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Date _____

PREFACE:

This work, though it touches upon many subjects, should be principally read as an examination of the shifting attitudes exhibited and preconceived perceptions held by British peoples regarding Africans, particularly those in West Africa, as informed by socio-political and economic contexts, racial theorists/scientists, and imperial philosophers. This will be done through a set of case studies that most clearly embody the perceptions as the cited evidence provided supports during its given historical setting. The analytical tools employed to analyze these images, those of racism and culturalism, will be dissected and examined so as to explore their origins and denote their meaning in the context of this work. This thesis is an original contribution to the surrounding literature because it does not fit neatly into standard historical categories like African, British, or intellectual history. As such, I hesitate to categorize it beyond saying that it belongs next to other works exploring British colonialism in Africa, serving the reader by giving them greater insight regarding the factors that came into play in determining the ways in which British agents perceived West Africa and its peoples between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Introduction

The historiography of British-West African relations between the eighteenth and nineteenth century is typically characterized by narratives that center on the imposition of power by British colonizers onto West African colonized. While important, these histories tend to neglect the dynamic nature of British-West African interaction as well as the importance of West African social, political, and economic history in dictating how and when such power was exercised—none of which can be understood by primarily focusing on changes in British historical circumstances. Because of this neglect, such histories also tend to frame British-West African relations through the anachronistic application of modern conceptions of race and racism. As this thesis will argue, rather than characterize British-West African relations from the mid-eighteenth to the late-nineteenth century as a one-sided imposition of an increasingly virulent racism, there was instead a marked *transition* from a culturalist mindset (defined further below) to what now resembles modern definitions of race and racism. It is further argued that this transition from one mindset to another is heavily influenced by important economic and political changes in both Britain *and* West Africa throughout this period. Industrialization, free-trade theory, liberal democracy in Britain, alongside the ending of the slave trade, transition to so called "legitimate" commerce, and the destabilizing effect this had on strong authoritarian and highly militarized polities in West Africa like the Asante are crucial to understanding the transition from culturalist to racist perceptions by the British. Essentially, this thesis will explain how West Africans during most of the eighteenth century could be viewed by the British, if not as equals, then with at least a degree of respect for their social and political organization, and recognition of their intellectual rigor to, in the span of a few decades, being framed as inherently inferior, even in spite of increasing evidence that proved otherwise.

To demonstrate these points, this thesis will first investigate the life and thoughts of Ignatius Sancho, an African born man of letters in metropolitan Britain during the mid-eighteenth century. His life reveals the culturalist attitudes that prevailed in Britain toward West Africans throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Next, Sancho's life will be contrasted to that of the Fante port city of Annamaboe (located in today's Ghana). Annamaboe was a central hub for the West African slave trade, and the Portuguese, Dutch, Danes, and British all established a presence there from the sixteenth century. Looking at Annamaboe in the same analytical frame as Sancho reveals that the British did not control trade at Annamaboe, but were instead subordinate to powerful Fante middlemen—who negotiated with the powerful West African empire of Asante—when it came to trade, especially the slave trade. While the British held contempt for Fante middlemen and leaders, they also displayed a high level of respect for both Fante social and political organization, and intelligence.

In order to demonstrate the sharp transition to racism that occurred by the middle of the nineteenth century (which occurred due to specific political and economic changes in both Britain and West Africa) the life and works of West African physicians James "Africanus" Beale Horton in particular as well as John Farrell Easmon are explored. Both men transitioned between Britain and West Africa throughout the course of their careers, and their lives enable us to once again place Britain and West Africa in the same analytical frame during this period. Their stories demonstrate the emergence of what would be labeled today as modern racism (as opposed to the culturalist attitudes of just a few decades prior) despite the fact that they were significantly more educated, well travelled, and published than men such as Sancho. These case studies, viewed through the analytical lenses of culturalism and racism, serve as excellent examples that underscore this thesis's ultimate question

why was there a more acceptant British perception of West Africans during the era of the slave trade than during formal colo G[( )] TJETQq108.02 733.44 432.07 22.56 reW*nBT/F2 12 Tf1 r.53de

experienced in medieval Europe. Prior to the implementation of this doctrine most Jews were, according to Fredrickson, persecuted based on religious (and therefore cultural) difference. The Inquisition, however, believed that the mass conversion of Jewish people to Christianity in the late fifteenth century was insincere, done primarily to avoid expatriation under anti-Semitic legislation. According to Frederickson, "both doctrinal heresy and enmity toward Christians became seen as the likely, even inevitable, consequence of having Jewish blood… to the extent that it was enforced, the Spanish doctrine of purity of blood *was undoubtedly racist*."[3]

Clearly, racism can exist without modern conceptions of biologized race. However, this thesis contends that the term, as understood by both its above and modern colloquial definitions, cannot be consistently applied to British-West African relations in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. This is in no small part due to the *unique* roles played by

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> The word 'race' was given a great variety of meanings in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It was used to refer to cultural, religious, national, linguistic, ethnic and geographical groups of human beings… to direct my attention to one particular usage of the word would mean ignoring most of what was understood to comprise the scientific [and philosophic] literature on the subject… As a historical strategy I have found it best to take the word to mean whatever scientists [and philosophers] have decided it to mean."[4]

This understanding allows for us to more effectively explore images of race in culture and science in the past, rather than fruitlessly test the morality and veracity of past ideas against those of the present.

Culturalism, as applied in this thesis, can be understood as: 1) an inability or unwillingness to tolerate cultural difference and/or 2) the discrimination and othering of a person based on cultural difference. However, this intolerance and/or discrimination can be *genuinely* and *completely* overcome through a person's willing assimilation into the culturalist's society and the internalization of that society's norms. Deeper discussions of racism and culturalism will inform the case studies that are central to this thesis to help highlight the appropriateness (or inappropriateness) of the terms use when evaluating a given context.[5]

Finally, there are instances when this thesis refers to the concept of material advantage. By this it is meant the ability to consistently gain the upper hand in economic exchange for the sake of affording favorable access to material goods, be they finished or otherwise. The desire to attain material advantage is perhaps the primary motivator for British colonial incursion into and control over West Africa from the mid-nineteenth century. Therefore, the use of the terms culturalism, racism, and the political and economic factors that influenced their development serve as an exploration of the "justifications" employed by the British to obfuscate the base nature of their deeper motivation: avarice.

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[4] Stepan, Nancy,

"snapshot" of British relationships with and perceptions of Africans up through 1807. Consequently, this section of thesis demonstrates how the application of the term "racism" is

The life of James "Africanus" Beale Horton serves as a perfect case study to examine this transition. Horton was a British-trained West African doctor and successful army medical officer who practiced between the 1860's and 1880's. During his own time he experienced and wrote about the coalescence of racialized

Chapter One: Ignatius Sancho

The most obvious example of an outstanding and highly successful African in Britain during the eighteenth century period is Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa. His 1789 autobiography, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano*, was a significant factor contributing to the creation of the Slave Trade Act in 1807, which abolished the African slave trade for Britain and its colonies. As important as Equiano is as a historically puissant African figure in the abolitionist movement, not to mention eighteenth and early nineteenth British society in general, he has begun to loom rather overlarge in that venue, obscuring the fact that many Africans had achieved high levels of success in Britain during this time period.[7]

One less studied than Equiano would be Ottobah Cugoano. Taking the name John Stuart after his baptism, he was an African abolitionist and natural rights philosopher from Ghana who was active in England in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Captured in present-day Ghana and sold into slavery at the age of 13, he was shipped to Grenada in the Lesser Antilles, where he worked on a plantation. In 1772 he was purchased by an English merchant who took him to England, where he was taught to read and write, and was freed following the ruling in the *Somersett Case*, which held that, based on the Cartwright Decision of 1569, there was no common law basis for slavery on English soil. While working for artists Richard and Maria Cosway, he became acquainted with British political and

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[7] Equiano, Olaudah. *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, Or Gustavus Vassa, The African: Written By Himself*. London, 1789. Accessed August 22, 2016. https://archive.org/stream/theinterestingna15399gut/15399.txt.

cultural figures that prompted him to join the Sons of Africa, an active group of African abolitionists in England during the latter half of the eighteenth century. His 1787 *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil and Wicked Traffic of the Human Species* stands as one of the first tracts published by an African demanding the abolition of the slave trade. In it, Cugoano argued that every man in Britain was responsible in some degree for slavery and

within two years, his dissertation being: *The Rights of Blacks in Europe*. For further studies Amo moved to the University of Wittenberg where he studied a wide variety of subjects (

the biography of him written by Joseph Jekyll Esq. first included in the 1803 edition

become a grocer in Westminster. He lived and worked there with his family until his death in 1780, caused by an incident of severe illness fatally complicated by his gout and obesity.[10]

Jekyll, however, went beyond simply recounting the details of Sancho's life, using his death as a platform from which to preach against the small but growing undercurrent of racialized thought that had begun to flow in the British mind. Jekyll insisted "he who could penetrate the interior of Africa, might not improbably discover Negro arts and polity, which bear little analogy to the ignorance and grossness of slaves in the sugar-islands, expatriated in infancy, and brutalized under the whip and task-master."[11] As one might note, Jekyll's insistence on environment, not personhood, on *nurture*, not *nature*, is indicative of the culturalist attitudes that were still the lens used by the British mainstream in examining other peoples right at the turn of the nineteenth century. To underscore his point (and perhaps give it the weight of scientific backing), Jekyll included a long excerpt of an article published by Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, a highly prominent figure in racial theory at the turn of the nineteenth century, in a German medical journal in the 1790's. Seemingly combatting notions of the biologized thought that had yet to come in vogue for several decades, Jekyll included and highlighted Blumenbach's assertion that "Negroes, in regard to their mental faculties and capacity, are not inferior to the rest of the human race." Blumenbach explicitly mentions Sancho as an example of the mental acuity of Africans in a "properly civilized environment," a statement that not only further emphasized the importance of concepts of culturalism as employed by British and overall European perceptions Africans at this time, but also the popularity experienced by Sancho's letters after his death in 1780.[12]

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[10] Edwards, Paul, ed., and Rewt, Polly, ed., *The Letters of Ignatius Sancho* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 1994). 22-24.
[11] Ibid., 25.
[12] Ibid., 26.

