

DOCTOR HUGUET: Donnelly on Being Black

JOHN R. BOVEE

IGNATIUS DONNELLY, who moved to Minnesota in 1857 as a young, ambitious lawyer, is better known for his lifelong, passionate involvement in politics and particularly agrarian reform movements than for his literary endeavors. Yet, he established his reputation as an author with two controversial scientific tracts, a cipher which supposedly proved that Francis Bacon wrote the plays of William Shakespeare, and a series of social protest treatises and novels.

In his first book, Atlantis: The Antediluvian World, published in 1882, Donnelly supported the theory that Plato's island of Atlantis actually existed. He maintained that a comet had deposited the gravel drift on the earth in his second work of popular science, Ragnarök: The Age of Fire and

Gravel. Encouraged by the success of his initial efforts, Donnelly began his most ambitious literary undertaking, The Great Cryptogram, in which he debated the authorship of the poetry attributed to Shakespeare.

The disadvantaged groups of the 1890s—the poor immigrants in the large urban ghettoes, the blacks who then lived mainly in the rural South, and the farmers—were the subjects of Donnelly's novels, Caesar's Column, Doctor Huguet, and The Golden Bottle. Today, when so much is being written and said of the literature and history of the black race in America, it seems especially pertinent to re-examine Donnelly's long-forgotten Doctor Huguet, published in 1891, in which he grappled with the plight of the southern Negro.

The hero of the novel is a young doctor named Anthony Huguet who lives in the city of C—, South Carolina, in a hundred-year-old house built by his French Huguenot ancestors from a fortune they had made on cotton "in the old slave-days." The young

Mr. Bovee, whose Washington State University doctoral dissertation was on Ignatius Donnelly's literary career, teaches American studies and American literature at St. Cloud State College. doctor lives in a society of others who are equally affluent and patrician. He describes himself as "an aristocrat of the aristocrats" who has no need to make any practical use of his medical training. He is in love with Mary Ruddiman, the daughter of Colonel Ruddiman, "the last of a long line of planters," a genuine former colonel of the Confederate army and friend of Huguet's.¹

The gentlemen of Huguet's circle gather frequently for discussions on the broad veranda of the Colonel's magnificent plantation house. It soon develops that of these gentlemen there is one who does not deserve the title, a lawyer named Buryhill. He is not a native Southerner but, rather, the worst kind of New York shyster. Donnelly describes him by various terms, all of which are opprobrious — villain, knave, scoundrel, rogue, wretch, rascal, and thief.

In plot, character, and language the novel shows the influence of the theatrical style so common at the end of the last century. The lawyer, as in many melodramatic plays and novels, is the villain. Like all such scoundrels, he is an arrant coward who, when it befits his situation, sneers, winces, grows red, glares, shrinks, and skulks. Naturally, Buryhill holds the mortgage on the Colonel's plantation and has designs on the Colonel's lovely and virtuous daughter. To this fair and stainless creature, "as might be expected, he was utterly loathsome: she shrank from him instinctively, as a child shrinks from a reptile." ²

During one conversation on the Colonel's porch, Huguet outlines his attitudes toward the blacks. His advocacy of more equality and humane treatment is radically opposed to the beliefs held by the others who are present. Mary, who has been listening from a convenient window, warns the doctor that such ideas will only generate hostility and hurt his chances for going into politics, a

career she is sure he can have if he wants it. He reluctantly takes her advice.

That evening Huguet is awakened by a light which seems to flood one entire end of his room. This light slowly shapes itself into the form of a human head: "The face was very fair; the hair bright golden, falling in masses to the shoulders, and from it radiated luminous beams. . . ." Huguet instinctively recognizes the face of Christ, around which he can see millions of dark hands bent appealingly. The Messiah's great eyes fill with tears, and "in a voice sweeter than the sound of rippling waters" the vision speaks: "THESE, TOO, ARE MY CHIL-DREN. FOR THEM, ALSO, I DIED ON THE CROSS!" Huguet falls on his knees and pleads for mercy. After the vision has gone, he ponders its significance: "Could it mean I had been false, in my heart, to God and my fellow-men?" Exhausted, he sleeps at last.3

Huguet awakes to find that he has been changed mysteriously into a Negro of giant stature. At first, in a state of shock, he prays for death; then recovering some control, he decides God is testing him. He discovers, after being arrested for stealing chickens, that he has the body of Sam Johnsing, a lazy and rather worthless black. When he asserts that he is really Doctor Huguet, he is regarded as having taken leave of his senses. Later, after leaving jail, he attempts to talk to Colonel and Mary Ruddiman, but the young woman cannot tolerate his presence nor really believe him.

