

The Literary Image of Seventh-day Adventists

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Although Seventh-day Adventists have appeared infrequently in literature, the treatment playwrights and novelists have given them falls into a consistent pattern. Because many people have met Adventists only in literature, the consistency of this pattern is significant for what it reveals about the manner in which literary figures have perceived Adventism.

I

Most of these references to Adventists are incidental and undeveloped. One of the first appears in *The Simpleton of the Unexpected Isles* by George Bernard Shaw, one of the twentieth century's leading playwrights. A character asked about a sloop in the harbor replies that it is "the Pitcairn Island fleet. They are Seventh Day Adventists, and are quite sure the Judgment Day is fixed for five o'clock this afternoon. They propose to do nothing until then but sing hymns. The Irish Free State Admiral threatens to sink them if they dont [*sic*] stop. How am I to keep them quiet?"²

This image of Seventh-day Adventists as a somewhat odd lot looking for the Second Coming of Christ in strange places and times is repeated twenty years later in Rose Macaulay's novel *The Towers of Trebizond*. Father Chantry-Pigg, a Church of England priest, learns in Istanbul "that a party of Seventh Day Adventist pilgrims was journeying to Mount Ararat for the second coming of Christ, which was due to occur there this summer on the summit of the mountain." If Chantry-Pigg's party climbed Ararat they would "find the pilgrims waiting as near the top as it was possible to get, collecting pieces of the ark, singing hymns and preparing their souls against

the Coming."³ All the while the BBC was recording their hymn-singing "for a Home Service Programme."⁴

The characters in Macaulay's novel comment on Seventh-day Adventists several times. A British consul refers to the group on Ararat as "part of the strange and ignorant life that goes on, and has always gone on, round about there," and a Greek student calls Adventists "insane."⁵ Father Chantry-Pigg, who does not want to talk to an Adventist himself,⁶ "said, with hostile contempt, that the Seventh Day Adventists were the busiest missionaries in Turkey and the Levant, and met, he feared, with only too much success."⁷

The pictures Shaw and Macaulay give are examples of the view that appears in most fiction.

In several works by Sinclair Lewis, Pulitzer and Nobel prizewinning American novelist, Adventists receive more than a passing mention. In *Main Street* Carolyn Kennicott looks out the window of her house and sees "the side of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church — a plain clapboard wall of a sour liver color,"⁸ symbol of all that is austere and unimaginative in the smalltown Midwest. In *Arrowsmith* Lewis describes one character as "a socialist, a Swedish Seventh Day Adventist, a ferocious arguer, and fond of drinking aquavit."⁹ An argument over religion in *Elmer Gantry*, Lewis's novel about a hypocritical evangelist, results in one person's telling another: "It's fellows like you who break down the dike of true belief, and open a channel for higher criticism and sabellianism and nymphomania and agnosticism and heresy and Catholicism and Seventh-day Adventism and all those horrible German inventions!"¹⁰ Finally, Lewis portrays Fort Beulah, Vermont, a small town in *It Can't Happen Here*, as "a community where to sport a beard was to confess one's self a farmer, a Civil War veteran, or a Seventh Day Adventist."¹¹ One of this novel's main characters, the folksy fascist Berzelius Windrip, writes an autobiography in which he describes Adventists as zealots whom he would like to unite with Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, and Unitarians into a "whole glorious brotherhood."¹²

Windrip's — or Lewis's — association of Adventists with mainline Protestant groups is unusual, for most writers group them with fringe sects. In *Balthazar*, the second work of his experimental *Alexandria Quartet*, Lawrence Durrell connects Adventists with sects concerned with the hermetic philosophy (involving alchemy and magic) — namely Steinerites, Christian Scientists, and Ouspenskyists.¹³ In Peter Matthiessen's *At Play in the Fields of the Lord*, a novel about missionaries in South America, one character distinguishes Adventists from Protestants, Catholics, and Jews.¹⁴ And a Jewish rabbi who has a synagogue in a New York ghetto in Jerome Charyn's

On the Darkening Green replies to a questioner that, although black Jews do not attend his synagogue, he has "Seventh Day Adventists and Abyssinian Baptists up here for [his] sermons. And occasionally a Holy Roller. They all come in wearing skullcaps."¹⁵

II

The incidental references to Adventists noted thus far present no developed view. However, Adventists serve as major characters in at least three works — Richard Wright's *Black Boy*, Upton Sinclair's *Another Pamela*, and Ralph Allen's *The High White Forest* — and these books flesh out the image.

