American Literature in the Era of Scopes Trial:

Modernism and Christian Fundamentalism

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Hiroko　SUZUKI

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Note

One of the most confusing elements of style is whether to capitalize the words "Black Americans," "White Americans," "blacks," "whites," "African Americans." Such esteemed publication as *The New York Times,* and *The American Heritage Dictionary* are not in perfect agreement. According to Merrill Perlman ("Black and White: Why Capitalization Matters," June 23, 2015):

> "Most journalism-related style guides, like those of the Associated Press and *New York Times,* call for putting both 'white' and 'black' in all lowercase letters. Others, like *The Chicago Manual of Style,* allow capitalization if an author or publication prefers to do so. Dictionaries also allow both capitalization and lowercase versions. In other words, it's fielder's choice whether to capitalize 'black' and 'white' or not.

Since it appears that there is wide variance on the matter, this dissertation will use the following spellings:

African Americans
Black Americans
White Americans
Whites
Blacks
Negroes

Alternate forms such as Afro-Americans, African-Americans (hyphenations) will not be used.

Both *Oxford* and *Webster*'s dictionaries state that when referring to African-Americans, "Black" can be and often is capitalized, but the New York Times and Associated Press stylebooks continue to insist on black with a lowercase b. Ironically, The Associated Press also decrees that the proper names of "nationalities, peoples, races, tribes" should be capitalized. It almost appears to be an entirely arbitrary decision.

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Introduction

John Scopes put himself in the position of a daring rebel when he chose to teach Darwinian evolution from George William Hunter's *Civic Biology*, a textbook that gave an alternate understanding of the creation of man and the universe; evolution contradicted the creation concept in *The Book of Genesis*. And his trial known as the Scopes "Monkey" Trial became an important factor to reflecting the spirit of the times, the attitude of the people and trends. John Scopes' trial in 1925 is widely regarded as a seminal event that marked the intellectual chasm of 20th century America.

The trial which pitted Modernists against literal interpreters of the Bible is only a part of the assertiveness and struggle for integrity as expressed in the myriad examples of non-conformity of "the Roaring Twenties." The Prohibition period (1920-1933) banned legal alcohol sales in the United States; however, this only served to create the wild, drunken parties of the illegal "speakeasies" and fueled the lawlessness of the Al Capone era. During this era, women asserted their rights to express themselves in ways which flaunted tradition: smoking, wearing short hair, wearing short skirts, and exhibiting "flapper" behavior. In Ernest Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises*, Lady Brett, a rich woman who boasts of sexual conquests with many men, tortures Jake Barnes who loves her but cannot physically consummate his love because of his war injury. Speaking about her sexual adventures, she says: "When I think of the hell I've put chaps through, I'm paying for it all now." (*The Sun Also Rises 34)*. In a similar vein, the 1920s was an epochal watershed for African Americans, witnessing the creative expression of the American Black man, as articulated in Alain Locke's *New Negro* anthology. African Americans claimed the right to define himself/herself without regard to the opinions of White Americans. Furthermore, the simultaneous publications of several novels featuring rebellious protagonists fits the temper of the times perfectly. In 1925, readers were introduced to Clyde Griffiths (*An American Tragedy*; Theodore Dreiser), Nick Adams (*In Our Time*; Ernest Hemingway), Jay Gatsby (*The Great Gatsby*; F Scott Fitzgerald). And, finally, another momentous trial of 1925 upset the religious and conservative sensibilities: namely the Rhinelander-Jones divorce trial. Many Fundamentalists held a peculiar view that the creation account of the Bible probably only entailed whites. Their racist attitudes involved a convoluted interpretation (not at all supported by the Bible) that Blacks appeared on the earth at some other creation. Such egregious thinking was accompanied by the belief that interracial marriage should be forbidden. This gave rise to the sensationalism surrounding the Rhinelander-Jones divorce trial. Kip Rhinelander, scion of a wealthy White family, appealed to the courts for a divorce from his black wife, Alice Jones (he contended that he was not aware of her race during their courtship and marriage).[1] Jones defied the

[1] Nella Larsen's novel which was originally published in 1929 tells the complicated story of two women of African descent who appeared white. Larsen probably used the real details from the famous 1925 court case of the Rhinelander annulment case in her novel. Nella Larsen's novel, *Passing* may be influenced by the trial.

Rhinelander family, and the prevailing attitude of the American public by asserting that her husband was well-aware of her heritage throughout their relationship. He had in fact resided with her and her parents for a while.

Additionally, it should be noted that Marcus Garvey's important essay on "African Fundamentalism" was published in 1925. Garvey's assertiveness went so far as to declare that white men had stolen blacks from Edenic kingdoms of Africa and had erased, or nearly erased, an entire racial memory of golden days of glory and achievement on the African continent. One can easily see why he selected the title "African Fundamentalism" for his 1925 publication; it was a reaction against the religious Fundamentalists (who were often, though not always, racists). If extremely religious conservatives insisted on the Garden of Eden story of the creation of white men, so, too, could Garvey and his followers insist on halcyon kingdoms from which they were rudely abducted.

All of these movements and assertions seem to contain some reaction to the Bible. Just as Scopes wanted the academic freedom to teach an account of the origins of man which deviated from the "received wisdom" of the ancient Scriptures, so too did many of the characters of the era (fictional and real) elect to live in ways which were not in concert with the strict obedience to authority that the Bible might have been demanding when St. Paul mysteriously declared:

> Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. (*KJV* Rom. 13.1-2)

That strong statement on obedience to God (and by some interpretation to political, governmental, and societal authorities) has been used as an argument for slavery, subservience of women, and for the subjugation of lower classes. Unfortunately, such literalists have the comfort of yet other scriptures which reinforce the idea of obedience: "Slaves obey your masters" (*KJV* Eph. 6.5). "Wives submit to your husbands" (*KJV* Col. 3.18).

More liberal readers of the Bible have found ways to interpret the Scriptures to their comfort. They refute the harsh readings of ultra-conservatives. Among the main arguments for more progressive thinking of liberals is that, in such places, the Scriptures were addressing issues that were limited to certain cultural practices and time periods.

As is well-documented, American Literature has always been influenced by the Bible and Christianity. The 1607 settlement of Jamestown, Virginia was very soon followed by the 1611 publication of the King James Bible. So, the early colonists in the Americas had a concept of themselves as new Adams and new Eves (Lewis 1). They were impressed with the pristine cleanness and new flora and fauna in the new land. They felt like Adam because they had engaged the beautiful nature and had given names to the unfamiliar flowers and animals

(*KJV* Gen. 2.18-23). Throughout American history, religion, particularly Christianity, has been pervasive. In *Redeeming Culture*, by James Gilbert, there is testimony to the powerful influence the religion has had, and continues to have, on American culture. Gilbert states that the faith is part of the way in which American culture is "assembled and integrated" (Gilbert 4). He cites his surprising discovery that even during World War II, the United States Air Force provided religious films for the military training. These films advocated the fundamentalist concept of Christianity.

While Christianity has always been a part of the public discourse in America,[2] it was arguably most forcefully shown in the 1925 Scopes Trial. Much of American Literature at that time indicated the conflict between Fundamentalism and the desire that many characters had for personal integrity. Currently, in the 21st century the word "Fundamentalist" has a very negative meaning. The word is most often used in the press in conjunction with the word "extremists." Modern readers are accustomed to hearing these words in relationship to terrorism and gross intolerance. In the present decade the word is applied to ultra-conservative Islamists. But in the 1920s, the word had particular application to very strict Christians.

The original meaning of the word in the 1920s (as it was applied to Christians) was simply an agreement among Christian conservatives to focus on the basic concepts of the Bible. For them, Christianity had become encrusted with so many complicated rituals and doctrines. These early Fundamentalists wanted to insist that the focus of Christianity should be on the Divine Nature of Jesus Christ, His redemption of sinful mankind, His death on the Cross (Larson 33). Additionally, Fundamentalists advocated the Bible's truthfulness and accuracy, specifically with relationship to the origin of the universe. Interestingly, there were some very tolerant Fundamentalists in the 1920s. Some, though very few, wanted to remain open to Darwin's theory of evolution.

> The tone of these comments reflected the newfound militancy that characterized that conservative Christians from various Protestant denominations who called themselves fundamentalists during the 1920s and drew together to support the prosecution of John Scopes. Certainly some conservative Christians rejected Darwinism all along, but when doing so even Bryan earlier had added, 'I do not mean to find fault with you if you want to accept the theory.' Some articles in *The Fundamentals* dating from 1905 to 1915 criticized the theory of evolution, but others in that series accepted it. Indeed, the Baptist leader who founded the series and later helped launch the fundamentalists movement, A. C. Dixon, once expressed his willingness to accept the theory. (Larson 32)

Eventually, these tolerant members of the movement were drowned out by the more radical faction who demanded that the church align only with the strict interpretation of *Genesis*. For

[2] Walt Whitman refers to America as a "Spiritual democracy" indicating the country's indebtedness to the Christian influences of its beginning.

them, the universe was created within a six-day period, culminating in the grand formation of man from the earth (and the woman from a bone in his side).

This dissertation addresses the influence of Christian Fundamentalism on the culture and literature of America in the 1920s. I am particularly interested in the progress of Fundamentalism during the Scopes Trial. Through the media, the trial brought to the national attention the interest in Darwin and his theory of evolution. As it turned out, the more intellectual members of society, even within the religious communities, were willing to allow that evolution was valid. Christian liberals were willing to acknowledge that all life proceeded from lower animals and evolved into intelligent mankind. However, this thought was highly offensive to many conservative Christians who wanted to insist that the Bible must be taken literally. Importantly, not all Christian groups rose up in protest of Darwin. Many denominational groups had settled on the idea of a God-ordained evolution. The Catholic Church has even issued a Bible translation with an introduction that heavily implies that life did, indeed, could have proceeded from lower forms to higher. That same edition of the Catholic Bible, The Confraternity Bible,[3] suggests that the story of Adam and Eve may be a poetic episode that teaches the basic truth of God causing life to come into existence.

The year 1925 was all about the argument of Scopes Trial and the subsequent emphasis on integrity – the idea that people must follow their own conscience without being distracted by the thinking of others. We find in the fiction of the 1920s this spillover theme of individual integrity at odds with popular opinion. We see in Dreiser's *An American Tragedy* (1925) a character who rebels against his apparently Fundamentalist father. Clyde Griffiths is introduced to the readers as a very handsome teenage boy who must follow his fanatical father through city streets as the elder Griffiths preaches to drunks and lower class, homeless street people. The boy is obviously embarrassed by his father. Additionally, the father commands his entire family to accompany him on these preaching excursions: wife, daughter and an even younger son. Instantly a conflict emerges: a father who is inflexible and intolerant in his preaching, a son who is eager to be free. Predictably, Clyde does break away from his father's Fundamentalism and gets a job in a hotel. This employment brings the young boy into contact with a libertine crowd. He eventually cultivates relationships with two different girlfriends: a society woman who admires him and an impoverished factory worker who becomes pregnant with his child. Clyde's complicated life reaches a very sad end. He is accused of murdering the poor girlfriend and is executed. Even the final scene in which his suffering mother goes to him in the last hours is fraught with the sadness of the conflict between religious extremism and the individual's demand for integrity and freedom. The

[3] The Confraternity Bible is a Roman Catholic publication, based on its classic Douay Bible. It has been published many times including editions of 1941, 1957, and 1990. Protestants usually revere the King James Version of 1611, the counterpart among Roman Catholics is the Douay. The Confraternity edition is a publication which has updated footnotes.

mother asks her soon-to-be-executed son to pray with her and to seek forgiveness from God. It is questionable to the reader if Clyde dies with his integrity intact, or if he merely acts as a dissembler.

The same conflict (even down to the setting of the scene between a religious mother and her rebellious son) characterizes Hemingway's "Soldier's Home," also published in 1925. In this short story, a disillusioned soldier returns from World War I with a spiritual depletion (he had once been a conforming student in a Methodist college – Hemingway describers Harold Kreb's conformity in terms of his similar appearance and dress with his college fraternity members). As he returns from the war, Harold finds himself uncomfortable with society and the values which his parents and other citizens require. Again, after a prayer session with his mother, Harold walks away. The same question regarding the prayer persists: Did he truly pray with a sincere heart, or was he simply going through the motions to quiet his mother?

This tension between Fundamentalism and the individual desire for freedom is evident in the Scopes Trial. Fundamentalism itself can be regarded as a movement which was struggling to maintain its own integrity. The scientific community of the 1920s was influencing a large population to accept an interpretation of the beginning of life that deviated from the interpretation many people learned at their mother's knee. Jillmarie Murphy's chapter "Sorrow and the Weight of Sin" (in *Monstrous Kinships*) is among many literary analyses which note Dreiser's indictment of Fundamentalism of the 1920s (Murphy 133). Modern characters such as Clyde Griffiths find great tension in the stifling demands of their religious fathers. His eager embrace of sexual adventurism and materialism eventually leads to his crime and execution at the end of the novel. Interestingly, Clyde Griffiths of Dreiser's *An American Tragedy* runs away from Fundamentalism in order to engage in a libertine lifestyle, while Hemingway's Harold Krebs runs away from the religion as well as the materialism of his parents. The difference between the two characters is important. True, both escape from their religious parents. But Harold runs to a quiet individualism that shuns money and romance. Clyde's escape involves his pursuit of money and free love. The young and handsome Clyde Griffiths is clearly uncomfortable with his father's Fundamentalism and religiosity. Dreiser indicates the boy's apparent opposition to his father by having passers-by on the street react to the embarrassed child: "That oldest boy don't wanta be here. He feels outa place, I can see that. It ain't right to make a kid like that come out unless he wants to" (*An American Tragedy* 5).

Fundamentalism of all kinds basically involves a desire to preserve an original mythology. Christian Fundamentalists wanted to preserve the creation concept that they had been taught all of their lives. A basic doctrine within all of Christianity is The Fall of Man. This is the idea that God created man in a perfect world where all he had to do was to enjoy the beauty and fruit of Nature. The one edict enforced on Adam and Eve was that they were to refrain from eating the forbidden fruit. They disobeyed. They ate the fruit. Consequently,

Man's fall (disobedience) resulted in his expulsion from the Garden of Eden. For decades, early American children learned reading and writing by studying the rhyme: "By Adam's fall, we sinned all."[4] Similarly, African Fundamentalism also references an earlier period of glory from which Black men were extricated. Marcus Garvey contended that white men kidnapped Blacks from ancient and powerful kingdoms of the past. The effort to reclaim halcyon days of old continues to be the pursuit of fundamentalists of all kinds (religious and social). The desire is to go back to the old grandeur.

The Scopes Trial of 1925 is a synecdoche for the modernist thrust toward integrity and assertiveness that marked the entire decade of the 1920s. This dissertation surveys an instance of American Modernism rooted in the socioreligious transformation during the 1920s. It consists of three chapters. In Chapter 1, the Scopes Trial and its influence on the American zeitgeist of the 1920s are discussed focusing on John Scopes' integrity to teach evolution in the biology class. In Chapter 2, Christian Fundamentalism and African Fundamentalism are discussed focusing on the theme of integrity in Alain Locke's *The New Negro* and other works of African American literature. Finally, Chapter 3 is about Hemingway's heroes and the code of integrity at the time of the Scopes Trial.

[4] Here are some examples of alphabet rhymes that teach moral values as well as reading.
"A. In Adam's Fall / We sinned all. / B. Thy Life to Mend / This Book Attend. / C. The Cat both play And after slay." The New England Primer. Web. August 4, 2015.

Chapter 1
The Scopes Trial and Its Influence on the American Zeitgeist of the 1920s

1. Introduction and Definitions -- The Affinity between John Scopes and Other Prominent Characters of 1925 (Real and Fictional)

Nineteen twenty-five was the year of the Scopes Trial, an event that is a milestone in American history. As is well-documented, the trial involved the prosecution of John Scopes, a high school biology teacher, who was accused of undermining American Christian culture by teaching Darwin's Theory of Evolution. The trial actually lasted only a week.

The main characters of the trial were John Scopes, a high school biology teacher; William Jennings Bryan, a respected intellectual and orator; Clarence Darrow, a capable lawyer for the defense; and H.L. Mencken, the famous newspaper writer and critic of American Christian culture. The result of the trial is that Scopes lost. The Fundamentalists who were angered by his teaching of Darwinian theory were victorious. The setting of the trial was the American South, known to have preserved literal interpretation of the Bible more than other regions of the United States. Bryan was embarrassed by his inability to maintain a good representation of Christian Fundamentalism. In fact, he suffered greatly from the questioning of Clarence Darrow. Bryan was unable to defend the Fundamentalist claim that the earth was no more than several thousand years old. Intellectually capable, Bryan was so distraught by the grueling trial that he died shortly after the Fundamentalists won. The movie, *Inherit the Wind* (1960), dramatizes the trial. Although the Fundamentalists did win the trial, they suffered an image blow. Fundamentalists suffered damage to their image during the Scopes Trial. Mencken and other intellectuals laughed at the Fundamentalists – the stance of the Fundamentalists was regarded as anti-science and therefore ridiculous: Larson cites the "circus" like atmosphere of Fundamentalists gatherings where people were emotional. He gives a particularly unflattering picture of the famous preacher Billy Sunday who held meetings denouncing "the old bastard theory of Evolution." (Larson 54, 55). So, Fundamentalists we are given a bad image or reputation at that time. Mencken stereotyped Fundamentalists as ignorant. Darrow, Mencken and others made Southerners and Christian Fundamentalists seem almost comically out of touch with reality.

2. Mencken's Mockery of Fundamentalist Christians

H.L. Mencken was hardly an unbiased journalist. Mencken expressed very clearly his dislike for the American South and for hypocritical Christians who professed a devotion to the Bible but who, in fact, participated in the hedonistic excesses of the time. Mencken makes fun of the supposedly very religious people who danced and enjoyed the sexual adventurism of the time.

Indeed Mencken's dispatches to *the Evening Sun* caught the flavor of the place and the

> event. One of them began: "It was hot weather when they tried the infidel Scopes at Dayton, Tennessee, but I went down there willingly, for I was eager to see something of evangelical Christianity as a going concern […] the very Sunday school superintendents taking Jazz from the stealthy radio, shake their fire-proof legs; their pupils, moving into adolescence, no longer respond to the proliferating hormones by enlisting for missionary service in Africa, but resort to the necking instead (CDALB 195).

Mencken's humorous denunciation of errant preachers as indicated above is a complicated passage in English, but an outline of it reveals the main ideas: Jazz was a popular music form at the time. Jazz was associated with free and undisciplined life style. Jazz music prompted animated dancing (which Christian Fundamentalists would normally denounce). Jazz music was played in illegal nightclubs. The 1920s were the years of the Volstead Act which made alcohol consumption illegal. Many people deserted the churches. Many people abandoned interest in charity and missionary work. Even preachers and religious workers hypocritically indulged in the hedonism of the time (According to Mencken).

When Mencken speaks of "stealthy radio" he is referring to the situation where religious people were listening to this music in secret. Mencken is enjoying ridiculing the hypocrisy of these Christians in the "Bible Belt." Later he mentions that Dayton's churches were "half empty on Sunday." It is amazing, at least to Mencken, that these people would so be interested in preserving a strict interpretation of the Bible.

In order to fully appreciate the 1920's, and particularly 1925, as a time period focused on the theme of integrity, we need to assert in this dissertation that John Scopes (of the famous 'Monkey Trial') (Larson 20) is akin to several other men of the era who struggled to assert their right to a behavior that deviates from the norm. Of course John Scopes achieved fame because he dared to challenge the religious establishment belief that the world was created in precisely one week (Gilbert 8). Though he ultimately lost in that trial, he emerges as a kind of hero of integrity of that time period.

To study the Scopes Trial requires that the researcher acquaint himself/herself with all of the conflicting forces within America at the same time. The mistake that many people make is to assume that a particular time and a particular period is uniform and culturally homogenous. Contradiction and inconsistency are obvious elements of the time of the Scopes Trial. Yes, there was Christian Fundamentalism, but there was also Modernism:

> For Fundamentalism, […], was chiefly an effort to defend traditional Protestant convictions and the culture that made them plausible from attempts by Protestant modernists to adjust Christianity to urban-industrial society. Hence, to the extent that historians have explored the cultural dynamics of the modernist-fundamentalist controversy, [...] (Hall 607).

There are other men of that time in fiction and non-fiction who distinguished themselves

for their integrity. We would have to consider that Ernest Hemingway, Langston Hughes, and Marcus Garvey, are three people whose personal lifestyles were focused on integrity in the manner of young John Scopes – they refused to surrender to the dictates of American society regarding what a man must do and believe. Further, we can regard the fictional characters of Hemingway, Garvey, Hughes and others as extensions of their creator's (author's) insistence on personal integrity. John Scopes as the key figure in that pivotal trial of 1925, is of the same character as Hemingway and his "heroes," Harold Krebs ("Soldier's Home"), and Dr. Henry Adams ("The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife"). Scopes is similarly related to the radical African American, Marcus Garvey (writer of "African Fundamentalism," in 1925), and Garvey's fictional "Father" character (Hill 143) in the mini drama, *A Dialogue – What's the Difference*. Garvey was the controversial African American of the 1920s who launched a campaign for mass migration of Blacks: "Back to Africa." He was a writer and a religious thinker as well. He created the phrase, *African Fundamentalism,* to direct the thoughts of Blacks to their glorious past in Africa. His fictional dialogue between a Father and Son is modeled on Aristotelian style, and it emphasizes the "Fundamentals" of a great past which was erased from the memory of blacks when they were enslaved in America. He purposely chose the word *Fundamentalism* in reaction to the often racist Fundamentalism of conservative Christians who denied the humanity of black people (Hill 143).

3. The 1920s The Zeitgeist and the Concept of Integrity

We must understand the cultural atmosphere of America as a prelude to our discussion of The Scopes Trial of 1925. We must examine the Zeitgeist --the ambiance or spirit of the times. Basically, the trial was an expression of rebellion against the established view of the Creation of the Universe and mankind as had been widely received in America prior to the 1920s – and as had been famously depicted on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel in Rome: God forming man at the culmination of a week of Divine Work. The Creation of Adam is arguably the most famous section of Michelangelo's Fresco on the Sistine Chapel ceiling painted circa 1511-1512. It is traditionally thought to illustrate the *Biblical creation narrative* from the Book of *Genesis* in which *God* breathes life into Adam, the first man. John Scopes dared teach that the Bible's representation of the beginnings of the world and humanity was wrong. He asserted that Darwin was right: human beings evolve over aeons of time (Larson 16) from subordinate creatures to reasoning and thinking beings. That of course put America into two basic camps (Ibid. 17): those who accepted Scope's teaching of Darwinian theory, (Ibid. 20, 21) and those who insisted on the Biblical interpretation.

When we discuss the 1920s in American culture, we want to note the general attitude of rebellion and breaking away from form (the approved thinking of the times) that was evident in many different aspects of the society. The Scopes Trial involved the insistence of one particular young biology teacher, John Scopes. His demand of academic freedom and the

right to teach Darwinian evolutionary theory was in rebellion against the established religious views (Gilbert 24) of the Fundamentalists and the American South. At the forefront of Scopes' demand for academic freedom was his selection of a controversial textbook for his students: *Civic Biology* (Larson 172).

Later in Chapter 2, during our discussion of the African American demand for integrity, we shall see how this attitude of rebellion was similarly reflected in Jazz music of the time which broke with the traditions of musical form (Locke 217). J.A. Rogers in "Jazz at Home" states that "The true spirit of Jazz is a revolt from convention, custom, authority, boredom, even sorrow […]." Further, the prominent novels published in 1925 depicted characters who were at odds with the beliefs of their communities. We will pay some specific attention to these characters and novels in Chapter 3.

What is the meaning of integrity? Perhaps the best answer is summarized in Shakespeare's famous quotation (Polonius speech):

> […]. This above all: to thine own self be true,
> And it must follow, as the night the day,
> Thou canst not then be false to any man (Shakespeare 25).