Huguet is able, however, to convince the blacks that he is not Sam Johnsing any more but someone far superior in intellect. He establishes a school to teach them the elementary subjects he feels will help elevate them to some extent. This work causes Mary and her father to become much more sympathetic to him once again. Huguet assists them in thwarting Buryhill's scheme to seize both Mary and the plantation. Buryhill, to take revenge on this upstart black, organizes a gang of degenerate whites. Dressed in Ku Klux Klan fashion, they visit

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¹ Ignatius Donnelly, *Doctor Huguet*, 8, 9, 12 (Chicago, 1891).

² Donnelly, Doctor Huguet, 45.

³ Donnelly, Doctor Huguet, 84, 86, 87.



the school and severely beat Huguet, who refuses their demand to stop his teaching.

Sam Johnsing, meanwhile, takes over Huguet's white body, leads a dissolute life, and becomes a good friend of Buryhill. When the now black Huguet refuses to stop working at his school, Johnsing, Buryhill, and the latter's gang raid the school and prepare to lynch Huguet. As he is being hanged, Huguet is shot through the heart by Johnsing. A troop of outraged southern gentry led by Colonel Ruddiman chases the raiders to a nearby tavern. There, in a terrible scene of black and fiery violence, all of the scoundrels are shot or burned to death.

Huguet awakens to find that he has returned to his real body; ironically, Johnsing killed himself when he shot his former black body to death. The nightmare has ended. After Mary has agreed that Huguet should follow his conscience, they plan to marry: "There, hand in hand, we agreed that I should devote my fortune and my life to the up-building of the negro race in this great America — this grandest and noblest of nations." On this note of dedication the story ends.⁴

ON AUGUST 18, 1891, Donnelly recorded the birth of his "5th baby," *Doctor Huguet*. That evening, he dined with F. J. Schulte, his publisher, and Lester C. Hubbard, the editor of the *Farmer's Voice*. The three men "drank a bottle of wine to the success of 'Dr. Huguet.' Donnelly's latest literary effort, however, was not to be acclaimed so

widely as Atlantis and Caesar's Column. Although Donnelly was described as a "brilliant and erratic genius" and received praise for his championship of a just cause, the novel itself was labeled "astonishing," "most unreasonable, and improbable, and impossible," "absurd," and "gruesome" by various reviewers.⁵

One particularly scathing critique appeared in a New York newspaper, the Sun, on August 29: "There is no objection to a Sunday school tract on the duty of civilized man to the colored races, but there is no justification for illustrating this duty by the crude device of transforming a South Carolina gentleman and scholar into a negro chicken thief, transferring their souls to each other's body, and interspersing this magic with miraculous visions of Christ. Such a story is not likely to be read out of the nursery except under compulsion, and even in the nursery it would be demoralizing."

Upon reading what he called the "little fling" of "the New York Sun's man," Schulte consoled Donnelly: "I am not at all surprised that the critics should jump on 'Doctor Huguet,' in fact I would be rather disappointed if they did not. I believe on the whole, however, we will find that the book will meet with a very good reception from the public, and that it will meet with favor among the great many people who pay no attention to what the book reviewers say." The weakness of the story was excused by another of Donnelly's admirers who asserted, "The plot, after all, was evidently only the peg upon which to hang your views of a subject aht [that] is a burning question of the times." A black doctor wrote Donnelly that "Any white man who can afford to speak out in such

⁴ Donnelly, Doctor Huguet, 308.