Select letters written by Sancho reveal much concerning his thoughts as regards to the perceptions of Africans in the eighteen century and, more specifically, to his experiences as a fully assimilated African in a culturalist society. Sancho, an affable man, made his presence known since his days as a servant in the Montagu household. He had a great interest in charity work, often calling on the good will of his friends to help those in need, whether they needed food, money or, in one specific instance, clothing.[13] This interest in aiding others did not end upon taking up a career as a Westminster grocer after his retirement. In a letter to a certain Mr. Browne Sancho can be seen writing a letter of recommendation for a particularly talented African servant seeking employment in an upper tier household after years of serving a middleclass family.[14] Sancho also made friends with popular figures of the day. For example, he became friends with Giardini, a famous composer, impresario, and virtuoso violinist at the time that often gave Sancho free tickets to his performances.[15]

Sancho, beyond being a charitable and popular busybody, was also a particularly proud patriot. We can find evidence of his great interest in the rebellion of the American colonies and his faith in the Crown's military might in some of his later letters. In a letter to a Mrs. Cocksedge he wrote,

> "the defeat of Washtub's army – and the capture of Arnold and Sullivan with seven thousand prisoners – thirteen countries return to their allegiance. All this news is believed – the delivery of her Majesty is certain Pray God the rest may be as certain… and *the British empire be strongly knit in the never ending bands of sacred friendship and brotherly love*!"[16]

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[13] Letter from Sancho to Mr. James Meheux, September 17 1768 AND Letter from Sancho to Mr. James Meheux September 20 1768 IN Ibid., 39-40.
[14] Letter from Sancho to Mr. Browne August 12, 1775 IN Ibid., 25.
[15] Letter from Sancho to Mrs. H- April 9 1778 IN Ibid., 60.
[16] Letter from Sancho to Mrs. Cocksedge November 5 1777 IN Ibid., 114. Emphasis mine.

Here we can see Sancho excited about the defeats of George Washington at Long Island and Brandywine Creek as well as the capture of General John Sullivan and Benedict Arnold prior to his betraying the colonial army. This excitement, desire to see the colonies return to the Crown, and faith in the power of the British empire offers explicit evidence of Sancho's sincere investment in British culture and society. Put otherwise, it is highly doubtful that one who lacks such investment in their society would, of their own unprompted accord, so openly and enthusiastically support that society's efforts at quelling a rebellious region. That his excitement turns into troubled concern as the war drags out for longer than he had

Many other letters, however, do not take such a jovial tone and can instead be read with an eye for subtle sarcasm and satire. In a letter to the aforementioned Mr. Browne Sancho writes,

> "I thank you for your kindness to your poor black brethren – I flatter myself you will find them not ungrateful… I have observed a dog will love those who use him kindly – and surely, if so, Negroes, in their state of ignorance and bondage, will not act less generously, if I may judge them by myself."[19]

Though a literal reading of the text might simply find the letter to be thankful, when considered in a more nuanced fashion it shows more than a little resentment that such an analogy is possible, reminding Browne of the inhumanity and domination that necessarily underlies the master/slave relationship.

Sancho's hatred of slavery can be seen throughout his letters. In one written to a certain Mr. Fisher thanking him for lending Sancho several books concerned with the cause of abolition, he writes,

> "That upon the unchristian and most diabolical usage of my brother Negroes – the illegality – the horrid wickedness of the traffic – the cruel carnage and depopulation of the human species – is painted in such strong colours that I would think (if duly attended to) flash conviction – and produce remorse in every enlightened and candid reader… I wish each member of each house of parliament had one of these books."[20]

Though this letter is uncharacteristically frank in its address of slavery it is at best milquetoast when compared to the one written in response to the son of one of his good friends serving in the Indian colonial service. Responding to the letter, he wrote

> … you speak (with honest indignation) of the treachery and chicanery of the Natives… you should remember from whom they leant these vices. The first Christian [read: European] visitors found them a simple, harmless people – but the cursed avidity for wealth urged Sy for wealth urge

compendium of letters where he explicitly renounces his British identity, consequently marking the only time in which he refuses to assimilate and bypass culturalist prejudice.

The letter, however, is far from being vitriolic in its entirety. In reading the entire piece it is abundantly clear that Sancho cares for his friend's son and wishes him the best. He reminds him to "read your bible" twice over, statements that reaffirms Sancho's Christianity since he is advising a young man to keep it in mind and, additionally, provides evidence toward his sincere investment in the religious aspect of British culture. He also recommends educative reading material in a postscript. That Sancho believes in the power of self-education is, of course, unsurprising given how well it served him in his life. He tells him "the mind, my dear Jack, wants food… why then should not one wish to increase in knowledge as well as money? His recommendations, classic works of history and literature, would serve Wingrave well as weighty tomes that would challenge his mind and force the development of his intellect.[23]

That Sancho deeply values the circumstances that allowed for him to escape slavery is made abundantly clear in a letter he wrote to Julius Soubise, a fellow black British servant. Soubise, however, squandered his fortunate happenstance by becoming a criminal – he raped one of the Duchess of Queensbury's maids.[24] Sancho, writing to Soubise after he had been exiled as punishment for his crime, wrote, "Happy, happy lad! What a fortune is thine! Look round upon the miserable fate of almost all of our unfortunate colour – superadded to ignorance, - see slavery, and the contempt of those very wretches who roll in affluence from our labours." For Soubise to throw his privileged position away through the commission such a repugnant crime struck Sancho as incredibly foolish and sickening.[25]

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[23] Ibid.
[24] Letter from Sancho to Mr. Meheux July 23 1777 IN Ibid., 96.
[25] Letter from Sancho to Mr. Soubise October 11 1772 IN Ibid., 51.

That we have access to these letters at all is more than likely due to the solicitations of Edmund Rack, a Quaker abolitionist who had read some of Sancho's letters in the past. Writing to Sancho in 1779, Rack wrote,

> I am fully persuaded that the great God… regards the natives of Africa with equal complacence as those of this or any other country; and that the rewards annexed to virtue will accompany it in all ages and nations, either in this life, or in a future

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Chapter Two: Britain and West Africa: Trade Partners

Context

Before we move on to the region where Sancho was criticizing British action, a bit of context may serve to elucidate some of the actions taken by the Fante, Asante, and British in Annamaboe. As previously mentioned, many popular histories of today incorrectly posit that the British imposed their will on West African peoples, forcing them into slavery and justifying it with an anachronistic application of racism informed by a sense of innate British biological superiority. The reality the situation, put forth by numerous scholars, was that many Europeans, particularly those with New World holdings, provided a demand for a product, slave labor, which West African elites were interested in supplying for the sake of profit.[27] This was possible because "the institution of slavery… was of considerable antiquity in Africa" and as such "it was no dramatic leap to sell slaves outside the community."[28]

This is not to say that the European demand for slavery was merely an outside market to which African elites' sold a product. Quite on the contrary, the E ⁎ l the ! A ҫ it 0

common in this period, in which groups of raiders would attack communities and bring captured men, women, and children to the coast to sell them to passing slave ships.[30]

A specific example of this would be the role played by the slave trade between the English, Dutch and the warring Denkyira and Asante states in what is now Ghana. The Asante, taking advantage of changes in European trading relations after the consolidation of the Kingdom of Kongo (in what is now modern day Angola) began capturing Denkyira gold mining sites and people in the 1690's in an attempt to capitalize on the increased presence of English and Dutch traders along the Gold Coast. The Asante, drawing on their own political justifications based on alleged Denkyira brutality toward civilians, began consolidating their power in the region. The Asante, having won a decisive battle in 1701, permanently shifted power relations to ensure their prominence along the Gold Coast. Those that did not ally with the Asante were captured as slaves and sold to the English and Dutch to both solidify trade relations and permanently dispense with their adversaries by sending them away from the continent, a process the Asante referred to as "eating the land."[31]

Despite the rapidly growing market share in the slave trade occupied by Europeans, West Africans were not participating in an extraverted economy by any significant stretch. While the slave trade with Europe was certainly a considerable historical force at this time, African polities, not only in the West, but all parts of the continent were engaged with trade on the communal, regional, and at times continental scales. Trade between neighbors and villages was common, as agricultural development allowed for people to participate in labor specialization and purchase goods and services through trade and barter. Long distance

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[30] Ibid.
[31] Mccaskie, T. C. "Denkyira In The Making Of Asante C. 1660–1720." *The Journal of African History* 48, no. 01 (2007): 1-25. Accessed September 8, 2016. JSTOR.

economic exchange was not uncommon either, as caravans delivered goods to and fro for hundreds of miles along established trade routes.[32]

Though difficult to find, there are some first-hand trade records that show the ways in which British and West African slavers engaged in the slave trade in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. One noteworthy account comes from English trader James Barbot, which details his company's trade engagements with an unnamed king who ruled a large portion of the New Calabar river in what is now modern Nigeria. In it, he describes the king as having

