidden in the Catholic theology to divorce

without having an adequate reason for it. Then, Henry decided to discharge himself from the papal practices in England and declared himself as the "Leader of the Church" (Kitching. 02); subsequently, the Church of England became Protestant and what would be called the Anglican Church.

According to Paula Kitching in her short overview about the Reformation in England, Henry VIII's Reformation was based on personal profits, not religious reforms, since all the Anglican Church practices were still faithful to Catholicism. She asserts: "It is believed that in terms of religious belief he was not committed to Protestant beliefs but he was committed to having his own way and he enjoyed the power that changing England to Protestantism had given him." (Kitching. 03)

After Henry's death, England knew more Protestant reforms by the rule of Edward VI. When he became king of England, Edward VI was too young to reign on his own, Lord Protectors, who were Protestant, ensured his rule of the state until he could rule. "The Edwardian Reformation was a work in progress, pushing a country where the majority of bishops, clergy, and laity were foot-dragging religious traditionalists in a radically new Protestant direction as quickly as seemed prudent." (Coffey.43) Many protestants' reforms were introduced: priests were allowed to marry, Catholic ornaments were omitted and replaced by simple features, and the Book of Common Prayers was introduced, "In the new prayer book, the Latin Mass, the hitherto off-limits heart of Catholic worship, was obliterated and replaced with a communion service for celebrating the Lord's Supper." (Coffey. 43).

The Edwardian reign was short living and all that was accomplished during his reign was reversed by his successor Mary I, a committed Catholic, who endeavoured to restore the Papal Supremacy. She is also known as the "Bloody Mary" for all the persecutions made on the Protestants, "At least 280 Protestants, of all ranks and stations in life, including fifty-six women,

chose the flames above Catholicism." (Coffey. 49). The heavy persecutions were the principal reason which made them flee England to other parts of the continent.

At her death and since she did not give birth to an heir, her sister Elizabeth became queen of England. Elizabeth I was an intelligent monarch, and her rule became one of the most successful in the history of England. As a Protestant queen, she wanted spiritual prosperity and political stability, and her reign witnessed the return of the exiled Protestants, who would be known under the name of "Puritans".

#### 1.2 Who were the Puritans?

The term "Puritan" was used for the first time during the Elizabethan Settlement in England to refer to the strictest group of the Reformation who called for eradicating all the Catholic unbiblical practices that still existed within the Anglican Church. They were well known for being deeply influenced by the idea of Predestination which occupies an essential place in the Calvinist's believer's faith, is considered as "the hottest group of Calvinists," whose theology is based on the idea of Covenant between God and man.

In his book *Hot Protestants: A History of Puritanism in England and America*, Michael P. Winship states that there are two significant covenants in Puritan theology: the Covenant of Works that resulted of the Original Sin committed by Adam that made all humanity corrupted. and the Covenant of Grace which stated that salvation was a free gift of God, after the death of Jesus on the Cross to save the elect. The idea of the election also occupies a substantial part of the ideology. According to Puritans, God already predestined who was going to Heaven and Hell. Also, Puritans were great believers in typological theology. They systematically identified themselves to many biblical figures. It is worth mentioning that typology played an essential role in establishing the American colonies.

According to the aspects of Puritanism, we first have a plain style of preaching for a better church discipline, "Ten Commandments, for those who knew where and how to look, was the totality of God's law, all the duties to perform and all the sins to avoid in all spheres of life." (87), Puritans strived strictly to follow The Ten commandments, even if, though quite impossible to apply them in daily life. Among the other aspects that characterize Puritans, we have adultery forbidden, avoiding laziness i.e. hard working, daily prayer, self-examination and observing Sabbath (87).

# 1.3 The emergence of the Puritan movement in England

According to Karl Gunther in his article "The Origins of English Puritanism," scholars still disagree about defining Puritan theology and its origins. Nevertheless, he asserts that they agree about defining Puritans as a movement of non-conformist Protestants who firmly rejected the "popish "practices that still existed in the Anglican reformed Church.

Winship traces back the rise of Puritanism to John Hooper, an Oxford graduate student, who served in the house affairs during Henry VIII's rule. "Hooper could scarcely have imagined that in a few years, he was to become a committed Protestant, let alone that the conflicts he was to generate in his newfound haste to purge England of its Catholic past would mark the beginning of what would be called puritanism." (Winship 41). Consequently, Hooper's conversion to Protestantism embodied what would have been known, during the Elizabethan rule, as the "Puritan ideal." Hooper's fight against the "Anti-Christ" practices, that is to say Roman Catholic Church, started during the reign of Edward VI, where Reformation was in progress. Still, he was unconvinced by the content of *The Common Prayer book*, written by Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury since the reign of Henry VIII, because it enabled the clergies to wear catholic robes that were purely unbiblical. Later, Thomas Cranmer visited Hooper for a revision of *The Common Prayer Book*, where Hooper understood that the aim of

Thomas Cranmer was not to end the Reformation, but to go step by step into it, to be able to purify the Church from the inside. "Hooper might have started to understand the logic of Archbishop Cranmer's go-gently approach to reform, especially as it became clear that Cranmer did not intend to stop reformation" (48).

At the arrival of Mary I on the throne, John Hooper was publicly burned. As cited before, the Marian rule was the synonym of terror for Protestants, which led them to flee England. By her death, and when her sister Elizabeth arrived on the throne, many Protestants who left England during the Marian Exile returned to England with more reformed minds. These Protestants who ran away to different parts of Europe came back with different ideologies. Our concern goes to the ones who returned with the ideas of John Calvin that were based on Predestination and strongly influenced the ones of Puritans.

Elizabeth I, known for being a tolerant queen, aimed to avoid falling into a religious civil war. So, by giving importance to Parliament, as Supreme Governor of the Church, she succeeded in establishing a compromise between Catholics and Protestants. Nevertheless, many Puritans who were members of Parliament disapproved, firmly, the compromise made by the queen. But Elizabeth succeeded to muzzle them, maintaining that the Reformation had already gone too far, and the Calvinist ideas, like the ones of John Knox and his followers, were too extreme to be accepted and represented a true threat for the authority of the king. In addition to that, Puritans were against women's reign, a detail that made Elizabeth I thoroughly unpleasant. "Knox demonstrated at great length that female rule was repugnant to nature, a violation of God's revealed will, and (the subversion of good order, all equity and justice.) "(57)

Then, especially from 1570 to 1580, the queen faced a real threat due to the considerable emergence of Puritans whose aim was to push the Church of England into a strict reformation. People started to be more influenced by the Puritan plain style of preaching the Word of God. Also, they began to believe in Predestination because of "Prophesyings." In addition to that, a

conflict about the governance of the Church emerged between Puritans, who claimed to remove the remnants of Catholic teachings of the established Church, and Anglicans.

The history of Puritans in England is too long to be retraced in detail. The most important to know is that Puritans have never been welcomed neither by the Monarchs nor the Parliament. Besides, during the Elizabethan era, the first "Separatists," who considered the Church of England too corrupted to be purified, started to establish Separatist churches based on Presbyterian standards. Some of these Separatists, later, during the reign of James I, went to America and would come to be known as "Pilgrims, "and other moderate Puritans during the reign of Charles I would also emigrate to America to establish the "City of God."

# 2. Puritans in America

This part of our study aims to give a short overview of the reasons for Puritans' exile to the New World and the considerable influence they left there.