⁵ Ignatius Donnelly Diary, August 18, 1891, Donnelly Papers, in the Minnesota Historical Society; Louisville Times, September 3, 1891; Sunday Oregonian (Portland), September 30, 1891; Great West (St. Paul), September 4, 1891; "Dr. Huguet," in Current Review (December, 1891, New York); "Dr. Huguet," in Vouga's Art Folio (November–December, 1891, New York).

unmistakable terms for a race who have so little with which to reward him, is to be praised by every colored man." ⁶

Donnelly's biographer summed up the situation rather well when he wrote that Doctor Huguet, which appeared forty years after the rash of radical antislavery literature, was published "at a time when the Negroes' struggle for legal and personal status was practically at a standstill. . . . The book trod too heavily on the manners and mores of too large a segment of the population." Thus, the lack of enthusiasm for this novel might have been expected. The closing decades of the nineteenth century were very bad times for black people. "Jim Crow" practices swept the South, while the cause of sectional reconciliation overrode northern liberals' resistance to racism. The Supreme Court further diminished the effect of the Fourteenth Amendment by its "separate but equal" decisions in the Civil Rights Cases of 1883 and Plessy v. Ferguson in 1896. Perhaps the descending fortunes of the blacks brought Donnelly to their side. He could never resist embracing the cause of the unfortunate.7

THAT DONNELLY could write a book on the problems of the black race in the South may seem rather strange. He was, after all, a Northerner from a predominantly white state. The truth is that Donnelly had become deeply involved in the issue of minority rights while serving in Congress during the closing months of the Civil War and the first part of the reconstruction period. Almost a year before the end of the war, on May 2, 1864, he had spoken in the House of Representatives about the coming problem: "There is a vast population of human beings in the South hitherto held as slaves. They are now freemen. Many of them have fought under our banners and suffered wounds in our cause. Can we permit a doubt to rest upon the future of these men? Can we permit their freedom to hang upon a hazard? Can we leave them, helpless and ignorant, to the mercy of their late masters? Can we give them the name and semblance of freedom and yet leave them all to the horrors of renewed slavery? . . . No; the Government must be present to protect these men from a hate and a prejudice bitterer than death. It must educate them; it must civilize them; it must afford them every opportunity for development and advancement; it must faithfully carry out, in spirit and in letter, the promise of liberty held forth to them." 8

Throughout his terms as a representative from Minnesota, Donnelly continued to speak out on the race issue. Almost two years after the cessation of hostilities, he again warned Congress that the government must aid the newly freed black population of the South: "Sir, I say to you that if, in the face of every prompting of selfinterest and self-protection, and humanity and gratitude, and Christianity and statesmanship, we abandon these poor wretches to their fate, the wrath of an offended God cannot fail to fall upon the nation. . . . The earth is God's, and all the children of God have an equal right upon its surface; and human legislation which would seek to subvert this truth merely legislates injustice into law; and he who believes that injustice conserves the peace, order, and welfare of society has read history to little purpose." 9

Apparently, he felt almost a quarter of a century later that his speeches had not produced the hoped-for effect. He undoubtedly wanted *Doctor Huguet* to arouse public opinion to help correct the condi-

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⁶ F. J. Schulte to Donnelly, September 8, 1891; J. D. O'Bryan [²] to Donnelly, September 13, 1891; J. H. Smith to Donnelly, March 29, 1892, all in Donnelly Papers.

⁷ Martin Ridge, Ignatius Donnelly: The Portrait of a Politician, 290 (Chicago, 1962). An excellent summary of this period appears in C. Vann Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow, 49–95 (New York, 1955). Robert G. McCloskey, The American Supreme Court, 210 (Chicago, 1960).

⁸ Congressional Globe, 38 Congress, 1 session, 2038

⁶ Congressional Globe, 39 Congress, 2 session, 561.



tion of Negroes and to give them the chance which he believed had been denied them after the Civil War and by various devious methods throughout the reconstruction period.

FOR ALL of Donnelly's good intentions, it would seem that he was the victim at times of fallacious or illogical thinking brought about either by his peculiar political affiliations or contemporary scientific beliefs. As a prominent member of the Populist party, he reflected much of the thought widely held by that organization, particularly the Jeffersonian idea that farmers were God's chosen people and that large cities and industrial life tended to debilitate those connected with them. In Doctor Huguet, Donnelly seemed to fix most of the blame for the plight of the blacks on carpetbaggers like Buryhill. Yet, if he had viewed the situation from a less biased perspective, Donnelly might have recognized that the southern plantation owners had been responsible for slavery in the South and for the backwardness of the blacks when they were emancipated. There also seems to be no record of concentrated attempts by the aristocracy to ameliorate conditions for the freed slaves. The blame for the blacks' hideous situation cannot be laid on the eastern bankers and lawyers whom the Populist party accused of so many outrages.