One of the best known examples of black American autobiography, Richard Wright's *Black Boy*, tells how one man met and overcame the twin evils of poverty and racial prejudice while growing up in the South during the 1920s and 1930s. Wright, who became a leading black novelist, lived for several years with his Seventh-day Adventist grandmother because his mother was chronically ill and unable to care for him. Gifted with a strong imagination and keen sensibilities, he felt emotionally pulled toward Adventism as it was expressed in the sermons he heard. He describes vividly the impression these sermons made on him:

[The ministers] expounded a gospel clogged with images of vast lakes of eternal fire, of seas vanishing, of valleys of dry bones, of the sun burning to ashes, of the moon turning to blood, of stars falling to the earth, of a wooden staff being transformed into a serpent, of voices speaking out of clouds, of men walking upon water, of God riding whirlwinds, of water changing into wine, of the dead rising and living, of the blind seeing, of the lame walking; a salvation that teemed with fantastic beasts having multiple heads and horns and eyes and feet; sermons of statues possessing heads of gold, shoulders of silver, legs of brass, and feet of clay; a cosmic tale that began before time and ended with the clouds of the sky rolling away at the Second Coming of Christ; chronicles that concluded with the Armageddon; dramas thronged with all the billions of human beings who had ever lived or died as God judged the quick and the dead.¹⁶

Wright also felt a connection between the life presented by the church and the life he lived outside:

Many of the religious symbols appealed to my sensibilities and I responded to the dramatic vision of life held by the church, feeling that to live day by day with death as one's sole thought was to be so compassionately sensitive toward all life as to view all men as slowly dying, and the trembling sense of fate that welled up, sweet and melancholy, from the hymns blended with the sense of fate that I had already caught from life.¹⁷

Yet, he says, when "I walked out of the church and saw the bright sunshine and felt the throbbing life of the people in the streets I knew that none of it was true and that nothing would happen."¹⁸

But the strongest impression that Adventism made on Wright was through his grandmother, his aunt, and the church school he attended for a short time — all of which added up to a loveless, unimaginative, and legalistic existence. His grandmother forced her strict dietary practices on him (although she apparently did use lard), with the result that he was hungry and suffered from indigestion most of the time. Prayers were required at sunup, meals, sundown, and before bed. "Long, rambling Bible readings" were also required daily, and Richard often had to attend all-night prayer meetings.¹⁹ His grandmother called fiction "the Devil's work" and told Richard he was going to burn in hell for liking such stories.²⁰ Furthermore, she would allow no one who lived under her roof to work on the Sabbath, a point that became a major source of conflict between her and Richard.²¹

At the church school Richard attended, baseball, marbles, boxing, and running were forbidden; but pop-the-whip was acceptable. He said the teacher (his aunt) "was determined that every student should know that [he] was a sinner of whom she did not approve, and that [he] was not to be granted consideration of any kind."²² His fellow pupils "were a docile lot, lacking in that keen sense of rivalry which made the boys and girls who went to public school a crowd in which a boy was tested and weighed, in which he caught a glimpse of what the world was. These boys and girls were will-less, their speech flat, their gestures vague, their personalities devoid of anger, hope, laughter, enthusiasm, passion, or despair. . . . They were claimed wholly by their environment and could imagine no other."²³