Shakespeare, through the mouth of Polonius, advises human beings to listen to the nobler sentiments of their hearts. The correct-thinking man or woman follows what he knows to be right whether or not he is applauded by society.

Shakespeare, in referring to day and night, seems to be suggesting the Great Judgment – at the time when every human must stand before God and give account of the honesty (or integrity) that governed his life. Hebrew 9:27 (Heb. 9.27 [Hebrews]) is one of several Bible statements that man will eventually stand before God and give account of his life. The man or woman of integrity will please God by their determination to live in obedience to the Divine and their will therefore earn a place in Heaven. Throughout the Bible, there is the suggestion that a day is coming when the deeds of humanity, good and bad, will be paraded before each individual as he stands before God to give an account of his life: "For nothing is secret, that shall not be made manifest; neither anything hid, that shall not be known and come abroad" (*KJV* Luke 8.17).

4. The Scopes Trial

When we speak of Christian Fundamentalism, we are discussing very specific concepts revered among very conservative Christians; there are varying lists which can be found in many places. There are citations in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* and other publications (Littell 122). *Britannica* states that the movement became a powerful force in American culture during the 1920s. Principally, at that time, the religious conservatives wanted to eradicate the influence of Darwinian Evolutionary theory. Darwin's theory of the Origin of Life was thought to offend the inerrancy of the Bible.

A tentative list of Fundamentalist beliefs might be summarized: The Bible is inerrant – there are no mistakes in its teachings regarding the origin of the earth. The world and nature were created in six days with man being the culmination of that week of God's work. God rested on the seventh day. The death of Jesus was an atonement for the sins of mankind. Jesus Christ was resurrected after having died on the Cross. Jesus Christ was born of a virgin. Jesus Christ will return at the end of the world to escort his saints into Heaven. The miracles attributed to Jesus are actual historical fact.

In Fundamentalist thought – if science and the Bible are at variance, then science is wrong. James Orr, a modernist theologian of the time seemed to lament that "Science and Christianity are pitted against each. Their interests are held to be antagonistic" (Larson 21).

The authoritative *Encyclopedia of Religion* suggests that Fundamentalism is wrong because its advocates do not understand that the Bible uses various types of writing, including historical fact as well as poetic and figurative language. The *Encyclopedia of Religion* recognizes that the Bible has many different types of writing. Some books of the Bible are history – real events that happened at a particular time. Other books of the Bible are poetry – they are not about history and particular events. These books are about the beauty of language. For example, most people understand that *The Book of Psalms* is poetry – originally written to be sung. However, Modernists would insist that the opening chapters of the Bible (The Book of *Genesis*) are also poetry. Fundamentalists think of the Book of *Genesis* as complete, history. They think of Adam and Eve as real people. *Systematic Theology* by Charles Hodge is a large volume acknowledging the historicity of Adam and Eve. It renounces Darwinian Evolution. It affirms that "man's body (Adam's body) was formed by the immediate intervention of God. It did not grow; nor was it produced by any process of development. […] (Hodge 3). Modernists think of Adam and Eve as symbols of God's creative power in bringing forth, gradually, beings that have some elements of His capacity for love and higher thought. J.F. Bierlein presents exactly the opposite view of Hodge. His book, *Parallel Myth*, asserts that the Adam and Eve story is metaphorical and utilizes the same literary devices as the other myths of the ancient world. He allows for Adam and Eve being fictional but he declares that they are embodiments of instructive ideals and values (Bierlein 5).

The Encyclopedia also states that Fundamentalism is "largely limited to the history of American Protestantism (and is) largely rooted in America's frontier experience and in rural life, yet ideologically it has had an impact on the urban communities and educational institutions" (Jones 1995). This means that the very literal interpretation of the Bible had its beginnings among lesser educated people, (Rodgers 564). However, but that thinking became more respectable as it spread into cities and among more educated people. Mencken emphasizes, perhaps unfairly, that the Fundamentalists were "yokels" (non-intellectual country folk) (Ibid. 564). *The Encyclopedia* shows its liberal perspective by adding that "The

public evil of religious illiteracy is the root cause of most questionable ideas concerning religion and science. Taking Biblical statements about the cosmos literally, Fundamentalists build up a supernaturalism that does not replace naturalism so much as it is superimposed on it" (564).

The persistence of some racist elements within the Creationist camp defies logic. Indeed, the infamous Ku Klux Klan were very vocal anti-evolutionists. The irony is that fundamentalism had at least two widely different types of supporters: The Klan, (Larson 55) violently aggressive towards Blacks, Jews and Catholics, and William Jennings Bryan, the educated prosecutor of John Scopes during the trial. Both the Klan and Bryan wanted to uphold the more literal interpretation of the Creation story in the Bible. However, it is documented that William Jennings Bryan who was a respected and educated man did have the support of the Ku Klux Klan, probably the group most recognized as white supremacists. During the trial, the Klan were part of the Fundamentalist contingent supportive of Bryan.

The Klan gave powerful support to the anti-evolution movement (de Camp 1968). Bryan was not a member of the Klan and disliked some of its views (for example, its anti-Catholic and anti-Semitic bigotry), he was soft on "the Klan" because he was mindful that a host of his followers were just the sort of people who made up the Klan" (de Camp 1968). Bryan endorsed Klansmen in elections (Feldman 1999) and spoke passionately at the 1924 Democratic National Convention against an amendment denouncing the Klan (Alexander 1965; Ashby 1987; Chalmers 1965; Rice 1962). In turn, he received political support from the Klan (Anonymous 1924; de Camp 1968; Mecklin 1926).[5]

Fundamentalist teachings were gaining followers throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, but the famous Scopes Trial (or "Monkey Trial") of 1925 firmly established the distinction between Fundamentalist Christians and Modernist Christians. According to *Britannica*, Modernists were attempting to make Christianity relevant to the present society. They did not insist on literal interpretations of the Bible. A large part of the conflict between Fundamentalists and Modernists lay in the Bible's declaration that the world was created in one week (six days of the actual "work" of God; one day, Sunday, being the day that God rested). Fundamentalists, (Larson 15) on the other hand, wanted to reject Charles Darwin's Theory of Evolution. They found the idea offensive that man progressed from ape stage into a being slowly attaining intelligence and an upright posture. Bryan's comment is famous: "I do not carry the doctrine of evolution as truth as some do […]. I do not mean to find fault with you if you want to accept the Theory. All I mean to say is that while you may trace your ancestry back to the monkey, if you find pleasure or pride in doing so, you shall not connect with me" (20).

It is important to emphasize that not all Christians are Fundamentalists. Further, among

[5] Randy Moore. "Racism and the Public's Perception of Evolution." *National Center for Science Education*. Web. May 10, 2013.

conservative Christians there are degrees of adherence to Fundamentalist teachings. Some people might accept one of the concepts listed above and reject others. The Roman Catholic Church allows for Adam and Eve to be symbolic rather than historic beings. According to the Introduction to the *Christian Community Bible,* the Roman Catholic Church teaches that God used the gradual and evolutionary development of animals to bring intelligent human beings into existence:

> For centuries most people thought that God had created everything in the beginning and that afterwards the universe had remained more or less the same […].We have just seen that this idea no longer holds. People also thought that […].God had created "a" human being, "a" horse, "a" sheep […] and that each one had had descendants similar to it. We now know that this is not so, but that God's creation is gradual and
> that new species appear (*The Christian Community Bible* 8).

The statement above, composed in 1990, in The Roman Catholic version of Scripture is in direct contrast with the Fundamentalist viewpoint which was brought to debate in the Scopes Trial of 1925.

The main document which supports the American ideal of Freedom is *The Constitution.* The main religious document which many Americans revere is *The Bible.* For instance, freedom to carry a gun is provided by the Constitution. Similarly, the freedom to express religious belief or to reject it is provided by the Constitution. In contrast, one might argue that Bible is about disciplined living. The Bible is not so much about freedom as it is about the obligation to obey God and the government leaders He "ordains." Romans 13:1 states that "The powers that be are ordained of God" (*KVJ* Rom.13.1). This Scripture is heavily debated among scholars, some of whom maintain that God has some hand in the assumption of leaders to power.

Perhaps some observers of American culture would consider obsessions with Freedom and with the Bible as in conflict with each other. Freedom is often associated with abandonment of old forms; religion might be construed as an element which forces people to obey rigid moral codes. In America, however, these two concepts are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Both sides of the Scopes Trial of 1925 would claim that they were fighting to retain their Constitutionally guaranteed freedoms. The Fundamentalists wanted to insist on the freedom to teach the Bible's assertion of Creation; the Evolutionists wanted the freedom to teach Darwin's concept of human life gradually developing from lower life forms into human beings. H.L. Mencken, laughed at the simplistic Christian Fundamentalists and referred to the trial as "The Monkey Trial." He wanted to irritate the Fundamentalists by teasing them with his implication that human beings are descended from monkeys (Benet 954). It is important to understand that not all Christian groups are Fundamentalist. In fact, around 1925, many Christian groups began to modernize their teaching. Robert A. Divine gives a good presentation of the polarization within different Christian groups in the 1920s:

> H.L. Mencken, who covered the trial in person rejoiced in the belief that Fundamentalism was dead […]. In reality, however, the traditional rural religious beliefs were stronger than ever. As middle and upper class Americans drifted into genteel Christianity that stressed good works and respectability, the fervid evangelical denominations continued to hold on to the old faith, and more aggressive Fundamentalist sects such as the Jehovah's Witnesses, grew rapidly (Divine 435-436).

In 1925, the Scopes Trial in Dayton, Tennessee forced people to make decisions about what they believed. Because the Scopes Trial was so discussed, people had to decide, (Am I a fundamentalist? Am I a modernist? Am I an atheist?). People everywhere had to react to the Trial and make a statement about what they believed. Did they agree with Darrow (the Modernists) or did they agree with Bryan (the Fundamentalists). The Trial caused the small community to decide whether John Scopes (a high school biology teacher) should have the freedom to teach evolution – a concept which denied the Christian Fundamentalist claim that the Bible was undeniably correct (Ibid. 436) in its presentation of God instantaneously creating an intelligent man and woman in the Garden of Eden. The court case found Scopes guilty of breaking the Butler Act, and he was fined. However, argument over whether teachers and schools can have the freedom to teach evolution is still a serious matter. The lawyers in the court case became cult figures: William Jennings Bryan argued for the prosecution; Clarence Darrow argued for the defense (Mencken xiii).

> Bryan aided lead prosecutor A.T. Stewart, who was attorney general for the Eighteenth Judicial Circuit and a future Senator. […] On the opposing side, Clarence Darrow, perhaps the country's best-known trial lawyer, agreed to join the A.C.L.U.'s Arthur Garfield Hays […].

Bryan, an articulate orator, was humiliated during the trial. He was no match for the clever Darrow. Christian Fundamentalists were disappointed that Bryan was not able to counter Darrow's hostility.

> Darrow: Do you claim that everything in the Bible should be literally interpreted?
>
> Bryan: I believe everything in the Bible should be accepted as given there.

Bryan had asserted that the Bible implies that the current age of the earth is about 6,000 years. Darrow was merciless in his attack:

> Darrow: Don't you know that ancient civilizations of China are at least 6 or 7 thousand years old […] (Darrow 291)?

Bryan admitted that he was not aware of those figures regarding ancient civilizations. Later, Bryan angered his own Fundamentalist supporters by suggesting that the Bible acknowledgement of the six days of creation could be interpreted as six great periods as opposed to twenty-four- hour days. Clearly, intelligent and articulate, Bryan was not prepared to address theological issues. He was not formally trained in the Bible. Bryan embarrassed himself under questioning by Darrow regarding the inerrancy of the Bible. He was a

distinguished intellectual, a Christian, and defender of the literal interpretation. However, he became confused during the rigid cross-examination by Darrow. He was forced to admit that perhaps the six days of Creation in the Bible were six aeons of time – a position refuted by true Fundamentalists (Larson 5). He described himself as a man of science. There is the famous cartoon which appeared in the *Washington Star Newspaper* on January 4, 1925. It depicts Bryan walking through the doors of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. The depiction is seemingly in ridicule of Bryan's support of the Fundamentalist cause (Gilbert 26), while at the same time joining the prestigious American Academy of Science, listing his expertise as astronomy (25). His particular interest in attempting to defeat the spread of evolution was that he feared it would introduce godlessness into American society. He was a moralist, and his vision was of an American society committed to the good behavior prescribed in the Bible.

> Acceptance of evolution, he wrote, 'changes the philosophy of life and tends to chill spiritual enthusiasm.' Evolutionary science threatened the system of beliefs around which Bryan constructed his identity […]. It challenged the culture in which Bryan lived and whose beliefs he articulated (Ibid. 35).

Within a few days of the end of the trial, Bryan died from complications of fatigue and diabetes. He died in his sleep during his afternoon nap, after he attended the Sunday services at the Southern Methodist Church in Dayton. Word of Bryan's death reached Darrow that afternoon in the Smokey Mountains. Mencken's comment about Bryan's death was ironical.

"Back in Baltimore, Mencken characteristically joked, 'God aimed at Darrow, missed, and hit Bryan instead,' but privately he reportedly gloated, 'We killed the son-of- a- bitch!'" (Larson 200). Mencken's obituary essay was written in the *The Baltimore Evening Sun* on July 27, 1925. The critic Alfred Kazin, in his *On Native Grounds*, said that Mencken's essay on Bryan was the cruelest thing. "Occasionally, of course, Mencken was not amusing at all, and his loose tongue got in his way […]. And it was significant that one of the cruelest things he ever wrote, his essay on Bryan, was probably the most brilliant" (Kazin 203-204).

Bryan was an important figure in the upheaval of America in the 1920s. Ernest Hemingway mentions Bryan death's in his 1926 novel, *The Sun Also Rises* (Hemingway 121). H.L. Mencken who ridiculed the Fundamentalists in the Scopes Trial is also mentioned in Hemingway's book.

> "First egg," said Bill, "Then the chicken. Even Bryan could see that."
>
> "He's dead. I read in the paper yesterday."
>
> "No, not really?"
>
> "Yes, Bryan's dead."
>
> […].
>
> "What's the matter?" I said. "Didn't you like Bryan?"
>
> "I loved Bryan," said Bill. "We were like brothers."

"Where did you know him?"

"He and Mencken and I all went to Holy Cross together." (Ibid. 122)

This light breakfast conversation seems to be making fun of Bryan's Fundamentalist defense during the Scopes Trial. By referring to the old argument about which came first, the chicken or the egg, the men are making light of Fundamentalist cosmology (explanation of the creation of the universe). The Scopes Trial of 1925 affected American literature. Writers incorporated the religious debate into their novels. We can find many references to Christian faith (or lack of it) in American writing. Chapter 2 of this dissertation is devoted to solely to the religious implications of American literature of the 1920s.

The problem of the idea of integrity in 1925 was crystalized in the complexities of the Scopes Trial. Yes, Shakespeare said, we must be true to ourselves. However, the Fundamentalists were insistent on what *they* perceived to be true: Human beings were created in the image of God. They insisted that the creation of the universe took place in exactly one week. They affirmed that man was created on the sixth day. Of course, this particular concept is at odds with the Modernist interpretation of creation. The Modernists would insist that integrity, for *them*, means adhering to the idea that Darwinian evolution explains the existence of human beings – they would add, however, that God controlled the gradual development of man in a process that took more than a week, more than thousands of years. So here we have conflict, both Fundamentalists and Modernists would insist that <u>their</u> integrity be respected.

The Impossible H.L. Mencken observed that:

> (in 1925), alcohol had been prohibited by law to the American people, as well as almost every form of sex, disturbing reading matter, and so on. Mencken also adverted to the Scopes Trial of the year whose verdict forbade the teaching of Darwin's theory of evolution in the schools of Christian Tennessee. (Vidal xx).

Vidal, as cynical about America of 1925 as was Mencken, reveals himself to be simpatico with the earlier journalist in adopting the same sarcastic tone in describing the basic thrust of the 1920s: people were demanding freedom in many different forms – as we shall note in this dissertation.

Menken gives a good sketch of the conflicting movements within America in 1925: hedonism (sexual excesses), religiosity, jazz music (and the culture of illicit "Speak Easies."). His emphasis here is that many Americans, especially in the South, an area he termed the *Bible Belt*, were hypocritical. They asserted firm belief in the Bible, but in fact, many of the churches were largely empty on Sundays (CDALB 195). People apparently wanted to keep the "atmosphere" of conservative Christian culture, but they also wanted to enjoy the sensualities of the jazz age, and the flapper ambience. Flappers are women who were enjoying a freer lifestyle: typically they are pictured with short hair, bizarre dance movements, smoking cigarettes, etc. They were the liberated women of the day. Mencken remarks in the

quotation above that many of the hypocritical Christians were less interested in missionary work in Africa than they were in "necking" (sexual expression – especially secretive sexual encounters).

We introduced the notion that the 1920s in America were the years of inconsistencies. Not all Americans were hedonists; not all Americans were religious, not all Americans were Fundamentalists, but each of these lifestyles had adherents. The 1920s, like all times in all cultures, were a mixture of various movements. It is important to remember that the same time period of the Scopes Trial is also the time period of the speakeasies and flappers and the jazz age. These are contradictory movements that existed simultaneously.

5. The Jazz Age and The Scopes Trial – Integrity and Rebellion

The Jazz Age and the Scopes Trial were concurrent. The 1920s was a time of religion but also a time of wild living (drinking illegal alcohol, dancing, etc.). These are opposites that existed at the same time. People were forced to choose sides of a religious argument. Issues to be considered were: (1) Did God create the world in seven days as the Bible says? (2) Were Adam and Eve actually the first human beings? (3) Did God create intelligent, fully developed human beings in the Garden of Eden as the Bible indicates? Or (4) Did life progress from "lower forms in the warm pond"? (Defares 341) eventually culminating in human beings as Darwin states? There are many books and documents referencing the 1871 letter which Darwin wrote to his friend John Hooker. In that letter, Darwin suggested that life began in a warm pond when chemicals acted upon each other and created life. And finally, the question among some people was, Is there even a God at all? We can understand that there was a 3-way argument in the 1920s (which carries on even to this day). First, the fight was between literalists (Christians, who insist on the exact wording of the Bible) and modernists (Christians who are willing to concede that some parts of the Bible are poetry and metaphor). The fight then proceeded to be between believers in God and non-believers.

6. American Literature – Incorporating the Themes of Rebellion

It is interesting that 1925 is also the publication date of several important works of American fiction. As we shall see, Theodore Dreiser's *An American Tragedy*, Hemingway's *In Our Time*, and Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* were prominent cultural experiences. The Scopes Trial represents inner contradictions of the American society in the 20s. The novels show how Americans struggled with the difficulty reconciling the spirituality of the Bible and the hedonism of the Roaring 20's.These literary works internalize those contradictions as their themes. They were published at the same time as the Scopes Trial. People at the time could choose which lifestyle they wanted: They could read intelligent cultural books; they could be strict fundamentalists and limit themselves to the Bible only; they could go to the illegal nightclubs.

The books by Hemingway et. al, were read by the intelligent, cultured people of the time. Additionally, there are other novels and literary works that were published in close proximity to 1925. Sinclair Lewis' *Elmer Gantry* was published in 1927. All of these works contain some elements of the religious debate. Of course, Christian Fundamentalism (the idea that the Bible is completely and scientifically correct) is not always the argument in the stories described above. In fact, Hemingway's "The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife" is a short story which presents the differences between a Christian Scientist wife (not Fundamentalist) and her apparently non-believer husband. It is particularly interesting that the 1920s should be the time of the Jazz Age (abandonment of form and morals) as well as the time of religious debate. At the same time that people were arguing about the reality of Adam and Eve, there was an atmosphere of illegal alcohol, drugs, cabarets, gangsters (Al Capone, etc.). Langston Hughes' poem about the *Nude Young Dancer* shows the sexuality and sensuality of the same period. In this poem we can see the simultaneous interest in religious imagery and in sexual suggestion. The woman is beautiful and seductive, but also she is suggestive of the tree in the Garden of Eden, according to the poet, (Locke 227). *Nude Young Dancer* is contained in *The New Negro* by Alain Locke. The book was originally published in 1925.

When we talk about a particular event such as the Scopes Trial, it is good to get an estimation of the Zeitgeist or the spirit of the time. As I studied the background of this trial and analyzed the social movements that were concurrent with it, one word comes to mind: *rebellion*. Rebellion occurs in every time period of course, but it is especially noticeable at this time. The government had passed the Volstead Act – alcohol was prohibited in the states, yet there was a massive illegal alcohol industry that flourished at the time. Gangsterism of the time is well-documented: Al Capone's famous shoot outs were a rebellion against the laws of the land. Speakeasies existed; they were nightclubs that provided a party atmosphere with alcohol. Flappers danced and dressed in a style that was considered shocking for proper ladies. African Americans demanded justice and respect as full citizens of the United States and as a people endowed with great creative and artistic potential. Written and unwritten laws of the time required that blacks be submissive, yet the 1920s were a time of creative outpouring and political demands by blacks. John T. Scopes rebelled against the Butler Act which forbade the teaching of Darwin's *Theory of Evolution.* 1925 was a year in which Americans were forced into making a decision about the Bible. Was the Bible the actual Word of God (as fundamentalists insisted)? Was the Bible authoritative in its presentation of the Creation of the World? Was the world really created in only six days (with God reserving the seventh day for rest and for admiration of His creation)? Were Adam and Eve actual historical characters and progenitors of the entire human race? The fundamentalists were adamant that the Bible was the final authority on how the earth was created. They also insisted that the Bible was the authority on how humans should behave toward each other. Yet, here again, was rebellion. Fundamentalists acknowledged the Bible as God's Great

Communication to human beings, yet these same Fundamentalists rebelled: they engaged in contentious argument and angry language and insult against their opponents, the modernists and atheists. Further, if we can take the words of H.L. Mencken as credible, the Christians of Dayton, Tennessee in 1925 were rebellious against their own teachings – it seems as though many people who claimed to be conservative Christians had abandoned going to Church. Mencken says that there were nine Christian Churches in Dayton, and they were basically empty. Mencken suggests that these Christians were more interested in making money on Sunday or in participating in the wild nightclub atmosphere. He mentions that the weeds were overtaking the church buildings. Of course, it must be remembered that Mencken was prejudiced against the South and against the Fundamentalists. He may have exaggerated. Yet, hypocrisy is a verifiable element in human nature, and a reader can probably assume that there may have been a preacher who did indeed go to a jazz club on Sunday, or who had a side job as a barber:

> The nine churches of the village were all half empty on Sunday, and weeds chocked their yards. Only two or three of the resident pastors managed to sustain themselves by their ghostly science; the rest had to take orders for mail order pantaloons or work in the adjacent strawberry fields; one , I heard was a barber (CDALB 195).

Mencken, again, is ridiculing Fundamentalists. He accuses them of hypocrisy: if religion is such a serious matter for argument, why aren't they attending worship on Sunday? His image of the weeds in the yards is an attack on the indolence of these southern people. Mencken makes use of the comical, and unfair, stereotype that the South is a place where people languish in the extreme heat and neglect upkeep of their property. Also, in this passage, we can glimpse Mencken's elitism. He was a man who was known for his wit and intellect. Possibly he is commenting on the lack of education among these "pastors". If they are not able to work in churches, the alternate jobs for them are not jobs that require extensive education: strawberry pickers, salesmen of pants, perhaps barbers.

The topic of that paragraph on the earlier page 29 is Mencken's well-known condescension of the uneducated "yokels" in the South (Darrow 288). Mencken's comment about the pastors and church workers in the region not taking care of their congregations shows Mencken's disapproval of their education backgrounds. In other words, Mencken is saying that these preachers are not doing the work they are supposed to be doing. He is ridiculing them for taking part in sensual pleasures: "dancing," and maybe even illicit sexual activity. Mencken is saying that since these 9 churches in Dayton are basically empty, then the pastors must do other work for money such as picking strawberries, etc.