#### 2.1 Why Did They Go to America

During the reign of Elizabeth I, the Separatists movement started to emerge; some of them, by the leadership of John Robinson, went to Holland, "Leiden", where they lived for ten years. After ten years of exile, they left Holland for several reasons, and one of the most important was that their children began to be influenced by the Dutch culture that was less strict than the one of the Puritans. These Separatists refused the idea to go back to England since, according to them, it was too corrupted, and God was going to destroy it. Since the Puritan's exile, Elizabeth I died, and her cousin James I succeeded her on the throne. He first seemed tolerant toward the Puritan doctrine by calling for "The Hampton Conference" that gathered both Puritans and Anglicans; Catholics were omitted from attendance since the king hated them

to discuss a compromise. Still, it was unsuccessful, as the king was influenced by "The Divine Rights of the Kings," which Puritans firmly rejected.

Many Separatist groups emerged, not only in England but also in many parts of Europe during the 17th and 18th centuries, searching for religious freedom. During these times, American soil became a refuge for many of these groups whose goal was to get religious freedom. Indeed, not all European settlers had the same objectives, many of them went there to build wealth, and by the time, all these colonies became known as the thirteens' colonies.

# 2.2 Pilgrims and Puritans

Two groups characterize the Puritan migration to America:

The first group of Puritans who went to New England was the Pilgrims, who settled in Plymouth Plantation in 1620 due to the storms that modified their original destination, Virginia. within of the *Mayflower* Ship. There were about 101 passengers divided into two groups: radical Puritans (Pilgrims), who called themselves the Saints, left England to escape the persecutions and search for the Promised Land, and the moderate Puritans, who called themselves the Strangers, who wanted to explore the American lands in order to become wealthy. Pilgrims are known for writing the Mayflower Compact to avoid anarchy by establishing a temporary government authority in the colony.

The second group was the Puritans, who settled in Massachusetts Bay Colony ten years after the Pilgrims. Its governor John Winthrop preached in his sermon "A Modell of Christian Charity" that they will be a model, not only for the Church of England but for the whole World; "Winthrop's use of the biblical topos of the heavenly city evokes the exceptionality of the Puritans as a model for others, if not mankind." (Heike. 153). According to him, Puritans were the Chosen People on earth, and they had to work together hand in hand to establish the "City Upon a Hill", following a strict discipline and being intolerant towards everyone who did not

conform to their established Godly rules. Consequently, Many Puritans were banished from the colony because they shared different ideas, such as Roger Williams and Ann Hutchinson.

### 2.3 Today's America Puritans

Puritanism as a religious belief does no longer exist in today's America. However, its effects are still valuable in today's American society, "Puritanism is not only a religious belief but a combination of lifestyles with living values" (Kang 149). In her article entitled "Puritanism and Its Impact upon American Values," Nina Kang points out some of these values that influenced the American way of life. The latter consist of individualism related to Puritans' independence, democracy, hardworking and education. Today, when we refer to these aspects that shaped the Americans' minds, they are not in relation with religion; "Puritanism is not a religious belief, but a philosophy, a combination of lifestyles with living values." (Kang 149). As an excellent example of Puritan left values, we have decided to analyze them throughout our study on one of the most controversial presidents that America has known: Donald Trump.

# 3. Donald Trump

Promised to a bright future, Donald. J Trump was born on June 14, 1946, in Queens, New York. Descending from a family of entrepreneurs, and where the transmission of success is from father to son. Hardworking and discipline in the Trump family is the key of the success of their empire. According to André Berkoff in his book: *Donald Trump, les Raisons de la colère*, Trump is the son of Fred Trump, who established Elizabeth Trump and son company, specialized in real estate in Brooklyn and Bronx. In his youngest years of life, Donald became the favourite son of his father because of his imposing character. Regardless, this character obliged his father to send him to the New York Military Academy, where objectivity characterized the way of life of everyone within the institution. During the years spent there,

Trump learned to channel his anger and he met one of the characters who highly influenced his conception of life, Théodore Dobias. From Dobias, Trump knew that "Winning is not one of life's goals, but the only one." (Bercroff 138).<sup>1</sup>

Later in his life, Donald entered the university of Fordham where he studied commerce and law. At the age of 22, he entered to Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, where he specialized in the real estate economy.

Donald. J Trump started working with his father at a very young age. With his father, he learned how to deal, and later made of the family affair, that he renamed the Trump Organization, as one of the biggest companies of America; "The Trump Organization soon became involved in a myriad of projects, including hotels, resorts, residential and commercial buildings, casinos, and golf courses, both in the United States and abroad. "(*The White House*). Albeit numerous obstacles, he succeeded to become the 45<sup>th</sup> president of the United States, embodying the figure of the American dream.

# 3.1 Donald's Trump Entry into Politics

Donald Trump is known as being the 45<sup>th</sup> United States American President. He served as president for only one term (2016-2021); he ran for a second term in 2021, but Joe Biden, Democrat Party candidate, defeated him.

Trump's views on politics began a long time before his official nomination to the 2016 United States of America's presidential elections. He officially made public his running for the 2016 presidential elections at the Trump Tower in New York, on 16th June 2015, where he pronounced these words: "Ladies and Gentleman, I am officially running for president of the United States, and we are going to make our country great again." (*Time*) Before this formal candidature, he had many times made attempts to go for being president.

1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Translated from : "Gagner n'était pas l'un des buts de la vie, mais l'unique" (Bercroff 138)

According to the fourth episode, "Politics," a Netflix documentary entitled: "Trump: An American Dream" retraced Trump's personal and professional life. This last episode is dedicated to his political career, supported by testimonials of people who interacted with him. His insights in politics started in 1987 but did not go further, and it said that it served as a strategy to promote his book *The Art of Deal*, published within the same year. The second time was in 1999, when he showed a more profound concern in it by joining the Reform Party, but he did not go further. His campaign advisor of that year, Roger Stone, reported that Donald Trump said that in order to win a presidential election, we should be from one of the two major parties. In 2011, he joined the Republican party, and Peter Costanzo, who introduced Donald Trump to Twitter, asserts that, in addition to his popular show "The Apprentice" that made him better known in America, Twitter highly influenced Donald Trump interests in Politics, since many people on his Twitter account started to ask him to run for the presidency because, by his leadership, he would bring back the prestige of America. In 2011, the Republican party criticized the candidature of Barack Obama for a second term of presidency, and Trump embraced him by asking him to release his birth certificate. On 30th April of the same year, at White House Correspondent Dinner, Barack Obama became known having roasted Donald Trump by inviting him to focus on more critical issues.

Trump did not become a candidate for the 2012 presidential elections of the United States because he always said that he would never run if he was not sure of winning. The White House Correspondent Diner of 30<sup>th</sup> April 2011, available on the YouTube channel of C-SPAN, where Barack Obama's mocking became known as the triggering factor of the election of Trump as the 45<sup>th</sup> president of the United States in November 2016.

By becoming the 45<sup>th</sup> president of the USA, Trump became known as one of the most controversial presidents of the century. Throughout the second chapter of our research, we will deal with how his policy shaped America during his term, by focusing on the aspects of

Puritanism that we consider are implicitly rooted in Trump's personality and highly influenced his way of dealing.