> "had a great esteem and regard for the whites, who had greatly enriched him through trade" and showing no signs of fear or deference on his part toward them, which signified his being on equal if not superior footing with the British trade agents.[33] The king only accepted iron bars and brass rings as payment for the slaves that he was selling, refusing to accept "wrought pewter and tankards, green beads, and other goods."[34]

The reasoning behind this was that the West Africans involved in the trade were more than astute enough to realize that the pewter, beads, and other miscellaneous goods being offered to them were nothing more than useless trinkets lacking any real value. As such, they only accepted payment in the form of iron bars and brass rings, materials that were difficult to acquire in that region which could then be melted down and made into tools and weaponry that would give the group both economic and military advantages over others in the region.

to either accept their terms or leave empty-handed. One can observe this when Barbot writes that "[The King's brother] was a sharp black… perpetually making objections against something or other and teasing us for this or that [gift]… they did not have the art of reading and writing, and *we therefore are forced to stand to their agreement*."[35]

Finally, it is prudent to note that the Africans trading with Barbot in 1699 engaged in non-slave trade as well. According to Barbot's account, prices were set as

> Sixty king's yams, one [iron] bar; one hundred and sixty slave's yams, one bar; for fifty thousand yams to be delivered to us. A [large cask] of water, two rings. For the length of wood, seven bars, which is dear, but they were to deliver it ready cut into our boat. For one goat, one bar. A cow, ten or eight bars, according to its size. A hog, two bars. A calf, eight bars. A jar of palm oil, one bar and a quarter.[36]

Though the specific content of and prices set in this trade are not of great interest, what is important to note is that the existence of this and other accounts of non-slave trade delegitimize the idea that West Africans were over-reliant on the slave trade and struggled to adapt to "legitimate" trade after the British abolition of the trade in 1807.

There are also accounts that discredit the idea that Africans were always grateful for the presence of European traders. For example, there is a letter that was written by Nzinga Mbemba, or Afonso the First of the Kingdom of Kongo, in which he petitions the King of Portugal to restrict his merchants and missionaries in Kongolese territory. There is a very telling passage in which he states that

> [The Kongolese} people, keenly desirous as they are of the wares and things of your Kingdoms, which are brought here by your people, *and in order to satisfy their voracious appetite, seize many of our people, freed and exempt men,* and very often it happens that they kidnap even noblemen and the sons of noblemen, and our relatives, and take them to be sold to the white men who are in our Kingdoms…we need from those (your) Kingdoms no more than some priests and a few people to reach in schools, and no

sold to European slavers, but a significant minority composed of the highest quality slaves was kept to clear tropical forest and work the land to produce New World crops.

A sort of positive feedback system formed here, which propelled Annamaboe from a backwater port to being an immensely powerful player along the Coast. Maize served as a fast growing, easily planted, nonperishable, easily transported carbohydrate source. The Fante and Asante, well fed on this new crop, were able to expand their population. This larger, better fed population would allow the Asante to campaign against their neighbors, seizing more land and captives to both sell to Fante slavers and clear/work their newly

relations and mend gaps that would occur as one side tried to take advantage of the other, and vice versa. The Fante women in these relationships gained access to employment, education, money, and trade not only for themselves but for their friends and families. The Englishmen, in return, received access to sex, cheaper food and shelter (the Fante regularly charged a premium for Europeans seeking food and board in town), healthcare, and cultural insight. The children that resulted from these "country marriages" were often sent to Europe to receive an education and became professionals, typically returning to find employment in Annamaboe or else remaining in the country they had received an education from.

Children also played a large role in British-Fante trade relations. The pawn system was employed as a means through which Fante merchants could receive credit and goods in advance from British traders. In exchange for this, the Fante merchant would leave one or two of their children as collateral with the Briton, who would take the children as slaves if the Fante merchant did not uphold their end of the bargain. These children typically learned English and gained insight into English culture during their stays on board British ships, which they would relay back to their fathers to provide them with a trade advantage. However, the Fante often abused this system. These merchants regularly abandoned many children and, consequently, the British lost money on these unfaithful ventures. Unsurprisingly, relations between the groups grew frosty whenever these incidents occurred. Relations grew so damaged after a period in which several of these bad-faith transactions occurred that the British temporarily abandoned the fort in 1730, both to save money and punish the Fante for abusing the credit advanced to them.[40]

During the mid-to-late eighteenth century, which was the peak of Annamaboe's activity b,9iese ba

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in its socio-economic and political structure: John Corantee and Richard Brew. Corantee,

he was sold as a slave. The English, upon learning this news, rushed to the colony where William was being held and freed him, (rightfully) fearing his father's wrath and the closing of trade in Annamaboe. Upon William's return to England he was hailed as a sort of celebrity, with the story of his escape becoming the matter of articles and gossip. He had his portrait taken and published in several newspapers, with the news of his baptism making the front page as well. Corantee took advantage of this snafu immediately, using it as an excuse to raise taxes excised on British merchants to unprecedented levels.[41]

Viewing this incident through the lens of culturalism, it is clear that William must have overcome a significant portion of whatever culturalist prejudices may have been held against him for his origins. How else could his meteoric rise to fame in British popular culture, not to mention his ability to become an accepted resident treated as befit a foreign noble, be explained? Certainly not through a framework of racism, which would fault him for his physical appearance so heavily as to erase the importance of any of his accomplishments, trials, or associations. Instead, through his genuine adoption and internalization of British cultural norms, he was able to become a beloved celebrity and effective African diplomat in eighteenth century Britain. While this does not undo or excuse any sort of bigotry or discrimination that British people may have perpetrated against Africans at this time, it certainly contradicts any narrative that holds racism as the sole lens through which the majority of British people viewed Africans at this time.

Returning to Annamaboe, the only man that seemed to have sway over Corantee (particularly after this incident) was Richard Brew, an Irishman and Royal African Company (RAC) officer. He arrived in West Africa in 1745, stationed in a town further inland from Annamaboe called Tantunquerry. While there he became intimately acquainted with Asante

and Fante cultural norms, making him a uniquely talented individual in that he was able to effectively communicate and bargain with all three primary groups concerned with the trade in Annamaboe. Leaving Tantunquerry in 1753 after a fall out with the RAC, Brew went to Annamaboe. While there, he met and married John Corantee's daughter that same year, and three years after became the British governor of the town after his predecessor's death. Through the combination of this close familial relationship and his cultural expertise, Brew became one of the few men capable of standing up to Corantee, often acting as an intermediary between Corantee and whatever Asante or English agent that acquired that service from him. [42]

Between these two figures and the positive feedback loop that existed due to the slave trade, Annamaboe quickly went from a small port to being known as a consistent provider of high-quality slaves. The vast majority (~3/4) of these slaves were captured during Asante expansionist wars, but of course not all of them were enemy combatants. Many of these people were simply peasants who had been in the wrong place at the wrong time, and were thus exempt from the (now highly problematized) War Captive theory that had begun to gain traction as a justification for slavery (when slavers even bothered to justify their actions).[43] The other quarter largely consisted of prisoners from the Coastal region that had committed one crime or another and were being shipped off as slaves for punishment. Finally, many children were simply kidnapped. After conquering an area, the Asante often imposed a tribute system in which the conquered people were made to send a given number of slaves to the Coast in order to secure relative peace, a process that allowed the Asante to maintain a consistent flow of slaves without having to constantly go to war.

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[42] Ibid., 68-120.
[43] Robert Bernasconi and Anika Maaza Mann, "The Contradictions of Racism: Locke, Slavery, and the Two Treatises." IN Valls, *Race and Racism*

Upon arriving to Annamaboe the slaves, exhausted and in poor condition after journeying for several hundred miles, were sold to the Fante and typically given plenty of food and rest so that they would be in peak condition while being inspected by British slavers. The primary brokers, known as gold takers, would take slaves to the ships where they would inspect goods and the quality of gold used by the British to pay for the slaves. As seen in the Barbot incident, many of these gold takers would often twist deals to their advantage, feigning illiteracy and/or forgetfulness to secure a better deal for the seller and, consequently, a larger commission for the sale. These tricks, used to keep the balance of trade heavily in Fante favor, were frowned upon if used too often, as the British would not hesitate to blockade the port if they felt they had been ill used one too many times. Those slaves that were not sold were typically killed, as the cost of caring for them was not seen as a worthwhile investment.