Further, the southern gentry cannot be romanticized as fallen knights who fought the war to free the slaves. Donnelly described Lee and Jackson as "great men, broad-minded and humane, religious and philanthropic. They were nursed at black breasts and they had no hatred for the poor negroes." It was, perhaps, impossible for Donnelly to fix any blame on a class which, since the end of the war, had been living as he felt Americans ought to live—that is, deriving their wealth from the earth and not from land speculation or

the enterprises of others. It certainly seems a weakness in the novel more or less to excuse the members of this class from culpability for the wretched state of their former slaves, whom they freed only after losing the bloodiest war in American history.¹⁰

DONNELLY'S scientific thought on the physiology of the two races seems, at times, to have been drawn from the age of alchemy. He stated that Negroes, in spite of a few geniuses such as Toussaint L'Ouverture, are generally not the physical or intellectual peers of the white race. Before his transformation, the doctor is asked whether he considers the black race equal to the white. He replies, "I do not say what the black race may come to in time, under favorable conditions, but at present I admit that they are an inferior people." Huguet attempts to explain this on the basis of a bacterial theory which he himself admits has not yet been fully accepted: "It may be established hereafter that our white superiority of brain and beauty of body are due to the fact that our ancestors dwelt for long ages in lands so cold and inhospitable that microbe-life could not endure it." The Negroes, on the other hand, lived in regions which were "full of hostile forms of life." Huguet implies that such conditions have physically degraded the black people.11

The effect of climate has had another and perhaps even more damaging consequence to Negro intelligence, according to Donnelly. In a discussion on the Colonel's veranda, another doctor helps Huguet express these views: "Yes,' said Doctor Magruder, 'I see it is now claimed by a new school of scientists that the mental inferiority of the negroes is due to the fact that the sutures of the skull close at an earlier age than those of other races, and

the thick skull, thus becoming solid, arrests the growth of the brain.'

"Precisely," I said; 'and the school-teachers will tell you that the negro child, up to a certain age, is fully as bright, and as capable of receiving education, as the white child; but then a change comes over him; he grows stolid, stupid and indifferent.'

"'What is it causes the greater thickness of the skull of the negro?' asked the Colonel.

"It is simply the result of an effort of nature," I replied, 'to protect the brain from the intense rays of the tropical sun. There is no doubt that, if the black race continues to dwell in temperate climates for generations, the skull will lose this unnecessary density, and the brain will continue to expand, with the demands made upon it, as with the white race." ¹²

Donnelly talked of scientific matters in *Doctor Huguet* in the same self-assured manner that he used in *Atlantis* and *Ragnarök*. It is this complete confidence, perhaps, coupled with the wildly unscientific chains of thought that he advanced occasionally, which made critics rather caustic in their reactions to his ideas and books. All too often Donnelly was forced to defend himself against charges that he was a crank.

Yet, it would be unfair to think that Donnelly intended any disparagement of the black race. As early as 1866, he had noted in his journal that the supposed inferiority of the black race was all the more reason to protect Negroes with equal laws. That same year he had addressed Congress: "God grant them [the blacks] prosperity and the fullest development of which they are capable. . . . Not that I would rate them above or even equal to our own proude [sic], illustrious, and dominant race. . . . But these men are our human kindred - poor, patient, helpless, and unhappy — appealing by their miseries to our mercy, by their manhood to our sense of justice. . . . For myself I shall strive at all

Donnelly, Doctor Huguet, 271.

¹¹ Donnelly, Doctor Huguet, 53, 56, 57.

¹² Donnelly, Doctor Huguet, 57.

times to do them complete and entire justice; and I thank God that the work of justice to the wretched goes hand in hand with devotion to the best interests of our beloved country." ¹³

The blacks in *Doctor Huguet*, with the exception of Sam Johnsing, seem more wholesome than most of the whites. Indeed, some of the black characters are depicted much like actual saints. For example, Ben, Huguet's servant, dies saving his master's life, and Abigail, a mulatto girl, chooses death rather than dishonor. In addition, Donnelly points out that if the Negro slaves left behind during the war had chosen to rebel, there would have been nothing to stop them. It was not that these slaves lacked courage. They had proved their military fitness under northern generals. No, Huguet affirms, it was just the natural goodness of the blacks. "The negroes are the most patient and forebearing [sic] and gentle people in the world." 14