We have noted that rebellion was the theme of the entire 1920s. Modernists were rebelling against the Fundamentalist insistence on a literal interpretation of the Bible. Jazz music was a rebellion against the established form of music that required certain expected patterns. Jazz music was often improvisational (the same song or instrumental might be

performed differently depending on the occasion. Atheists were rebelling against the religious control of American society in general. Many Fundamentalists were hypocritical. They did not behave in ways that we would expect of good Christian people; Mencken describes pastors who were not doing their expected work.

We want to emphasize that the Scopes trial was part of a general mood of rebellion in American society in the 1920s. There is connection between the rebellion of the Scopes Trial (John Scopes rebelled against the Butler Act and taught Darwinian Evolution) and other rebellions. The gangsterism of Al Capone was a rebellion against government regulation of alcohol sales (the gangsterism of Al Capone occurred at the time). We want to place the three major pieces of American literature within this general theme of rebellion. Just as we have talked about John Scopes rebelling against the Butler Act, we need to appreciate the rebellion of the Hemingway Code Hero. If Scopes was rebelling against the Butler Act, then Harold Krebs was rebelling against the American Dream concept (employment, marriage, material possessions, etc.)

There were conflicts between Fundamentalists and Modernists. In 1925, there were Christians who reconciled science with the Bible. They allowed for large sections of *The Book of Genesis* to be poetic and not word-for-word true. These Modernists rejected the strict teachings of Fundamentalists. Both of these religious groups acknowledged the existence of God. They both appreciated the Bible as an authoritative text. But their arguments are laced with amazingly insulting language directed at each other.

Edward J. Larson's study of the trial, *Summer for the Gods*, makes plain the lack of civility in the Scopes Trial. When Clarence Darrow famously questions William Jennings Bryan in a special outside session of the trial, the language of ridicule seems to be used. Darrow was defending Scopes' right to teach the scientific theory of the origin of the world and humanity. Bryan was sitting on stage, supposedly defending the Fundamentalists who objected to Scopes' rebellion against the Butler Act. Each lawyer tried to make comments that would get cheers from their respective supporters. Unfortunately, for Fundamentalists, Darrow seems to have got the upper hand. Ridicule of Fundamentalism and of Bryan seems to have been his intention.

Larson described the special court session in which Darrow questions Bryan. It was held outside on the courthouse lawn:

> Fears that the huge crowd would collapse the floor forced the judge to move the afternoon's proceedings onto the courthouse lawn, with the antagonists on a crude wooden platform before a sea of speculators, much like Punch and Judy puppets […].

Larson says the event was much like a Punch and Judy Show at a festival (Larson 4). The reference to the old puppet characters is particularly apt since the children's show emphasizes the physical attacks the dolls make on each other. When Larson referenced the Punch and Judy Show, he was merely making a metaphor. He did not mean that there was

actually such a show during the trial. He means that adults were laughing and enjoying a primitive entertainment as they observed the mental fighting between Darrow and Bryan. It would seem that a court case would always be conducted with respect and seriousness, however, on this 7th day of the trial, the audience was very vocal and emotional in their reactions to the principals. The whole event was like a Punch and Judy Show. As is shown in the dramatization, *Inherit the Wind*, the event was particularly brutal for Bryan who was no match, at least on that day, for the wily Darrow. Both men were appreciated for their intelligence and their skills at debate, however, in the carnival-like atmosphere, Bryan did not fare well. Darrow commends Bryan as an authority on the Bible, then he proceeds to set a trap for him. He asked Bryan to commit himself to belief in a particular Bible story – God stopped the sun in its passage to help the warrior, Joshua, in a battle. Bryan acknowledged that the Bible was correct in that story. Darrow, of course, asserted that the story was impossible. The earth could not have survived such an event, "Don't you know the earth would have been converted in a molten mass of matter?" (Darrow 287) After each remark by the opponents, people in the bleachers laughed or smiled to each other to show approval of their man's performance. The result of the grueling questioning was that Bryan proved unsatisfactory as a defender of strict Fundamentalism. At one point, Bryan even concedes on a very important issue: he suggested that the seven days of Creation might actually be seven long period of time (as opposed to precise 24 hour periods). Darrow at one point referred to Bryan's faith as "that fool religion" – an expression of great contempt (Ibid, 5). Bryan manages to get expression of sympathy from his supporters in the stands. He indicates his disgust at the insults which Darrow aimed at Fundamentalists. He objects to Darrow's categorizing of Southern Christians as "yokels" – a term which means uneducated country people.

Any student of the Scopes Trial in America would have to arrive at several conclusions: Americans were divided in their interpretations of the Bible; very conservative Christians insisted on a very literal interpretation of the Bible. Several groups emerged as a result of this polarization. Fundamentalists insisted that the Bible was word-for- word true. They were also part of the rebellious culture of the American 1920s. Modernists suggested that Darwinian theory might be accurate, but that God set evolution into motion. The Fundamentalists were made laughable, and they suffered an "image blow" at the hands of Clarence Darrow (the lawyer for the defense), and H.L. Mencken (the reporter who traveled to the South to write about the 1925 event), was particularly insulting to the region and the religion:

> When Mencken arrived in Dayton, Tennessee he found the town decked out as for a carnival. The road leading to Chattanooga had been lined with signs that read, 'Sweethearts, Come to Jesus,' 'You Need God in Your Business,' 'And Prepare to Meet Thy God."[…].There were comic posters depicting monkeys and coconuts; a circus man brought two chimpanzees to testify for the prosecution and set them up as a side show.

> […]. Not withstanding this carnival atmosphere, Mencken found much to admire in Dayton (Rodgers 561).

The argumentative language of the times was filled with unkind, mean-spirited terms: (1) Monkeys – Fundamentalists jokingly used this word to refer to evolutionists. (2) "Your jackass religion" – Darrow referred to Bryan's faith. (3) Yokels – Darrow referred to uneducated Fundamentalists.

The insightful paper by Jeffrey Moran gives a clear picture of the complexities of 1925 and The Trial. The title is "The Scopes Trial and Southern Fundamentalism in Black and White: Race, Region, and Religion." The paper is useful for definitions of Fundamentalism and for defining one historical moment as the formal beginning of the movement. According to Moran, the movement can trace its formal genesis to the 1919 meeting of the World's Christian Fundamentals Association (WCFA). Central to the teaching of these religious conservatives was the rejection of Darwin's Theory of Evolution which stated that human beings gradually evolved from lower forms of life. Of course, the tenets of Fundamentalism include a host of other concepts, all of which assert that the Bible is literally true (Darrow 286). The prosecutor against John T. Scopes in the 1925 trial, William Jennings Bryan attempted to say that the Bible was completely and literally true. He boldly states: "I accept the Bible absolutely." But later under the harsh questioning by the defense lawyer, Clarence Darrow, Bryan was less strident, allowing for the seven days of creation to be seven periods of indeterminate length. That was disappointment to rigid Fundamentalists who hold that God created everything within one week as The Book of *Genesis* states. As we shall discuss in other passages of this dissertation, fundamentalism relies on a strict belief that God created the world as is recorded in The *Book of Genesis* (i.e., in one week, with God saving his greatest work until last: the Creation of Adam and Eve, specific individuals who awoke in the Garden of Eden and became the progenitors of the entire human race).

7. African American Assertion of Self-Definition During the 1920s and the Period of the Scopes Trial

Larson says that some liberal Christian ministers had accepted the possibility of Darwinian science as truth. However, this agreement of certain Christian scholars with evolutionists was highly offensive to Fundamentalists:

> For Christians (Fundamentalists) this posed a conflict with the account in *Genesis*, which declared that God formed the heavens, the earth, and all kinds of living things within six days, culminating in the creation of Adam and Eve as the forebears of all human beings (15).

Moran's paper, "The Scopes Trial and Southern Fundamentalism in Black and White: Race, Region, and Religion" of *The Journal of Southern History* emphasizes that the movement was most active in the American South, the region which H.L. Mencken denounces with such

contempt, referring to it as the Bible Belt. As indicated earlier in this chapter, Mencken characterized the whole region as backward, and hypocritical. His famous passage (quoted in the introduction) about the preachers and religious fanatics of the 1920s creates a caricature: the same people who professed a literal belief in the Bible had actually spent less time in the 9 churches of Dayton, Tennessee than they did in secular places which encouraged sensual activities (necking). Mencken uses the memorable metaphor of "fire-proof legs." Mencken uses that term to ridicule Sunday teachers and preachers as men who engaged in dancing and other activities not associated with the holy life. The legs are fireproof because the fundamentalists believe themselves saved from the fires of hell, even if they did use those same legs to walk into illegal nightclubs and to engage themselves with flappers (women whose free spirit was expressed in drinking, dancing and cutting their hair to neck length).

Further, Moran notices an important division among Fundamentalist Christians at the time of the Scopes Trial in 1925. Black and White Christians in the American South had expressed almost the same literal interpretation of the Bible. However, during the trial, *the Black Christians were more uncomfortable than White Christians.* Darwin's "Theory of Evolution and the Survival of the Fittest" did give prejudiced White people some comfort – they could believe that Blacks were connected to simians (apes, monkeys and gorillas), but of course they reserved for themselves a loftier Creation: fully matured and intellectually capable beings brought into immediate existence by the hands of God. *A common insult to African Americans and the world's Blacks is that they are not fully human,* but indeed are descendants of monkeys. Church ministers offered theological arguments on the question of how humankind acquired a soul.

> 'There couldn't be any relation between man and monkey,' noted Rev. A.B. Callis of Baltimore, 'A monkey has no soul, therefore has no salvation. But man has both a soul and a salvation.' The Reverend Elizabeth Green of Nelson Memorial Church […] likewise refused to reconcile her belief that God breathed life and 'a living soul' into man that human could ever be 'evolutionalized' (Moran 101).

Hence, there is the fairly common insult even today of attendees at soccer matches of throwing bananas onto the field when Black athletes appear. During the 2008 Presidential Campaign, prejudiced White Southerners made fun of candidate Barack Obama by holding up placards of Curious George, a cartoon character monkey whose exaggerated ears gave detractors material to laugh at – they cited Obama's protruding ears and saw other similar features between the eventual president and the cartoon monkey. "A T-shirt comparing Barack Obama to cartoon monkey Curious George is drawing fire both from supporters of Obama's presidential campaign and the publisher of the book series, Boston-based Houghton Miffin."[6]

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[6] " 'Curious George' Comparison Draws Fire." August 22, 2012. <http://www.boston.com/news/politics/politicalintelligence/2008/05/curious_george.html>

It is easy to see, then, why some African Americans in the 1920s were eager to denounce Darwin's Theory of Evolution: they wanted to assert their complete humanity as beings created in the very image of God, and their distinct and separate creation from the creation of lower forms of life. Moran cites the poem by Thelma I. Sullivan in which she insists that African Americans are part of the human race which God honored by a separate Creation (from animals), culminating with the placement of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden.

So, do not question any more.
If we were always men or monkeys before;
For when we leave this world below,
To our creator we will go (Moran 100).

We see then that there was a racial undertone during the Scopes Trial. Many White Fundamentalists wanted to assert that they are descendants of Adam and Eve – specific, historical characters created at the end of the first week. They would not accord Blacks the same dignified origins, but consign them to the creation of lower animal life earlier in the first week.

Some African Americans were very determined to denounce Darwin's theory. To them, evolution was a concept that racists could use to advantage – to suggest that black people were not fully evolved from simians. In 1925 the A.M.E. Church, an important and historical church founded by African Americans, printed several essays rejecting Darwin's teachings. John W. Norris stated that the Bible indicates that God gave human beings dominion over the animals. "Humans therefore could not have evolved from animals, for humans could not descend from creatures they ruled" (Ibid. 102).

8. Conclusion to Chapter 1

The Scopes Trial might be regarded as a great synecdoche –It was only part of a period of the campaign for integrity and rebellion in the 1920s, but it is a phenomenon which represents the whole of the period. In literature, synecdoche is a device in which a writer will mention only part of something to suggest the entirety of something. A writer might speak of the entire monarchial system of government in England as: "The Crown insists on the loyalty of subjects." Of course, Crown in that context refers to the Queen who is only part of British society. Indeed the Crown is only part of the Queen's royal attire. Yet the word Crown symbolizes the government. So, too, might we speak of The Scopes Trial as the centerpiece of the larger issue of integrity in American society. The larger issue in the 1920s involved the ardent expression of integrity in government, in religion, in race relations, in music, and in literature. All of these areas had advocates for freedom of expression and the freedom to deviate from established norms. Just as John Scopes argued for academic freedom and the right to teach a theory of Creation that differed from the Biblical teaching, so too did African Americans argue for the right to assert their intellectualism and creative powers. So, too, did

the “flapper women” argue for the right to cut their hair and behave in ways foreign to the traditional concept of the polite lady. The Scopes Trial ultimately resulted in the failure of John Scopes to defeat the Fundamentalists. But the trial was a grand showcase for the insistence on integrity that continues to define modern America.

Chapter 2
The Theme of Integrity in Alain Locke's *The New Negro,* and Other Works of African-American Literature

1. Introduction

As integrity was a major theme during the 1925 Scopes Trial, it was also an issue at the forefront of African-American creative expression during the Harlem Renaissance which gained impetus during that same year. Locke, in his foreword to his seminal work, *The New Negro,* makes it very clear that the volume is very different from most other works on African Americans. There had been books written about Blacks, but this volume was specifically designed to showcase the African American abilities to express themselves. The phrase *self-expression,* which we might construe to be a synonym for integrity, recurs many times throughout Locke's Foreword of 1925, and throughout the 1992 Arnold Rampersad introduction to the re-issue of the work:

> We turn therefore in the other direction to the other elements of truest portraiture, and discover in the artistic self-expression of the Negro today a new figure on the national canvas and a new force in the foreground of affairs […]. (Locke xxv)

Rampersad, noted African American scholar, appreciates the monumental effort of Locke to create an anthology in which Black men articulate their own worldview. To be sure, there were many books in 1925 (the year of Locke's first edition of *The New Negro*) and even in 1992 (the year of Rampersad's introduction to the re-issued volume) which presented analyses of Black life and culture by White men. The creative Black artists and contributors to the anthology insisted on their integrity (their right to define themselves as intellectuals and worthy of academic and artistic acclaim). Such Blacks resented the representations of the race as inferior: "It raises a clear note of protest against the assumptions about Blacks in such influential works as Houston Steward Chamberlain's *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* […]" (Ibid. xv).

Any student of American literature will appreciate that there is an important connection between the trial of 1925, and the publication of *The New Negro*. Both events involved the determination of people to assert their own ideas – even if those ideas went against the consensus.

Rampersad goes on to catalogue a series of books which attempted to explain African American inferiority. Not included in the list is *Civic Biology*, the text which John Scopes used in his controversial class in which he allegedly taught Darwinian evolution. *Civic Biology* was "heavily laced with racism of the day" (Larson 23). The thesis of that book is that life evolved from lower forms to higher forms, culminating in the appearance of the Caucasian race on earth. Considering that *Civic Biology* had a wide readership in 1925, it is no wonder that African Americans were eager to showcase the integrity of their own artistic

talents.

2. *The New Negro*, Garvey, and African American Reaction to Fundamentalism

Alain Locke's *The New Negro* refuted the prevalent thinking of some White American professors who denied the creative and artistic powers within the African-American community. In his landmark publication, *Race: The History of an Idea in America* (1963), Thomas F. Gossett sheds light on the basic indignity which intellectual Black Americans endured and suffered for centuries – a dismissal of their artistic genius. Gossett states that with the exception of a few White academicians, the writing skills of African Americans were ignored (Gossett x). Gossett speaks of the times of the Scopes Trial, the 1920s, when only a very few White professors considered Black intellectuals and artists having any ability to contribute to American literature. With this sentiment saturating the time around the Scopes Trial, Locke boldly put before America an anthology which celebrated African American creativity. Against the prejudiced backdrop, *The New Negro* is testament to African American artistic integrity.

What is *integrity* if it is not going against the consensus of a dominant culture? Marcus Garvey, influential entrepreneur and philosopher, also articulated the integrity of *The New Negro*. Published in 1925, "We are the Arbiters of Our Own Destiny," expresses the racial self-awareness that the African American dissident Garvey proclaimed to his people (Hill 6).

Fundamentalism as variously interpreted by many different groups within American culture during the 1920s did have one common denominator. African Americans, Protestant Christian Conservatives, and American writers of the Realism school all focused on *returning to some original state*. They all wanted things to be as they were in some former "good" time. African Americans began to dream about a return to the glorious days in Africa (before their being kidnapped to America as slaves). Religious conservatives wanted to insist on a literal belief in a Creation that began in the Garden of Eden[7] (they affirmed a literal interpretation of the Book of *Genesis* account of God's formation of a fully grown man and woman – Adam and Eve – who were then the progenitors of the human race). Realism writers in America (*Hemingway*, (Bloom 10) Dreiser, and others) often focused on a "fallen world" that had departed from an earlier time of innocence.) The writers of the Realism style in American Literature were concerned with the idea of "fallen." They subscribed to the Christian term, "Fallen." It is an allusion to the eviction of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden in *Genesis*. These writers may not have stated their position on the literal or figurative interpretation of *Genesis*, but they seemed to agree with the general Bible idea of a loss of innocence. Harold Bloom in *The Western Canon* identifies Hemingway with Mark Twain, Faulkner and Fitzgerald as writers of the Realist camp. However, other scholars such as

[7] Consistent with constant references and allusion to the Christian Bible, Hemingway began a novel in the 1940s and published posthumously in 1986 entitled *The Garden of Eden*.

Susan Beegel identify Hemingway as a member of the Naturalist school. Whichever school a scholar may categorize Hemingway, it can definitely be agreed that a fallen world is represented in *For Whom the Bell Tolls* and in *The Nick Adams Stories.* Such works feature the meanness of human beings and their lack of charity toward one another. His characters lament the selfishness and the worship of materialism.

Various critics classify Hemingway in different ways. He is considered a realist in the manner of Mark Twain by Harold Bloom. He is considered a Naturalist by Susan F. Beegel in *A Historical Guide to Ernest Hemingway*. He is not included in the Realism volume of the Concise DALB. "The Fall" is a particular term that refers to the condition of the universe after Adam and Eve were punished for their disobedience. This is a very serious Christian concept. "The Fall" is alluded to in many pieces of American literature such as Arthur Miller's drama, *After the Fall*. "Fallen" is an often-used religious term referring to Adam and Eve's loss of permanent residence in Eden because of their disobedience to God. Religious writers often speak of Man's fallen state. They are referring to the harsh realities of life that came into existence when Adam and Eve were expelled from the perfect Garden.

In spite of their differences, Christian Fundamentalists and African Fundamentalists share an idea that there was a special time of glory and beauty that human beings have lost. In the case of Fundamentalists, that utopian time would be in the Garden of Eden in the Book of *Genesis*. According to Christians, Adam and Eve were the first man and woman. They were placed in a perfect, idyllic world. But because of disobedience they were evicted from that Garden. Christians believe that they will return in that perfect place of peace and beauty when they enter the Heaven after death.

Marcus Garvey started the Back to Africa Movement. It is hard to determine Christian influence on Garvey. Garvey speaks of God and Jesus in very respectful terms. In some of his essays, he does seem to sympathize with the theory of Evolution. However, he also expressed his dedication to some of the ideas of Roman Catholic Church. What is clear in the case of Garvey is that he believed African Americans were wrongly and rudely kidnapped from Africa, which had its own glorious history. He claims that Whites erased the memory of the Blacks' glorious past.

We can see the connection between Christian Fundamentalism and Garvey's African Fundamentalism – they both employ the idea of a glorified mythical time and place that they have lost, either by eviction or abduction. In the case of Adam and Eve, they lost the wonderful garden because of their disobedience. In the case of African Fundamentalism, Black men were brutally and crudely abducted from Africa and brought to the Americas. The humiliating experience of slavery was that slaves were taken from various countries within Africa. These countries had different languages, in accord with their ethnic divide. According to many people in America, Africans of different language groups were forced to live together. This mixture of different groups prevented Blacks from communicating with each other. The

difficulty in communication achieved two goals:

・It prevented Africans from transmitting teachings, ideas, and mythologies about the great African past.

・The mixture of language groups made it difficult for slaves to coordinate escapes.

When we use the word, mythologies we are not necessarily saying these stories about the glorious past are false. We are simply indicating that belief in a mythical past empowers and unites communities. Just as Christian conservatives persist in their teaching of the glories of the Garden of Eden, African Americans glorify the wonderful libraries, kingdoms, and universities (Timbucktu) of the old pre-colonial Africa. Whether these stories are historically accurate or not is beside the point. It is important that stories give each group a sense of identity. African Americans often claim that the Queen of Sheba, Cleopatra, and even the Roman Catholic saint and scholar, Augustine, were Blacks. White scholars may refute these claims. However these mythologies are promoting their racial awareness and unity.

We can say that the "fundamentalism" of the various groups within American society all implied, and regretted, a detour from a better time and path. According to Garveyites and African Fundamentalism, American slavery, segregation, and dehumanization of Blacks were attempts at erasing the glorious African past. We can see the connection between the African Fundamentalists and the writers of the American realist tradition: they consistently lament the loss of a golden time.

It is important to note that the factuality of these "former good times" may be a myth. Whether or not they are true, these mythological pasts energized their respective communities. In Garvey's Socratic type dialogue of a Black father and son, the elder informs the child that Tutankumen, the great Egyptian pharaoh, was of the "Negro race" (Hill 160). Again, such assertions of a great African past replete with the great library at Timbuctu, etc, may be denied by White scholars; however, the point is that this mythology was relished by Garvey and other believers in Negritude. The dreaming of a glorious past is also an energizing element in Locke's anthology, and indeed in modern African American thought.

A provocateur that both angered and frightened White Americans in the 1920s, Marcus Garvey intentionally coined the term *African Fundamentalism*. It alluded to an entirely alternative type of Fundamentalism. The Fundamentalism of Christian conservatives during the Scopes Trial asserted that the literal interpretation of the Garden of Eden scene in the Bible was the right one. Religious Fundamentalists did not want to accept a metaphorical or poetic interpretation. For them, it was necessary to affirm that God created the world in exactly 6 days (the 7^{th} day was reserved for God's "rest" and reflection). Garvey's African American Fundamentalism referred not so much to the account in Genesis as it did to a time of great glory in ancient Africa – a time before Black men were dehumanized during American slavery.

Garvey is a kindred spirit to Langston Hughes who also celebrated a glorious African past.

Both of these writers achieved prominence during the 1920s. Leitch even puts Hughes in the same category of American writers of Realism (a category that included Ernest Hemingway, John Steinbeck, and Theodore Dreiser). These writers signed a letter of support for certain Communist ideals. Even though these writers softened this political stance in later years, their identification with the poor worker fits in with the goals of Realism (to articulate the miseries of the poor and lower classes who faced a harsh reality of life). Although Leitch does not specifically label these writers as Realists, his implications that their focus was on the plight of the poor puts them in this category. It is interesting that Garvey, like these more respected American writers, believed in a glorious past. Hemingway, by implication, would assert that Americans of the 1920s had become obsessed with materialism and had detoured from a more innocent time in the nation's history. Garvey would insist that the Black man originated in a fabulous kingdom – but was later subjugated by cruel Whites (possibly as their own punishment by God for some earlier arrogance). Garvey expressed his interest in the Christian religion. He dabbled in various forms of Christian religion (he apparently was an Episcopalian at one time; he obviously was greatly influenced by New Thought religion and Christian Scientism; he expressed some appreciation for Roman Catholicism as well). Garvey's religious beliefs are rather beautifully expressed in several essays entitled *God*, *Christ*, and so on. Garvey almost constantly spoke about the racial problems in America; however, these particular religious essays are free of his usual racial rants. The religious essays are rather soothing in their affirmation of God and His Creation. It is difficult to state exactly what was Garvey's belief with reference to Christian Fundamentalism. However in several places he implies a belief in evolution.