In short, the Adventism Richard Wright encountered was a narrow, bigoted religion. After he fought with his aunt over some unfair punishment at school, she seldom spoke to him again, although they "ate at the same table and slept under the same roof."²⁴ Once it was clear that Richard would not become an Adventist, his grandmother and aunt gave him up for lost. "They told me," he says, "that they were dead to the world, and those of their blood who lived in that world were therefore dead to them. From urgent solicitude they dropped to coldness and hostility."²⁵ Richard's grandmother also became angry and disgusted when his mother began attending the Methodist church.²⁶

Even between his grandmother and aunt, both Adventists, the same hostility existed. They fought "with each other over minor points of religious doctrine, or over some imagined infraction of what they chose to call their moral code." He concludes that wherever he found religion in his life he "found strife, the attempt of one individual or group to rule another in the name of God. The naked will to power seemed always to walk in the wake

of a hymn."²⁷ In another place he said ironically, "God blessed our home with the love that binds."²⁸

Two exceptions to this view of Adventism as a legalistic, loveless religion appear in similar autobiographical books dealing with poverty and prejudice, and these should be noted. Malcolm X recounts in his autobiography that his mother began attending Adventist meetings while she was living in Michigan. Adventist dietary practices probably attracted her, for she followed similar ones. Malcolm attended the meetings with her and enjoyed the food served at the potluck dinners. He states that although Adventists believed the world would soon end, "they were the friendliest white people I had ever seen."²⁹

This favorable view is also expressed in Piri Thomas's *Down These Mean Streets*, an autobiography of a Puerto Rican growing up in New York. Thomas's Adventist mother attempted to prevent bad language in her home,³⁰ tried to teach her children to turn the other cheek,³¹ and never argued. Adventist dietary customs and attitudes toward smoking and drinking also made a strong impression on Thomas.³² He did wonder, however, just how long it would be before Christ came, "'cause ever since I was a little kid I'd heard he was coming."³³

III

Upton Sinclair, the prolific socialist novelist who wrote *The Jungle*, created an Adventist character in one of his last works, *Another Pamela*. Patterned after Samuel Richardson's eighteenth-century novel, Sinclair's Pamela tells the story of a poor Adventist girl who goes to work as a maid in the home of Mrs. Harries, a wealthy woman in Southern California in the 1930s. This novel is in the form of letters Pamela writes to her sister, who was a student at La Sierra College, and to her mother. The plot revolves around Pamela's attempts to preserve her virtue despite efforts by Charles, Mrs. Harries's nephew, to seduce her. Pamela becomes Mrs. Harries's instrument to save Charles from a life of drunken debauchery. By preserving her virtue, Pamela marries Charles and presumably lives happily ever after.

Pamela is an innocent, good-hearted, well-meaning girl whose religion pervades her existence. She sees the world as completely under God's control, except for the people whom Satan rules. She meets Mrs. Harries when the connecting rod of the wealthy woman's automobile breaks near Pamela's house in the country, an incident that Pamela calls as providential as any in the Sabbath school lessons, though she does admit that God has a strange way of working.³⁴ Pamela also believes that under God's guidance there can

be no such thing as an accident. She says, "If I ask him to guide me and then open the Book with my eyes shut, it will be what he wishes me to read."³⁵

This view of God results from a literalistic reading of the Bible, which Pamela must believe is God's Word or her "soul will be lost in everlasting hell fire."³⁶ At one point she asks her sister to look up the term "paper money" — a subject of discussion among Mrs. Harries's socialist friends — in a concordance so that she will know what to think about that problem.³⁷ Her interpretation of the Bible, however, comes from Ellen White. She tells her sister that she "studied every word of the First Angel's Message and checked every word of its prophecies by the interpretations in 'The Great Controversy.'"³⁸ Sermons also have their effect on Pamela, for she remembers "Rev. Tucker" had preached that "we must never forget that the evil one is after us everywhere and all the time."³⁹