THERE IS a good deal more in Doctor Huguet than some of the strange and now dated scientific ideas would indicate. There are, in truth, many concepts which were advanced far ahead of their time. Through Huguet, Donnelly expressed openly the white Southerner's hidden fear of a racial confrontation. "The perpetual dread of the South is a race war. When the negroes all mass themselves together, in solid political phalanx, it looks, to the whites, like a black army ready to march to battle. Every passion in the white man's breast rises at the challenge, ready for the conflict; — race. home, wife, children, prosperity, government, liberty, shriek in his ears their clamourous appeals for protection. He seizes his rifle, - he marches, - he murders." 15

There is, consequently, in *Doctor Huguet* an electric tension which seems to crackle between the poles of the white man's nightmarish fears and the Negro's growing indignation and exasperation with his animal-like existence. This smoldering passion

seems ready at any moment to kindle the resentments of both races into an open storm or racial revolt with its accompanying blood bath. Although similar tensions between the rich and the poor do result in a horrible conflagration which wipes out much of the human race in Donnelly's more famous novel *Caesar's Column, Doctor Huguet* is more positive in its approach. Donnelly indicated that, with effort and understanding from both sides, the problem could be solved.

For those of the white race who threatened, often by lynching or other violent methods, the rights of the black race, Donnelly had only words of contempt. He denounced such men as inhuman, un-Christian and un-American: "Here we have a free republic, subordinated to and modified by murder! A commingling of free ballots and bullets! Free thought and shotguns!" 16

Donnelly also preached restraint to the blacks. Huguet's final address to the Negroes while he is in Johnsing's body is a fervent plea that they take the nonviolent course of the ballot. In many ways Donnelly's advice couples the contemporary Negro philosophies of nonviolence and black power, in the sense of Negroes using their political strength to ameliorate oppressive conditions. Doctor Huguet says: "To the black race I would preach patience and wisdom. The negro's remedy is not in violence. Six millions cannot go to war with sixty millions. He who steps outside the law invokes all the overwhelming powers of government upon his own head, and they crush him. The prejudices of race are not to be dissipated by grouping the people into the separations of race-politics." 17

Donnelly did not expect the Negroes to

¹³ Donnelly Diary, January 14, 1866, Donnelly Papers; *Congressional Globe*, 38 Congress, 1 session, 2038.

¹⁴ Donnelly, Doctor Huguet, 67.

¹⁵ Donnelly, Doctor Huguet, 288.

Donnelly, Doctor Huguet, 78.
 Donnelly, Doctor Huguet, 287.

continue exercising "patience and wisdom" forever, with no material gains forthcoming or any alleviation of intolerable conditions. His remedy — reflective of his strong Populist leanings — was the ballot. However, Donnelly proposed black and white power, rather than the separatist black power concept: "Let the black men break ranks! Let them dissolve into the community. Let them divide politically on other lines than those of color. Great economic questions are arising which have nothing to do with the old struggles. A tidal wave - a great passionate cry for justice, for prosperity, for liberation from the plunderers, for each man's share of happiness and the fruits of civilization sweeps, high-mounting, through the hearts and brains of the whites of the South. They are gathering in a vast army, with principles for banners and ballots for weapons. The black man's interests are the same as theirs. . . . Will he join with his white brethren to rescue the land from poverty and ruin? Or will he stand afar off, in solid, unreasoning, sullen, threatening array, to perpetuate the race-prejudices which are destroying him? When he breaks his own ranks and moves, in solid column, with part, at least, of his white friends and neighbors, they will perceive that his ballots are bullets, as potent as their own to kill injustice. Their own interests will compel them to defend his rights. The day of persecution and cruelty will end. In every intelligent white man the intelligent black man will find a defender; and the reign of peace and love and brotherhood will begin in the South, yea, in the whole land." 18

Donnelly was astute enough to see that the interests of both races were the same; that is, they were economic in nature. Indeed, today one hears many black spokesmen talk of green power as well as black. Poverty breeds prejudice and ignorance and their products, hatred and fear, often

¹⁸ Donnelly, Doctor Huguet, 287, 289.

¹⁹ Donnelly, Doctor Huguet, 200.

trigger violence and suffering. Donnelly, good Populist that he was, believed that the eastern money interests had to be defeated in order to place the wealth of the country, at least to some extent, back in the hands of the people. The government could be returned to the control of the citizenry by means of "ballots, not bullets."