In terms of the goods brought to Annamaboe by the British, gold was the region's

the town, particularly regarding their repeated attempts to monopolize trade in the region. Consequently, the Fante began stating that, even if the British *might* gather the force required to actually effectively hinder open trade with other nations, the Fante would rather sever all ties than maintain allegiance. Unsurprisingly, by the 1790's the relationship between the British and Fante was tenuous at best.[44]

Four events came, one following the next, which threw Annamaboe from its pedestal in the beginning of the nineteenth century. First, the death of Richard Brew near the end of the eighteenth century deprived the town of its most influential mediator, the sole person capable of keeping Asante, Fante, and British elites in check on his own. Second, near the end of the century numerous events arose that disrupted trade, putting parties ill at ease. These included the American revolution pulling the majority of British and American slavers away from the town for several years, Fante/Asante conflicts blocking the flow of slaves and goods to and from the interior, and a rise in the typical disputes between captains, Fante slavers, and gold takers that would hold ships over for weeks beyond their intended date of departure due to these other factors. Third, in 1804 and 1805 a series of riots broke out due to an altercation between British soldiers and Fante townspeople, resulting in the lower half of the town being consumed by flames at the peak of the incident. This was complicated by an Asante siege that took place in 1806. The Asante, tired of dealing with the Fante as middlemen, decided to assault the town in a bid to acquire direct access to British slavers. After they killed nearly two thirds of the inhabitants, the Fante surrendered. They were now, for the most part, to be sold in the same harbor that they had sold tens of thousands of people over the past century. [45]

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[44] Sparks., 145-185

Finally, and most acutely, the British abolition of the slave trade in 1807 brought the gears of Annamaboe's economy to a screeching halt. Over night the product that an entire region had built the bulk of its economy and infrastructure around experienced not a drop but a complete cessation of demand. Moreover, the British would not let anyone approach the Coast for the purposes of buying slaves, fighting those who did and releasing whatever slaves had been captured in regions like Freetown. Forts, which had originally been stores for goods, particularly slaves, now enforced the ban. The Asante, only a year into their tenure, became extremely frustrated, asking, "If [the British] find [slavery] bad now, why did they find it good before?" The Asantehene (the Asante ruler) of the time "did not deem it plausible that this obnoxious practice should have been abolished from motives of humanity alone."[46] No satisfactory answer could be given, save that the British made the decision to end the trade unilaterally. For there to be trade, both partners must be willing to participate. Without British participation or permission to conduct the slave trade with other powers, Annamaboe, built on the backs of slaves, lost their primary buyers and fell into ruin.

Though Annamaboe's fall back into relative obscurity was caused primarily by a one-sided decision made by the British, the interactions that occurred between the Asante, Fante, and various European powers during the town's peak level of economic activity in the eighteenth century serve as an incredible poignant foil against which the misconstrued notion that holds the slave trade as being unilaterally controlled by British slavers imposing their will on West African victims can be seen as practically groundless. In reality, the slave

former parties with the British composed the deferential latter. Through political savvy and military might the Asante and Fante controlled the details of the slave trade, demanding useful products like iron and grain to solidify their position in exchange for high quality slaves acquired through conquest and tribute. The British complied with these demands, seeing them as worthwhile investments.

Clearly, this relationship did *not* exist as a one-sided imposition of power justified through an anachronistic application of a racial ideology that presupposed a sort of innate superiority. What instead comes into view is an economic relationship based on the mutual acquisition of power and wealth through compromise where both parties regard one another as culturally distinct though not so much as to be *innately* and therefore *immutably* different, somehow unable to trade as equals. Evidence of this cultural compromise and coexistence comes

Chapter Three: Drs. James "Africanus" Beale Horton and John Farrell Easmon

Horton, a Life

Lets look at a second "snapshot" taken in a similar area about sixty or seventy years after the first. In it, we'll first examine the life and thoughts of Dr. James "Africanus" Beale Horton. Horton's experiences form an excellent image in which we can observe the change in British perceptions of West Africans during the mid-to-late nineteenth century from lenses of culturalism to those of racism. Christopher Fyfe, in his work *Africanus Horton: West African Scientist and Patriot*, has written Horton's definitive biography with the available source material. The following summation of Horton's life experiences are only made possible through his work, and it is doubtful that a better biography could be written without the exposure of heretofore undiscovered or undisclosed primary documents.

Born James Horton to James and Nancy Horton in 1835, Horton spent the first years of his childhood in Gloucester village just outside the border of Sierra Leone as a member of the Igbo group. Nine years later a missionary named James Beale came to recruit bright young students for a Grammar School he and fellow proselytizers were starting in Freetown. James was so talented that Beale took him on with a full ride scholarship, as without it he would not have been able to attend. Once in Freetown, young James decided to model himself after William Fergusson, a fellow West African who got his MD from the University of Edinburgh and served as a British Officer for several years before serving as the governor of Freetown in the early to mid 1800's. He entered the school in May 1845, which focused its education on instilling the protestant values of discipline and character as the foundation on which its students were to build their characters and careers.

other tracks at the time, which demanded six years of study. Horton graduated with honors in April 1859, where he registered as James Africanus Beale Horton as a gesture signifying a

This period of time also marked the beginning of officers trying to bar new non-white physicians from entering the West African corps. They tried to exclude Indian and African physicians by stating that they could not serve in the north due to their "natural constitution," a claim that was no doubt based on the idea of fixed natural types coming into vogue during the mid-nineteenth century.[50] This, of course, proved unconvincing, with superior officers countering with questions about the suitability of white doctors serving in the south. The "solution" was to instead attack the "respectability" of non-white officers, stating that English soldiers and settlers would be uncomfortable with and/or unable to have full confidence in a non-English, not to mention non-white, doctor. Fyfe includes a quote from saying something nearly identical. Lord Herbert in a Parliamentary Debate said, "We know that Englishmen have not the same confidence in an Italian or German doctor –to say nothing of an Indian doctor…"[51]

This rather backwards way of alienating African physicians played itself out on multiple occasions

Regardless of whether or not Horton would have occupied his desired position, the Anglo-Asante war ruined his aspirations for West African independence. The war was painted as a racial victory by newspapers, written from a perspective of racial pride and determinism that not only

Horton neither wastes time nor pulls punches even in the opening page of his preface, writing that a small section of England

> "Who, although they have had undeniable proofs of the fallacy of their arguments, and inconsistency of their statements with existing facts, have formed themselves into an association (*sic* Anthropological Society) to rake up old malice and encourage their agents abroad to search out the worst possible characteristics of the African, so to furnish material for venting their animus against him. 'Its object,' as has been stated, 'is to prove him unimprovable, therefore unimproved since the beginning, and, consequently, fitted only to remain a hewer of wood and drawer of water for the members of that select society."[57]

Simply put, Horton calls out those, particularly members of the Anthropological Society, who scavenged bits of science and philosophy to create a racial ideology for doing exactly that.

> "I do not for a moment attempt to prove that, as a whole, *a race whose past generations have been in utter darkness, the mental faculty of those whose ancestors has never received any culture for nearly a thousand years, could attempt to compete successfully in their present state with one whose ancestors have successfully been under mental training and moulding for centuries.* To think so would be to expect an ordinary- bred horse to have equal chances with a thorough-bred one. But I say that the African race, as exemplified by the results of enterprises in West Africa, if put in comparison with any race on the face of the globe, whether Caucasian, Mongolian, Teutonic, Celtic, or any other just emerging from a state of barbarism, as they are, will never be found a whit behind. But to draw deductions by comparing their present state with the civilization of the nineteenth century is not only absurd, but most unphilosophical."[59]

To understand why Horton believed this one need only consider his upbringing and education. He believed that all that was good in his life came from his experiences with British people and culture: he was taken from his small village to Freetown for a subsidized education, traveled to England where he was able to attend and graduate from medical

might say the success Horton had achieved existed out of the supposed range of Africans at that time.[60]

Though *West African Countries and Peoples* is primarily a work concerned with outlining a plan for West African self-governance, it is the first part, Horton's "Vindication of the African race," that most concerns this study. He begins by asserting that forms of culture and governance do exist in the region, stating that though they rule with a form of "extreme despotism" these West African nations and polities possess "as truly a political government as that of France or England…" with adjudication, structured governments, and trade with surrounding polities. That being said, Horton holds to his contentions in the preface, stating

Horton quotes these damning accusations from great men of the Roman Empire in an attempt to underscore this hypocrisy. Were the British to be judged by the Romans in the same way that they had come to judge West Africans there can be little doubt that the Romans would perceive them as being similarly innately unimprovable. The British "inability" to comprehend a cultural or intellectual education was thus meant to hit uncomfortably close to home for British readers who would then be forced to consider the way in which they had been viewing West Africans in parallel.

Similarly, Horton cites the more recent rise of the Russian empire from darkness after escaping the rule of the Golden Horde. The nation, previously being considered just as barbarous as those of West Africa, had just come into its own less than a hundred years prior to *West African Countries and Peoples'* publishing. Horton writes,

> A century ago it would have been just as miraculous to read a tolerable Russian composition, as it would be at this day to find the same phenomenon in Haussa [sic] or at Timbuctoo [sic]; and speculators who argue about races, and despise the effect of circumstances would have h ad the same right to decide the fate of all the Russians, from the inspection of the Calmuc [sic] skull, as they imagine they now have to condemn all Africa to everlasting barbarism, from the head, the colour, and the wool of its inhabitants.[66]

Beyond the hypocrisy of historical circumstance, Horton also takes issue with the fact that many of these racial thinkers had heretofore ignored the realities of the slave trade and its deleterious impact on West African peoples. He writes

> Now it must be acknowledged that the damaging influences to which the negro race has for centuries been subjected, have not been favourable to the improvement of their condition, nor in any way raising their minds to a higher species of cultivation; trampled under foot by perpetual despotism, enslaved from one generation to another, inhabiting the most wretched hovels that it is possible for humanity to exist in, deprived of every means of education or of witnessing the arts and sciences, pent up as it were within the circumference of their own towns and villages, *not daring to travel even a few miles without an escort for fear of being captured and sold as slaves*, can there be the least doubt in the minds of the unprejudiced that their present unimproved

[66] Ibid., 65-66.

> condition is the natural sequence of the operation of these powerful demoralizing re-agents?[67]

The slave raiding phenomenon that had plagued the region since the early eighteenth century, described by Barbot, decried by Afonso I and Sancho, and largely inflicted by Asante expansionist campaigns as a way to rid the region of possible rebellion, was a critical aspect of development (or the perceived lack thereof) that Horton knew was not being properly considered. The discounting of environmental factors, particularly those of the slave trade and the consequent slave raiding that took place, is a critical error of those that Horton is arguing against.