### 3.2 Donald Trump's Faith

To the question how he identifies his faith, he replayed: "I'm Protestant, I'm Presbyterian, and I go to church, and I love God, and I love my church." (Broody.118)

To discuss the faith of Trump, we turned to the book: *The Faith of Donald. J Trump, a Spiritual Biography* written by David Brody and Scott Lamb. The authors attempt to understand the philosophy that shaped the worldview of Trump without relying on his actions. Indeed, the book is divided into two parts. The first discusses the background and how his beliefs became important in his 2016 campaign and his first days in office, the second part discusses how his beliefs played an essential role in his campaign and the first months of his administration.

Donald is the son of Fred and Marry Anne Trump. The two parents were not American born and were committed to two different Protestant branches. Fred was Lutheran, while Mary Presbyterian; Donald is said to have inherited the work ethic from his father Lutheran views, "Donald Trump said this about Fred: "It's because of him that I learned, from my youngest age, to respect the dignity of work and the dignity of working people." (Brody. 22) and, from his mother, he inherited Presbyterianism, a faith that influenced the establishment of the American colonies to the revolutionary war and is the basis of the emergence of evangelicalism in 1970.

During his childhood and teenage years, Trump frequented the oldest Presbyterian Church in America, the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica, Queens. This church was founded by the persons who left England in the 17<sup>th</sup> century to seek religious freedom, the Puritans. From this church, the President received a confirmation in June 1959. The certificate of church membership means that the member proclaimed Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour.

Indeed, Donald Trump never joined the Presbyterian Church after he quited it, yet he has had never proclaimed any hostility towards his religion nor the Bible during his life.

# Conclusion

This chapter provided a small insight to the main points we will discuss in our coming chapter, which is the emergence of the Puritan movement, how and why did the puritans leave England to go to America, their influence in nowadays American thinking and Donald Trump. By providing this short overview which aims to make our readers more familiar with our themes, we will examine in our coming chapter the influence of Puritans in one of the most emblematic personalities within these last years in America, Donald Trump.

# Chapter II: The Heritage of Puritanism in Donald Trump's America

#### Introduction

In this chapter, we will focus on the Puritan heritage that shaped the policy of the United States of America during the term of Donald Trump. The emphasis will be put on Trump, attempting to examine deeply his character in relation the Puritan heritage. In so doing, we will discuss the following question: was Trump an impostor, a liar, a mad man? Or did he simply want to make America great again according to his beliefs and values?

Our study is going to be supported by different readings. The chapter is divided into three sections. First, we will we will examine the influence of Puritans on Trump's imagination. Second, we will put an emphasis on Evangelicals influence on the immigration plan of the President. Finally, we will discuss his relations with Israel.

# 1. America's Contemporary John Winthrop

In this section, we will identify the Puritan aspects that have implicitly shaped Trump. Indeed, his name was not unknown before becoming president since he had always been an emblematic figure due to his achievements and scandals. Yet, even if he faced challenges, he never gave up and came back stronger. "Long time before he was for the US presidency, Donald Trump was a most famous and colourful billionaire" (*BBC News*). In fact, Trump's love for money seems contradictory to the Puritan's plain lifestyle. Yet, in the 21st century, the symbol of success and prosperity becomes money, while the era of Winthrop it was to please God.

### 1.1 The Puritan Mindset of Donald Trump

Think Like a Champion is one of the several books written by Trump that portray the secrets of this symbol of success. There, Trump gives some pieces of advice to people who want

to achieve great things in life. Indeed, by taking his words objectively, we aim to examine the puritan heritage that we see influenced his career as a businessman and later as a president.

In the book, Trump puts an essential emphasis on the virtues of hard-working and good discipline that permitted him to climb the ladder.

Being able to think on your feet is the result of training and discipline. You can't sprint unless you have built up the strength to do so. Building the stamina is up to you. If you don't work at it, it's not going to happen by wishful thinking. You have to dedicate yourself to it every day. In other words, set a goal and work toward it. (Trump. 20).

Notably, Nina Kang stands in her article "Puritanism and Its Impact Upon American Values" that hard-working was an essential tenet of Puritan theology and that value influenced modern America. According to the Puritans, the value of hard-working followed by success is a sign of God's Grace. This value is rooted in the minds of nowadays Americans and success is a sign of prosperity, and Trump is one of the best examples. "Do it right now, and then see other people saying, "I wish I'd thought of that—what a great idea!" You'd be surprised how many good ideas you might have if you'd give yourself the opportunity to think about them. Thinking takes time. It's the preparation for being able to think on your feet. First things first: First we walk, then we run, then we sprint." (IBID. 20)

In addition to hard-working as Puritan heritage, education, as a social value, is also essential in Puritan theology, according to Kang.

"Never think of learning as being a burden or studying as being boring. It may require some discipline, but it can be an adventure. It can also prepare you for a new beginning. Notice the first word in my Think Big credo: Think. That's the first step. Use everything in your power to utilize and develop that capability, and you'll be in for some great surprises." (Broody. 17)

Yet, Trump, in his own words, claims that he is a true advocator of knowledge.

These Puritan aspects, especially hard-working, made Trump a person who always wanted to go further. And, without having any experience in the political field, he succeeded to become president of the United States of America; Of course, this support is not only due to his hard worker mindset, but he also needed pillars, and among groups who supported him, we find the conservative Christian community or commonly known as White Evangelicals. This could be well illustrated in the case of Stephen E. Strang, a Christian journalist, where in his recent book *God*, *Trump*, *and the 2020 election: Why He Must Win and What's at Stake for Christians if He Loses* shows his strong support and the one of the Evangelicals for the re-election of Donald Trump. For them, he must win the election, since he was the only hope for America to restore its glorious past.

But, before developing this point in our coming sections, we need to explain whom we mean by the Evangelicals? According to the National Association of Evangelicals website, Evangelicals are people of faith attached to conservative values relying on the Bible only and followers of Jesus Christ. Yet, David Bebbington identifies Evangelicals through these four characteristics: Conversionism, activism, Biblicism and Crucicentrism.

In his book, Strang devotes the entire part III to the spiritual dimension of Trump. He compares him to some biblical figures such as Cyrus and Jehu. Cyrus: "Jonathan Cahn, the author of The Harbinger, also sees a connection. He says, "Trump's proclamation concerning Jerusalem holds striking parallels to the decree of the Persian king Cyrus as recorded in the Bible." (156) Jehu: "I believe Trump's presidency is just as critical to our nation's future. Yes, this president is unconventional. But like Jehu, he has brought needed reforms that have helped preserve our nation and our freedoms." (160)

We also find many prophecies about Trump, Strang asserts that Trump is a blessing for America.

The number of prophecies about Donald Trump, many of which have gone viral, is one of the reasons Trump received so much support from the Christian community, especially Charismatics and Pentecostals. Not only is Trump a champion of religious freedom who is keeping his promises, but there is also a sense that somehow, some way, God is behind this real estate developer from Queens. (169)

The depiction of Trump in *God, Trump and the 2020 election* reminds us of the aspects of puritanism: Man is inherently evil, Puritans are the chosen people of God. Our analysis gets solidified because of the Evangelicals support, who are themselves, descendants of Puritans, "The debate over whether "America is a Christian nation" will forever reference Winthrop's thesis. And the debate gets fierce, even among evangelicals. But one thing that unites all evangelicals is the desire to defend and even expand religious liberty." (Broody. 48) <sup>2</sup>

### 1.2 Donald Trump, Nowadays John Winthrop

Trump the only Presidents of the United States of America who went viral due to the complexity of his character and mainly his inexperience in the political domain. On January 20th, 2017, Trump addressed Americans as their official 45th United States of America president. In his inaugural speech, he pointed out that his focal points would only be on America and Americans as stated his slogan "America First".