IT WOULD BE UNFAIR, however, to think that Donnelly focused on political and economic solutions alone. In almost all his books, and certainly in his novels, he stressed above all that men must live as brothers. If Donnelly also emphasized political and economic factors, it was because he believed men must be properly fed, housed, clothed, and educated if they are to live as civilized people and not animals. The idea of brotherhood, however, must be present or no truly civilized state can be reached. The Christian and Emersonian concepts of brotherhood seem to have influenced Donnelly's ideas about this subject.

Huguet becomes a Negro and lives as a brother with the Negroes, much as Christ became a man and lived with those He wished to help. The experience greatly improves Huguet's ability to identify with the blacks. His life is changed permanently by his realization of their plight. One senses that Donnelly, too, was assuming an increasingly humanitarian position as the story progressed: "The world is a wretched-looking object viewed from below, but grand and gaudy as stage scenery to him who can contemplate it from above." This is the real contribution of the novel the utter horror of being a black man in the South in the latter part of the nineteenth century - and Donnelly, in spite of his melodramatic style and his didacticism, conveys this to the reader.19

IT IS ONE of the ironies of history that Donnelly has been remembered most often for such seeming eccentricities as his reliance on a blending of science, religion, and legend to support his geological theories or his obsession with the Shakespeare-Bacon controversy. In recent years, however, he has been the object of more attention by historians and other writers, and it is to be hoped that he will receive a more fair assessment.

Donnelly should, perhaps, be most appreciated for his powers of imagination and original thought. The reader of Caesar's Column needs to read only the first few chapters with their preview of New York City in the last decade of the twentieth century to know that Donnelly was a man with an exciting and often prophetic mind. The Populist party platform, for which he was largely responsible, demonstrates again his ability to conceive of answers to problems both of his time and of the future. Direct election of senators, graduated income tax, and women's suffrage are but a few of the ideas contained in that document which have become laws of the land. The reader of Doctor Huguet cannot fail to see this rare originality reflected continually in its pages.

The experiences of a white man who became black may have seemed rather abstract and vague, and even repugnant, to many who read Doctor Huguet when it was published. How could anyone know a Caucasian would find Negro life so bad? That a white man actually turned himself black, by chemicals rather than the hand of God, and described reactions similar to those of Huguet is a tribute to the imagination of Donnelly. In Black Like Me, written more than sixty years after Doctor Huguet, John H. Griffin describes the dejection, poverty, and hopelessness of the southern Negro in the middle of the twentieth century. Although his book is not a novel, there is much similarity between it and Doctor Huguet.20

Donnelly's novel cannot be rated very highly for its literary merits, although such qualities are certainly not absent. What enhances the book's effectiveness, however, are the author's genuine sensitivity and advanced humanistic ideas. Such con-

DOCTOR HUGUET

A NOVEL

 $\mathbf{B}\mathbf{Y}$

EDMUND BOISGILBERT, M. D.

(IGNATIUS DONNELLY),

Author of "Atlantis," "Ragnarök," "The Great Cryptogram,"
AND "Cæsar's Column."

"Mere puppets they, who come and go, At bidding of vast formless things, That shift the scenery to and fro, Flapping, from out their condor wings, Invisible woe."

- Edgar A. Poe.

CHICAGO:
F. J. SCHULTE & COMPANY, PUBLISHERS,
298 DEARBORN STREET,

In a letter dated July 30, 1891, in the Donnelly Papers, publisher F. J. Schulte indicated his concern that "they have made the 'Edmund Boisgilbert' rather too prominent in comparison with your own name" on this first edition title page.

cepts as nonviolence and political power for minorities are receiving their share of attention today. Perhaps the crowning achievement of the novel is the experience of Doctor Huguet — a genuine attempt by a white man to place himself in the position of a black man. The publication of such a unique book, at a time when the fortunes of the black race in America were at their lowest, should be judged as a greater accomplishment than it has been.

²⁰ John H. Griffin, Black Like Me (Boston, 1961).

THE ILLUSTRATIONS on pages 286 and 288 are from Clarence P. Hornung, *Handbook of Early Advertising Art*, 1:37, 68 (New York, 1956); the Donnelly portrait is from the Minnesota Historical Society's picture collection.



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