However valid Sinclair's overall picture of Adventists may be, clearly he misunderstood Adventist theology of death and hell. As noted earlier, Pamela speaks of "everlasting hell fire." At another point, when Charles is acting as if struck dead for blaspheming God, she says, "the most awful horror seizes me; God has taken him at his word, and his soul is gone to hell and is even now in everlasting fire!"⁴⁰

Because Pamela believes that the Devil is constantly out to deceive and that she must always be on guard, her theology controls her relationship to other people. Most important is that she stay clear of "Papists." On first meeting Mrs. Harries, Pamela "could only pray she was not a Papist."⁴¹ Later, at Mrs. Harries's home she meets a priest who "is kind in manner, which [she supposes] is one of Satan's wiles." When he says nothing about religion, she is happy, for "his is merely idolatry."⁴² Then when she meets a Unitarian and learns that he does not believe that Jesus is the Son of God, she decides that he is "worse even than the Papists, for he has had his chance and has rejected it."⁴³

Even apart from the Catholics, most of the people in the world, according to Pamela's Adventist mother, "are damned souls who will be gathered up like chaff from the threshing floor and cast into everlasting fire." Although Pamela believes this statement is true, "that does not make [her] want to hear it so many times." Because of the evil influences all around, she has to promise her mother before going to work for Mrs. Harries "that never, never, will [she] permit any trace of false doctrine to find lodgment in [her] mind." These ideas culminate in the belief that although everyone is equal in the sight of God, "those of us who have the true faith are better."⁴⁴

Pamela is not exclusive about her faith, though, for she tries to convert

anyone who will listen, including a fellow maid, a young man in prison, a young folk poet — and Charles, of course. Yet, a real human concern motivates her missionary zeal. She writes of “trying to speak only love to the people in this house where it is so much needed,”⁴⁵ and tells Charles that “the kingdom of heaven is within you. You make it there or you make hell. You love people and you have love, or you hate people and you have hate.”⁴⁶ To the young man in prison she says that “in believing in God he does not have to cease believing in the working class, or trying to help them to build a world in which there are no more poor and no more rich idlers.”⁴⁷

It is this very idealism and missionary zeal that helps get Pamela involved with Charles. When he holds her hand while driving, and she enjoys it, she thinks: “This is temptation, this car is temptation, and this lovely ride; the devil is after me. But if I can save this young man from getting drunk again, will that not be a victory over Satan?”⁴⁸ As she becomes more involved with Charles, Pamela says, “I have the fear that if I do not keep him happy he might order a drink right at this place. . . . In short, it is the awfulest confusion I have been in yet.” Then later, “I fear I am in love with him, and I want so to save him, but I know that I cannot, and I think, Oh, but I must try!”⁴⁹

When Charles finally asks Pamela to marry him, she forces him down on his knees and prays as she has never done before: “‘O God, dear God, good God, help two lost children to find the light! Help us to keep our vows of love! And no more drinking of liquor!’” She continues, “I made him say it; I made him repeat every sentence after me, like a child. It could not have failed to touch him, because he saw how much it meant to me. ‘No more cocktail parties! No more night clubs! No more ladies of any sort!’ . . . He swore that he meant it, he swore it on his knees before God. And then, when he got to his feet, I made him promise it on his honor as a gentleman — meaning to bind him both ways, for safety.”⁵⁰

Pamela’s reference to night clubs and cocktail parties indicates something of the social standards she feels are so important. She does not eat meat,⁵¹ believes that dyeing one’s hair is a sin,⁵² will not wear makeup or jewelry,⁵³ and feels that reading fiction is wrong, though she does rationalize that Richardson’s *Pamela* will not harm her, for it “is like history; at the same time it does not fail to strengthen [her] virtue, being full of moral sentiments most uplifting.”⁵⁴ Also, for most of the book she refuses to go to a movie.⁵⁵ After her marriage, however, she attends the theater, explaining to her sister: “I searched my conscience, and remembered what I had been taught on the subject of the stage and screen; the main point seems to be the

corrupting of the young. But I am no longer young in that sense; I have learned the difference between good and evil, and it can do me no harm to know how much of the latter there is in the world. . . . I have to balance the evil of breaking our church's rule against the evil of managing my husband too strictly and so losing my hold on him."⁵⁶