In his argument against those that refused to consider environmental factors as relevant to the development of each race, Horton believes that one need only "treat men like beasts and you will make them such." If a European can be made "indifferent, abject, servile, and brutish" in captivity after an extended period of time, how can one judge a people as being inherently flawed that have been subjected to such conditions for centuries on end? With this in mind, Horton believes that many things that he perceives as problematic aspects of West African culture and development are not inborn but are instead a result of their having been subject to slavery. The fear of travel and mistrust of outsiders that resulted from the slave raiding phenomenon left these groups unexposed to a "proper" cultural and intellectual education. This, in Horton's opinion, bred a sort of insular backwardness that fed on itself when isolated, insular groups grew more backward and unwelcoming as they become further and further removed from the mainstream.[68]

After this more general set of refutations Horton goes on to engage with a set few examples of what he considered to be particularly problematic racial theorists of his time. M.

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[67] Ibid., 35. Horton's emphasis.
[68] Ibid., 51.

Prunner Bey, whose memoirs had been the standard “definition of Africans,” had in fact only been based on his travel through a small portion of Egypt. Dr. James Hunt, the founder of the Anthropological Society of London that Horton directly attacked in his opening page, is simply dismissed as a fraud. According to Horton, Hunt was not even worth the effort of specifically rebuttin τ rebuttin τ rebut a u}

There are,' he says, 'about 100 Europeans in the land; amongst these there are many excellent fellows, but *it is an unpleasant confession to make – the other appear to me inferior to the Africans, native as well as mulattoes.* The possibility of such a thing had never reached my brain. At last, in colloquy with an old friend on the Coast… in *intellect the black race is palpably superior,* and it is, in fact, advancing along the path of civilization… the *grown up native* of Sierra Leone is dreaded on the rest of the coast; he can examine a witness in the police court as well as any lawyer in England. It is certainly impossible

himself to the Secretary of War where he lays out the following reasons for going through with it.

Horton begins with the contention that British officers typically only remain stationed in a given area, much less in the region, for approximately a year. This, he claims, is due to the inability of British officers on the whole to properly acclimate to the area both culturally and physically. The area is too hot and humid, the officers are more susceptible to disease, and they are unable to make significant inroads with local communities due to a lack of a common cultural base. Due to these shorter stays, British officers do not have the time or motivation to develop an interest in the area or its people. More importantly, they do not have the time to conduct meaningful research into tropical diseases, the largest reason the majority of them leave the region, if they make it out alive at all. Nor would they be able to take the time, if they even had the ability, to explore the areas surrounding their outposts in search for natural resources that could be researched and made us-3(s)5(es, t)3(he l)-3(a)-3(rges)13(t r)5(ea)-6

Secondly, Horton highlights his home of Sierra Leone (despite the 1865 resolution's reservations concerning letting the highly valuable colony become self-governing) as a prime area ready to progress. The area had a long-standing relationship with European powers that stretched back to the fifteenth century, where the Portuguese established first contact between local groups and European explorers to found a slave trade outpost. The British wrested Portuguese control of the area in 1780s, attempting to establish a colony that failed due to colonist's dying to disease. Unable to make use of the territory in that fashion, British administrators then moved slaves from Nova Scotia to the area, particularly Freetown. These slaves were provided with an education funded by the Sierra Leone Company in the hopes of creating a strong merchant economy run by these black transplants. This plan worked so well educated that there was often tension between black colonists and British administrators, but they got on well enough to keep the region prosperous. Freetown became a site of adjuration after 1807 for smugglers who broke the abolition of the slave trade. Freed slaves recaptured from these smugglers were often sent to Freetown to start new lives.

A civil suit in 1829 in which an Ibo man was awarded damages after being assaulted by a British soldier confirmed the status of Sierra Leone residents as not just subjects but *citizens* of the crown that were to be afforded the same rights and protections as any Englishman, at least in a de jure sense. Fyfe contends that the loyalty these African citizens had to the crown did *not* in any way imply servility or self-hatred, but rather a great sense of pride and self-respect given their rapidly rising political, social, and economic status in such a short period of time.[74]

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[74] Fyfe, *Africanus Horton*, 1-

This area, rapidly progressing from a state of “barbarism”

> other, starvation awaits him if he does not work hard, and should he not pay dearly with his utter strength and skill, he is sure to fall to utter destitution.[77]

The rest of the work is primarily concerned with laying the foundations for implementing self-government in the West African region, complete with several drafts of constitutions that he believed would be particularly useful for these new governments to utilize in establishing their sovereignty and administrating the basic functions requisite of any Western-style government. He ends the work with a quote from the Liberian poet Hillary Teague, charging his readers to consider what lies ahead of them. It reads, "you are to give the answer whether the African race is doomed to interminable degradation – a hideous blot on the fair face of creation, a libel upon the dignity of human nature; or whether they are capable to take an honourable rank amongst the great family of nations."[78]

The work, both on its whole and in particular its first part, make for a fascinating study in that it provides a window into the mind of a West African experiencing the British transition from quasi-acceptant culturalist to colonial racist lenses when considering West African peoples and polities. Horton, a highly successful and intelligent physician who benefitted from the benevolent culturalist paternalism he had experienced up through his education at Edinburgh, saw the coalescence of early racial theory, paternalism, and more contemporary discussions of race rooted in evolution and eugenics occurring before him. *West African Countries and Peoples* and its segment concerning the vindication of Africans in the minds of scientists and the British populace in general, though informed by a profound sense of culturalism, served as Horton's attempt to stem the tide of racism and break apart the coalescence of this racial ideology informed by biologized, innatist conceptions of race before it began to shape colonial policy in his homeland.

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[77] Horton, *West African Countries and Peoples*, 220.
[78] Ibid., 246.

Dr. John Farrell Easmon

Of course, following the Anglo-Asante war the pleas made in Horton's work went unheard and he subsequently abandoned the project. Following the war the British were inspired to publish numerous works that emphasized the might and power of the British culturally, militarily, and racially. These works, when written in the West African context, left out the majority of African groups and players, with those few that were included being relegated to smaller roles that de

themselves to racist policies that prevented them from entering their home market in an attempt to practice the very profession they had devoted themselves to? As a result many West Africans turned away from the field and toward other professions instead, preferring private practices to government service, as the government that had once sought to bring West Africa its conception of "civilization" now seemed bent on keeping them in a state of subjugation simply on the basis of their physical appearance and the imagined differences in morality and mental acuity that came with it.

In light of these brief studies it becomes abundantly clear that Horton's dream of a West African Medical Corps serving a self-governing community of West African nations was not simply overlooked but purposefully smothered. West African physicians, despite once being recruited for their race, were now effectively unable to practice even at home despite the fact that they had been trained in the *same institutions* with the *same rigor* as their British counterparts.

Chapter Four: Backward "Progression" and Highlights of Early Racial Theory & Philosophy

The "progression" between our first and second images seems incredibly counterintuitive. Though progressive historical narratives have been complicated time and again most people, scholars included, tend to believe that racial relations, at least on the grander scale of generations and centuries, have improved over time. Why, then, does there seem to be such a larger sense of acceptance in the eighteenth century than there does in the nineteenth? How could such a massive step backward take place, and when can we more accurately use the word racism to describe the situation? That is an incredibly multifaceted question, which requires an in-depth examination of the socio-political and economic realties that shaped these situations. While this thesis will give a brief overview of some of these factors in the coming pages, this study ultimately concerned with the shift in attitude that British peoples had

Asante slave raiders, who developed an economic system that would proved mutually economically beneficial while keeping the balance of trade heavily weighted in West African interests through the restriction of British merchant activity to the coast.[86] Thirdly, African traders were able to utilize their familiarity with the land and people in such a way as to maintain their advantage in trade relations. Again mirroring the situation in Annamaboe, Martin notes,

> European traders had… to conform to African trading organization… So effective were the methods used for transporting palm oil to the coast that European traders, in this period, had little desire [or ability] to penetrate inland to the market of the producers.[87]

This inability to penetrate the interior irritated British traders, who felt cheated by their inability to have any real effect on the prices of African goods. The fact this state of affairs had persisted since the earliest days of the slave trade only added fuel to the fire.

As Britain and West Africa entered the nineteenth century trade relations between the two regions grew strained. It is important to note that not all situations were as agreeable as those that existed between the British and Fante in Annamaboe. For the most part, British traders in the Gold Coast such as Andrew Swanzy never became ordinary citizens. In a collection of remarks on his stays in West Africa during the early and mid-nineteenth century Swanzy notes that

> As these transactions [between the British and locals of the Gold Coast] were very considerable and attended with much risk, great care was necessary in selecting the [merchants]… the consequence was that the resident English merchants, though few in number, were generally men of education and ability.[88]

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As such, they quickly caught on to the fact that African brokers were giving them the short end of the stick when it came to making trade agreements. In a telling passage Swanzy relates an opinion commonly held by British traders in the Gold Coast, stating that

> Gradually, a number of partially educated natives were admitted to the same advantages as the resident English traders… these men soon proved themselves, with some few exceptions, quite unworthy of the confidence reposed in them, partly from ignorance, but principally from extravagance, most of them became insolvent *having in the meantime driven away the English traders by ruinous competition*… Experience of the native African has convinced me at the present *that he requires a more stringent rule than the European*.[89]

The phrase "ruinous competition" could be taken to mean the general trend of the British being at the mercy of West African merchant demands or the more specific abuses of trust that often took place, such as in the Fante abuse of the pawn system in Annamaboe. Either way, it is clear that Swanzy believed West African traders were a malevolent force when it came to the perceived fairness of dealings and proposed that they needed to be controlled. This control would specifically be over the prices that African goods could fetch on the foreign market, which would allow for British traders to receive payment for their goods that they would find more acceptable. The only way in which British traders like Swanzy could institute such stringent market controls, however, would be to dictate them through colonial domination. Advances in technology, particularly weaponry, coupled with a time of intense socio-political and economic instability in the region due to the mfecane gave the British the means and opportunity to act on these desires.[90]

How, though, could the British *justify* taking control of West African markets and nations? Conquest for the sake of material advantage would never pass moral muster, as the

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[89] Ibid. Emphasis mine.