The early history of America tells that Puritans played an essential role in shaping America's way of life and thinking. "Puritans were America's First very serious people" (Sleeper. "Our Puritan Heritage"). One of the most important figures that influenced this thinking

<sup>2</sup> For further information regarding White Evangelical's support for Trump and the spiritual dimension surrounding him, we advise reading Stephen E. Strang's latest book, *God, Trump, and the 2020 election: Why He Must Win and What's at Stake for Christians if He Loses.* 

20

is John Winthrop, the governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Our purpose in this part is to find the similarities shared between the latter and Trump. The question is: Is Trump the modern version of Winthrop of today's America? This comparison can be considered senseless, yet we aim to point out some points we believe the two men have in common.

To deal with these similarities, we will not be examining the early lives of the two men, even if they share some common points such as being born in wealthy families and married several. Yet, our focal point through this section is the authoritative thinking that made many scholars sceptical about them. As a case study, we take Trump' inaugural speech and Winthrop's "Christian Modell Charity" sermon.

Though, before showing these similarities, we have appointed, we need to make our readers aware that the whole world has changed since Winthrop's era. When the Puritans put their feet on American soil in 1630, the world was full of religious conflicts. The prime problems faced were mainly about religion; furthermore, before the establishment of the colonies, America belonged to its native community. Yet, the colonies aimed to make wealth. Still, the goal of the reformers who left their homelands was to escape religious persecutions and to aspire for religious freedom, as done by the group of the Puritans that settled on Massachusetts Bay Colony. On the other hand, we have the Trump's era, 391 years after the settlement of the Puritans, where things have entirely changed since nowadays, power in the world's problems are no more about religion but the economy.

To come back to our point, here are the words of two men that marked the history of America. On the one hand, we have Trump's inaugural speech defined by Vox media as a Jeremiad whose Puritans were known to rally people. And, on the other hand, we have Winthrop's sermon "City Upon a Hill". Through these two examples, we aim our readers to focus on how powerful words can influence and be understood through centuries through these selected extracts.

Extract (1) from Winthrop's sermon "City Upon a Hill":

We must be knit together in this work as one man, we must entertain each other in brotherly affection, we must be willing to abridge ourselves of our superfluities for the supply of others' necessities, we must uphold a familiar commerce together in all meekness, gentleness, patience, and liberality, we must delight in each other, make others' conditions our own, rejoice together, mourn together, labor, and suffer together, always having before our eyes our commission and community in the work, our community as members of the same body, so shall we keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace (*World Wide History*).

Extract (1) from Trump's inaugural speech: "We are one nation, and their pain is our pain, their dreams are our dreams, we share one nation, one home and one glorious destiny." (*Belfast Telegraph*).

The first selected extract shows the importance given to the nation's unity in the words of both Winthrop and Trump. According to our analysis, even if it can seem contradictory, both of them knew that to prosper, the unity of one nation sharing the same goals and principles are the key. In the case of Winthrop, foreigners represented a threat to the initial mission of the colony, which is to establish " the City of God". While in Trump's rhetoric, America's glorious past does no more exist, and one of the factors that contributed to that is when America started to welcome people who do not embody the values of this idea.

Extract (2) from Winthrop's sermon "City Upon a Hill":

For we must consider that we shall be as a city upon a 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. (*World Wide History*).

Extract (2) from Trump's inaugural speech:

We will seek friendship and goodwill with the nations of the world, but we do so with the understanding that it is the right of all nations to put their own interests first. We do not seek to impose our way of life on anyone, but rather to let it shine as an example. We will shine for everyone to follow. (Trump).

In our second extract, we will analyse Winthrop's "City Upon a Hill", an expression which is considered as foundation of American exceptionalism. Winthrop aspired a holy place where people had to work hard to establish a thriving city in all the fields that would serve as a model for the world to follow. However, the city that Winthrop wanted to make did not prosper as expected because the Puritans became materialistic. By turning to a worldly life, they moved away from the practice of faith they were looking for in America. So, this materialistic thinking shaped with time what would become known as the land of "The American Dream", where people can make their dreams true. Trump is one of these Americans who perfectly portray "The American Dream", "We will shine for everyone to follow." (Trump). These words remind of those articulated centuries before by Winthrop advancing that America must be an example in the whole world.

To finish with our small comparison between the two men, we can say their purposes were different due to the long lapse of time that separates them from one another, but both of them wanted one thing: making America a strong nation to be followed in the whole world.

# 2. Donald Trump the Nativist

In this section, we will seek to link the puritan heritage of Trump to his immigration plan. We aim to show how the United States of America embody a paradoxical concept about

immigration and how this paradox goes back to those who fled persecution in England to seek religious freedom and subsequently became the persecutors in their turn, the Puritans.

#### 2.1 An Old Unusable Past

"Rebuilding our country with American hands and American Labor. We will follow two simple rules, by American and hire American" (Trump)

The election of Donald Trump in 2016 made him the head of the executive branch in the senate, so he became the most powerful man in America. Indeed, from his first days in office, he started implementing the words he claimed during his whole campaign and inaugural speech; he started working on his plan to "Make America Great Again", and one focal point was his immigration plan that targeted to build a wall with the Mexican borders and Muslim banishments.

"The article tells the story of an idea. It is an old idea, an ugly idea, a discredited idea", this is how Jared A. Goldstein introduced his article "Unfit for constitution: Nativism And the constitution from founding fathers to Donald Trump". In this article, the author tries to show how nowadays United States of America is so committed to the idea that only some categories of people deserve the privilege to be American, and the fact that this idea goes back to the time of the Founding fathers and continues to influence today's constitution. By providing a summary of this article, we aim to give a general background about Immigration that will help us to show that Donald Trump is a modern representative of this old idea. And, we also seek to focus on some points that relate to American nativism to Puritans.

The first part focuses on the conception of scholars about the meaning of nationalism, whether it bases on the origin or civic values. The author points out that the significance of National identity in America has always been complex to figure out because some people are considered being true Americans, and others foreign Americans. Barack Obama defines the

American identity as follows: "what binds this nation together is not the colours of our skin or the tenets of our faith or the origins of our names. What makes us exceptional what makes us American-is our allegiance to an idea." (08) Many other scholars, such as Gunal Myrdal, and Hans Khon in his book: *American Nationalism* agree with this definition of what is called American nationalism based on civic values. Indeed, American Nationalism is also known as Constitutional Nationalism, since what makes the people of America united is their loyalty to the principles of the Constitution. Indeed, according to scholars and many American political leaders, the basis of the Constitution since its founding is being capable of embracing its principles of individual liberty and human equality. Yet, an American historian named Roger Smith challenges this belief in constitutional nationalism since ethnic values play an essential role in the conception of national identity since it is a fool of paradoxes, according to history.

In the second part, the author gives a general background about the history of nativism in the United States of America by enumerating all the nativist movements that arose, from the Founding Fathers to the passage of the National Origins Act in 1924. This part is divided into two sub-parts and aims to prove that American leaders have been contradictory about the principles that shape the constitution through historical facts.