At the same time that Fundamentalists were insisting the Bible was literally correct in its statement that man was created in the very image of God, many of these same Fundamentalists were claiming that the Black was a separate creation. The idea persists among racists that whereas the White man resembles his Creator (intellectually, morally, spiritually), the Black man is akin to lower primates. Alain Locke's *The New Negro*, a social and cultural phenomenon at the same time of the Scopes Trial, is a grand and eloquent effort to assert the African American's claim to being created in the image of God. Just as some White Fundamentalists determined that their origins extend back to Genesis, so, too, did the Black in 1925 lay claim to origins as explained in the Scriptures: "So God created man in his own image, in the image of God he created he him; male and female he created them" (*KJV* Gen. 1.27). It is important to note that all Fundamentalists support the idea that *Genesis* literally explains the Creation of human beings. However, Fundamentalists of *racist temperament* do not include Blacks in this creation account.[8] This passage of Scripture is the

[8] The problem for racist Fundamentalists has always been that they readily enough affirm that God created them as recorded in *Genesis*1:27. Fundamentalists sometimes denied that Blacks were human. They had to explain to themselves the origin of the Blacks. If Blacks were not human, when and where they created. It was important for some slave owners in America to believe that Black people were not human. Gossett, *Race: The*

keystone of the Fundamentalist insistence on humankind being formed as fully intelligent beings on the sixth day.

What does it mean to be created in the image of God? Fundamentalists do not necessarily believe that God has hands and eyes and a physical body (the biblical references to God having those specific body parts are usually regarded as poetic). The primary way in which Man resembles God, according to Fundamentalists, is that human beings are intellectual, capable of reasoning and prayer. Nevertheless, the poetic representation of God is a persistent element in religion. God's hand is often referred to in the Bible, in sermons and in religious teaching. Of many such references, we might cite:

> 'For all those things hath mine hand made, and all those things have been, saith the Lord:' but to this man will I look, even to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at my word. (*KJV* Isa. 66.2)

Black writers during the Harlem Renaissance also used this poetic reference to God's "physical body." James Weldon Johnson's poem, "The Creation," is a work written in the old Negro dialect. It is imaginative, but, at its core it reiterates the sentiments of (*KJV* Gen. 1.27). Johnson uses the Negro idioms in this poetic account of creation in order to assert the black man's presence in the Bible passage:

> Then God sat down
> On the side of a hill where He could think;
> By a deep, wide river He sat down;
> With His head in His hands,
> God thought and thought, Till He thought, "*I'll make me a man.*"
>
> Up from the bed of a river
> God scooped the clay; And by the bank of the river
> He kneeled Him down;
> And there the great God Almighty
> Who lit the sun and fixed it in the sky,
> Who flung the stars to the far most corner of the night,
> Who rounded the earth in the middle of His hand;
> This Great God,
> Like a *mammy* bending over her baby,
> Kneeled down in the dust
> Toiling over a lump of clay
> Till He shaped it in *His own image*;

History of an Idea in America p. 31 states that the famous Christian preacher, Cotton Mather, did create a school for Blacks, but he wondered about whether they were of the same "species" as Whites.

Then into it He blew the breath of life,
And man became a living soul.
Amen. Amen (Locke 140-141; italics mine).

Johnson was one of the most creative and intellectual African Americans of the 1920s. He edited his collection of poems by many African Americans, *The Book of American Negro Poetry*, in 1922, just three years before the Scopes Trial and the publication of *The New Negro*. We can see the imaginative power of Johnson as he uses the persona of an old Negro preacher explaining the Creation.

At this point, it is important to keep in mind the following points: not all Christians are Fundamentalists, not all White Americans are racists, not all African Americans are Fundamentalists (but some are). All Christians: White, Black, Fundamentalists, Modernists, etc. revere the Bible. They all agree that *Genesis* (*KJV* Gen. 1.27) explains the Creation. Those who are Fundamentalists insist that the passage is word for word true, literally. Those who are modernists say that the overall idea is true, but the passage is symbolic, metaphorical, and literary. The latter group of people might accept that humans slowly evolved from lower forms of life. Fundamentalists reject that idea. *Racist* fundamentalists are inconsistent: they say White people were created on the sixth day, but that Blacks evolved from lower animals. "Enlightened" White Fundamentalists would say that all of humanity descended from Adam and Eve who were created by God on the sixth day. As mentioned above, some Black scholars supported both the literal Biblical interpretation; others supported the metaphorical interpretation of Scripture.

3. *The New Negro* and the Scopes Trial: A Thematic Affinity

The New Negro is a collection of poems, essays, and commentary on the social life of America in the 1920s. Just like John Scopes, it, too, develops the theme of freedom of expression. Black people in the 1920s were insulted by the American government. We may regard the long history of discriminatory laws as insult. They were not treated as full-fledged citizens. Prior to 1965, Black people in many parts of the United States (but particularly in the Bible Belt) could not attend the public schools with White children (Katz 263). Of course there were isolated incidences of inclusion. However, basically life for Blacks in the USA prior to 1965 was a "life apart":

> In Natchez, Mississippi (which had a Negro mayor) black and white children played together in the streets. Louisiana School Superintendent Thomas Conway described school integration: 'The children were simply kind to each other in the school-room as in the streets and elsewhere.' But 99 percent of the Southern school remained segregated. Negro parents knew that school integration lead to the closing of schools. They accepted education on a segregated level rather than this dread possibility.

It is interesting that in the North there were many night clubs in which Black musicians were

the featured performers. One such famous club was the Cotton Club of Harlem. The patrons were White people. Black people were not allowed as patrons; they were allowed only as performers and as waiters. The 1925 publication of *The New Negro* fits thematically with the Scopes Trial, and the popularity of Jazz music. Further it suggests the nightclub atmosphere of the 1920s. The 1920s was a time when various groups of people were asserting their right to freedom and integrity. If John Scopes was asserting his right to teach Evolution, then the Jazz musicians of the age were asserting their right to create a different kind of music that did not follow the formulas of music before it. Additionally, the poetry in *The New Negro* celebrated racial pride.

Scientifically much of the *New Negro* contains references to the Jazz Age. Langston Hughes' poem, "Jazzonia" is a statement of freedom and integrity:

Oh, silver tree!
Oh, shining rivers of the soul!

In a Harlem cabaret
Six long-headed jazzers play.
A dancing girl whose eyes are bold
Lifts high a dress of silken gold.

Oh, shining tree!
Oh, shining rivers of the soul!

Were Eve's eyes
In the first garden
Just a bit too bold?
Was Cleopatra gorgeous
In a gown of gold?

Oh, shining tree!
Oh, silver rivers of the soul!

In a whirling cabaret
Six-long-headed jazzers play (Locke 226).

In this poem, the observer is watching a woman dance. She is very sensual, and the writer in the persona of a cabaret patron makes the connection between the Black woman dancer and Eve of the Bible, the first woman, and Cleopatra, the beautiful woman of history.

The dancing girl is both a jaded Eve recently shorn of her innocence at that tree of

> knowledge, and an ultra-sophisticated Cleopatra. The traditional significance of silver and gold, tree and garden, river and soul are intended. The cabaret is all gorgeous glitter (Jemie 34).

Within African American circles, there is a belief that because Adam was created from the earth, he would have been dark complexioned. There is also a belief that Cleopatra was an African beauty.[9] Of course, White society, especially in 1925, did not accept such ideas. Whether it is true or not that Adam and Eve and Cleopatra were dark skinned does not matter. The point is that African Americans were motivated toward pride because they believed the myth. In the poem, the observer enjoys the free form dance:

> The total effect is that of joy and sorrowful disappointment, two opposing moods which adequately reflect those of the dancing girl – an embodiment of Eve and Cleopatra, their initial joyous allurements and eventual sorrows combined. Like real American Negro jazz, "Jazzonia" has an undercurrent of sorrow (Bloom 158).

1925 was the year of several significant publications. As noted above, Hemingway's *In Our Time* presented characters who were attempting to live lives of integrity and independence. Krebs of "Soldier's Home" rejected the materialism of his real estate agent father, and the Christianity of his mother. In "The Revolutionist" (included in *In Our Time*) there is a young man involved in the intrigue of the Communist propaganda movement in 1919. He appreciates art, and he rejects the established government of Hungary (he was tortured in his home country of Hungary, presumably because he is a Communist). *The New Negro,* by Alain Locke, is also a collection of works (much of which is non-fiction) in which an entire race of people launch a campaign to be recognized as individuals. Just as "The Revolutionist" was working to express his opinion against the non-Communist rulers in Hungary, the Negroes in the 1925 Locke anthology were working to express their dissatisfaction with the stereotypical images of them as presented in the intolerant American society of that time.

The New Negro is a work that seeks to show a great contrast between the upward-moving Negroes of 1925 and their less-free ancestors in American history. It is no secret that Black people were extremely oppressed during American history. In 1925, life was still miserable for many Black people, but it was arguably better than the lives of their ancestors in the 1700s and 1800s. In fact, during slavery, there were codes preventing the education of Black people. Many Black slaves found ingenious ways to defy the government and learn to read. *The Life of Frederick Douglass* is a famous work in which the noted orator and abolitionist speaks against slavery. He learned to read by forcing poor White children to teach him what they learned at school during the day. Douglass was a slave child, but he had access to food. His mother was a servant for a wealthy White man. The poor White school

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[9] Jone Johnson Lewis. "Was Cleopatra Black?" *about education*. Web. July 4, 2015.

children going to school had access to education, but they did not have access to food.

> Seized with a determination to learn to read, […]. I was most successful that of using my young white playmates, with whom I met in the streets as teachers. I used to carry a copy of Webster's spelling book in my pocket; […] I would step, with my young friends, aside, and take a lesson in spelling. I usually paid my tuition fee to the boys, with bread which I also carried in my pocket (Douglass 85).

Young Douglass was able to get reading lessons in exchange for food. The introduction to Alain Locke's *The New Negro* attests to the insistence of Black people in 1925 that they were hungry for universal respect and thus intellectually capable and that they were deserving of recognition for their creative efforts:

> Negro life is not only establishing new contacts and founding new centers, it is finding new soul. There is a fresh spiritual and cultural focusing. We have, as a heralding sign, an unusual outburst of creative expression. There is a renewed race-spirit that consciously and proudly sets itself apart (Locke xxvii).

Here is the common thread in all these works. The struggle to maintain integrity and independence is evidenced in: Krebs (Hemingway's "Soldier's Home"); "The Revolutionist" (title character of Hemingway's short story); the numerous African American contributors to *The New Negro; v*arious protagonists in other literature of the 1920s (*The Great Gatsby, An American Tragedy*).

I have been arguing throughout this chapter that *The New Negro* is part of the great insistence on freedom and integrity of the 1920s. The Scopes Trial expresses the struggle for freedom and integrity with regard to religion; *The New Negro* expresses that same struggle within the context of racial equality and politics.[10]

The New Negro showcases African-American intellectual talent. In addition to poetry, there are social commentaries in the 1925 work in which authors condemn American society for denying the Black man's humanity. *The New Negro* documents the history of Harlem. Originally, it was a White area which excluded Black people from buying houses and renting there. Through a complicated series of changes, Harlem eventually developed into a Black enclave:

> The migration away from the hated South, with its bitter legacy of slavery and segregation, to the greatest city in the nation, and the settlement of blacks in an excellently located district that boasted the finest housing stock that blacks had been allowed to inhabit […], seems to auger a new day for African-Americans (Rampersad xiv).

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[10] We see in *Summer for the Gods*, the argument that there was a racial element in the Scopes Trial. Black fundamentalist Christians are insistent that they are also part of the 6th day creation. There are some very sad passages in the *Summer for the Gods* in which Black people "have had" to argue that they were equally created by God. No human being should have to argue that he is human.

Not only was it an enclave, but it became a location for the Negro Renaissance – Black writers and artists gathered in coffee houses and shared their creativity with one another.

To fully understand the heart of *The New Negro* assertions, we need to might pay particular attention to the contributions of Langston Hughes. At first glance, Hughes' poem might be interpreted simply as a paean to his race. A reader might simply think that it is a usual piece of literature in which the writer boasts of the greatness of his people. Probably creating such impression is part of Hughes' intention. But as we consider the time period of the work, we might think of the poem as a rejection of the racism of the time. Reading Hughes' lyrical work, the reader is impressed with the insistence on the ancient origins of people, people who are characterized by intelligence and "knowing." These people, Hughes assures us, are possessed of a soul and were bathers in the Euphrates, one of the four rivers flowing in Eden – the site of the creation of the first human beings:

I've known rivers . . .
I've known rivers ancient as the world and older than the flow
of human blood in human veins.
My soul has grown deep like the rivers.

I bathed in the Euphrates when dawns were young,
I built my hut near the Congo and it lulled me to sleep,
I looked upon the Nile and raised the pyramids above it.

I heard the singing of the Mississippi when
Abe Lincoln went down to New Orleans,
And I've seen its muddy bosom turn all golden in the sunset.

I've known rivers:
Ancient, dusky rivers,
My soul has grown deep like the rivers.
(qtd in Locke 141).

The "Negro" of Hughes' poem is not part of evolutionary process. He existed with intelligence "when the dawns were young." He propagated his race, and prospered in the Nile region of later generations. Embedded within the poem is the concept, very popular among African Americans today that they lived in a glorified past in Africa (and may have some DNA relationship with nobility of the times, Cleopatra, the Queen of Sheba, and other notables). When Hughes moves the setting of the short poem from the Biblical Euphrates, to the Nile of the time of the pyramids, to the Mississippi, a sad journey is implied here. The Negro at the time of Biblical Euphrates and at the time of the Nile and the Pyramids would

have had the dignity of freedom and creativity. The Negro at the time of Abraham Lincoln and New Orleans (a primary market to buy slaves in the 1800s) would have been debased by a cruel society.

Hughes is making an historical allusion to the famous Abraham Lincoln. In New Orleans, Lincoln observed a slave being abused (Benson 15). "He related how at the slave auction Lincoln said, 'By God, boys, let's get away from this. If I ever get a chance to hit that thing, I'll hit it hard.' " We might even speculate that, at that exact moment, Lincoln made up his mind to free the Black man in the future.

Certainly, a reader could interpret this poem as paean, but also as a document of the Black man's continuing humanity from the time of the Sixth day to the present of the poem (1925 and the Scopes Trial). Jeffrey Moran in his article, "The Scopes Trial and Southern Fundamentalism in Black and White," gives considerable attention to the blatant inconsistency of many (not all) Southern Whites: they rejected Darwin's theory of Evolution, but they suggested that the Negro may have descended from apes, gorillas and other lower forms of life. Though racist Southern Whites would not acknowledge that Black people were created by God on the sixth day, they seem to allow for a gradual, though not full, evolution of the Blacks. Inconsistency is an element that others have noted in the "arguments" of The Scopes Trial – Mencken famously snickered at the religiosity of the Southerners in Dayton, in contrast to the amazingly empty Churches in the area. If the Southerners were so convinced of the primacy of Scripture, why were their churches empty on Sunday? If morality as dictated in the Scripture were so important, why were Sunday School teachers patronizing dancing places and doing work on Sunday? Mencken was unmerciful in his exposure of the hypocrisy of the Bible Belt.

One of the constant remarks regarding African-American history is that the Africans were kidnapped and placed together in different language groups, taken to the Caribbean (where they were indoctrinated into a slave mentality) and then sent to the mainland U.S.A. Many scholars, including African-American scholars, maintain that White slave owners successfully erased memory of an African past by this method. However, Melville Herskovits maintains that the Whites were not as successful in this erasure as they may have hoped.[11] Trudier Harris in *The Image of Africa in the Literature of the Harlem Renaissance* supports Herskovits' idea that some African heritage was still passed down through the generations.

Langston Hughes' poem "The Negro Speaks of Rivers," at least imaginatively, concludes that the Black man retains some memory of his ancient past. Hughes' poem is part of the glorification of Africa that many Black poets insist on today. The key word in Hughes is Known. The persona of the poem says that he has bathed in the Euphrates, and that he has built his hut in the Congo. Of course, the speaker in the poem cannot really have

[11] Harris, Trudier. "The Image of Africa in the Literature of the Harlem Renaissance." *Freedom's Story, TeacherServe*. Web. National Humanities Center. 2 Dec. 2015.

first-hand knowledge and experience with these events in ancient Africa (the speaker of the poem would have been talking in the 1920s recalling a time in ancient African past). But the poet and the persona "feel" emotionally connected to a glorified African past where peace prevailed and where the miseries of American enslavement are banished. It is fascinating that Hughes was able to develop such an emotional feeling for Africa even before visiting it.

Hughes had not travelled to Africa before he wrote this poem, but his strong assertion that Black Americans had a place in the history of the world was striking. In contrast to the belief that Blacks had contributed little to civilization, Hughes maintains that Blacks were present at the dawn of civilization.[12] It is perfectly logical for an enslaved people to have longing for a glorified, mythologized past. Obviously engaging in thoughts of a glorified and mythologized past was a method of coping with the miseries of present slavery and of the fierce discrimination in America. In other words, slaves and subsequent African Americans who suffered great indignities and lack of respect may have found comfort in daydreaming about a time when their people occupied positions of authority and command in a bygone era.

Hughes' poem is a romanticization of Africa. Perhaps more than some other African Americans, Hughes had desire to know the continent of his past. He wrote his poem before actually going to Africa to see for himself the continent of his ancestors. Apparently, Hughes went to Africa to learn about his heritage in 1923 (shortly after leaving Columbia University prematurely):

> On June 3, 1923, after crossing the Atlantic in calm, sunny weather, the West Hesseltine dropped anchor in fifteen fathoms off Horta in the Azores. To Hughes, thrilled to be across the ocean for the first time, […]. As the sun rose, Hughes saw sandy beaches and thatched-roof huts, at a fort guarding the port of Dakar in Senegal […] (Rampersad 73).

The problem in Hughes' life is that he wanted to know about his personal and racial past.

According to Rampersad, he did not have a conventional home life. His father, James Hughes was a mixed race Negro who seems to have hated Negros:

> James Hughes and Carrie Langston married on April 30, 1899, in Guthrie, Oklahoma, […]. He was unsentimental, even cold. Detesting the poor, he especially disliked the black poor. […]. Langston Hughes would judge, 'I think he hated himself, too, for being a Negro. […]. He disliked all of his family because they were Negroes' (10).

In turn, Langston Hughes was very estranged from his father. Obviously race pride was a major element of his poems as well as a major element in his life. "The Negro Speaks of Rivers" could very well be a repudiation of his father's, James Hughes', self-hatred. Rampersad says that the father believed "Most blacks are lazy, undeserving cowards" (10). The Hughes poem definitely casts Africans and African Americans in a more beautiful light.

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[12] http:nationalhumanitiescenter.org/tserve/freedom/1917beyond/essays/harlem.htm
Trudier Harris. *Image of Africa in the Literature of the Harlem Renaissance.* October 3, 2012.

Hughes was using an imaginative "memory" of Africa to create a poem that speaks proudly of the Negro's ancient existence.

Historically, there has been a quarrel between two groups of African American writers. Some writers such as the slave poet Phillis Wheatley thought that it was God's mercy for the slaves to be brought out of the Dark Continent to the Americas. One of her poems, "On Being Brought from Africa to America," says:

Twas mercy brought me from my Pagan land,
Taught my benighted soul to understand
That there's a God, there's a savior, too:
Once I redemption neither sought nor knew
(qtd in Russell 8).

"Historians have said that she is praising slavery because it brought her to Christianity" (Ibid. 8). Others saw the event as a kidnapping and a robbing of the Black man of his great and glorious past. *The New Negro* explains that Langston Hughes was definitely a poet who celebrated blackness. He was part of the Negritude movement of artists. These artists did not want to copy the White American style of art. Poets such as Langston Hughes wanted to focus on blackness and the beauty of blackness. His contemporary, the famous African American poet Countee Cullen, was just the opposite. Cullen wrote poetry using the conventions and techniques of White American and Anglican writers (Locke xxi). "In 1925, Cullen, conservative in his techniques and a conscious imitator of British romantic poets, had already formed the basic antipathy that would lead him to question the achievement of Hughes' jazz and blues poems" (Rampersad xxi). "Knowing" in the poem reflects Hughes' interest in knowing his people, his heritage and his personal family.

Langston Hughes romanticizes the pre-America, pre-slavery past of the Negro in "Nude Young Dancer." It is a popular conception among Blacks that they were abducted from beautiful natural settings and brought to the harsh ugliness of American slavery. As the poet (in the persona of a nightclub patron) gazes upon a performer, he rhapsodizes about the connection of this modern Black woman of the 1920s with a more beautiful time in history. Appreciating her sensual beauty, the poet thinks that the earlier "jungle" natural setting would have highlighted her beauty even more.

What jungle tree have you slept under,
Midnight dancer of the jazzy hour?
What great forest has hung its perfume
Like a sweet veil about your bower?

What jungle tree have you slept under,
Dark brown girl of the swaying hips?
What star-white moon has been your lover?

To what mad faun have you offered your lips (Locke 227)?

The problem for many Blacks in the 1920s (and for many Blacks even today) is that the African history was almost obliterated. Most Black people even today cannot document their ancestory very far back. The slaves were taken from various African countries and forced into bondage with other Africans who spoke other tribal languages. It was to the slavers' benefit that the history and language of the Blacks be erased. Further, the slave codes of the early 1800s limited the number of Blacks that could assemble. The slave codes were a system of laws during slavery (which ended around 1865). The slave codes had several points. Most importantly the slave codes forbade the teaching of slaves to read. The slaves could not assemble in large numbers without a White man to monitor their activities. And even in the few instances where Blacks assembled, there was a White overseer who prevented any transmission of their original culture. So the poem, "Nude Young Dancer," is a series of questions – all of them about the romanticized and unauthenticated history of this particular dancer. The man in the nightclub appreciates the beauty of her body, and he ruminates on the more glorious settings that were backdrops for her African ancestors. The unstated idea is: here is a beautiful woman dancing in an American nightclub for money. She must endure many indignities of racist American society. But she surely is related to an earlier, freer African woman who danced more joyfully in a kinder society.

The founders of the Negritude movement were in part inspired by their encounters with members of the Harlem Renaissance, many of whom were living in France at the time to escape racism and segregation in the United States. Among the most influential of those were Langston Hughes and Richard Wright. They befriended the African poets, Aime Cesaire and Leopold Senghor and their colleagues, who were also taken with the Black American culture, especially the jazz music of Duke Ellington and Sidney Bechet.[13]

The passage quoted above shows that Langston Hughes was attempting to praise the beauty and the intellect of Black people at a time when blackness was considered ugly and uninteresting in America. Negritude was a movement which attempted to promote appreciation for other than Nordic Beauty (blonde hair, blue eyes). In one of his poems titled "The White Ones", Hughes mentions that both races (Blacks and Whites) had their own beauty. But he was working at time in which it was difficult to assert the beauty of Black people:

I do not hate you,
For your faces are beautiful, too.
I do not hate you,
Your faces are whirling lights of loveliness and splendor, too.

[13] Allison Connolly. Understanding Negritude. October 8, 2012. <www.unc.edu/depts/europe/francophone/negritude/eng/introduction.htm>

O white strong ones

Why do you torture me (qtd in Rampersad 78).

Langston Hughes was not the first African American poet to appreciate the physical beauty of his people. But he was definitely in the avante garde. Years later, during the Civil Rights Movement in America,"Black is Beautiful" became a catch phrase used by Dr. Martin Luther King and others. However, we can see from the poetry of Langston Hughes in the 1920s that he was already aware of that concept.