[90] Mfecane: a time of great strife in the history of Africa's southern peninsula, in which a great drought in 1816 destroyed the majority of agricultural fields and grazing grounds and resulted

British needed to justify upholding liberal democratic ideals at home while simultaneously engaging in aggressive colonial expansion. The answer lies in a shift in the European intellectual tradition from positing that Africans were simply another people to a belief in imperial liberalism, paternalism, and the intrinsic superiority of the European intellectual and political traditions over African equivalents. In order to gain a greater understanding as to how this shift in thought arose, however, it is necessary to understand the imperial theorists whose theories were published both before a

necessarily conform to this standard.[93] If this were true, why is it that Africans make up the overwhelming majority of slaves during this period? While there were many justifications employed for slavery during the premodern era, Fredrickson puts forth the Curse of Ham/Canaan in Joshua 9:23 as a particularly significant example. The text of the King James Bible reads "Now therefore ye are cursed, and there shall none of you be freed from being bondmen, and hewers of wood and drawers of water for the house of my God." Many believed that dark skin was the physical marker of the curse and that, as such, white Christians were justified in the enslavement of black pagans.

Though this is one of the earliest explicitly racist doctrines we can find in British West African relations, Fredrickson contends that it does not precisely fit his definition of racism despite its reliance on a physical marker. This is because temporal European society in the Middle Ages through the late eighteenth century was largely hierarchical in nature. He writes,

> In a society in which inequality based on birth was the norm for everyone from king down to peasant, ethnic slavery and ghettoization were special cases of a general pattern – very special in some ways – *but still not radical exceptions to the hierarchical premise.* Paradoxical as it may seem, the rejection of hierarchy as the governing principle of social and political organization, and its replacement by the aspiration for equality *in this world* as well as in the eyes of God, had to occur before racism could come to full flower. [94]

Racial theory was at its infancy during these stages and was understood in terms of the Aristotelian "Great Chain of Being." This theory, as described by Stepan, held that all organic beings existed on a ladder of infinite gradation which progressed from the simplest and weakest of organisms to the strongest and most complex. Humanity however, given its special religious status, was perceived as existing so far above all other beings that it did not occupy a rung on the ladder that could be said to be even proximate to other organisms.

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[93] Fredrickson., 4.
[94] Ibid., 47. First set italic emphasis mine. Second set of italic emphasis Fredrickson.

With the emphasis placed on the spiritual equality of all men and the acceptance of immutable hierarchy as a fact of life many believed it unnecessary to rank humanity in a more specific fashion.[95]

François Bernier, a French physician and traveller from the late seventeenth century, is often credited as the first person to use the word "race" in a sense that can be related to its modern denotative and connotative sense. In his 1684 work *A New Division of the Earth by the Different Species or Races which Inhabit It,* Bernier made one of the first documented attempts to classify humanity into "races" based on physical characteristics. In his words,

> "… although in the exterior form of their bodies, and especially their faces, men are almost all different one from the other… still I have remarked that there are four or five species or races of men in particular whose difference is so remarkable that it may be properly made use of as the foundation of a new division of earth."[96]

For us to find a system that began to more explicitly mention the intangible aspects that came to be associated with race, we need to go forward half a century and across the North Sea to Sweden. Carl Linnaeus, or Carolus Linnæus, was a botanist, zoologist, and physician credited as the father of the system of binomial nomenclature, which modern scientists employ when classifying various flora and fauna. In 1735 he published the first edition of his *Systema Naturae*, the work that contained the system of binomial nomenclature. In it he made a decision that few, if any had made before: his division of races (Americanus, Asiaticus, Africanus, and Europeæus) ascribed physical *and behavioral* characteristics to each race based on their customs. Americanus were "reddish, choleric, and erect; hair black… wide nostrils… obstinate, merry, free… regulated by customs." Asiaticus were "melancholy, stiff; hair black, dark eyes… severe, haughty, avaricious… ruled by opinions." Africanus were "black, phlegmatic… hair black, frizzled… nose flat… *crafty, indolent, negligent… governed*

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[95] Stepan, *The Idea of Race*. 8.
[96] Bernier, François, *A New Division of the Earth by the Different Species or Races which Inhabit It* 1684 IN Robert Bernasconi, ed., and Tommy Lee Lott, ed., *The Idea of Race* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing 2000). 1-4.

by caprice." Finally, Europeæus were "white, sanguine, muscular… eyes blue, gentle… *inventive… governed by laws*."[97] Though there was no explicit ranking present in the work the implicit message was obvious, particularly in the contrast that existed between the comparison of the behaviors of the Africanus and the Europeæus; Europeans had a mental and moral superiority when compared with the "negligent" African "governed by caprice" due to their being a part of a more highly developed culture. Another significant first would be Linnaeus' inclusion of human beings with other primates under the heading Anthropomorpha, marking the annexation of humanity into the overall Great Chain of Being.

In 1777, German philosopher Immanuel Kant would come to agree Linnaeus' belief that racial characteristics were influenced by their surroundings in his short piece "Of the Different Human Races." This work supported the environmental conception of human development, which held that each race had developed as a product of its surroundings, both physical and cultural. Kant believed that the "native land" of the African was a harsh place that, if survived, could amply provide for its inhabitants. As such, "… these factors account for the origin of the Negro, who is well-suited to his climate, namely, strong, fleshy, and agile. However, because he is so amply supplied by his motherland, he is also lazy, indolent, and dawdling." Kant also attempted to provide a chronology of what he believed was the order in which the races developed, which went as such:

1) "Lineal root genus: White of brownish color." Lost to time
2) "First race: Noble blond (northern Europe) from humid cold
3) "Second race: Copper red (America) from dry cold
4) "Third race: Black (Senegambia) from humid heat
5) "Fourth race: Olive-yellow (Asian-In

His description of Africans, no doubt influenced by a reading of Linnaeus' depiction in his *Systema Naturae*, coupled with the environmental explication for the development (or lack thereof) in the "African race" would be one that would come to haunt British-West African relations in various forms from the mid-1800s through the height of colonialism.[98]

Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, a German physician, naturalist, physiologist, and anthropologist, took the work of the three men above and in 1795 published *On the Natural Variety of Mankind*. This work, which was held by scientists and philosophers in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to be the brightest star in the disjointed constellation of early race theory, was very influential in cementing the idea of environmentally influenced racial development at the turn of the nineteenth century. He rejects the notion of being able to draw a distinct line between one group of humanity and the next from the outset, opening the work by stating, ""*Innumerable varieties of mankind run into one another by insensible degrees…* no variety exists… so singular as not to be connected with others of the same kind by such an imperceptible transition, that it is very clear they are all related."[99] In other words, if all human beings are connected biologically then any differences between the races boil down to geography, culture and behavior, *not* some sense of innate ability/disability. This is not to say that Blumenbach did not believe in distinct physical categories of race or that he did not believe that, at a cultural level, all races occupied the same level of sophistication or power. Blum

and begin making colonial incursions in India, Africa, and the New World were *not* perceived as being the products of an innate biological superiority but, as put by Fredrickson, "the fruit of acquired *cultural* and technological advantages," an assertion that Horton would have wholeheartedly agreed with.[102]

Reexamining the above theories, going by the definitions of culturalism and racism that were discussed in the introduction, and remembering our first image of Sancho and Annamaboe, it is apparent that the perceived differences between the races of man seemed to the British at this point to largely exist as factors of environment and, by extension, culture.

Adam Smith and the Impartial Spectator

desire to better one's condition") leading to the emergence of more efficient means of providing sustenance, comfort and the improvement of "arts and manufactures," all of which was contingent on the ease with which a society could advance given their environment and available experiences.[104] That is to say, he believed that the differences in the levels of advancement when comparing one society to another can typically be chalked up to one society not being put in a given situation in which they would be forced to develop a rational response to an issue that another society in that specific situation would have to make in order for it to survive. This claim is very important, as it demonstrates a point that is lost in later, racialized theories of racial/cultural difference and empire – that all societies are equally capable of making rational decisions in response to their surroundings. In Smith's words people's "sentiments concerning the particular degree of each quality, that is either blamable or praise-worthy, vary, according to that degree in which is usual in their own country, and in their own times."[105] Smith's belief in the equal rational capacity of members of "less advanced" societies is what makes his system of societal categorization so fascinating. He refused to rank or deprecate members of other societies because it was his opinion that human beings in different situations apply the same faculties to their particular problems and tend to produce solutions of roughly equivalent rationality.