The sub-part A describes Benjamin Franklin, one of the American Founding Fathers, as a man who believed that the republican principles belonged only to white British figures and excluded all other races, "Franklin further argued that it was not merely whites who should be preferred, but British subjects alone should be allowed to immigrate, while Germans (whom he referred to as "Palatines") should be excluded." (502). This belief is the basis of the Naturalization Act in 1790, which describes an American citizen as a white freeman who supports the principles of the constitution. It also serves as a defence to justify all the tortures made on Natives and Africans, "Belief in the uniquely British capacity for self-government also served to of Africans and the conquest and displacement justify the enslavement of Native

Americans, because those peoples were understood to lack the capacity of self-government." (504). Later, the Known Nothing Party, a party opposed to immigration, tried unsuccessfully to exclude the Irish Catholic immigrants followed by an agreement between both parties in Congress to exclude the Chinese by the enaction of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882.

In sub-part B, the author informs us about the increase of immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe to the United States in the 19th century. The latter initiates the apprehension of many native-born Americans and sees the rise of two nativist movements that shared different views about immigration. On one side, the Americanization movement espouses the melting pot idea; it aims to make immigrants from different ethnicities assimilate the constitutional principles. Indeed, it decreases at the end of the First World War since many immigrants stay loyal to their native values, and because of the growth of the feeling of xenophobia in the United States, at the end of the war. On the other side, the Immigration Restriction League, better known as (IRL), seeks to exclude all immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe; According to them, foreigners bring socialism, Catholicism and lack the capacities of self-government because of the virtues of their races.

The main objective of IRL was the implementation of a literacy test to exclude all unwanted immigrants to identify people who could embrace the American way of life. A bill was introduced in congress by senator Henry Cabot Lodge and passed both Houses. Then, because of the vetoes of President Clevland, the "Hillingam Commission" was established to study the question of immigration. The commission ended up with the creation of the *Dictionary of Races and People* and arguing with IRL with the fact that the test is the only method to restrict immigration to people who might represent a threat to the United States. Thus, the Bill finished by passing in congress after many vetoes.

Later, in 1919 the nativist and IRL member, Albert Johnson, became chairman of the House Immigration Committee, and by so, the advocators of immigration gained control in

congress. By 1921, the Emergency Quota Act restricted annual immigration by 3% to immigrants coming from Southern and Eastern Europe. Finally, in 1924, The National Origins Act was passed to protect white rule in the United States by allocating quotas on immigration according to origins (79% of immigrants came from Northern and Western Europe while only 15% were from Southern and Eastern Europe).

In addition to the quotas, the act prohibited immigration to all the people illegible for naturalization. "In determining who the American people are, African Americans, Asian Americans, Mexican Americans, and Native American simply and literally did not count." (504); by adopting the National Origins Act, nativism and white rule became the official policy of the United States of America.

In the last part of this article, the author portrays the persistence of the nativist movement since the passage of the Immigration and National Identity Act in 1965 that aimed to make the American constitution more adequate to its principles to the era of Trump.

In subpart A, the author shows that during the Second World War, American leaders started to proclaim that national identity meant a dedication to the principles of the constitution only. Franklin Roosevelt himself claimed that in paradoxical times wherein America segregation reigned. In his book, *An American Dilemma*, Gunnar Myrdal indicates that national identity is a commitment to common values referring to the growing feeling of acceptance of race-neutral conception in America at that time. Indeed, President Truman declared that the National Origins Act contradicts the nation fundamental principles; yet, this veto was unsuccessful since the majority in congress stood committed to the idea of limiting immigration. This veto led to the implementation of a commission to suggest new immigration legislation where both parties recognized the inconsistencies with national values. When elected, President Kennedy made the immigration issue a priority in his agenda. And, at his assassination, President Johnson continued on the same path urging congress to overturn the National Origins system. Finally, in 1965, the

Immigration and Nationality Identity Act was passed in congress; the latter prohibited discrimination.

In subpart B, the author indicates that for decades after the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Identity Act, white nationalists and other nativist movements viewed the act as a betrayal regarding the constitution's values. Among these movements, the Federation for American Immigration Reform sees that immigration should be based on race and ethnic origins and share the belief that Latin Americans and Asians destroy the American system and culture; In other words, the nativist movement stood committed to the ideas of Known Nothing Party and IRL. This feeling came back to the scene in the nineties; the campaign of Patrick Buchanan and his nativist agenda to the nominations of the Republican Party made a kind of revival of the belief.

The last subpart of the article is about President Trump. In the first part, the author introduces the nativist constitutional positions of the campaign of Trump. First, he points out the fact that he supported the Obama Birther charge claimed by the Tea Party, then the nativist themes of his campaign (Building a wall on the Mexico border and Muslims banishments), and the author emphasizes the fact that the nativist themes of his campaign are similar to the ones of Patrick Buchanan. Finally, he refers to the circle surrounding the president like Steeve Bannon, Donald Trump's campaign manager, and later Senior White House advisor, Jeff Sessions, who drafted his immigration policy with long-standing nativist views (worked with FAIR and praised the National Origins Act of 1924). Furthermore, the praise of the conservative press with the publication of *In Trump We Trust* by Ann Coulter who embodies nativist constitutional beliefs.

The author focuses on Donald Trump's executive order regarding Muslim banishments allegedly considered incompatible with the constitution in the second part. The order claimed that it aims to protect national security to those who bear hostile attitudes to the constitution

and its founding principles. The attacks of 09/11/2001 resulted in hostility towards Muslims in the United States of America and saw the rise of anti-Muslim activists who see Islam as a religion of violence and the fact that it strives to replace modern democracies. This hostility focuses on "Sharia", described as a totalitarian ideology incompatible with the constitution. "The primary purveyors of this claim include most centrally Frank Gaffney of the Center for Security Policy, David Yerushalmi of the Society of Americans for National Existence, Daniel Pipes at the Middle East Forum, Robert Spencer of Jihad Watch and Stop Islamization of America, and Steven Emerson of the Investigative Project." (552)

However, the election of Donald Trump brought this belief from the margins to the White House, mocking Bush's claiming that Islam is a religion of peace. Later, Tea Party groups, Research Council joined the claim. In addition to political figures like Andrew Mc Carthy, Newt Gringrich, Jeff Sessions and Ben Carson. In 2017, Trump expressed clearly, that he would work on excluding immigrants who hate the United States of America and expressed strong support for reducing illegal immigration by restricting the number of family visas.

In short, the claims of Trump and his administration regarding the fact that skinned immigrants (Latin Americans and Muslims) seek to destroy American prosperity and culture rejects the claims of the Nationality and Immigration Act of 1965.

In "Unfit for constitution: Nativism and the Constitution, from the Founding Fathers to Donald Trump", we referred to, two important points related to our analysis: Benjamin Franklin and Immigration Restriction League (IRL). Why do we consider them essential? To try to answer this question, we took a look at the biography of Benjamin Franklin. We noticed that he was educated according to Puritan's principles even if he later rejected the doctrine. Nevertheless, he acted on the same principles, especially when the subject comes to immigration; "Traditions of American nativism predate the establishment of the United States. In 1751, Benjamin Franklin expressed his belief that immigration to the American colonies

should be limited to "the lovely white" and should exclude "all blacks and tawneys." (Goldstein. 502). Indeed, additionally to Benjamin Franklin, we have two other founding fathers, John Adams and Alexander Hamilton, who are descendants of Puritan settlers. Furthermore, the following extract from the third chapter; Pilgrims and Puritans and the Myth of the Promised Land of the book *The Myths That Made America* by Paul Hike, the Puritan's influence on the foundation of the United States can be strengthened, "Throughout the 19th century, the laudatory commemorations of the Pilgrims and Puritans in public and political discourse continued, and "by the end of the century the Puritans were generally regarded as the founders of American democracy" (Hall, "Introduction" 1). This hegemonic discourse is obviously exclusionary – for one thing, because it is profoundly racialized." (Heike. 167)

The second point is the Immigration Restriction League, known as (IRL) founded by three Harvard graduates, Charles Warren, Robert DeCourcy and Prescott Farnsworth Hall. We consider this point essential since Puritans were known for being instructed people who saw in education a major issue to make their children read the Bible; this want for instruction leads them to establish many references for nowadays higher education in America, among them "Harvard" that was founded by the Massachusetts Bay Company.