Hughes' poems, "Jazzonia" and "Nude Young Dancer," both celebrate the physical charms of Black women who were dancing in night clubs in Harlem in the 1920s. It may well be that Hughes was remembering the particular charms of Josephine Baker who achieved international stardom as a member of the famous Folies Bergere in Paris. Les Folies Bergere is a famous stage show with a history in Paris. It features beautiful, glamorized women in scanty costumes. The expatriates from America often frequented these shows. Josephine Baker was one of the greatest performers in this show. As many biographies have stated, Hughes was a member of the famous expatriate community in Paris along with F. Scott Fitzgerald, Ernest Hemingway and Picasso. Hughes had met Josephine Baker in 1921 (but she remained a great celebrity in Paris through the remainder of her life). Hughes went back and forth between America and France several times. The poems, "Jazzonia" and "Nude Young Dancer" in *The New Negro* suggest a cabaret in Harlem. However, we can surmise that Hughes was thinking about the great Baker who danced seductively with only a band of bananas around her waist. Hughes was not alone in his great appreciation for Baker. There are essays which declare Hemingway's admiration of Baker's seductiveness.

The poems in *The New Negro* are very sensual. In "Jazzonia," Hughes speaks of one particular chorus girl as similar to Eve (of the *Book of Genesis* of the Bible):"Were Eve's eyes in the first garden/Just a bit too bold?" Hughes is saying that this Black woman in Harlem is just as seductive as Eve was in the Bible passage. Although the Bible does not mention that Eve was beautiful, the story in the Bible implies that she was able to convince Adam to eat the forbidden fruit. Hughes may be saying that Adam could not resist his wife's suggestion; Adam most likely succumbed to the physical charms of his wife. The Bible only says that Eve convinced her husband to disobey God. Hughes is taking the same poetic license as many artists by implying the physical beauty of Eve. Most of the great paintings of the Renaissance feature a nude, long-haired beauty.

The caricature accompanying the poem, "Nude Young Dancer" in *The New Negro* could be suggestive of Josephine Baker. Photos of Baker (of which there are many) show a woman with short hair and a seductive smile. In the end, Langston Hughes was bold in asserting Black is Beautiful long before that became a catch phrase for the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s.

4. Black Intellectuals: The Integrity of Black Is Beautiful Movement

In the Introduction to *The New Negro,* Alain Locke refers to the great surge of racial pride of African Americans made manifest during the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s. "*The New Negro* exudes a sense of racial pride" (Locke xx). During 1920s of horrible expressions of hatred directed at Negroes,[14] the Black intellectuals fostered a countermovement which emphasized their total beauty: physical, intellectual and spiritual. Perhaps it was the physical beauty emphasis that served as a symbol for the other two "beauties" mentioned. The Black cotton pickers and washerwomen of the American South had little time to "glamorize" themselves.

Trudier Harris' in her article, "Image of Africa in the Literature of Harlem Renaissance," confirms that the Harlem Renaissance was fundamentally a statement of racial pride. The Black writers participating in this renaissance were of the Negritude school of thought. Simply put, Negritude celebrated or praised the people of African descent. In the article Harris explains that for Hughes, Negritude "reflected his unprecedented appreciation of blackness." The pride he felt in celebrating black women and the beauty of black people in general can be tied to his locating the origins of Black Americans in Africa as well as to his later travels to Africa (Harris). About the word "unprecedented," Harris seems to be implying that Hughes was the first poet to recognize the beauty of Black women. Perhaps that is an overstatement as I found many other references to Black women and their beauty in *The New Negro*. For example, we might cite just a few lines from other poets of the time. Countée Cullen shows the black beauty such as:

> That brown girl's swagger gives a twitch
> To beauty like a queen (qtd in Locke 129).

Cullen's lines attribute a majestic quality to the Black woman. Her swagger is indicative of pride and self-confidence. Note a similar nuance in the following poem by Angelina Grimke. "The Black Finger" is suggestive of someone who is exclaiming something positive. It is not clear what the Black person is pointing to, but it is an expression of self-awareness and assurance. Grimke does not make reference to the gender of the person of the poem, but the words "slim," "exquisite" and "beautiful" might suggest a female.

> I have just seen a most beautiful thing,
> Slim and still,
> Against a gold, gold sky,
> A straight black cypress,
> Sensitive,

[14] Any number of heinous acts against Negroes might be mentioned as examples of the viciousness directed at Blacks in the 1920s, but we might indicate just two as examples here. In 1923, the Rosewood Massacre took place in which an entire, economically successful African American community in Florida was hanged and slaughtered. A similar famous incident took place in Tulsa, Oklahoma in 1921.

Exquisite,
A black finger
Pointing upwards.
Why, beautiful still finger, are you black
And why are you pointing upwards (qtd in Locke 148)?

The imagery in "The Black Finger" is worthy of note. It refers to a finger of a Black person (probably a woman) which is pointing at the sky. Perhaps this image is consistent with the hope that usually concludes Langston Hughes' poems. In yet another poem, by Lewis Alexander, "Medicine Dance," there is a celebration of Black sensuality. "Witch Doctors" are often derided in the old Hollywood movies about Africa. American audiences often laughed at the entrance of these bizarrely dressed folk healers in Tarzan movies. With their beads and animal head dresses, witch doctors defied the Western concept of medicine and healing. But Alexander presents a witch doctor (perhaps "folk healer" is a better term) who is admirable in the beauty of "his" body (it is not clear whether the healer is a woman or a man). Alexander speaks of the beauty of the doctor in the very opening lines of the poem:

A body smiling with black beauty
Leaping into the air
Around a grotesque hyena faced monster:
The Sorcerer—
A black body—dancing with beauty
Clothed in African moonlight, […] (qtd in Locke 149).

There is a contrast between the animal imagery (hyenas are particularly ugly animal with a hideous sound like a laugh emanating from a menacing face), and the beauty of the dancer. The moonlight of the African night seems to be a complement to the beauty of the dancer. Even though the sorcerer or dancer or medicine 'man' may be disguised by the animal head dress, the beauty is depicted as coming from "his" body – apparently the musculature of the dancer is sensual and beautifully hypnotic. Lewis Alexander, of course, creates a poem which indicates the real beauty of a being who is often maligned and derided in Hollywood films. The idea of the poem is <u>hope</u>. The wild gesticulations are performed in the hope that the demons of illness will be driven from the sick person's body.

The New Negro is an attempt not only to assert the creative powers of African Americans in 1925, but it was also a statement on the beauty and sensuality of the Black woman. As with all of the rebellious characters of Hemingway and other writers in 1925, the contributors to *The New Negro* were defying establishment definitions. Black women were not celebrated as beauties in America in 1925, *by the establishment*. Yet Langston Hughes does celebrate the beauty of these women in several places. In "Jazzonia" and "Nude Young Dancer" he implies the seductive physical attributes of these women located in Harlem. Obviously he was still thinking of his interview with Josephine Baker (the famous African-American burlesque

performer in Paris). Langston Hughes shows his appreciation for the feminine charms of Black women in these two poems included in *The New Negro*.

In 1925, the standard for beauty in most cultures was the White women of the American movies. Even Ryunosuke Akutagawa celebrated the charms of Mary Pickford in his short story "Green Onions" (Akutagawa 249). The pretty young waitress in that short story is presented as someone resembling the great silent screen actress Mary Pickford. Additionally, Junichiro Tanizaki praised Pickford for her beauty and stated that the heroine of his novel *Chijin no Ai* resembled Pickford (Ibid. 249). Apparently for many Japanese writers, the silent screen star set the standard for judging beauty. Hughes and other contributors to *The New Negro* were defying established concepts of beauty in their praise of the Black woman. But Langston Hughes and other Black writers of the Negritude Movement in the 1920s described several kinds of beauty of Black women, (the sensual glamorized beauty of the Black cabaret dancers such as the subjects of "Jazzonia" and "Nude Young Dancer," and the spiritual beauty of "I, Too." In "I, Too" Hughes speaks of the survivalist instinct of the oppressed Negro. Note the reference to beauty at the end of the poem. Beauty in that allusion is not to physical attractiveness but to spiritual strength:

I, too, sing America
I am the darker brother.
They send me to eat in the kitchen
When company comes,
But I laugh and eat well,
And grow strong
Tomorrow
I'll sit at the table
When company comes
Nobody'll dare
Say to me,
"East in the kitchen"
Then
Besides, they'll see how beautiful I am
And be ashamed, --
I, too, am America (Locke 145).

Perhaps for casual readers the nuances of the poem are not especially clear. During slavery and during the segregation that followed, Blacks were relegated to menial tasks. Blacks were servants. They were the people who planted for the White man. They were people who washed the clothes for the White women. Ironically, Blacks were not considered as physically attractive in these roles, yet there were many cases where White men engaged in sexual contact with Black women. The life of Frederick Douglass is such a case. He was

reportedly a slave child born to a Black kitchen mother and the White slave master. Often these children who were mixed blood were forced to hide when polite company came to the house. The White man probably had a White wife and children. These would be dressed prettily and put on display for the company. The Black child (mixed blood), son of the master would be sent to hide in the kitchen with his mother. So, it is interesting that the Black woman was not held as an ideal of physical beauty, yet White masters were attracted to them.

In "I, Too," Hughes takes the persona of such a black child and says that a day will come when the child will be appreciated for his own beauty. Hughes tends to be prophetic in his poetry of the 1920s. He seems to look forward to a time when the Negro's beauty in all senses of the word will be appreciated. Note the ending of the poem, "Song." The concluding word of that poem is "Wait." He implies a great awakening on the part of White America – a time in which they will acknowledge the beauty that the race has been forced into the kitchen.

When we speak of Langston Hughes, celebrating Blackness, we are referring to his poetry which focuses on the physical beauty as well as the tenacity of African American people. They have endured centuries of oppression and discrimination in the United States, yet they have continued to assert that they are worthy of the American Dream: higher education, land ownership, an opportunity system that allows each generation to enjoy more of the materialistic and educational benefits than the preceding generation. Hughes biographer Rampersad refers to the leadership role that Hughes played in the Negritude movement (Rampersad 343). On July 19, 1937, Hughes spoke to a group at the Theatre de la Porte-Saint Martin:

> He spoke for Blacks, the most oppressed group in America [...]. We are the people who have long known in actual practice the meaning of the word, fascism – for the American attitude toward us has always been one of economic and social discrimination (Ibid. 344).

Let us examine specifically Langston Hughes' "celebration" of the physical beauty of Black women long before they were allowed entrance into contests (winning several titles once they were accepted as entrants into the Miss America, and Miss USA contests). Langston Hughes spoke of the "loveliness" and the beauty of members of the race. In "Song," he opens the short poem with reference to physical beauty and sensuality of Black women:

Lovely, dark, and lonely one,
Bare your bosom to the sun,
Do not be afraid of light
You who are a child of night.

Open wide your arms to life,
Whirl in the wind of pain and strife,
Face the wall, with the dark closed gate,
Beat with bare, brown fists

And wait. (qtd in Locke 143)

The last two lines of the poem encapsulate several concepts at once: the persistence, maybe even militancy, of the beautiful Black woman he addresses, and his confidence that one day America will be persuaded of its error (the refusal to grant full rights to Black people and to recognize the physical beauty of the people). The word "Bare" (used two times) in the poem goes along with several poems in which Hughes implies nudity. His "Nude Young Dancer" does not use the word "beauty," but the juxtaposition of words such as lover, swaying hips, perfume and others definitely conjure up a woman who is not only attractive, but seductive. A review of other poems by other writers in *The New Negro* confirms that the Black intellectuals of the Negritude Movement were involved in a campaign to have full recognition of the race as intelligent, beautiful, sensual, and deserving of all of the benefits of the American Dream.

Hughes' "Song" asserts the physical attractiveness of Black women. It also acknowledges the discrimination against all Black people. It was not just beauty pageants to which Black women were denied entrance, but the entire race was denied political rights. There were ingenious ways to block their access to voting ballots even up until the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s. There were also many universities which did not grant admission to black scholars and Black doctors were barred from practicing in many hospitals which were for Whites only.[15]

In "Song," Hughes makes a very direct attack against American racism, when he speaks about the "closed gate" and the wall which were symbols of the rejection that African Americans experienced. But in this particular poem, he begins with a reference to "bare bosoms" and "loveliness." In the 1920s, 30s, 40s, and even up until the Black is Beautiful Movement of the 1960s, America only recognized the physical attractiveness of Whites.

5. Marcus Garvey's Black Nationalism and the Theme of Integrity

Garvey belongs to the list of prominent characters in the 1920s who rebelled against the establishment and who insisted on their own ideas. He wrote an important essay, "African Fundamentalism" in which he purposely used a word that had strong, emotional connotations in 1925 (Hill xxxviii).

The same year as the Scopes Trial, and the same year as the publication of *The New Negro*, Garvey wrote his essay, "African Fundamentalism" from jail:

> Two years later, in 1925, the federal appeals court upheld the conviction of Garvey and it was then that he began to serve his sentence in a US penitentiary in Atlanta, Georgia. When the US Marshall took Garvey to prison, one of the officers said, "we have captured the tiger." Garvey responded, "But my cubs are running wild!" (Van Deburg 371)

[15] See the references to the famous singer Bessie Smith and to the heart surgeon Charles Drew who was denied admission to white hospitals at time of a fatal accidents.

Fundamentalism, as defined by the very conservative Christians during the Scopes Trial, implied a literal interpretation of the Bible, particularly the Genesis sections detailing God's creation of mankind in seven days. In Garvey's essay, the word is used to suggest that Black people must do what is most important for their survival of the race: demand that their own culture is as valid as White European and American societies. Garvey's philosophy is abundantly clear in the opening paragraphs of his essay. He calls for Black people to recognize their own uniqueness, power, and beauty:

> The time has come for the Negro to forget and cast behind him his hero worship and adoration of other races and to start out immediately, to create and emulate heroes of his own […].We must canonize our own saints, create our own martyrs, and elevate to positions of fame and honor black men and women who have made their distinct contribution to our racial history (Hill 3).

Marcus Garvey belongs in any discussion of rebellious characters of the 1920s (Locke xx). If we regard John Scopes and his insistence of academic freedom (to teach Darwinian Evolution), if we regard Harold Krebs and Santiago as fictional characters representing integrity and maintaining a sense of self worth in spite of insult from general society, then we should also regard the historical person of Marcus Garvey as such. Born in 1887, Garvey launched a campaign of Black pride and entrepreneurship among the Negroes of the 1920s. A frequent insult hurled at Blacks by insensitive Whites was "Go back to Africa." Garvey took that insult and converted it to a statement of race pride. Some Whites may have wanted to expel Blacks from the United States for racist reasons; Garvey suggested that the establishment of an African country might well give Blacks an opportunity to freely showcase their intelligence and their ability at self-governance. Garvey played a prominent role in the 1920s. Most importantly, Garvey affirmed the Black pride movement that was already underway in the poetry of Counter Cullen, Langston Hughes and others who are featured in *The New Negro* volume published by Alain Locke in 1925.

In the 1820s, prominent Blacks and sympathetic Whites were responsible for establishing Liberia as a country where freed slaves from the United States could have their own country. Garvey, one hundred years later, gave this idea renewed vigor (Johnson 42). Garvey had a concept of Black empowerment, and he was responsible for the establishment of the Black Star Line (a shipping company to transport Blacks to Africa and also to set up trade with other African countries). But true to the rebellious character that I have discussed elsewhere in this dissertation, he was ostracized by many supporters of the traditional American lifestyle. In 1925 he was convicted of fraud by the United States government. Later, he was exonerated of those charges even though he spent five years in jail. It is interesting that in 1925, John Scopes was also tried for new ideas of academic freedom, and in 1925 Marcus Garvey was also tried for new ideas of Black enfranchisement. Today, Garvey is heralded as a symbol of

intelligence and race pride. Certainly his ideas are in line with the Negritude movement that Langston Hughes and other prominent black intellectuals subscribed to.

Garvey significantly fits in this pastiche of integrity, rebellion and demand of freedom. He is certainly in the same character lineup as Hemingway's Robert Jordan. Garvey, like Jordan, had an international appreciation of freedom. Robert Jordan moved to Spain to liberate the peasants; Garvey excited African Americans about "re-patriating" to Liberia.[16]

6. Conclusion to Chapter 2

This chapter has traced a thematic thread between the demand of freedom of expression during the Scopes Trial, and the demand of African Americans to be recognized as intelligent and creative beings. African Americans, too, would assert that they have as much diversity of thought as white Americans. If White Americans can be either Fundamentalists or Modernists, so, too, can African Americans.

The New Negro published in 1925 is part of the same thrust toward the demand for freedom of expression. Blacks insisted (whether they were of the Fundamentalist or Modernist group) that they are equal in every way to the White man. If White Fundamentalists claim that they were created on the 6th day, so, too, can Fundamentalist African Americans insist that they were created on the 6th day. If White Modernists can say that human beings did indeed evolve from lower forms of life (but at the direction of God), then so were Blacks similarly evolved.

The poems, essays, and social commentary in *The New Negro* anthology persistently assert the integrity and intelligence of the Black man. They were contending with racists among Fundamentalist Whites who believed that the Black man was created at a time different from the time of the White man. As racist Whites claimed to be created in the very image of God (Gen. 1.27 [Genesis]), the Black writers included in *The New Negro* insisted that they were also in the image of God.

That term, *the image of God*, is slightly mystifying. On the surface, it might seem to imply that because God has hands, ears, and face, so human beings are possessed of similar features. But that idea cannot hold up to Scripture. The basic Bible idea is that God is a spirit (and therefore without physical form). So, the image of God must refer to spiritual elements (the ability to appreciate beauty, to think, to create). Whether using the Fundamentalist literalism of the Bible, or the Modernist concept of a God-blessed evolution, the Black writers of *The New Negro* made the book a forum showcasing themselves as created in the image of God.

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[16] "Re-patriating" is in quotation marks because in reality most of the Negroes who went to Africa in the Garvey movement had been born in the United States.

Chapter 3
Hemingway Heroes Adhering to the Code of Integrity at the Time of the Scopes Trial

"The Hemingway of the early 1920's would find it impossible to identify himself with moral aims which were socially approved." (Isabelle)

1. Introduction

Ernest Hemingway's debut publication, *In Our Time*, was presented the exact year of the Scopes Trial, 1925.[17] Just as the trial highlighted a man, John Scopes, who distinguished himself in the "losing battle" for academic freedom, so too does Hemingway put forward a series of such men of integrity. Neither John Scopes nor the various Hemingway heroes blindly followed the consensus of the day. They rejected the comfort of conforming. Abandoning the usual path of marriage and pursuit of material gain, they seem to require a solace amidst nature. Hemingway's code heroes were men whose sense of integrity launched them into lifestyles of alienation and defiance. *In Our Time* introduces the American reading public to the characters of Harold Krebs and Nick Adams, two men who refuse to settle for the obedience to the social norms of the day. Later in his writings, Hemingway limns other men of similar style. Nick would eventually be fleshed out more thoroughly in a sequence of stories. In all of them, he is depicted as a loner, learning to find his own place in the world. Usually, that place is away from domestic life. Shown first presumably at nine years old, Nick appears in "Three Shots" which was removed from *In Our Time* before the 1925 publication (Nickel 94). Nick and his father are on an overnight fishing and camping excursion with Uncle George. Immediately, it is established that Nick is different.

In this chapter, I will argue that the Hemingway Code Hero shares several qualities with the character of Jesus Christ whom Hemingway unabashedly admired. Hemingway's heroes are notable for their acceptance of both physical and psychical pain. They offer relatively few words in their defense. They rarely cry out. We might look at Hemingway's own dramatization of the murder of Jesus Christ in his short drama. "To-day Is Friday." There are two different spellings of "To-day" in the title (Baker 470). Hemingway chose to focus on Jesus' endurance of the Cross. He used the slang idiom "He was good in there, today" three times (*Complete* 272). Those words serve as a kind of poetic refrain. They emphasize the stoicism of Jesus. He did not cry out or complain as we would expect of an ordinary man, but not of a Hemingway Code Hero. The integrity of the Code Hero involves his acceptance of his pain and his refusal to appeal to the sympathy of others.

We must not assume that there is great gulf between Roman Catholics and Protestants and Fundamentalists. They all agree that Jesus Christ is the Son of God. They all agree that it was

[17] Isabelle gives indication that Hemingway was influenced by his grandfather's Episcopalian variation of Christianity, citing the inclusion of the Evening Prayer of the famous Book of Common Prayer (Episcopal/Anglican Church). See Isabelle 18.

necessary and according God's Plan that His Son would die in place of sinful mankind who deserved the death. The innocence of Christ is taught in all expressions of Christianity. The difference between the various groups of Christians has to do with style of worship and interpretation of the Bible. Generally speaking, Catholics emphasize formal form, mysticism (they include art and impart meaning to rituals that include paintings, incense, and candles). These things are usually not a major part of Fundamentalist worship, and they have limited expression in general Protestant worship. Additionally, Roman Catholics follow a form in which prayers and rituals are dictated by the date on the calendar. On any given Sunday, Roman Catholics are all using the same plan of worship. The priest in the Catholic Church even has to adhere to a certain color in his vestments for certain Sundays. For example, Purple is the color for the pre-Easter Season (March and April). Protestants, who practice a style similar to the Roman Catholic style, may also use this color system. But other mainline Protestants refute the idea of a prescribed calendar which dictates the use of scripted prayers and color codes. It is important to realize that Fundamentalists are a part of Protestantism. When Hemingway shifted from the Protestantism and Fundamentalism that he learned in his childhood, he embraced Catholicism which had more ritual and appreciation for art and music in worship. He did not have to make a major shift in his interpretation of the character and divine nature of Jesus Christ. The Jesus of Catholicism is not greatly different from the Jesus of Fundamentalism. However, Catholicism allowed Hemingway to use symbolism and mysticism in his interpretation of life and religion. If we say that "Big Two-Hearted River" allows for a Roman Catholic interpretation, we are perhaps addressing the possibility for noting the symbolism of aloneness in the short story. The aloneness of the suffering Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane is akin to the single fish in the stream of Hemingway's story. Further, we are indicating that the fish in that short story is a symbol for Jesus Himself. Roman Catholics are fond of depicting the fish as emblematic of Jesus Christ. So stories that feature ideas of sacrifice coupled with the fishing expedition might be interpreted as influenced by Roman Catholicism. Priests in the Catholic Church often wear decorated clothing which sometimes features that famous line drawing of a fish. This is an ancient symbol of Christianity; many say that it was the first symbol of Christianity, even predating the Cross. Catholicism places a premium on artistic interpretation. Of course, many Churches follow the Roman Catholic taste by degrees. That means High Liturgical Churches such as Lutherans, Anglicans, Episcopalians also have some degree of artistic interpretation in their worship. To a lesser degree, churches such as Baptists, Church of Christ, Methodists (some of them), Brethren, Church of Nazarene, etc. incorporate symbolism and art. Fundamentalists often eschew art in worship. They belong on the spectrum to groups that emphasize simplicity and literal interpretation of the Bible.

2. Hemingway's Depiction of the Integrity of the Outsider

Immediately we recognize in the epigram above, Hemingway's insistence on moral integrity in the 1920's. As Isabelle states in the epigram above, Hemingway was an "outsider" in his time, expressing dissatisfaction with "socially approved moral aims" of his time period. Specifically, Isabelle refers to the American emphasis on power and might as it was divinely ordained by the Protestant thinking of the day, and as affirmed by the successes of the Post World War I capitalism of the day.[18] But the code hero is often in opposition to such thinking and behavior. Vincent Leitch agrees that Hemingway's characters are often rebels against the selfishness of the times. During the rebellion of the Jazz Age and the hedonism of the "flapper" period, Hemingway created characters who were "outsiders" in their own communities (Leitch 3). Isabelle cites Harold Krebs, the hero of "Soldier's Home," as highly representative of Hemingway's philosophy of anti-materialism and religious restraint. America in 1925 delighted in its image as winner of the war and as a country blessed by God with material wealth. We see in Harold Krebs' parents this dual celebration of faith and material comfort:

> With this same fiery blast, Hemingway attacks American Protestantism. Returning home after his war experience, he found his boyhood ideals shattered and his thinking crystallizing. Krebs in "Solder's Home" may be this young Hemingway incapable of adjusting to a predominantly middle class society (Isabelle 33).