Pamela's religion has taught her to take life seriously, not frittering it away in idle play. She attempts to shun luxury — it is one of "Satan's devices"⁵⁷ — and prays that worldliness and pride will not turn her head.⁵⁸ So no one will think she married Charles for his money she intends to go on working for his aunt,⁵⁹ and concludes she will do her "best to see that [she and Charles] do something more than playing with [their] lives."⁶⁰

This image of Adventism is similar to the austere and somewhat fanatical religion of *Black Boy*, but it is nevertheless humanized by a simple, rather ignorant girl, who looks on people with genuine love and concern. Whether this love exists because of her religion or in spite of it, however, Sinclair does not make clear.

IV

The High White Forest, by Canadian newspaper editor Ralph Allen, is the most recently published novel with an Adventist as a major character. It tells the story of three men — George Ballantyne, a Canadian newspaperman; Franz Koerner, a German-American who goes to fight for Hitler; and Dave Kyle, a Seventh-day Adventist from Battle Creek, Michigan, who gradually leaves his faith and joins the army. As the plot develops, these three men come together at the Battle of the Bulge, with Koerner killing Ballantyne and Kyle killing Koerner.

As in both *Black Boy* and *Another Pamela*, Adventism's social standards are significant. Adventists teach strict dress standards in Battle Creek, for Mrs. White had counseled them to dress soberly. Because "physical attraction was not supposed to count with decent people," Dave Kyle feels self-conscious about holding hands with his girl friend.⁶¹ After Dave joins the army he remains a nonsmoker, a fact that makes him well-known in his company.⁶² He does begin swearing, however, finding the experience "exhilarating" the first time he uses coarse language.⁶³

Adventist theology, though, affects Dave most significantly. His father, Samuel Kyle, is an intensely religious man whose faith is built on the authority of the Bible and Mrs. White. "He seized on every possible pretext and, if no pretext came forward, invented one, to introduce some essential article of scripture or one of the interpretations or canons of Sister White." He quotes Mrs. White's statement that "there are true Christians in every

church. But when the decree shall go forth exploring the counterfeit Sabbath, the line shall be clearly drawn between the false and the true." He believes that because of the Adventist way of life "anybody with eyes could see that Adventist children were almost automatically healthier, happier, better-mannered, better-schooled, better-nourished, and in better company than other children."⁶⁴

The "soul" of Samuel Kyle's belief is that "Christ did live, Christ did die, Christ would return, at his Advent the righteous would be borne to eternal bliss and the unrighteous would be devoured in flames." Dave regards his father as so "securely rooted in and insulated by his religion" that he cannot be damaged and is beyond the reach of tragedy.⁶⁵

Dave's problems with this religion arise when he goes to the University of Michigan to study pharmacy. During his junior year he writes to his father, "I know the Bible says we're right, but this friend of mine and this girl friend of his keep asking how I'm sure the Bible's right." In answering, his father only asserts the Bible's reliability; and because he had never encouraged any reading except of the Bible and Mrs. White, "David could only grope."⁶⁶

Dave's relationship to Adventism comes to a crisis point when he decides to join the army. His father wants him to be drafted into the Medical Corps, but Dave replies, "If I'm going to be in the war at all, I'm going to be all the way in. The excuse I could use doesn't fit my case any longer, that's all."⁶⁷

Dave's decision to go into combat causes "aching sorrow" for his father. "For the first time he perceived that his father neither saw nor leaned upon his gospel of salvation as a gospel mainly of self-preservation; it was a gospel of pity and concern, and Samuel's concern now was not for forms and observances and rules and his own unflawed performance of his duty, but for the immortal soul of his only son."⁶⁸

Samuel takes very seriously the apostasy of his son, entering the most difficult test of his life, concluding that he would not see his son in heaven. Nevertheless, he writes Dave that "all our love is with you." He even accepts responsibility for Dave's unbelief, recognizing that he has asked his son to take too much on faith, a situation he belatedly tries to rectify by giving Dave some pamphlets that answer rationalist objections to the Bible. When Dave's minister refuses to treat him as a betrayer, Dave feels betrayed himself. Mary Egan, his girl friend, tells him, "All you've believed in, all you've been taught, it's all gone, but you're still most highly brave."⁶⁹ None of the bigotry of Richard Wright's grandmother and aunt appears here.