As such, he contended that every society possesses the form of a quality or ideal that, for them, represents the "golden mean of that particular talent or virtue." However, every society was burdened by a personal bias that made it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to realize this, as "No nation is so unfortunate as to think itself inferior to the rest of mankind:

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[104] Smith, Adam. *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. Edited by R. Campbell and Andrew S. Skinner. Clarendon Press, 1979. 25 IN Ibid., 41.
[105] Smith, Adam. *A Theory of Moral Sentiments*. Edited by D.D. Raphael and A.L. Macfie. Clarendon Press, 1976. 108. IN Ibid.

optimal, particularly regarding the level of nuance that legal codes could engage in, for he believed that "Before we can feel much for others, we must in some measure be at ease ourselves... all savages are too much occupied with their own wants and necessities, to give much attention to those of another person." [109] It was Smith's belief that this high level of advancement allowed for cultures to develop a sense of "natural justice." By this he means that, while individual law codes may have components that can be seen as inequitable and immoral, by comparing and analyzing law codes one can find a vein of "natural justice" – laws and codes which are to be found in the vast majority of nations (e.g. Laws forbidding murder, theft, slander, etc.).[110] Due to the fact that those who exist in a commercial society are more free to consider questions of legality, liberty, and morality, it follows that they would be more able to develop legal codes which capture a more nuanced version of natural law than less advanced societies that are less able to do so due to larger concerns regarding subsistence that commercial societies are no longer as troubled by. This idea of linear progression can be clearly seen in Horton's adamant belief that Africans, while equally capable of advancement, should follow British cultural models, as that is what he perceived to be the highest state of civilization in *West African Countries and Peoples*.

The care with which Smith treats the judgment of other societies and his reluctance to rank them stems from his moral philosophy. Specifically, he believes that one must consider the view of an "impartial spectator" when looking at a foreign culture, an imaginary person who judges based on the person's own moral code as developed in their own cultural context but bears neither the person nor their subject any particular good or ill will. This spectator is necessary because "we can never survey our own sentiments and motives, we can never form any judgment concerning them; unless we remove ourselves, as it were, from

[109] Ibid., 287.
[110] Ibid., 45.

our own natural station, and endeavour to view them as at a certain distance from us."[111] That is, Smith asks for one to consider the other in their (the other's) context as to better understand their situation. Practices that may rub a Briton the wrong way may be completely sensible from the perspective of an Indian or African. For example, Smith put forth the custom of some Amerindians of molding children's heads into a square shape, a practice that astonished European explorers with its "absurd barbarity." At the same time, these Europeans failed to recognize the custom's similarity to that of European ladies' usage of corsets - a practice that caused many distortions and diseases in those that engaged in it.[112] It is from this position that Smith contends that one cannot fairly judge another society based on its practices without first judging one's own society. Reading through *West African Countries and Peoples*, one can note numerous instances in which Horton reminds the reader that, while he believes that a significant portion British culture would serve African interests in terms of advancement, that this does *not* mean that he wishes to eliminate preexisting culture. On the contrary, he

causal factor determining its physical and cultural distinctions. With the role of racial theory supporting cultural differences resulting from environmental factors as the prime differentiator between members of each race, it therefore supported the idea of *nurture* being more important than *nature* in deter pd ‘ ج

for any other perspective to take significant root. With time or, as future philosophers would contend, a guiding hand the British travellers had no doubt that Africans would be perfectly capable to progress through the stages of development and become "civilized." It was all a matter of *nurture*, not *nature*. A matter of *culture*, not *race*.

The experiences of Sancho as an assimilated English citizen and of trade dynamics in Annamaboe directly reflect this perception. If it were accurate to use uniformly apply modern concepts of race and racist during this period, the successes experienced by men like Equiano, Cugoano, Amo, and Sancho in Europe would have in all probability never occurred. How could they, if these men and those like them were unvaryingly perceived as innately and indelibly inferior others? They could not. The British would never have become

Chapter Five: The Empire of Enlightenment, Paternalism, and the White Man's Burden

Again, it is necessary to remind the reader that it is a mistake to believe that this is meant to be an all-encompassing discussion surrounding the development of a racial ideology in Britain. While these thinkers are discussed because they put forth some of the most widely read and cited versions of the below ideas, they are simply a handful of the many that contributed to the coalescence of a racial ideology in Britain in the mid to late nineteenth century. Mounds of books have been, are being, and will be produced concerning this complicated subject. This discussion is simply meant to provide a general context for the roles played by imperial philosophers in the development of this ideology and to make the reader aware that such developments were, in their general spirit, inarguably relevant to this occurrence.

That being said, prior to the shift in thought that occurred in the early to mid nineteenth century the word "empire" typically conjured up images of the splendor of Rome. The Enlightenment philosopher Montesquieu, however, believed the Roman Empire merited neither adulation nor emulation. Instead, he saw the glorification of Rome as a grand mistake. In particular, he believed that the idea of "The Pax Romana is a cruel joke…The Romans simply exterminated all the [conquered] citizens." Put otherwise, Montesquieu believed that the idea that the Romans created a lasting peace throughout the Mediterranean during their time as an empire was, at best, fallacious. The Romans were only able to establish a "peace" because they were utterly unconcerned with the people that they conquered. They went in, pillaged an area of its resources, pitilessly crushed any resistance,

and left whatever remained of the brutalized civilization to fend for itself as the Legion moved on to its next conquest.[114] However, he acknowledges that an

> Empire – by definition [the] rule over a great expanse of territory – is (almost) always

writings were the seeds from which the larger philosophical justifications fi1t s

aspects of a colonial power's culture (in his opinion, science and medicine) and leave the more social aspects of that culture intact.[122]

British officials were happy enough to subscribe to the theories underpinning culturalist attitudes and the arguments made against engaging in the colonizing process during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. However, after experiencing nearly a century and a half of pent up frustrations concerning their inability to effectively enforce their end of trade relations with West Africans stretching from the experiences of Barbot and Annamaboe in the slave trade to the situations such as what Swanzy described in the Gold Coast with palm oil brokers in the 1810's and 1820's, the British had had enough. With the amount of money flowing from Africa seeming to plateau, Smith and Montesquieu's anti-colonial rhetoric was no longer as popular. Colonialists began looking to imperial theorists such as Bur

It was not, however, a sliding scale; it was a binary system. For Mill the colonies, particularly India, existed in a state of cognitive infancy that was inextricably linked to their societal development. A direct example would this would be when Mill writes, "Among children, and *among rude people*, little accustomed to take their decisions upon full and mature consideration, nothing is more common than to *repent of their bargains, and wish to revoke them*."[124] The experiences of Barbot along the New Calabar River, British slavers with gold takers in Annamaboe, and British merchants with palm oil brokers along the Gold Coast

When he discusses a scheme for minimal interference in the lives of individuals he leaves a caveat, saying that it only applies

> "To human beings in the maturity of their faculties… those who are still in a state to require being taken care of by others, must be protected against their own actions as well as against external injury. For the same reason, we may leave out of consideration *those backwards states of society in which the race itself may be considered as in its nonage*… A ruler full of the spirit of improvement is *warranted in the use of any expedients that will attain an end, perhaps otherwise unobtainable*"[133]

In other words, it was Mill's opinion that everyone deserved to be at liberty to make their own decisions, unless "we" (namely the British government) decided that a person or a group of people was effectively childlike in their behavior and cognitive abilities and therefore unwilling and/or unable to improve without being coerced to do so. If that were the case it was the duty of the British Crown to place said people under its dominion, by force if necessary. His use of the word race in this passage is also worthy of note.

This can be most clearly seen in a set of passages pointed out in Anthony Bogues article " 'John Stuart Mill and 'The Negro Question': Race, Colonialism, and the Ladder of Civilization." In his *Considerations on Representative Government* Mill writes that "the problem of character is the determining issue of government… the laws of national character are by far the most important class of sociological laws."[134] Character, defined as a product of the culture and society in which one is raised, is Mill's most important consideration when determining the level of societal advancement achieved by a given group. As can be clearly seen in his retort to Thomas Carlyle's virulently racist article, Mill *does not* consider biology as relevant to the determination of one's abilities or societal development. Mill contends that "black inferiority" as he perceives it is not inborn and fervently disagrees with idea "that one kind of human being are born servants to another kind." Instead, the differences in human

"appropriate" form of society and culture. Therefore, Mill believed that the British needed to civilize Africans in order for them to be able to properly utilize their liberty and subsequently become a progressive society capable of consistent, self-sustained societal improvement.

Though Montesquieu and the Mills' writings provided a general justification for colonial activity, perhaps the clearest example of citing a philosopher as the basis for colonial incursion to implement material advantage would be those who cited John Locke. His rather peculiar theory of ownership in chapter V of his *Two Treatises of Government*, entitled "Of Property," while still culturalist provided a justification that British colonizers could employ while occupying "new" lands. In it, Locke writes,

> God gave the World to Men in Common; but… it cannot be supposed he meant it should always remain common and uncultivated. He gave it to the use of the Industrious and Rational (and *Labour* was to be *his title* to it); not to the Fancy or Covetousness of the Quarrelsome and Contentious."[139]

In other words, Locke contends that one does not have the right to consider themselves the owner of a piece of land or property in general unless it is being utilized by a rational person to its highest potential. Many British (and indeed European) colonialists saw this statement as a way to justify their incursion into new areas of Africa because, in their view, the vast majority of the land used in Africa was uncultivated. Africans, not meeting the *cultural* or technological standards of European observers, were not seen as making use of the land to its fullest potential. By Locke's theory of ownership, it was therefore the right of European colonialists to take control of the land so as to most fully utilize it.