As Isabelle indicates the American interpretation of Protestantism in the 1920s often aligned with materialism and the American dream which Krebs rejected. There are many citations indicating that Hemingway used his life as source material for creating characters such as Harold Krebs and other characters. Charles Scribner acknowledges Hemingway's incorporation of his own war time experiences in his writings. He states that *A Farewell to Arms* relies heavily on Hemingway's work with the American Red Cross in World I (*The Complete Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway* xvi). *The Concise Dictionary of American Literature Biography (CDALB)* indicates on page 91 of the volume of the *Twenties, 1917-1929,* that Hemingway used experiences covering the Spanish Civil War for material in his novel, *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. Of course, Hemingway did not rely 100% on his personal experiences; he biographically fictionalized elements from his life. (*CDALB* 98). Hemingway's personal enjoyment of sports and fishing is used in *Death in the Afternoon.* (91). Hemingway's depression after returning home from war is very similar to the depression that Krebs experienced. We note the great similarity in the advice of Harold Krebs' mother gave to that fictional son, and the advice given by Grace Hall Hemingway to her famous writer son. Harold Krebs' mother insisted on a prayerful life for her boy,

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[18] Here Leitch indicates that American attitudes and morals of the 1920s were influenced by the idea that God (as Fundamentalist Protestants-conceived,) blessed America with victory in war and with richness. Integrity on the part of Hemingway and other rebellious thinkers suggested that more social humanism was needed. Therefore, Krebs of "Soldier's Home," Santiago of *The Old Man and the Sea,* reject materialism and insist on following their own hearts. See Leitch 3.

Hemingway's mother wanted a similar lifestyle for her son. We can get the gist of Hemingway's mother's words to him by analyzing his written reply to her.

> To Grace Hall Hemingway, Kansas City
> 16 January 1918
> Now dry those tears Mother and cheer up. You will have to find something better than that to worry about. Don't worry or cry or fret about my not being a good Christian. I am just as much as ever and pray every night and believe just as hard so cheer up! Just because I am cheerful Christian ought not to bother you (Baker 3).

Obviously, there was something different about Hemingway's Christianity that caused his mother some concern. His letter of affirmation to her has some of the resonance of Krebs' reluctant acquiescence to his mother's request that he pray with her. Earlier in the short story, "Soldier's Home," Harold Krebs had spoken in a fit of exasperation regarding his home life, Christianity and American society: "I don't love anybody," "I'm not in His Kingdom", and, in answer to his mother's inquiry, ("Don't you love your mother, dear boy?") "No." In response to the mother's apparent and great hurt, Krebs seems to recant all of the above declarations (*In Our Time* 75).

3. Jesus Christ as a Hemingway Code Hero

There has been some commentary about Hemingway's attitude toward Jesus Christ. In his short story, "Today Is Friday," (really a small drama), Hemingway shows that Jesus was a detached, lonely, and abandoned character. Hemingway may have been unhappy with traditional Christianity, but he does show respect and appreciation for the Bible and for Jesus. He seems to present Jesus Christ as a Code Hero. Code Heroes in Hemingway are constantly discussed, and almost any book on Hemingway will introduce this concept. Basically it has to do with a character who is not connected to the social structure, who follows his own thinking. Hemingway's Code Hero had several characteristics. They are uncomfortable in their surroundings. They are often restless wanderers, going far away from their native lands or the homes of their parents. They do not speak very much (Christians often cite the few words that Jesus Christ offered in his own defense. Jesus famously only spoke about seven sentences from the Cross (Luke 23.34)). During his arrest and torture, Jesus did not complain, and He did not defend himself. This is an example of stoicism. It is a word used frequently in discussing Hemingway. His characters, his Code Heroes, really do not offer much complaint. Robert Jordan in *For Whom the Bell Tolls* is injured at the end of the movie and the book. He accepts his death and seems to be at peace. "His hero, an American teacher of Spanish who has enlisted on the side of Loyalists, gives his life to what he regards as the cause of human liberation" (Bloom 32). In "To-day Is Friday" (Hemingway's recreation of the killing of Jesus), the soldiers laugh and make fun of him as he is dying. But they also admire how he suffered quietly.

The irony of Hemingway's writing is that his heroes seem to reject Christianity, but they also seem to have some of Jesus Christ's qualities. Although Krebs is not interested in religion and in his mother's prayers, he seems to reject the materialism of his parents just as Jesus advised his followers to reject materialism. Jesus said, "Lay not up treasures for yourselves upon the earth" (*KJV* Matt. 6.19).

In support of this statement we could cite numerous Hemingway characters who are physically and psychologically displaced: the unnamed traveler in "The Revolutionist," Nick Adams and Ad Francis – homeless men in "The Battler;" Ole Anderson, the hunted prize fighter in "The Killers;" Jake Barnes, the depressed and wounded journalist in *The Sun Also Rises;* Robert Jordan, the American freedom fighter in Spain, in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, etc. Consider two of such "out of place" characters: Harold Krebs (the returning soldier) from "Soldier's Home," and Dr. Henry Adams, the unhappily married man in "The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife." Their literal house-quittings suggest a discontent with households dominated by religious women.

4. **Hemingway Code Heroes Fighting Wars Within and Wars Without**

War and Fighting are apt metaphors for the circumstances of these men who must endure isolation and grave discomfort in order to maintain their ideals – often the Hemingway Code Hero is at odds with the popular tendency to be selfish. Nickel records Hemingway's note to Thomas Welsh in June 1945, written in abbreviated language: "Spanish war seemed so selfish to pray for self when such things being done to all people by people sponsored by the Church that never prayed for self" (Nickel 187).

The conflict is evident. People of integrity take note of their faults and attempt to transcend the tendency toward selfishness. Hemingway was a participant in the war, but he was disturbed that so many people prayed to the same God to grant them victory. He was a man of conscience, recognizing the selfishness of politicians, soldiers, and ordinary citizens who assumed the favor of God for their side only.

Their private wars involve accepting their own pain while protecting others. We note that Robert Jordan is actively engaged in fighting for freedom of the Spanish people whom he believes have been abused by the Nationalists. Jordan's sense of Justice was apparently a lifelong trait – he recounts his childhood horror, seeing the lynched body of a Black American in his hometown. Jordan speaks of the evil and irrationality that accompanies drunkenness.

> 'As I said, when they lifted the Negro up for the second time, my mother pulled me away from the window so I saw no more,' Robert Jordan said. 'But since I have had experiences which demonstrate that drunkenness is the same in my country. It is ugly and

brutal' (*For Whom the Bell Tolls* 117).

As a child, Jordan could do nothing to protect the Negro, but as an adult he makes the decision to join forces with the guerillas to protect the peasants of Spain. Hemingway's usurpation of the John Donne line as the title of his novel, demonstrates his belief in the connection of all human beings. For some of the Hemingway code heroes (Robert Jordan, Santiago, and Jake Barnes, etc.), confinement to a singular location and to a provincial mentality is not acceptable. The men named above have left their native lands and have asserted their right to live among different people. The implication of John Donne's conclusion to his 17th century poem expresses inescapable unity of human beings: "And therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; It tolls for thee" (Donne 109). Donne emphasizes the common humanity of all human beings. If one person dies, in a mystical way all of us die. Hemingway expands upon Donne's theme.

The conversation between Pablo, the rebel leader, and Jordan, the ex-patriate fighter in the Spanish Civil War, reveals Hemingway and Jordan's belief in the interconnectedness of humanity: Pablo mentions that it is his "business" to fight for the Spanish rebels (perhaps there is the innuendo that Jordan is a foreigner whose allegiance might be suspect). Jordan replies, "This is my business" (*For Whom the Bell Tolls* 11).

The intensity of Jordan's integrity is that he refuses to indulge in self-pity as he lies injured in an attempted escape with his girlfriend, Maria. He doesn't want to delay her escape, and his parting words express his integrity – he dies as he has lived: a Christ-like renunciation of self, and a determination to be protective of those who are weak. Hemingway depicts wars between countries as well as "wars" within persons. We note a correlation within the personality of the Code Hero – an acceptance of their personal suffering, and a desire to relieve others of their discomfort. Harold Krebs is miserable in his home, but he gives his time and his attention to his little sister whom he coaches in baseball skills.

In this section, we want to isolate three characteristics of Jesus Christ which Hemingway incorporated into his Code Heroes: silence or reticence in speaking, discomfort in community, and bereavement over the loss of a lover (Hemingway attributes a Biblically unsubstantiated love life to Jesus Christ in "Today Is Friday").

The Jesus of "Today Is Friday" speaks no words. He is admired by his killers for his endurance and apparent silent acceptance. After the Crucifixion, as the soldiers gather in a bar to recount their day of hard work, executing a man, they repeat in several slightly different variations that "he was good in there today." Their implication is that Jesus offered them no resistance and withstood his pain silently. They make a comparison between the apparent silent acceptance of Jesus and the more vociferous complaint of other crucified men:

> 3rd Roman Soldier: It takes some of them pretty bad.
>
> 1st Soldier: Ain't I seen 'em? I seen plenty of them. I tell you he was pretty good in there today (*Complete* 272).

This aspect of Hemingway's story, the reticence of Jesus to speak or offer much vocal complaint, or to make a remarkable cry of agony is fairly close to the original story as recorded in the Bible. Verduin catalogues a series of comments by other scholars who noted Jesus' silence: "Despite Christ's excruciating pain," Geike writes, "no sigh escaped His lips, no cry of agony, no bitter faltering word" (573). Hemingway's men are often reduced to short utterances, or they are shown in solitary situations (such as the fishing expedition in *The Old Man and the Sea*) where the narrative is told in third person, or is revealed in the unspoken thoughts of the character. With pains and scars reminiscent of the suffering of Jesus, Santiago is left with his thoughts: "I wonder why he (the fish) jumped, the old man *thought*. He jumped almost as though to show how big he was. I know now, anyway, he *thought*" (*The Old Man and the Sea* 64; italics mine). The silence of Hemingway stories is reinforced by his use of simple sentences, simple independent clauses, and by a vigorous use of stichomythia (rapid fire dialog involving only very brief questions and answers). The effect is to suggest minimal verbiage. Listen to the exchange between Lieutenant Henry and Catherine Barkley in the *A Farewell to Arms*:

> "Have you ever loved anyone?
> "No." I said.
> We sat down on the bench and I looked at her.
> "You have beautiful hair", I said.
> "Do you like it?"
> "Very much."
> I was going to cut it all off when he died.
> "No" (*A Farewell to Arms* 18).

This pathetic utterance of the word, "No," is an expression of detachment. As with so many other Hemingway heroes, Lieutenant Henry finds human relationships difficult. Basically, he is a loner although he does eventually marry Catherine. They move to Switzerland, away from the war. Eventually, Catherine dies in childbirth, placing Lieutenant Henry in a position similar to Jake Barnes, Robert Jordan and Santiago: men who are bereft of their wives and lovers. Loneliness and detachment are hallmarks of the Hemingway hero.

The discomfort of the Hemingway hero with regard to human relationships is one of the notable characteristics. As we see in the quotation from *A Farewell to Arms* above, the hero is often socially awkward or maladjusted. Jesus Christ distinguished Himself as a healer and a lover of humanity, yet He referred to Himself as a loner in his famous statement: "Foxes have holes, and birds of the air have nests; but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head." (*KJV* Luke 9.58). The words of Jesus, on the surface, appear only to refer to his lack of a permanent physical dwelling, but we might also see them as a statement regarding His aloneness. Addressing the disciples, Jesus makes plain to them that they, too, can expect some alienation and deprivation as they pursue lives which imitate his own life. Not all of the

followers of Jesus are deprived of family and loved ones, but Christian teaching prepares followers for the possibility of loneliness and alienation if they insist on integrity. Peter, the famous disciple, seems to complain on occasion regarding the alienation earnest followers of Jesus sometimes experience: "Then Peter began to say unto him, 'Lo we have left all, and have followed thee'" (*KJV* Mark 10.28).

The implication of Jesus and Peter's words is that people of integrity (people who follow what they believe is right as opposed to following the popular ideas of society) often discover that even their family and friends will disagree with them and even disown them. Dissenting from popular concepts or established ideas is the manner of people of integrity (i.e. John Scopes' determination to refute the Biblical view of Creation; Marcus Garvey's refusal to accept definitions of the Black man fostered by some bigoted White Americans; Santiago's ignoring of the insults of fellow fishermen).

Santiago of *The Old Man and the Sea* is particularly evocative of the aloneness of the Hemingway hero. An ex-patriate as are Robert Jordan and Jake Barnes, Santiago dreams of the days of his youth in Africa (the exact homeland of Santiago is rather confusing; he, however persistently dreams of lions lulling about the savannahs of Africa). Philip Young notes that these dreams of lions and his happy days comfort Santiago. Despite being an alien in Cuba, he finds comfort in thinking about his past, and in believing that he will somehow return to that place of happiness: "And so we could say here, as Hemingway said of Harry (*To Have and Have Not*), that Santiago is happy in the end because he knows that 'there was a place where he was going'" (Young 127). In this quotation, Philip Young is discussing Harry of *To Have and Have Not*. His life was miserable, but Harry seems to have happiness in the end as he anticipates eventually returning a good place. People of integrity are often uncomfortable in their present situation, but some of them have hope that they will be rewarded with happiness at some future time. Of course, Christians speak of the comfort of heaven; Marcus Garvey hoped for a return to the glorious African past (his comment that his "cubs" (his followers) were flourishing expresses his hope that a future time of greatness for his Return to Africa Movement would be realized).

Not all of the Hemingway characters are Code Heroes. Several characteristics are outstanding in the personalities of code heroes. They are men who are uncomfortable with the materialistic values of the world. They are men who are bereaved. Santiago, in *The Old Man and the Sea*; Robert Jordan, in *For Whom the Bell Tolls,* and Jake Barnes, in *The Sun Also Rises* represent those heroes whose main characteristics are bereavement over separation from the women they loved. We might even conjecture that Harold Krebs belongs in this category. Although Hemingway does not develop this aspect of his misery, it is mentioned that he was in the company of certain German women at the beginning of the story. His reluctance to find a suitable American mate, as his mother prayed for him, could reflect the lingering affection he may have had for one of the women he met in Europe during the war.

Maybe Krebs is bereaved as well.

Bereavement is often a characteristic of the Code Hero. Such men must accept their painful separation from the women they love. Hemingway's fictional Jesus is depicted as a man who is torn away from the woman he loves. Of course Hemingway took license with the Holy Story. There is no reference to a love life or love interest for Jesus in the Bible. However, Hemingway embellishes the Bible account. He puts Mary Magdalene, the supposed lover of Jesus at the site of the Crucifixion. Mary Magdalene was indeed one of the followers of Jesus who loyally remained at the site of the Crucifixion.[19] Hemingway does not name the lover, but he relies on certain extra-biblical "rumor" to suggest Mary Magdalene. The soldiers in the Hemingway story speak salaciously of Mary. Perhaps Hemingway is rehashing unsubstantiated stories about Mary being rescued from a life of prostitution by Jesus. The soldiers seem to admire Jesus Christ even more in this story because he had such a sexy girlfriend. Typically of certain kinds of men, they suggest that they have had sexual relations with Mary even before Jesus. All of this sexual tension in "Today Is Friday" gives the dimension of bereavement to Jesus. As Robert Jordan had to say goodbye to Maria at the end of "*For Whom the Bell Tolls*," the fictional Jesus in "Today Is Friday" is forced to separate from his supposed lover at the Crucifixion. We might even note that the separation of the fictional Jesus from his "mate" corresponds to the bereavement of the marlin from *The Old Man and the Sea.* In both of those Hemingway stories, the separation and the bereavement occur at the hour of death. Again, it needs to be emphasized that Hemingway constructed a Jesus commensurate with his own personality of endurance, sexuality and grief.

5. ***The Nick Adams Stories*: The Loner and His Integrity**

In Our Time presents Nick, presumably still nine years old, in "Indian Camp," the second story of the publication. Originally, Hemingway was to include "Three Shots" in *In Our Time*, but by the final publication it was not included. "Three Shots" tells the story of nine-year old Nick on a camping trip with his father and his Uncle George. "Indian Camp," which is included in *In Our Time*, is really a sequel to "Three Shots." "Three Shots" ends with Nick getting dressed to go home. "Indian Camp" opens with the scene of the Indians coming in to the camp to ask Dr. Adams to come and care for the Indian woman who is experiencing a breach birth. The time interval between "Three Shots" and "Indian Camp" is almost immediate. He is described as a frightened nine-year-old. His attentive father is aware of the child's sensitivities and fears. He takes the boy out in the wilderness at night. It seems to be an initiation with the purpose of teaching Nick to be more manly. Just a few weeks earlier, while at church, Nick had had a disturbing realization of his mortality. The hymn of that morning was a morbid meditation on the end of life, "Some Day the Silver Cord Will

[19] Mary Magdalene, the follower of Jesus, is, of course, different from Mary the mother of Jesus.

Break" (*Great Songs of the Church* 214*)*. The little boy became very upset at the thought of death. Apparently, Nick's father (a doctor) became aware of his child's fears and hit upon the camping idea as a bonding and teaching time. Dr. Adams included his own brother on the trip. The latter, however, had dismissed Nick as a coward.

It is in the second story of *In Our Time* that Nick becomes emboldened. While at the camp, some Indians come to ask the doctor to aid a pregnant woman in her delivery. When Dr. Adams, Uncle George and Nick arrive at the Indian settlement, they discover the woman in great pain. Her baby needed to repositioned within the womb before delivery. The woman screamed. Nick was disturbed by the expression of pain. His father assured him that it was natural for the woman to react to pain. The father of the unborn child lay in the top bunk mysteriously non-responsive. Dr. Adams asks Nick to assist him in the delivery. Uncle George, who had previously accused Nick of cowardice, absented himself from the scene, a probable indication that his accusation against Nick as coward was a case of psychological projection. The baby is safely delivered, but Dr. Adams discovers that the father had slit his body in suicide. His empathetic pain, coupled with his own physical injury incurred earlier, proved unbearable. Dr. Adams attempted to shield Nick from the bloody scene as best he could. Upon leaving the Indian settlement, Nick is impressed with his father's mastery of the situation, and he concludes that he will never die. "Three Shots" and "Indian Camp" provide the background to Nick's eventual decision to embrace pain, suffering, and danger. Additionally the two stories provide him with a role model (Dr. Adams) for coming to the aid of others.

Nick Adams, perhaps the prototype of the Hemingway Code Hero was frightened by the implications of a hymn he had heard in church. He had become aware that he would die someday. It is interesting that Nick's church experience frightened him, but eventually Hemingway, himself, would use some of the characteristics of Jesus Christ as a basis for his fictional heroes. Indeed, as Kathleen Verduin said impressively, "Hemingway's dramatization of the Crucifixion (*Stories* 356-59), may be taken as a paradigm of Hemingway's subsequent heroes, nearly all of whom bear in some way the imprint of Calvary" (Verduin 23). Homelessness is a condition in which many of the Hemingway heroes find themselves. We have already quoted the famous words of Jesus regarding his lack of shelter (even animals have nests and hiding places). Such characters as Harold Krebs and Nick Adams (especially in the short story "The Battler") are literally men without dwelling. Krebs walked away from his parents' house because he could no longer relate to their emphasis on American capitalism, and their insistence that he find a nice girl and settle into a conformist, Christian lifestyle. Hemingway reinforces the father's commitment to capitalism by mentioning that he worked in real estate and that his car was parked in front of a bank ("Soldier's Home" 71). Nick Adams, son of a medical doctor is unexplainably wandering around the country as a "hobo"; he sleeps in train box cars ("The Battler" 53).

In 1925, Hemingway was twenty-six years old and was embarking upon a writing career as well as a continuing exploration of many different expressions of Christian faith. The exploration of all of these Christian denominations was instrumental in Hemingway's development of the Code Hero – the isolated man whose grand sense of integrity affords him the ability to endure pain and suffering in the manly manner of Santiago (*The Old Man and the Sea*); of Robert Jordan (*For Whom the Bell Tolls)*; of Jesus Christ, Himself ("Today is Friday"); and others. Julanne Isabelle notes the famous Code Heroes and declares that "In Hemingway's short stories […] the element of humiliating pain is constantly present" (Isabelle 43). She recognizes that Santiago's cry "Ay, Ay" is similar to the words of Jesus from the Cross: "Eli, Eli, Lama Sabachtani?" ("My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?") (*KJV* Matt. 27.46). Therefore, the incidents that occurred in the life of Santiago were very similar to the occurrences in the life of Jesus of Nazareth. This shows that the old man and Jesus suffered in many of the same ways. They were both fishermen. The old man was the fisherman of fish and Jesus was the fisherman of souls.[20] He endures pain without complaint. Hemingway even uses the King James Version phraseology in referring to the bruises on Santiago's back and hands. Hemingway refers to the "stripes" which is an older expression for cuts and bruises.

> He is despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief; and we hid as it as were our faces from Him; he was despised and we esteemed him not. Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows; yet we esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted. But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities, the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his *stripes* are we healed (*KJV* Isa. 53.3-5).

The above passage refers to Christ's willing acceptance of pain on behalf of sinful mankind. In a lesser way, the Hemingway Code Hero often endures pain and suffering on behalf of others.

Julanne Isabelle focuses on Santiago's expression of pain. " 'Ay' he said aloud." At the moment, Santiago was feeling the pain in his hands which were raw from handling the coarse rope. There is no real translation of this short word, but it is certainly related to the cry of Jesus from the Cross. Just before his death, Jesus uttered the haunting words: "Eli, Eli, Lama sabacthani […], My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me" (*KJV* Matt. 27.46). It can be safely assumed that these last words from the Cross were an expression of unbearable physical pain as well as unbearable psychical pain. The relationship between Santiago and Jesus is established, both in their moments of aloneness and physical pain cried out. Further, both were determined to complete their mission in spite of the great pain. Jesus was determined to die on the Cross as the Grand Gesture to save mankind; Santiago was

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[20] "Biblical Influence and Symbolism in The Old Man and the Sea." May 2, 2015. <http://www.123helpme.com/view.asp?id=3539>

determined to survive the ordeal on the sea and to capture the great fish as his own act of integrity.

The Code Hero is often away from home. His discomfort in domestic settings is often the cause of his walking away. Harold Krebs, the returned soldier, has found his home life unbearable. His mother's insistence that he accept her religiosity was upsetting. His father's seeming adherence to consumerism and capitalism was unacceptable to Harold Krebs. We find in these rejections of home life and society's expectations a kinship with the philosophy of Jesus Christ. Krebs literally walked out of his door and into an uncertainty. His mother had forced a prayer session upon him, but Harold only agreed reluctantly to kneel down with her to appease her. He felt obligated to love and humor to his mother, but it is apparent the forcing was offensive to him. Harold kissed his mother and walked out of the house (*In Our Time* 77). He does not seem to have a well-thought out plan for where he will go next. He seems to suddenly and hurriedly plan to go to Kansas City and get a job. But the reader is not very convinced that Harold has made a careful plan. Before his departure, he stops by to see his little sister (the only person he seems to truly care about – and she, too, seems to be non-conformist – a girl who wants to play baseball with boys). He wants to make a clean break with his family. He decides to go to his father's office to say good-bye.

The Christ-like "homelessness" of Hemingway's Code Hero is further demonstrated in several other Nick Adams stories: "Light of the World," "The Battler," *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, and *The Sun Also Rises* all have protagonists who have left home. "The Battler" is included in the 1925 collection, *In Our Time*.