But Dave is unable to discard Adventism completely, for the vision of the "deep and bottomless terror of the lake of fire"⁷⁰ — important also in both *Black Boy* and *Another Pamela* — stays with him and returns to his consciousness during times of crisis. At times doubting his doubts, he is not sure where he stands. Somehow he wants "only a cunning little hedge bet on the forsaken, seedy, ludicrous, insane, but still terrifying faith of his fathers; a stand-by foxhole in case by some wild fantasy the lake of fire turned out to be the well of truth."⁷¹

Needing something to justify himself and his actions, he returns to a secular version of the fatalism his religion had once provided. As the book closes, Dave meets Koerner making his way through the snow-filled forest. He finds out who Koerner is and faces his crisis. Raising his gun, he wonders whom he is really aiming at — his father, Mary, or himself.

Was this where damnation became final, when the lake of fire flooded over and became irrevocable and beyond escape? He had wondered enough already, he told himself in this irrevocable, irreplaceable split second, there was no time left for further wondering. He must do what he was compelled to do and hope that at last this high white forest would release him and allow him to make his peace on earth with Samuel Kyle and claim his life on earth with Mary Egan. He corrected his aim.⁷²

V

All of these writers view Adventism as a peculiarly intense religion that puts considerable emphasis on outward forms. The incidental references tend to associate Seventh-day Adventists with fringe sects, often indicating inadequate knowledge of actual Adventist beliefs. The more developed viewpoints of *Black Boy*, *Another Pamela*, and *The High White Forest* emphasize the emotional impact of Adventism on its adherents — largely legalism, self-righteousness, and fear of the lake of fire. Significantly, the person of Christ goes virtually unmentioned.

Although the number of references discussed here are too few to support generalization, it appears that works written during the 1960s — *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, *Down These Mean Streets*, and particularly *The High White Forest* — view Adventists more sympathetically and knowledgeably than earlier works. Nevertheless, the literary image of Seventh-day Adventists presents them as a people far removed from the social and intellectual mainstream of the twentieth century.

REFERENCES

- 1 Because this article does not purport to cover every reference to Seventh-day Adventists in literature, I would appreciate learning of any additional references readers may have come across. I have not included references to Seventh-day Ad-

ventists in the works of G. W. Target, an Adventist novelist. Neither have I included those found in the sociological works of Oscar Lewis or the account of the Lucille Miller case in Joan Didion's *Slouching Towards Bethlehem* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux 1968), pp. 3-28. It should also be noted that Horton Davies incorrectly identifies the major character of A. J. Cronin's *Grand Canary* as a Seventh-day Adventist (see Horton Davies, *A Mirror of the Ministry in Modern Novels* [New York: Oxford University Press 1959], pp. 123-128).

[Note: In the following references, the page numbers refer to the edition cited in the note.]