The article clearly shows that Trump is far from the first American leader who shared hostility toward illegible immigration. The election of Trump is considered a boom after eight years of Barack Obama's administration which sought to please, nowadays liberal Americans. Through this election, power did not just shift from one party to another, though it saw a revival of a ghost who never really left America, nativism.

Puritans left England in the 17th century to seek religious freedom, yet they never were tolerant towards other's beliefs; Their efforts to preserve their beliefs as being the "Chosen People" of God made them shift from the persecuted to the persecutors. Furthermore, this belief has shaped the American nativism views.

# 2.2 Donald Trump, Evangelicals and Puritans

Daniel A. Morris, in his article "Religion in the Age of Donald Trump", reflects the Evangelicals' hostility towards Muslims and the election of Donald Trump in 2016.

To discuss the problem of Evangelicals with Muslims, the author discusses the historical context of Evangelicalism with their belief in Godly participation, tendency to exclude others and the fact that 80% of them voted for Donald Trump in the 2016 election.

The author takes the Puritans as an example to underline the similarities with the Evangelicals; both of them believe that their sense of religion must guide American politics and their tendency to exclude others. Evangelicals have always thought that, to protect America, their morality should shape American policy. Yet, they saw retreatment after the Civil War until the mid-70s when they came back to the scene with the formation of the Religious Right, "a coalition of conservative evangelicals who resisted the perceived liberalism of the counterculture, the sexual revolution, the Supreme Court ruling in Roe v. Wade, and the civil rights movement." (Morris. 18). Through this coalition, Evangelicals embrace American conservativism because their religious morals and visions stay committed to the idea that others should be excluded from political positions.

At the end of the article, the author shows the lack of coherence of Evangelicals voting for Trump because his positions contradict their basic tenets. Indeed, the author points out that Evangelicals saw Donald Trump as a better choice than Hillary Clinton, citing Eric Metaxas, a prominent Evangelical writer urging people to vote for Trump. And, he shows that evangelicals and Trump shared a common point about Muslims, because they are illegible with the constitution.

In his book, Strang urges Christians to vote for Trump in the 2020 election, considering him the only hope to save America. All along with the chapters, the author offers Christians

reasons why the 2020 election will be decisive. He strengthens his claims by referring to White Evangelicals who see the President as a saviour of the nation.

In chapter four, "God Loves Borders," he first shows that Trump is not the first President to see immigration as a threat,

Critics may complain about our president's bold agenda to build a wall, but many of them don't realize this concept isn't new, and the president inherited a mess. The debate surrounding illegal immigration—and even talk of building a fence—goes back as far as Ronald Reagan's presidency. Construction of a fourteen-mile stretch of fence along the San Diego-Tijuana border began during George H. W. Bush's administration and continued into Bill Clinton's first term. In 2006, during George W. Bush's administration, the Secure Fence Act authorized hundreds more miles of fencing." (Strang. 65)

Then, he describes borders as God's will to protect the nation. To support his view, he refers to some Evangelicals, among them Mathew Hagee, who described the Bible as a book of Borders.

Through the words of Morris and Strang, we see that the similar point between Donald Trump and evangelicals is intolerance towards Muslims, who are considered a threat to the nation's unity because of their "Sharia" and "Jihad" laws, and Mexicans, seen as people who seek to destroy the American culture. Meanwhile, evangelicals used to exclude others, and here is an extract from the article that shows it: "The assumption that Muslims cannot be good participants in American democracy is consistent with evangelical views from earlier eras about black people, Catholics, and other groups. It is an intolerant and factually ill-informed assumption, but it is consistent with evangelicals' engagement of politics." (Morris. 20)

This evangelist view towards others is very similar to the ones of Puritans. Yet, Puritans did not tolerate any other belief than theirs. They used their rhetoric of the Chosen People of God to justify first all the horrors made on the natives like the ones of the Pequot War; "The Pequot War shows that the interaction of the Puritans with the indigenous population was far

less peaceful than that of the Pilgrims in the first decades, and the ruthlessness with which it was fought reveals the brutality of English colonialism even (or especially) when it is cloaked as religious destiny, as in the case of the Puritans' quest for the Promised Land." (Heike.156) Then, the preservation of their "holy commonwealth" was through banishments of many of Massachusetts Bay Colony settlers, because they did not share the same views.

### 2.3 The Hope of White Evangelicals

In the following extract from chapter six, Strang agrees that Trump is an imperfect leader, yet he also proves that the former President has the virtue of keeping his promises, especially when the subject is conservative principles that matter in the Evangelical belief.

Despite his past mistakes and failures—or perhaps because of them—he wants to do the right thing. Whatever one thinks of him, it is undeniable that when it comes to defending life, defending the rights of Christians, and defending Israel, he is seeking to act in a way that is right and advances good. (Strang. 99)

In chapter seven, the author points out these promises that are: supporting pro-life issues like declaring war against abortion, and ending sex traffic through illegal immigration, appointing conservative judges on the Supreme Court, supporting religious Freedom and mainly upholding conservative values through recognizing Jerusalem as Israel's capital, a significant point for evangelicals that we will develop in our coming section.

We aim to show that it becomes clear that Trump did not just change his strategy but seems to appreciate his new circle, which, according to him, is the way to make America closer to its true principles that used to make America a great nation.

At the end of this section, we conclude that Donald Trump did nothing other than making America closer to its nativist founding principles. The connection and evolution with the white evangelicals strengthen this point, especially regarding the question of immigration.

# 3. Donald Trump, Israel's Best Friend

The relationship between The United States of America and Israel has long been delicate, especially during the Obama years. However, with the Trump administration, these relations strengthened, making Benjamin Netanyahu describe Trump as the best friend that Israel has ever had.

## 3.1 Puritans and Typology

All along with this study, we have been referring to Puritanism. In the first chapter, we have given a brief insight into the Puritan belief in England and America. However, we have not mentioned an essential aspect of this theology which is Typology.

Typology is a complicated term to understand and define since it needs a deep understanding of the Bible. However, it is commonly defined as the interpretation of the New Testament in the light of the Old Testament. In other terms, events and persons found in the Old Testament are seen to prefigure one found in the New Testament, "Typology involves identification both of a *type* or *figura*, a figure, concept, ceremony, or event as an Old Testament precursor, and an *anti-type*, a New Testament historical figure or event that follows and fulfills the promise of the type." (*Donna M. Campbell*).