In "The Battler," Nick is literally itinerant. The story opens as he jumps off of the train he had been illegally riding. Unexplainably, Nick (the alter ego of Hemingway) who is the son of a doctor is tramping around the country. He endures a Christ-like humiliation as he walks toward a train brakeman who summons him. The worker, noticing that Nick had just got off of the train calls to the youth: "Come here, kid. I got something for you." We don't know the exact age of Nick in this story, but a good guess would be that he is about 18 or 19. He still has the trust in humanity that causes him to believe that the brakeman actually has something good to share (perhaps some food). As he approaches the brakeman, Nick is brutally attacked (*In Our Time* 54). The story begins and ends with cruelty. Nick walks toward a "hobo" pair who are settling into a meager meal. During the meeting with the other homeless men, Nick again is under the impression that a kindness is about to be extended to him, but he is again mistreated. He was invited to share in the ham and eggs meal of the two men. But at the end of the story, he is forced to leave their company. Ad Francis, the title character is a has-been fighter. He is mentally incapacitated from too many fights, and he is cared for by a loyal Black friend. The addled brain former boxer invites Nick to examine his injured head and ear. Then he invites Nick to check his pulse. These invitations to touch come after Ad Francis has identified himself as the once-famous boxer. The sentences are very

reminiscent of Scripture: "Come on, take hold of my wrist. Put your finger there" (*In Our Time* 56). Ad Francis wants to prove that he has an unbelievably low pulse rate). The sentence calls to mind Jesus' invitation to his disciple, Thomas. Jesus had been resurrected, returned to life. Thomas had been told by the other disciples that the Lord was alive again. Thomas famously said that he would not believe until he had actually touched the Body of the Risen Lord. Upon encountering Jesus, Thomas was invited to touch. The words of Scripture are resonated in "The Battler." The wording of The New International Version (NIV) of the Bible, though published after Hemingway's death are remarkably similar. Then he said to Thomas, "Reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands" (*KJV* John 20.27).

Nick's rejection as expressed in the meanness of the brakemen and in the confused "hospitality" of the hoboes in "The Battler," is repeated in his denial of food in "The Light of the World." This latter story is, again, a re-working of a Bible story ("Today Is Friday" recalls Matthew 19:1-42 (*KJV* Matt. 19.1-42); "Light of the World" recalls Acts2:1-41 (*KJV* Acts 2.1-41). This story shows Nick traveling around the country with a friend, Tom.

Published in 1933, "Light of the World" makes a direct allusion to Jesus Christ in the very title. That particular epithet is used in Christian art and culture. The Roman Catholic Church, to which Hemingway aligned himself, uses this classical reference to Jesus in its liturgy. The story is included in the 1972 publication, *The Nick Adams Stories*, and Nick is perceived to be the unnamed narrator. The Hemingway story, of course, is a vulgarization of the holy story of Pentecost. In the Bible, the disciples of Jesus were huddled in fear in an upper room. Their master had been murdered, and the disciples fear for their own lives. As the holy story unfolds, God sends a miraculous wind into the room and the disciples are emboldened to identify themselves with Jesus Christ. They go forth and preach his Gospel. In the Hemingway story, disenfranchised people (prostitutes, a homosexual man, and a few apparently unemployed men) huddle in a train station waiting room. They recall their mutual friend who has died, and they are seemingly comforted by his memory. But at the beginning of the story, before Nick and Tom join the disenfranchised people in the waiting room, they go to a bar. On the counter, there are some free foods available to customers who buy drinks. Although Nick and Tom buy beer, the bartender has an antipathy toward them that is not fully explained. When Tom reaches for the pig's feet lunch, the bartender refuses to let them have the free food. "All you punks stink," he says to them. As with the sudden cruelty of the brakeman and the "dis-invitation" to the meal in "The Battler," Nick and Tom are subjected to meanness and insult. Just as Jesus Christ was rejected and insulted by the Jews who accused him of being a consort of "sinners" (*KJV* Luke 7.34) so, too, are Nick and Tom, insulted as "punks." They find their way to the waiting room and sit among other rejected people of society.

The expatriate is another variation on the "homeless theme." Robert Jordan is an American who has left his college job in America to join forces with the anti-fascist guerillas

in the Spanish Civil War. His alienation is emphasized in the cool reception he gets from some of the band of guerillas who cannot understand why he would join them. One of the guerillas says of Jordan, "Ingles does not count since he is a foreigner" (*For Whom the Bell Tolls* 366). Jake Barnes is part of the expatriate scene in Paris. Impotent and restless, he moves around France and Spain in the impossible attempt to forget his affliction.

In emphasizing that the Code Heroes resemble Jesus Christ in His aloneness and in His suffering, Isabelle cites the famous Garden of Gethsemane passage of the Bible (Isabelle 28). In that scene, Jesus invited friends to spend some time with him in prayer in the garden. He was fully aware of the cruel Crucifixion that awaited Him; his disciples were not aware of the imminent event. He walked further into the Garden, while the disciples fell into a deep sleep where they were. Upon returning to the place in the garden where the disciples were, Jesus spoke the famous words, "What, could ye not watch with me one hour?" (*KJV* Matt. 26.40). Even though he was very near his friends (He probably had only walked only a few feet further away), Jesus was completely alone in his time of meditation upon the torture that was to come very soon. We might note another Hemingway Code Hero, Jake Barnes. He, too, was in suffering and misery. Despite being at a party and surrounded by people, some of whom were friends, Jake is desperate. He is forced to think about his impotence and his inability to physically express his love for the whimsical Lady Brett. At that very hour of suffering and alienation, Lady Brett walks into the club with great flamboyance. She is surrounded by fawning homosexual men. Jake's misery is intensified. Lady Brett looks appealing; the seriousness of Barnes' situation seems not to concern her as she cavorts with silly men who have no sexual interest in her. The irony only deepened Jake Barnes' suffering. He is observing the woman whom he craves desperately laughing and playing with men who though physically equipped, have no interest in pursuing Lady Brett sexually. Hemingway speaks with particular disgust about the homosexuals. He describes the gay men as effeminate, waving their arms and hands and speaking in the overly dramatic language of actresses. Jake says "I was very angry. Somehow they always made me angry." (*The Sun Also Rises* 28). His disgust with the gay men is contrasted with his longing description of Lady Brett, "She looked very lovely."

Isabelle indicates that Robert Jordan (*For Whom the Bell Tolls*) is also alone in his suffering hour, he "suffers because of his belief and dies humbly beneath the pines, with the needle-covered floor as his crucifixion bier" (Isabelle 43). It is important to note that both Santiago and Robert Jordan are alone at the great moment of their suffering. Hemingway's survey of Christian denominations, coupled with his experience of the horrors of World War I provided Hemingway with the elements essential for the formation of the Code Hero: the Image of Jesus Christ on the Cross and the miseries of people caught up in war. He had had instruction in Christianity from the earliest days of his childhood. But the war experience provided the conflict and angst that were necessary to form characters who achieved a

nobility in their suffering and alienation. Julanne Isabelle states in *Hemingway's Religious Experience*, what many other scholars affirm: Hemingway's experience in World War I challenged the optimistic faith his family had encouraged in him during his childhood. "Hemingway's character underwent a drastic transformation from the character of the nineteen-year-old Oak Park youth" (Isabelle 24). It is important to understand that the war experience did not cause him to reject Christianity; it caused him to consider his former Protestantism as inadequate to explain the great suffering he had witnessed. Nickel argues that many scholars erroneously assumed that, because Hemingway rejected his old Congregational denomination, he must have rejected all of his Christianity (Nickel 8). Isabelle cites Lt. Henry's monologue in *A Farewell to Arms*, a remarkably precise statement by Hemingway on his reaction to the killing in World War I. Lieutenant states, along with Isabelle and other critics, that Lt. Henry's words are really the voice of Hemingway, himself.

> I was always embarrassed by the words sacred, glorious, and sacrifice and the expression in vain. We had heard them, sometimes standing in the rain almost out of earshot, so that only the shouted words came through, and had read them on proclamations that were slapped up by bill-posters (Isabelle 26).

We might note that Abraham Lincoln's famous *Gettysburg Address* employs the same language when he dedicated the Civil War cemetery. In the Hemingway quotation above we note his omission of some punctuation. Hemingway was a talented writer, but he was notoriously inept at precise grammar, punctuation and spelling.[21] Lincoln famously said, "That we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain" (Bradley 1701). In the extended speech by Lt. Henry, he utilizes the Christian vocabulary that Lincoln made particularly famous in times of war. "Abstract words such as glory, honor, courage, or hallow were obscene beside the names of villages, the numbers of roads, the names of rivers, the numbers of regiments and dates" (Isabelle 26). Lincoln used the adjectival form of the word, *honor* ("these honored dead") and *hallow*, and he employed synonyms for the words *sacrifice* ("last full measure of devotion") and *sacred* (consecrated). Hemingway was not seeking to denigrate the beloved speech by Lincoln, but rather he was jarring the reader into the realization of how the ugliness of war demeans human beings and perverts the "holy words."

6. The Persistence of Hemingway's Christianity

Isabelle insists on a persistent Christianity in Hemingway's life; she acknowledges that Oak Park Protestantism eventually shifted toward Catholicism, but she does not seem to

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[21] In the Lt. Henry excerpt quoted above, Hemingway neglected to underline the particular words he was calling attention to. The sentences should read: "I was always embarrassed by the words sacred, glorious and sacrifice." Elsewhere Hemingway makes spelling mistakes. The title of "To-day Is Friday," probably should have used the spelling "Today." Hemingway really should have been more careful in his punctuation in the Lt. Henry passage: the words he calls particular attention to should have been underlined, and "in vain" should have been enclosed in quotation marks or italicized. They are stock words which indicate that the commander believes the dead soldiers' death had purpose and meaning.

share Matthew Nickel's view that Hemingway's conversion was the result of intense spiritual turmoil within himself. Isabelle implies that Hemingway may have changed Christian denominations as an accommodation to his the beliefs of his second wife, Pauline Pfeiffer (Isabelle 52). Nickel makes a stronger case for a more fervid conversion to Catholicism; he notes that even after his divorce from Pauline, Hemingway remained a serious Catholic: "He performed the rituals of Catholicism for forty years; attending Mass, eating fish on Fridays, having Masses said for friends" (Nickel 15). Both Isabelle and Nickel affirm that Hemingway's Christianity is revealed in the stoic acceptance of his Code Heroes. Nickel goes further; he asserts that Hemingway Code Heroes were not merely literary devices, but were intentional embodiments of Christian doctrines. "After Stoneback uncovered significant factual evidence for Hemingway's Catholicism in his 1991 essay, scholars began to consider that the Christian elements in his fiction exist literally, not as sardonic inversions" (Nickel 15).

Critics have noted that his life up to 1925 involved eventual association with an assortment of churches including Congregational, Episcopal, Anglican, and Roman Catholic. Matthew Nickel argues that Hemingway's eventual conversion to Roman Catholicism was permanent, lasting until his death which ended in suicide. Suicide and divorce are, of course, taboo, in Christian teachings, but Hemingway's experience with both of these problems does not negate his Christianity. Isabelle states that although the Roman Catholic Church is very strict in proscribing divorce, it still recognizes the Catholicity of the divorced person: "The Church, not recognizing the divorce (Hemingway from Pauline Pfeiffer), placed a penalty on Hemingway. Excommunication is a denial of privilege concerning Mass, but it does not cut the member from the Church" (Isabelle 53). As for suicide, even that final disobedience to Church teaching does allow for mental anguish which would allow for forgiveness of the person who kills himself. Hemingway did have a priest to officiate at his funeral, although he was denied a full Catholic Mass.

In his *Hemingway's Dark Night: Catholic Influences and Intertextualities in the Work of Ernest Hemingway*,[22] Nickel asserts that the insufficient scholarly attention to Hemingway's Catholicism is due to: (1) The emphasis on his Protestant childhood, and the insistence that he rejected the religion of his Oak Park, Illinois upbringing, and (2) The prevailing image of "Papa Hemingway" and the mythology of the macho man, womanizer and celebrator of the dangerous (sports such as boxing, safari hunting, and bull fighting). Nickel denies that these two experiences caused Hemingway to reject Christianity as some have maintained. Nickel does not recognize either of these events as a cause for Hemingway abandonment of all faith.

Nickel points out Hemingway's early exposure to the Protestantism of his home, saying that 20th century Protestantism often relied upon a positivism as expressed in the concept of

[22] Matthew Nickel, *Hemingway's Dark Night: Catholic Influences and Intertextualities in the Work of Ernest Hemingway*. The reference to "Dark Night" is a particularly Roman Catholic concept that some especially pious saints encounter periods of great inner turmoil that eventually leads them to a re-affirmation of their faith.

Perfectability (the idea that human beings could attain a high moral life if they subject themselves to an ardent imitation of the goodness of Jesus Christ). This kind of Protestantism emphasized the social gospel which involved a lifestyle of charity and doing good works. However, according to Nickel, Hemingway's experience as an ambulance driver in World War I, in Italy, exposed to him to the harsh reality of human meanness and depravity. The horrors he experienced caused him to move away from the religion of his childhood. But, as Nickel maintains, it did not prevent him from eventually embracing Roman Catholicism. It is interesting that one of the many differences in Roman Catholicism and traditional Protestantism is that the latter group focuses on a simple Cross while the former devotes itself to the Crucifix which places the tortured body of Jesus on the Cross. In his "Today Is Friday," Hemingway develops a fictionalized drama around the Crucifixion in which Jesus Christ accepts his pain and alienation in an admirably manly way. He protests little from the Cross. That acceptance of pain and suffering is one of the characteristics of the Code Hero. Nickel's book is unrelenting in its assertion of Hemingway's sincere and permanent conversion to Roman Catholicism. The cover of the book presents a photograph of Hemingway apparently alone in a sparse room. He is intent upon reading an unknown document as he sits on a bed beneath a Crucifix. The stark black and white photograph of a man detached from apparent society with only the tortured body of Jesus Christ upon a Crucifix is highly suggestive of Hemingway's Code Hero. The title of the book also is unmistakably an homage to Roman Catholicism: "Dark Night" is a Roman Catholic concept of the experience of some great saints: they endure suffering and extended periods of feeling abandoned by God only to emerge at some later date even more convicted of their faith. In the Introduction to Nickel's work, John Stoneback suggests that Hemingway was, if not particularly mindful of the poem of St. John of Cross, *Dark Night of the Soul*, he was at least profoundly affected by images of stoic, manly suffering.

Most scholars agree that (1) Hemingway used Christian symbolism and language in many of his stories, and (2) The Code Hero is described in terms that are very reminiscent of Christian language. When Young discusses the qualities of the Code Hero, he may not have been aware of that he has outlined the defining characteristics of Jesus Christ, especially as Hemingway limned Him in "Today Is Friday": "This is the Hemingway Code – 'a grace under pressure.' It is made of the controls of honor and courage which in a life of tension and pain make a man a man" (Young 63). Later in his book, Young describes the Crucifixion scene in "Today Is Friday" in which Hemingway's Jesus is distinctively a Code Hero, exhibiting precisely that behavior of endurance (Young 129). What scholars do not agree upon is the *intent* of these evocations. Some see Hemingway's reference to Christianity as merely atmospheric, serving the themes of survival and struggle, no more than that. Nickel wants to read Hemingway's devotion to Christianity and Catholicism into the references. Whether or not Hemingway wanted to express Christian endurance and martyrdom in the

character of Santiago, or whether he merely wanted to employ the atmosphere of Christianity to depict the manliness he admired so much (and which found expression in the Code Heroes he limned), there is no doubt that the references to Christianity are there. Philip Young tends to think the references are only atmospheric; Santiago of *The Old Man and the Sea*, for Young, is in the tradition of the classical, Greek, suffering protagonists (not just to Jesus Christ as "Suffering Servant"). Young thinks of Santiago as representative of Hemingway himself: a man struggling to master his craft (Santiago as fisherman; Hemingway as writer):

> *The Old Man and the Sea* is, from one angle, an account of Hemingway's personal struggle, grim, resolute and eternal, to write his best. With his seriousness, his precision, and perfectionism, Hemingway saw his craft exactly as Santiago sees his. The fishing and fishermen turn out to be metaphors so apt that they need almost no translation. Santiago is a master who sets his lines with care than his colleagues. But he has no luck anymore (Young 126).

Nickel regards Young's attention to the Christian (and Catholic details) of *The Old Man and the Sea* as insufficiently developed (Nickel 7). He asserts quite plainly that Hemingway's Catholicism is more than atmospheric. He believes that Santiago suffering is more than an autobiographical allusion to Hemingway's devotion to his craft. He indicates that Carlos Baker, Hemingway biographer, was right all along: Hemingway had a devotional appreciation of Catholicism:

> Baker described how Hemingway had entered a Catholic Church in Charlevoix to light a candle and pray in 1920; he described how Hemingway stopped by a roadside shrine in 1927 near Speazia, Italy to pray for what seemed a long time […] after Baker's biography critics needed to reconcile that Hemingway's religion was one of Man (not of God) and Baker's presentation of Hemingway is as "at least a nominal Catholic. (Nickel 6)

He allows for even more possible commitment to Catholicism. In other words, Baker and Nickel are on the side of critics who believe that Hemingway was a writer who was devoted to his faith; some other scholars are convinced that Hemingway really practiced a religion of Man (using Christian language and symbols only as metaphors). Nickel says that Baker forced other scholars to think of Hemingway as "at least a nominal Catholic." That simply means that the other critics would not accept a representation of Hemingway as a completely devoted believer, but they had to at least acknowledge that he identified himself as Catholic. Baker and Nickel, of course, want to assert that Hemingway was more than Catholic in name only. He was Catholic in sincere devotion.

Nickel states that Hemingway's experience as an ambulance driver during World War I exposed him to evil and horrors which caused him to reject the idea the "perfectability of human life," a positivism he had been taught as a Congregationalist, the denomination of his childhood. He could not reconcile the horrors he experienced in the war with his Oak Park

childhood. But rejection of the religion of his parents and his childhood did not prevent him from finding spirituality in Roman Catholicism.

It is argued that his characters are sometimes in rebellion against the religious fervor of the times; Harold Krebs ("Soldier's Home") is sometimes cited as a rebel against the Methodism of his parents faith. It is cited that Jake Barnes (*The Sun Also Rises*) and Robert Jordan (*For Whom the Bell Tolls*) are expressive of Christian ideals, even though their particular Christian denominations are not fully explained. In analyzing Hemingway's connection to religious argument of the time, scholars need to be aware of two things: Hemingway shifted his Christian beliefs several times in his life, and despite these shifts, Hemingway was constant in his appreciation of the Bible and his celebration of the character of Jesus Christ. Carlos Baker, editor of *Ernest Hemingway's Selected Letters 1917-1961* documents the shift in his religious comment:

> In one of his poems, written in 1928, he says that the 'searchers for order will find that there is a certain discipline in the acceptance of experience.' The practical empiricist speaks here. Certain of his attitudes gradually solidified into the code of conduct by which he chose to live. Others gradually altered beneath the repeated blows of experience. It is fascinating to watch the shift in his religious views from the cheerful Protestant Christianity of 1918 through the nominal Catholicism of the period 1927-1937, and on to sentimental humanism of the years after World War II (Baker xix).

Presumably, Hemingway's reference to the discipline of acceptance reflects the Protestant period of his faith. It appears to be a restatement of the idea in Romans 8:28 that God has arranged everything to eventually work out for goodness and order. In other words, Hemingway in this expression of God's arrangement of a good order is in keeping with the famous Bible passage. "And we know that all *things* work together for good to them that love God, to them who are *the* called according to *his* purpose" (*KJV* Rom. 8.28). Further indication that Hemingway retained faith in Christianity (though shifting in particular expressions of it at various times) is attested by Isabelle: "Hemingway's respect for the true dedicated Christian, whether Protestant or Catholic, is shown in all his writing."[23] For Hemingway, the outstanding characteristic of Christ was His integrity. The fictional characters of Robert Jordan, Santiago, Jake Barnes, all exemplify the focus, the determination, and self-awareness unhampered by the popular consensus of their day. Hemingway admired Jesus Christ, and he presents several characters in his writings who are reminiscent of the quiet resignation (acceptance of one's condition) of Jesus Christ. Jesus, when confronted with the looming horror of the Crucifixion, did pray that he might avoid "The bitter cup," but even has he prayed, he seems resigned to the inevitability of his cruel death (*KJV* Matt. 26.39). Likewise, Santiago, lonely and alienated on the ocean, realizes that he must kill the great fish

[23] Isabelle cites the passage in *The Sun Also Rises* in which Hemingway attacks, through his characters, Jake and Harvey, his lack of respect for H.L. Mencken. Mencken, of course, was the commentator who ridiculed the fundamentalists crowded at the Scopes Trial. See Isabelle 32.

that he has come to regard as a brother. He would like to not have to kill the fish, but he is compelled to do so. The fish, if caught, would feed many people, "though there is no one worthy of eating him (*The Old Man and the Sea* 75). For those who are acquainted with the Bible, that phrase is particularly suggestive of the Communion during which Christians ritualize the death of Jesus. The Code Hero takes his cue from Jesus Christ. Like Jesus, Robert Jordan abandons his own comfort. He could have had a simpler and more comfortable life had he not opted to leave his job as an American university professor and go to Spain to "deliver" abused Republicans from the Facists. In varying degrees, Hemingway Code Heroes resemble Jesus Christ.

In her book, *Hemingway's Religious Experience*, Julanne Isabelle documents the various Christian denominations that Hemingway associated himself with through the years: at times he associated with conservative Methodists, Episcopalians, Congregationalists, and Roman Catholics. He was greatly influenced by his parents and grandparents who were members of diverse Christian groups. But always, Hemingway maintained an understanding of the integrity of Jesus Christ. By the time of the Scopes Trial, Hemingway seems to have taken the more liberal viewpoint of Christianity (i.e. an appreciation of the Bible in a non-literal sense – perhaps Hemingway was no longer interested in a word- for-word interpretation of the Bible, but he was interested in the personality of the quietly suffering Jesus Christ). During his childhood and young manhood, he was trained to accept the Creationist viewpoint (Isabelle 19). However, this Fundamentalist position of his youth was not lasting.

Philip Young seems reluctant to attribute full-blown and persistent Christianity to Ernest Hemingway. Young cautions against an overworked idea of a Christian Hemingway, particularly with regard to the symbolism in *The Old Man and the Sea* in *Ernest Hemingway, A Reconsideration*:

> Now it is Santiago's hands, and the noise that comes from him when he sees the sharks ('a noise such as a man might make, involuntarily, feeling the nail go through his hands and into the wood'), which first relate his ordeal is an ancient one. Then when he carries his mast uphill to his cabin, and falls exhausted, but finally makes, and collapses on his cot, 'face down […] with his arms out straight and the palms of his hands up,' the allusion is unmistakable […]. All this does not indicate that Hemingway was embracing, or even necessarily approaching, the Christian faith. Such passages as the one on the possible nonexistence of sin explicitly disavow it, as does the running insistence on the story as a wholly natural parable, confined to the realms of this world and what we know by experience. Instead Hemingway is applying another metaphor (Young 130).

Ultimately, a reader must come to his own conclusions about Hemingway's faith. Carlos Baker, in his compilation of *Ernest Hemingway: Selected Letters, 1917-1961* says that it was fascinating to observe Hemingway's "shift in religious views from the cheerful Protestant Christianity of 1918 through the nominal Catholicism of the period 1927 to 1937, and on to

the sentimental humanism of the years after World War II" (Baker xix).

Although Young insists that Hemingway's Christian and religious references are metaphorical devices, he himself opens his critical analysis of Hemingway with a foreword that cites a passage from the Book of *Job* in the English Bible: "Wherefore do I take my flesh in my teeth" (*KJV* Job 13.14). The passage has many interpretations and wording. Some people see this passage as the long suffering Job's determination not to commit suicide. The modern English Idiom is "I will not bite my tongue," which means I will not decline to speak, or decline to defend someone else. Young's epigram is meant to show the irony of Hemingway's death: earlier he expressed a loathing of suicide, yet it appears that he committed suicide. Young's foreword is a discussion of Hemingway's mental and physical state at the time of his death. The writer had suffered a series of physical traumas in his life,[24] and Young wonders if these traumas interfered with the natural inclination toward self-preservation. The point that I wish to make is that Young is not consistent in his estimation of Hemingway's Christianity; nevertheless the epigram of Young's book is a reference to the longsuffering Job who is himself a Christ-figure.[25] It would seem that Young is implying a connection between Job and Hemingway in his selection of an epigram. Could that relationship not be extended to an implied relationship between Hemingway and Jesus Christ? If the allusions to Christ and Christian symbols are as extensive as Philip Young indicates, and if Hemingway himself requested a King James Bible just a few days before his death (Baker 917), then we might be on solid ground in agreeing with Matthew Nickel that Hemingway appeared to identify with Christianity. We pause to look again at that photograph of the old and ailing Hemingway in his private room beneath the Crucifix. That photograph was taken in 1959, just two years before the gunshot ended the life of Ernest Hemingway. Certainly no one can claim that Hemingway lived in complete accordance with the dictates of either Protestantism or Catholicism. He incorporated into his characters such as Santiago the Christ-like ideal of suffering, endurance and quietness.