- 2 George Bernard Shaw, *The Simpleton of the Unexpected Isles*, in Shaw's *Complete Plays with Prefaces*, volume 6 (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company 1962), act 2, scene 1, lines 23-28.
- 3 Rose Macaulay, *Towers of Trebizond* (London: Collins Clear-Type Press 1959), chapter 6, pp. 60-61. ([References 4-7 are all from Macaulay's *Towers of Trebizond*. EDITOR.]
- 4 Chapter 13, p. 136.
- 5 Chapter 9, pp. 90, 98.
- 6 Chapter 5, p. 49.
- 7 Chapter 2, p. 22.
- 8 Sinclair Lewis, *Main Street* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe, Incorporated 1920), chapter 4, p. 32.
- 9 Lewis, *Arrowsmith* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Incorporated 1945), chapter 17, p. 101.
- 10 Lewis, *Elmer Gantry* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, Incorporated 1927), chapter 2, p. 34.
- 11 Lewis, *It Can't Happen Here* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran, and Company, Incorporated 1936), chapter 1, p. 11.
- 12 Lewis, *It Can't Happen Here*, chapter 14, p. 142.
- 13 Lawrence Durrell, *Balthazar* (London: Faber and Faber 1958), chapter 2, p. 29.
- 14 Peter Matthiessen, *At Play in the Fields of the Lord* (New York: Random House, Incorporated 1965), chapter 4, p. 49.
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- 16 Richard Wright, *Black Boy* (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers 1945), chapter 4, p. 113. [References 17-28 are all from Wright's *Black Boy*. EDITOR.]
- 17 Chapter 4, pp. 123-124.
- 18 Chapter 4, p. 113.
- 19 Chapter 4, pp. 68, 123; see also chapter 2.
- 20 Chapter 2, p. 48.
- 21 Chapter 5, p. 139.
- 22 Chapter 4, p. 115.
- 23 Chapter 4, pp. 115-116.
- 24 Chapter 4, p. 121.
- 25 Chapter 5, p. 135.
- 26 Chapter 6, p. 166.
- 27 Chapter 5, p. 150.
- 28 Chapter 4, p. 121.

- 29 Malcolm X, with Alex Haley, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (New York: Grove Press, Incorporated 1964), chapter 1, p. 17.
- 30 Piri Thomas, *Down These Mean Streets* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Incorporated 1967), chapter 3, p. 20. [References 31-33 are all from Thomas's *Down These Mean Streets*. EDITOR.]
- 31 Chapter 4, p. 27.
- 32 Chapter 31, p. 290.
- 33 Chapter 5, p. 44.
- 34 Upton Sinclair, *Another Pamela, or Virtue Still Rewarded: A Story* (New York: The Viking Press 1950), letter 1, pp. 3-11. [References 35-60 are all from Sinclair's *Another Pamela*. EDITOR.]
- 35 Letter 12, p. 55.
- 36 Letter 9, p. 43.
- 37 Letter 6, p. 32.
- 38 Letter 2, p. 11.
- 39 Letter 86, p. 296.
- 40 Letter 31, p. 133.
- 41 Letter 1, p. 7.
- 42 Letter 14, p. 60.
- 43 Letter 23, p. 96.
- 44 Letter 1, p. 10.
- 45 Letter 18, p. 77.
- 46 Letter 57, p. 212.
- 47 Letter 75, p. 265.
- 48 Letter 20, p. 85.
- 49 Letter 27, p. 114.
- 50 Letter 88, p. 302.
- 51 Letter 9, p. 25.
- 52 Letter 1, p. 7.
- 53 Letter 90, p. 305.
- 54 Letter 61, p. 226.
- 55 Letter 27, p. 111.
- 56 Letter 93, pp. 311-312.
- 57 Letter 67, p. 246.
- 58 Letter 89, p. 303.
- 59 Letter 89, p. 303.
- 60 Letter 93, p. 313.
- 61 Ralph Allen, *The High White Forest* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company 1964), chapter 2, p. 48. [References 62-72 are all from Allen's *The High White Forest*. EDITOR.]
- 62 Chapter 2, p. 26.
- 63 Chapter 5, p. 170.
- 64 Chapter 2, pp. 41-43.
- 65 Chapter 2, pp. 48, 52.
- 66 Chapter 2, p. 47.
- 67 Chapter 2, p. 53.
- 68 Chapter 2, p. 52.
- 69 Chapter 2, p. 49.
- 70 Chapter 2, p. 67; see also chapters 7 and 10.
- 71 Chapter 10, p. 299.
- 72 Chapter 14, p. 375.