Puritans used to identify their actions and the events with that occurred to the Hebrew people blessed by God in the Old Testament. The following extract from Katia Batut doctoral thesis entitled "Contemporary Christian Zionism in the United States, between Religion." portrays well what we mean,

The Puritans, who were fleeing European persecution, identified with the Hebrew people. They made a parallel with the Exodus by imagining themselves to be persecuted by Pharaoh. King Charles I represented this tyrannical Pharaoh, for persecuting the Puritans who left England in the 17th century. Like a second exodus, they crossed the Atlantic, that other Red

Sea, preserving Jewish customs like the Sabbath. While Moses had led the Hebrew people to the Promised Land, John Winthrop led the Puritans to America aboard the Arbella to their new "Zion". In 1630, this new land became the "City on a Hill". In his sermon, aboard the ship, he declared that "the God of Israel was with them" and that "all eyes were on them." William Bradford, on the other hand, quoted Jeremiah 51:10 when descending from the Mayflower. (Batut. 46-47) <sup>3</sup>

# 3.2 Evangelicals and Their Support for Israel

As previously stated, one of the most important promises fulfilled by Donald Trump regarding Evangelicals is recognising Jerusalem as Israel's Capital. This recognition became official on December the 6th,2017, by moving the US embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

The issue of Israel is a pillar in Evangelical's belief. Katia Batut, in her doctoral thesis entitled "Contemporary Christian Zionism in the United States, between Religion and Politics." deals with the progression of Christian Zionism, or most commonly known as fundamentalist Evangelicalism, from a religious sphere to political engagement, focusing on John Hagee and his circle including the members of his organisation: Christians United For Israel and his assembly: Cornerstone Church which is a movement that gathers fundamentalist Evangelicals who obey Genesis 12:3 saying that it is necessary to bless Israel to be blessed in return.

Batut defines Hagee as a fundamental evangelical who is opposed to the values of modernism which emerged with the rise of Charles Darwin's theory since it questions the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> My translation : Les puritains, qui fuyaient les persécutions européennes, s'identifièrent au peuple hébreu. Ils firent un parallèle avec l'Exode en s'imaginant être persécutés par Pharaon. Le roi Charles I er représentait ce pharaon tyrannique, lequel persécutait les puritains qui quittaient l'Angleterre au XVIIe siècle. Tel un second exode, ils franchirent l'Atlantique, cette autre mer Rouge, en préservant des coutumes juives comme le

shabbat. Alors que Moïse avait mené le peuple hébreu vers la Terre promise, John Winthrop emmena les puritains en Amérique à bord de l'Arbella en direction de leur nouvelle « Sion ». En 1630, cette nouvelle terre devint la « Cité sur la Coline » (City upon a hill). Lors de son sermon, sur son vaisseau, il déclara que le « Dieu d'Israël était avec eux » et que « tous les regards étaient sur eux ». Les colons ne pouvaient donc plus manquer l'appel de Dieu

veracity of the Bible. Fundamentals' support for Israel relies on the fact that Israel plays an essential role in fulfilling the prophecy of the end of times following Apocalypse interpretation and the belief takes its roots from Puritans; "Christian Zionism has an American genesis (but also British origins, as we shall see), since the Puritans, upon arriving in America, were already spreading a particular vision of Israel, linked to Manifest Destiny." (Batut. 45) <sup>4</sup>

The rhetoric of John Hagee and his circle resembles the one of the Puritans' idea of America as the Promised Land of God, convinced of the divine the mission to enlighten the world and protect Israel; "For them, America became the emblem of the great nation of a mythical destiny, and the Hebrew state became the emblem of the tiny nation: Israel is God's first and chosen Little Promised Land, and the United States is God's second Great Promised Land. In this vision, Greater America must defend its little Israeli sister." (Batut. 53) <sup>5</sup>

# **3.3** The Supernatural Election

Katia Batut thesis, published in 2014, two years before the election of Trump, maintains that the United States and Israel are divinely interlaced; America must help Israel because of their shared destiny of being the Promised Lands. The election of a good president of the United States sharing the same politico-religious principles as John Hagee's circle can help fulfil this mission. (54)

Three years later, the hope of Hagee became a reality by the win of the Republican candidate who promised to proclaim Jerusalem as Israel's capital by moving the United States embassy to the latter. When asked about the New Trump administration by Eric Stakelbeck in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> My translation : "Le sionisme chrétien possède une genèse américaine (mais également des origines britanniques, nous le verrons), puisque les puritains, en arrivant en Amérique, propageaient déjà une vision particulière d'Israël, liée à la Destinée Manifeste."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> My translation : "Pour eux, l'Amérique se fait alors l'emblème de la grande nation d'un destin mythique et l'État hébreu se fait celui de la petite nation : Israël est la Petite Terre promise première et élue de Dieu et les États-Unis représentent la Grande Terre promise seconde. Dans cette vision, la grande Amérique doit défendre sa petite soeur israélienne."

2017, Hagee affirmed his enthusiasm regarding Trump's election, claiming that it was time for America to back to its roots. In addition to that, he referenced the election of Trump as a Godsent gift to the nation,

Mr Trump broke out of the pack of all those republican candidates when he started supporting Israel; he started making very bold statements that he would be a defender of Israel, that he would move the embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem that he would be a defender of Israel and that's when he started going up in the polls. I believe that's when God Almighty got involved in this electoral process, appointed him by the very supernatural power of heaven because the Bible says the Lord raises up a leader and God puts down a leader. And then everyone saying there is a supernatural element, I assure you that when Donald Trump started saying good things about Israel, the winds of Heaven got behind his political sails and pushed him right to the White House. (*Christians United for Israel*) <sup>6</sup>

Hagee is not the only evangelical who believe that God has elected Trump to save America. In his book, Strang has cited many other figures who share this belief already cited in the first part of this current chapter. Clingendael Spectators defines the relation between The United States and Israel as a specific relationship first because of their shared strategic interests and influence on American Jews and Evangelical Christians and their shared similarities in historical development and values. After 08 years of the complicated relationship between the two nations because of the administration of Barack Obama, the election of Trump lead the country to become Israel's best friend. This relation is not only a matter of Christians Evangelicals perception, since the former presidential administration did not only move the embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. Nevertheless, it also recognised The Golan Heights as Israel's territory shared mutual views according to Iran Nuclear Deal and a close military collaboration.

 $<sup>^6</sup>$  The whole video is available on this link: https://cufi.org/issue/part-1-pastor-john-hagee-president-trumps-support-israel-need-keep-jerusalem-unified/

#### **Conclusion**

In this chapter, we have discussed the three main points that, according to us, link Trump to the Puritan Heritage left within the American society. It aimed to examine first this legacy according to Trump's perseverance in the value of hard-working. Then, we have tried to show the reasons for Trump's harsh immigration agenda. Finally, we have pointed out the new friendly relation with the nation of Israel. Nevertheless, our focus on depicting this Puritan heritage living within Trump regarded his relationship with Evangelicals.

At the end of this chapter, we can say that what we here in television and the real world are two different realities. The harsh character of Trump made him a target to attain. Throughout his term, he played the card to go back to the profound principles of America, sometimes using hostile attitudes, but this did not make him be an impostor, but to be the original version of America.

### **General Conclusion**

This dissertation has as a primary aim to examine the Puritan heritage on the paradoxical personality of Trump. Our focus goes to the Christian Evangelical base, whose spirit stem from the Puritan theology.