It is important to appreciate that his Code Hero has Christ-like manner, particularly the cultivation of "grace under pressure." Philip Young asserts that grace is indeed a Hemingway theme (Young 63). Both Young and Isabelle have noted a kind of progression in the faith of Hemingway. While Young sees the sequence as Protestant to Catholic to Sentimental Humanism, Isabelle words the sequence slightly differently. She acknowledges that Hemingway moved from Protestantism to Catholicism, but she leaves the final stages of his faith undefined. Isabelle's implication is that Hemingway probably died while still following

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[24] Hemingway was in two airplane accidents and may have suffered a concussion. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ernest_Hemingway. Ernest Hemingway. November 20, 2015.

[25] There are two sections to the Bible: Old Testament and New Testament. Job is a major character in the Old Testament; he suffered enormously although he was innocent. Jesus is the main focus of the New Testament; he suffered enormously and quietly. Many scholars recognize that Old Testament characters are premonitions of characters who will appear in the New Testament. Job, according to many of these scholars, is a prefiguring of Jesus Christ.

some semblance of Catholicism. He and his character, Santiago, were not church-goers, but they demonstrate some of the personality of Jesus Christ.

When we talk about faith, we must be careful about labels. If being a Catholic means adhering to *all* of the rituals and subscribing to *all* of the doctrines, then maybe Hemingway cannot be called a Catholic. But if being a Catholic means finding comfort in *some* of the beliefs and traditions while ignoring others,[26] then perhaps Nickel is right in his definition of Hemingway as Catholic writer at the end of his life. Curiously, some of Hemingway's behavior (adultery, drunkenness, suicide) was offensive to all Christians, Protestants and Catholics, but apparently he remained appreciative of the basic Christian concepts which are common to Protestantism and Catholicism. Again, Santiago seems to express a manly faith that Hemingway himself may have identified with. In *The Old Man and The Sea*, Santiago speaks of his wife as having been a serious Christian. But Santiago did not label himself a serious Christian. On his boat, he offered Catholic prayers, *The Lord's Prayer* and *The Hail Mary*.[27] He seems to have said those prayers in honor of his wife's faith. But more interesting is Santiago's lifestyle of endurance of pain, "grace under pressure," refusal to be bitter about the mockery other fishermen make of him – these qualities are perhaps more in keeping with Christianity than strict obedience to church attendance and public professions of faith. Hemingway is very much like his character, Santiago. Both were expressive of the higher ideals of Christ, even if they were not frequent visitors to Church buildings.

7. Conclusion to Chapter 3

Isabelle's assessment of Hemingway's character in the very opening of her book is a very definitive statement:

> Between the poles of belief and disbelief lies Ernest Hemingway's religious experience. The many existing interpretations of his religious position attest to its complexity. It would therefore be impossible to fit this prodigious figure into a narrow orthodox tradition. Hemingway was a religiously oriented man whose tempered faith was forged within the framework of American Protestant tradition, hardened by the disillusionment

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[26] Today, many Catholics use an amusing term for themselves. They will acknowledge that they are "Cafeteria Catholics." That means that they like some of the things about the faith and the church. They "pick and choose" which requirements of the church they will obey. For example, strict Catholic teaching is that there can be no birth control. However, educated Catholics want to limit their family size so as to provide better education and other opportunities for the children they do have. Other Catholics may not agree with the Church's stance on other prominent issues. The most recent Popes have cautioned Catholics that they cannot just accept bits and pieces of the religion. They are required to follow the Church completely. Nevertheless, many people who say that they are Catholics are selective about which practices and doctrines they will obey. Perhaps Hemingway was a Cafeteria Catholic before the term was coined.

[27] *The Lord's Prayer* is famous throughout Christianity, but the wording of the *Prayer* is slightly different in the Protestant version and the Catholic version. Catholics usually refer to the prayer as *The Our Father* (*Pater Noster* in Latin). Santiago refers to the Catholic title. Protestants traditionally refer to the prayer *The Lord's Prayer*. *The Hail Mary* (Ave Maria) is prayer only used in Catholicism and those churches which maintain many of the Catholic ideas. Hemingway via Santiago uses the Catholic references here.

> of the war and the 1920s, and annealed within the framework of a broad, ancient Catholic tradition, constantly being tested for its tenacity and possessing the properties essential to a universal belief. (Isabelle 17)

Her repetition of the word "religious" stresses her firm belief in Hemingway's spiritual nature. Though he may have aligned himself with different facets of Christianity, he apparently remained convinced of the truth of basic Christianity: Jesus Christ's manly endurance of suffering and His rejection of sentimentality were attributes that should be emulated. Herself a gifted writer, Isabelle uses a vocabulary consistent with metaphor of gold refining: "forged," "tested," "hardened," "tempered". These are words suggestive of the process: (1) smelting, (2) using borax and soda ash (to separate the baser metals from the pure gold), and using alloys to harden the final product. The image is famously used in Scripture to suggest that God refines his people by subjecting them to experiences, even suffering, which will eventually result in their great characters: "The fining pot is for silver, and the furnace for gold, but the Lord trieth the hearts" (*KJV* Prov. 17.3). "As the fining pot for silver, and the furnace for gold, so is a man to his praise" (*KJV* Prov. 27.21).

The import of both of these Bible quotations is that the man who bears his pain, with the understanding that he can emerge the better for it, will form great character. Isabelle's representation of Hemingway and his Code Hero is akin to Carl Sandburg's sentiment in *Prayers of Steel*: "Lay me on an anvil, O. God. Beat me and hammer me into a crowbar" (Untermeyer 324). Though Sandburg's image is of a different metal (steel), we can see he invites God to refine him into a more perfect character. Hemingway saluted his contemporary and his fellow citizen of Illinois in his comments to the press shortly before delivering the 1954 Nobel Prize Address. Hemingway said that Sandburg and Isak Dinesen were more deserving of the honor than he was (Baker 803-04).

Hemingway was committed to basic Christian ideas, even if he moved within very different and competing Christian circles of his life. Isabelle's use of the word "forged" is particularly interesting. "Forged" has the idea if an iron object being subjected to intense fire and being beaten into a particular shape and item. Again, the Sandburg invitation to God to beat him into a useful crowbar comes to mind. One gets the impression that Hemingway and his heroes took a certain pride in their endurance, believing that their alienation and suffering could endow them with good character. They submit to their suffering. One must bear in mind that Santiago and Robert Jordan obviously elected their own lifestyles. Jordan, an American, chose to go to Spain and participate in the civil war. Santiago took a certain pride in pursuing the great fish in the roughest season and in the deepest waters. These men are akin to Jesus Christ in the self-direction of their lives. Other heroes such as Nick Adams in "Big Two-Hearted River," and Harold Krebs in "Soldier's Home" apparently assumed a self-determination after their war experiences. Hemingway said of "Big Two-Hearted River" that "It is a story about a boy who has come back from the war" (Baker 798). Of course Jake

Barnes's suffering comes of his humiliating injury during the war, but his attitude about this suffering reflects a character who was determined in his stoicism. As for the writer himself, Hemingway volunteered for service. Baker describes young Ernest Hemingway in 1918. He was parading down "Fifth Avenue in his brand new uniform and gleefully embarking on a troopship to drive ambulances in northern Italy" (Baker xiv). He chose the direction of his life as a young volunteer, he endured the misery of war, and he suffered the trials of broken romances, he determined his own reaction to these life events, and eventually, he determined the time and place of his own death. Those same elements of self determination are expressed in the lives of his code heroes. We find in such men an acceptance of their fate. Hemingway indicated his affinity with John Donne in his allusion to the famous piece: "Ask not for whom the bell tolls, it tolls for thee." We might conclude that Hemingway, like Donne, subscribed to the idea of the efficacy of accepting one's mortality. Further, Hemingway and his heroes extend their invitation to God to make something better of them:

Batter my heart, three-personed God, for you
As yet but knock, breathe, shine, and seek to mend
That I may rise, and stand,
O'erthrow me, and bend
Your force to break, blow, burn, and make me new (*Holy Sonnet 14*).

The Hemingway Code Heroes (Robert Jordan, Jake Barnes and Santiago, etc.) are men who accept their fate with strength and stoicism. In his struggle with the great fish, Santiago exemplifies integrity. He speaks to the fish that he is trying to capture, but it seems at moments that he also identifies with the fish. The death of the fish is intertwined with his own thoughts of mortality. He says "If he will jump I can kill him, but he (the fish) stays down forever. Then I will stay down with him forever" (*The Old Man and the Sea* 60*).* The integrity of men like Santiago is that they reject self-pity, they embrace the inevitability of their death. Santiago says of his painful struggle to catch the fish, "I will show him what a man can do, and what a man endures" (Ibid. 66). Many times in the short novel, Santiago refers to the fish as his brother, friend, and even as a kind of alter ego for himself. He accords the fish the qualities of a Christ-figure (which of course are qualities that Santiago himself shares). In his most overt depiction of the fish as Christ-figure, Santiago refers to the many people the fish will feed. For Bible readers, the reference to the Lord's Supper is unmistakable. Christ gathered friends to a dinner on the evening before his betrayal. He broke bread and shared it with them, indicating that they were to eat such bread in the future as a metaphorical eating of his own flesh (*KJV* 1 Cor. 11.23-29). Santiago says: "How many people will he feed, he thought. But are they worthy of eating him? No, of course not. There is no one worthy of eating him from the manner of his behavior and his great dignity (*Old* 75). Hemingway and his Code Hroes were men who sought, by their manly endurance of pain, to achieve dignity and integrity. **Conclusion**

One of the interesting results of this study is that it occasions a redefinition of "defeat" and "victory." Often the former term applies to a situation in which someone has failed to win approval of others. Examining the major contenders mentioned in this dissertation, it becomes apparent that people who may be regarded as failures often have the great satisfaction of having lived their lives on their own terms. They have not bowed down to the requirements of society. The famous poem, "Invictus," by the British poet William Ernest Henley, was written in 1888, one year before the birth of Marcus Garvey, and eleven years before the birth of Hemingway[28]. It is a veritable creed of what both men believed. In fact, Garvey recited the poem on several occasions, marking it as a fitting expression of his belief in the idea of character building through resistance and struggle. Exhorting his followers to always seek beauty, Garvey quotes the poem in full in his essay, "The Tragedy of White Injustice":

Out of the night that covers me,
Black as the Pit from pole to pole,
I thank whatever Gods may be
For my unconquerable soul.

In the fell clutch of circumstance
I have not winced nor cried aloud.
Under the bludgeoning of chance
My head is bloody, but unbowed.

Beyond this place of wrath and tears
Looms but the horror of the Shade,
And yet the menace of the years
Finds, and shall find, me unafraid.

It matters not how strait the gate,
How charged with punishments the scroll.
I am the master of my fate;
I am the captain of my soul (Henley 197).

Although at least one Christian critic, Mark Kennedy asserts that Hemingway was influenced by the self-determination theme in "Invictus," he suggests that Hemingway refuted the concept of surrender and submission (to Christ) that would have made him a true believer in Christianity[29]. In his interpretation, Hemingway's ego was his god. Kennedy, is an

[28] There are contradictory dates given for the writing and publication of the poem.
[29] In this case, "critic" might be more properly interpreted as synonymous with "complainer" as opposed to "scholar." Kennedy is a leader of ACSI Association of Christian Schools International. He contributes to online

articulate writer and contributor to *The Christian School Journal*, but apparently he is not a Hemingway scholar. Dismissive of Hemingway's faith, he is in contradiction to the more respected scholars such as Matthew Nickel, and Julanne Isabelle who contend that Hemingway identified with the suffering Christ as would any true believer. A more insightful discussion of Hemingway's relationship to Jesus Christ is expressed by Kathleen Verduin in "The Lord of Heroes: Hemingway and the Crucified Christ." Demurring from a definite declaration that Hemingway was a Christian, she emphasizes that:

> Hemingway's attention to the Crucifixion is inseparable from what Gay Talese in *Esquire* has termed his 'great exploration of the male mystique' and his easy familiarity with 'Our Lord,' as he preferred to call Jesus, underscores themes that profoundly define his fiction: pain, suffering, death, and heroic manhood (Verduin 21).

The focus of this dissertation is that the 1920s were marked by a cavalcade of characters who insisted on their own integrity, and that the spirit of the times involved a significant dialogue about the efficacy of alienation and suffering in forming strong character. The highest expression of such character may well be the Crucified Jesus Christ.

It is important to appreciate that what unites Hemingway, Garvey, Scopes, the anthologized writers in *The New Negro,* and others is not so much a common faith in Jesus Christ, but a manly acceptance of suffering and a rejection of dependence on the popular social trends. Such characters and personalities may even renounce faith, but they adhere to a stoicism that many would say is best personified by the Crucified Jesus Christ.

Although "Invictus" was written by a British Caucasian during the Victorian period, "Invictus" has always resonated with all people who endure hard times and who are determined to resist two opponents: (1) enemies who want to deny their humanity, and (2) inclinations toward self-doubt. Examples of such people who put up the resistance include Robert Jordan (Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls*) and the "voice" in "If We Must Die" (Claude McKay's poem in *The Norton Anthology of African American Literature* 1007). In fact, scholars have noted the affinity that African Americans have long felt for the Henley poem.[30] Further, scholars recognize the same determination to resist enemies as well as self-pity in both "Invictus" (a poem of the Victorian period) and "If We Must Die," (a poem

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blogs advocating Christian education for younger children. He is not a Hemingway scholar, but his comments upon the death of Hemingway give an interesting contrast to the interpretation of Hemingway's character, by such people as Isabelle and Nickel. In "It's just a little cold: Mourning Ernest Hemingway," he contends that Hemingway was not a Christian. Further, he implies that Hemingway might well be associated with an individualistic, humanistic interpretation of Henley's poem "Invictus." To be sure, a Christian interpretation of the poem is also possible, and Hemingway could be construed as a Christian whose strong identification with the alienation and suffering of Jesus Christ implies recognition of Jesus Christ as his model and Savior.

[30] Indeed, not only African Americans, but the Jamaican native, Marcus Garvey, and the South African black activist, Nelson Mandela, were highly appreciative of the poem. The recent film, entitled, *Invictus*, is a study of the struggles of Mandela against apartheid, and features an extended recitation by Mandela as portrayed by African American, actor, Morgan Freeman. It is quoted in the film, *Casablanca*. The social loner, Rick, quotes the last part of poem. President Barack Obama quoted the poem at the funeral of Nelson Mandela. It is quoted in the 1926 Dorothy Sayers novel, *Clouds of Witness*. The poem is an anthem to strength, determination, and endurance.

of the Harlem Renaissance). McKay is featured prominently in the poetry section of the 1925 publication, *The New Negro*. His poem, "If We Must Die" was published in 1919; it was not included in *The New Negro*. The implication of both the Henley poem and the McKay poem is that true manliness is found in standing firm against all adversity. Both poems exhort hearers to remain steadfast in their personal convictions. Surrendering to the dictates and fashions of others is rejected in both works. McKay's "If We Must Die" was prompted by a series of riots and violence against African Americans in 1919:

> Charles Johnson in *Being and Race* declares the thematic relationship of both poems: We see the Harlem Renaissance as an extremely productive period, and from it emerged such truly important talents such as Claude McKay, whose poem, "If We Must Die," is a lasting expression of Man's determination to endure, one quite as good as say, as William Ernest Henley's "Invictus" (18).

Hemingway, Garvey, Scopes, and other characters (non-fictional and fictional) who are the focus of this study exemplify the spirit of "Invictus."They have found their own paths. Such people as Jake Barnes in Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises* may not be happy, but they may be at peace with themselves. To be sure, Jake Barnes would have preferred a life in which he could have consummated his love for Lady Brett. He endured much frustration. But eventually he achieved a peace within himself. Likewise, Marcus Garvey was ultimately jailed on suspicious charges. He had been an articulate spokesman for the rights of African Americans. Because of his nationalistic and separatist outbursts, he was often ridiculed by Whites and by some middle class Blacks. White society had longed to be rid of the nuisance of Marcus Garvey. When finally the district attorney could imprison him on the dubious charge of mail fraud, the district attorney commented that "we have caught the tiger." We see the insult. Using animal references to a human being was demeaning. African Americans have long endured such animalistic references to themselves. Ever the clever wordsmith, Garvey turned the district attorney's words into a retort: "You may cage the tiger but there are going to be thousands of cubs in the bushes that you've got to catch" (Van Deburg 371). If the establishment would insist animal terminology to refer to Black people, Garvey would use that same terminology but in a nuance which suggested power and might: tigers are indeed powerful animals. By referring to his "cubs" Garvey was suggesting that his movement and the struggle for civil rights would not die with his incarceration or even his own death. Such statement by Garvey might be considered a declaration of his own victory.

Indeed, Garvey celebrated the same "grace under pressure" which marks most of Hemingway's code heroes. It is no wonder that Garvey expressed great appreciation for the 1888 poem, "Invictus," by William Ernest Henley (Hill 393). Garvey was one of the earliest writers to assert that Black people had a special connection to Jesus Christ because of the extreme way that they have been tortured (the prominent lynchings of the early 1900s were incidences where black people were mutilated and hanged from trees – Garvey noted the

similarity between the lynchings and the Crucifixion of Jesus). Although "Invictus" was not specifically addressing the idea of African American suffering, it utilized a language that Black people understood very well. Henley spoke of "blackness" and "blood." Henley was not describing lynching. His use of those words was metaphorical, referencing suffering in general. But Black people interpreted the words very personally. They were reminded of the cruelties of slavery and the brutality of Whites against them in the early 1900s. It is interesting that recent African American scholars have taken up this theme of black people having a very special connection to Jesus Christ. A recent scholarly publication on this idea is the book, *The Cross and the Lynching Tree*. However, as early as the 1920s, Garvey stated, "The Cross is the property of the Negro in his religion, because it is he who bore it" (Hill 196). Garvey relies on a Bible story (*KJV* Mark 15.21) which states that Simon the Cyrene carried the Cross of Jesus for a short way on the road to the Crucifixion. African American interpretation has always been that Simon was an African. In fact in the film, *The Greatest Story Ever Told* (1965), the black actor, Sidney Poitier portrayed the Cyrenian. Garvey, of course, was not only suggesting that Jesus was uniquely related to Blacks because of the good work of Simon, he was also implying that Black people continue (in the 1920s) to have a special relationship with Jesus Christ because they were ostracized and brutally treated in modern times. Despite the radical claims of Garvey, he does express well the situation of African American suffering and alienation. He does articulate the need for them to insist on their own integrity.

As we analyze the various "heroes" of the Scopes Trial, the Harlem Renaissance and the Hemingway stories, we are impressed with their refusal to bow to the dictates of society. We are reminded of the sentence in Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea*: "But man is not made for defeat […]. A man can be destroyed but not defeated" (*The Old Man and the Sea* 103*)*. Of course people can be murdered, but Hemingway would have us believe in the survival of the spirit and the impossibility of killing a man's integrity. Perhaps Jesus, Himself, was alluding to such an idea when he said, "And fear not them which kill the body but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell" (Matt. 10.28[Matthew]). Jesus and Hemingway (through Santiago) are agreed: if a human being is determined to live honorably despite the suffering society may inflict upon him, he will still have his spirit and integrity intact. The wording of the King James Bible speaks of "him" meaning only God has the power to completely annihilate a human being. The worst that another human being can do to an honorable person of integrity is to murder him. No human being can defeat a truly honorable person of integrity.

Reflecting upon the highlighted publications of 1925 in this dissertation, the fictional and real characters of the 1920s, and upon the sensational litigations involving John Scopes and Alice Jones Rhinelander, one must note that *defeat* is a major element. John Scopes was defeated in his attempts to be exonerated for teaching Darwinian evolution: Alice Jones

Rhinelander was defeated in her attempts to have her humanity recognized by the courts (she was famously examined in the presence of many men in the court – they believed that they could ascertain her race by scrutinizing her breasts); the numerous Hemingway Code Heroes were defeated in their attempts to be respected by the larger society (perhaps Hemingway's representation of Jesus Christ in "Today Is Friday" is a prime example of such a character's defeat – Jesus was crucified and mocked in the short story/drama). Further we note that writers of *The New Negro* were determined to express their creativity because White society had underrated their intelligence and their own artistic powers; in other words, it was because of the humiliation and defeat of the Black man, Alain Locke and the contributors to the anthology decided to define themselves whether or not they received the approval of the White establishment.

But curiously, all of these characters may have achieved a personal victory. Yes, they were defeated in terms of winning approval of the establishment, but in insisting on their own integrity they were victorious. Much of this dissertation has concerned the Modernist redefinition of integrity which suggests a challenging of, and eventually an overcoming of, social disapproval. These characters are memorable because they endured humiliation and alienation, but they have become "heroes" because they achieved a comfort level with themselves. Even though they are ignored and unappreciated by other people, they have their own happiness. Such people do not need the applause of others. We see this attitude in Santiago of Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea.* He set out to capture the great fish despite the laughter and disrespect he received from the other fishermen. He was victorious in his lone endeavor to capture the fish. Even though he returned to his community with only a few bones as evidence of his encounter with the Marlin, he could be satisfied with himself. He managed to survive loneliness on the ocean; he managed to survive physical pain. He knew within himself that he had been victorious. It was a comfort to him that he did have the esteem of Manolin, the little boy, who always believed in him. Perhaps society at large would label him a failure: he did not return to land with the intact body of the great fish. But his endurance and his challenge of conditions which other men eschew (other fishermen fished in the Month of May, not the hurricane season of September; other fishermen worked close to shore, not far into the depth of the ocean) make him a hero to all sympathetic readers. Jesus, of course, was humiliated and made a spectacle on the cross, but He is a recognized divinity among a major portion of the world's population. Even though he was mocked and an absurd crown of thorns was placed upon His Head, Jesus Christ is regarded as God among a large population of the world.

The Scopes Trial of 1925 highlighted the emotionalism and turmoil that required participants from both sides to maintain their integrity. This focus on the right to make personal decisions, unencumbered by the thoughts, politics and fashions of authority figures also found expression in the prominent literature of the day. In some cases of the struggle for

integrity, the protagonist endured violence. Claude McKay's "If We Must Die," certainly makes vivid suggestion of the riots of 1919. Hemingway's "The Revolutionist" implies the brutal torture of the sensitive young Communist. The outstanding characters of the 1920s did not always suffer physical violence as they asserted their right to defy convention and eschew conformity. The psychical disturbance of Harold Krebs, Jake Barnes and Nick Adams and others also required a heroic integrity.

The common denominator in the Scopes Trial, the Harlem Renaissance and the writings of Ernest Hemingway is this focus on defeat and victory. John Scopes lost the trial. He was required to pay a fine. But in all actuality, he and his defenders achieved a "moral victory." They were able to present the scientific concept of Evolution to the broader American public. Eventually, many, but not all of the schools, in America began to include Darwinian theory in their curriculum. The matter is not completely resolved in America yet. There has been great progress teaching Evolution, but there are still occasional public outcries against the teaching, even today. After the trial, there is little reference to any sadness of Scopes or his colleagues. In contrast, William Jennings Bryan seems to have suffered physically from the humiliation of the trial, even succumbing within a few days of the conclusion. Again, one must wonder who was really the "winner" in this trial.

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