The first chapter of this work aims to provide our readers with a general overview of the Reformation in Europe, which gave rise to the Puritan movement in England. Then we show the reasons that pushed Puritans to go to America, who profoundly influenced the actual American culture. Finally, the last part of this chapter is dedicated to Donald Trump, where we discussed his early life, his entry into politics, and his faith.

The second chapter is an exploratory and analytical chapter where we have tried to depict the Puritan heritage of Trump. In the first part, we deal with the aspects of Puritanism within Trump's way of life. Then, we point out the Nativist agenda of Trump's administration and try to show that even if the idea can be paradoxical, it represents the profound roots of the American culture that the Puritans implemented. Finally, we discuss the specific relation with Israel during the term of Trump.

Through dealing with this research, we observed that the symbolic personality of Trump, mainly modelled by the media considering him a catastrophe of the values of American freedom has highly been exaggerated. The accession of Trump to the White House came after eight years Barack Obama's administration who played the card of pleasing everybody, especially the young category, which was freer spirited and saw the values and principles as old-fashioned. The election of Trump came and suited another type of people who were more attached to the principles of America, namely, and the latter is not as much mediatised as the new generation since it simply brings nothing profitable. Nowadays, living in a world where even advocators of freedom are becoming extremists refusing all that is related with ordinary life, does Trump represent an anomaly to America, or is he just an authentic American product, dismissed by the new anything-goes society who's trying to make him look crazy? Similarly to the Puritans of New England, who persecuted the natives in order to preserve their holly commonwealth, Trump, also, aimed to protect America and Americans so that all the eyes of the world would be upon them.

### Work cited

# **Primary Sources:**

"A Modell of Christian / John Winthrop, 1630." *Teaching American History*. Beck & Stone. Web. 24 May. 2021.

ABC News. "Trump Inauguration Speech (Full)/ ABC News." *YouTube*. YouTube, 20 January 2017. Web. 30 May 2021.

Batut, Katia. "Contemporary Christian Zionism in the United States, between religion and politics." *Papyrus: Institutional Repository*. Université de Montréal, 2014. Web. 29 August. 2021.

Goldstein, Jared. A. "Unfit for Constitution: Nativism and the Constitution, from the Founding Fathers to Donald Trump." *University of Pennsylvania, Journal of Constitutional Law* 20.3 (2018): 489-560. PDF.

Hein Online. Web. 28 June 2021.

Strang, Stephen. E. God, Trump, and the 2020 Election, Why He Must Win and What's at Stake for Christians if He Loses. Florida: Front Line, 2020. Print.

### **Secondary Sources:**

"Donald Trump, the 45 President of the United States." *The White House*. N.p, n.d. Web. 08 May. 2021.

"The Mayflower Compact." *Constitutional Rights Foundation: Educate, Engage, Empower*. Constitutional Rights Foundation, 2002. Web. 02 May. 2021.

"Trump: An American Dream S1: E4: Politics.". Dir. Daniel. Bogadd. 72 Films for Netflix, 2018. Netflix.

"What is an Evangelical?" National Association of Evangelicals. N.p, n.d. Web.30 June. 2021.

Bercrof, André. Donald Trump, Les Raisons de la Colère : Comment et pourquoi il est devenu président. Paris: First Edition, 2016. Print.

Brody, David and Scott, Lamb. *The Faith of Donald Trump, A Spiritual Biography*. Harper Collins Publishers: New York, 2018. *Z Library*. Web. 22 June 2021.

Campbell, Donna. M. "Puritanism in New England." *Literary Movements*. Dep of English, Washington State University. 07 April. 2013. Web. 08 August.2021.

C-SPAN. "C-SPAN President Obama at the 2011 White House Correspondents Dinner." *You tube*. You Tube, 01 May 2011.Web. 28 April 2021.

C-SPAN. "Donald Trump Presidential Campaign Announcement Full Speech (C-SPAN). *YouTube*. You Tube, 16 June 2015. Web. 01 May 2021.

Fea, John. "Religion And Early Politics: Benjamin Franklin and His Religious Beliefs." *Pennsylvania Heritage Magazine* XXXVII.04 (2011): n.pag. Web. 08 August. 2021.

Giloboa, Eytan. "Trump: The Most Pro-Israel President in American History." *Clingendael Spectator, Magazine of International Relations*.08 July 2020. Web.30 August.2021.

Gunther, Karl. "The Origins of English Puritanism.". History Compass 4.2 (2006): 235-240. PDF.

Wiley Online Library. Web. 26 April 2021.

Heike, Paul. "Pilgrims and Puritans and the Myth of the Promised Land." *The Myths that Made America: An Introduction to American studies*. Bielefeld Transcript Verlag, 2014. *JSTOR*. Web. 30 April 2021.

Kitching, Paula. "The Reformation (short overview)". The History of Parliament, British political, social & local history. N.P, *history of parliament online*. Web. 21 April 2021.

Mattson, Kevin. "President Trump's "American carnage" Speech fit into a long American tradition." *Vox.* 22 January. 2017. Web. 19 June.2021.

Morris, Daniel. A. "Religion in the Age of Trump." *Intersections* 45.7 (2017): 16-20. PDF. *Higher Education Commons*. Web. 20 August 2021.

Nagesh, Ashitha. "Us election 2020: Why Trump gained support among minorities." *BBC News*. 22 November. 2020. Web. 03 June. 2021.

Nina Kang. "Puritanism and Its Impacts upon American Values." CCSE 1.2 (2009): 148-151. Web.15 January. 2021.

Sleeper, Jim. "Our Puritan Heritage." *Democracy, a Journal of Ideas*. 35(2015). Web. 30 May. 2021.

Taar, Russel. Randell, Keither. "Luther's Protest". *Luther and the reformation in Europe 1500-1564, fourth edition*. United Kingdom, Hodder Education. Hodder Education. Web. 15 April 2021.

The Watchman with Erick Stakelbeck. "Part 01: Pastor John Hagee on President Trump's Support for Israel + Need to Keep Jerusalem Unified." *YouTube*. You Tube, 30 March 2017. Web. 29 August 2021.

Trump, Donald. J, and Meredith, Mckiver. *Think Like a Champion, An Informal Education in Business and Life.* Vanguard Press: New York, 2009. *Z Library*. Web. 22 June 2021.

Van Engen, Abram. "White Evangelicals and the New American Exceptionalism of Donald Trump." *Religion & Politics*. 29 September. 2020. Web. 02 June. 2021.

Winship, Michael.P. "Rise and Retreat, c. 1540- c.1630.". *Hot Protestants: A history of Puritanism in England and America*. New Heaven and London: Yale university Press, 2018. *Z Library*. Web. 08 April 2021.

Résumé:

Ce travail de recherche évoque l'héritage du Puritanisme dans la culture Américaine

d'aujourd'hui chez l'une des personnalités la plus médiatisée et critiquée des États-Unis

d'Amérique, Donald Trump. Afin de réaliser ce travail, nous nous appuyons sur la base

électorale qui lui a permis de franchir les échelons et d'arriver à la Maison Blanche, les

évangéliques. Cette recherche explore l'influence enfouie d'éthique Puritaine dans la façon la

personnalité de Trump, les racines de son plan d'immigration xénophobe et les relations

amicales durant son terme avec la nation d'Israël. En plus d'explorer les aspects Puritains en

Trump, nous voulons que ce travail présente une image différente du président que celle que

nous avons l'habitude d'entendre aux informations.

Mots Clefs: Donald Trump, Puritains, États-Unis d'Amérique, Valeurs.

1