A prominent example of this justification in action would be the incursion of the Boer and British settlers on Xhosa lands in South Africa. When the Dutch Boers landed on the southern-most tip of Africa in the mid-seventeenth century they incorrectly assumed that the land they sought to inhabit was empty and thus began to expand and colonize from their

provisioning station on Table Bay.[140] Consequently, they came in contact and entered conflict with many Xhosan homesteader groups. Perceiving the land as being undeveloped and as such ownerless in a Lockean sense they began prospecting and settling on lands used for cattle grazing, thereby disrupting an all-important socio-political aspect of the heavily pastoral Xhosan society of the day. These conflicts were usually won by the Boers, gratis military superiority and the introduction of European diseases into South Africa, leading to the affected Xhosa having to choose between either moving further northeast or *culturally assimilating* into this new colonial society as hunters, herdsmen, and servants.[141]

The process of Boer expansionism and economic utilization of assimilated African peoples continued until 1795, whereupon the British seized the southern peninsula during the French Revolution. After subduing Boer resistance the British substituted existing colonial institutions and officials with their own. They instituted the privatization of land holdings (in lieu of cheap public loans) and began granting Africans rights, of particular importance the right of challenging breached labor contracts.[142] Protestant missionaries also came to South Africa, taking up the cause of African rights and creating political pressure that helped lead to the British abolition of slavery in 1830's.[143] These changes angered and alienated the Boers who, no longer able to afford land ownership or paying the newly freed African workers, responded by venturing farther into the interior, further displacing Xhosans who had already been on the run from the mfecane and Shaka's Zulu nation, all for the sake of claiming Lockean "empty land."

While considering all of the above, it is pertinent to note that any notion of human beings being in possession of different mental faculties as a result of biological differences

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140 Reid, *A History of Modern* Africa, 72.
141 Ibid.
142 Ibid.
143 Ibid., 74.

was still largely absent at this point in time. The racial theories of Blumenbach, which posited the equality of each race's innate and basic mental and moral capacity (though environment was claimed to impact their development), still stood as the standard of racial scientific thought surrounding the development of races at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Montesquieu's Empire of Enlightenment, Locke's theory of ownership, and the Mills' conception of paternalism were all contingent on the premise that it was a human being's *nurture* that determined their abilities and culture, not their *nature*. Put otherwise, one cannot legitimately engage in the creation of an Empire of Enlightenment founded on a

the world had to offer, could not help but scratch their heads, unable to understand why their "teachings" fell on seemingly deaf and most certainly unreceptive ears. Were these issues a problem of pedagogical British errors, or was there something *innate* to the locals that made this process seem so difficult, if not at times impossible? With changes in the cultural environment seemingly unable to elicit reciprocal mental or moral change for West Africans and changes to physical environment proving similarly ineffective in eliciting changes in British agents, Blumenbach and his contemporaries' contentions that environments served as the primary cause of racial difference grew less and less convincing. This frustration with African locals coincided with a large increase in demand for raw materials such as copper, cotton, rubber, palm oil, cocoa, diamonds, tea, and tin to fuel the second industrial revolution – all of which could be acquired in Africa.

The world of nineteenth century Britons had begun to shift away from a mindset that valued spiritual equality over temporal and abandoned the conceptions of fixed hereditary hierarchy as the norm in lieu of a view focused on nationalism, the cultivation of the self, and meritocratic advancement. Consequently, culturalist attitudes that once promoted acceptance through assimilation began to waver. The Empire of Enlightenment, once seen as a project worthy of self-sacrifice for the sake of "raising" other societies to the proper end of James Mill's scale of excellence and defect, had become a Sisyphean task. Britain grew tired of shouldering the "White Man's Burden." But how could the British ethically justify colonizing groups of people believed to be their mental and moral, if not cultural, equals? They would have to separate "their" race from the colonized peoples' in such a way as to deny this equality and state that this difference was not only innate, but immutably so.

Chapter Six: Race "Science" and its Role in the British Colonial Context

It is necessary to preface the discussion of racial science's contribution to the coalescence of a racial ideology in the mid to late nineteenth century with a reminder of Fredrickson's definition of racism and a brief note regarding the use of the terms pseudoscience and racial science. First, the term racism as defined in the introduction is *not* contingent on ideas of race as we perceive it in the modern era. The satisfaction of two conditions, the belief in *indelible* and *innate* difference and the abuse of power against one group that would be seen as cruelty if used against another, is what counts under this definition. That being said, the development of a racial ideology in late nineteenth century Europe was heavily intertwined the emergence of a biologized conception of race. Though the general definition of racism stands separate from the concept of race, to say that these

surrounded those that Horton was arguing against in *West African Countries and Peoples*, and the some of the ways these developments impacted the lives of Horton, Easmon, and people like them in this context.

With all of this contextualization out of the way, we can begin. Some scientists, though skeptical of the environmentalism posited by Blumenbach, began to propose a different solution that still offered a basic (though low) level of equality to all races. One of them, Dr. James Cowles Pritchard, believed that environmental change had stopped after the development of a certain level of civilization and instead became dependent on a new concept of sexual selection. First put forth in his 1813 *Researches into the Physical History of Man* and reiterated in his 1843 *Natural History of Man*, Pritchard believed that Africans had superior sight, smell, and strength as well as ease of childbirth because the challenging environment they lived in demanded such adaptations. Consequently, mates would be chosen based on physical attributes in order to maximize the potential of their offspring developing said attributes. Caucasians, inhabiting a more temperate and easily habitable climate, were more quickly able to reach a level of civilization that insulted them from the natural world, consequently developing a heightened potential for brainpower because their existence in a more socially based society demanded it. Instead of choosing mates based of the demands of a physical environment, Caucasians would then choose based on societal pressures, such as wealth, power, and intellectual ability. Once Africans had reached the same level of environmental safety and societal stability that Caucasians had, Pritchard believed that a similar change would occur.[145]

Others, of course, were not as considerate. In G. W. F. Hegel's entry "Anthropology" in his 1830 *Encyclopaedia of the Philosophical Sciences* that we find an account

[145] Ibid., 38.

linking the mental and moral development of Africans to their race in an incredibly demeaning passage. Hegel writes

> Negroes are to be regarded *as a race of children* who remain immersed in their state of uninterested naïveté… The Higher which they feel they do not hold fast to, it is only a fugitive thought… they transfer to the first stone they come across, thus making it their fetish and they throw this fetish away if it fails to help them… they have acquired Christianity [in fragments]… But they do not show an inherent striving for culture. In their native country the most shocking despotism prevails."[146]

Not only does this depiction include a phrase that readers can immediately connect to ideas of paternalism as put forth by the Mills, but also denies the ability of African peoples to properly grasp religion or, even when exposed to Christianity, to hold fast to its tenets. This assignment of African peoples to a state of eternal cognitive infancy and the emphasis placed on their supposed inability to fully hold to Christianity serves to deny them not only temporal but also spiritual equality.

His portrayal of Caucasians (a term that he took from Blumenbach, of course) is predictably hagiographic, stating that in Caucasians

> For the first time mind enters into complete opposition to the life of Nature,

profound impact on the brain's development.[149]Following these premises it requires no real logical leap to determine that the shape of the skull had an impact on the mental and moral qualities and capacities of the person it belonged to. Consequently, phre

The Evolutionary Turn

The key was the shift in biological and overall intellectual frameworks that came with Sir Charles Darwin's 1859 *On the Origin of Species*. Sharply breaking with the Christian contention that it was heretical for scientists to posit the change of species over time, Darwin went forth by stating populations develop over time as a matter of what he understood as natural selection, in which only the most biologically suitable members of a species in a given habitat could successfully mate to the point of shaping that species' traits over time through a system of branch evolution. Moreover, Darwin explicitly included humanity in his analysis due to his being influenced by the abundance of the aforementioned scholarship that contended as much. Basing his classifications largely on these works and personal experiences while aboard the *HMS Beagle*, Darwin found the "lower races" as examples of less evolved or separately evolved humans that had split from the primordial human from which all modern humans had descended from.

to utilize simplistic modeling and omit environmental factors so important to Blumenbach, Pritchard, and their contemporaries as major influencers in the in the hereditary process.[159]

In terms of socio-political justification and societal buy-in for this new biologized conception of racial roles, humanity as being part of the evolutionary process, and being a subject of the greater animal kingdom on the Great Chain of Being, Great Britain was beset by numerous socio-economic ills during the 1880's and 90's. An intense economic depression, kicked off by the Panic of 1873 that resulted from the falling price of silver forcing the US to adopt the gold standard and subsequently destabilize the international currency market, led to a rise in strikes, unemployment, and radicalism as inflation skyrocketed. This led to a consequent growth in poverty, disease, and alcoholism rates despite numerous attempts made by Parliament to alleviate these stresses through social legislation. A concurrent rise in lower class birthrates and decline of middle and upper class birthrates led Britons to fear that they would by overrun by a class that they believed was physically, mentally, and morally "unfit" to adequately rule. The Second Boer War in South Africa catalyzed these fears. The near rout of the British at the beginning of the war at the hands of colonists and, of greater concern to those at home, "natives" frightened Britons with the idea that the compounding social ills and subsequent rise of the "unfit" that they were experiencing at home would lead to the loss of their empire abroad through societal enervation and consequent military and international impotence. With the failure of Parliamentary legislation to bring about efficacious change, many began looking to science, particularly eugenics, to provide a cure for their societal ills that would ensure the longevity and viability of the British Empire at home and abroad.[160] As Patton noted, this depression also contributed to the growing number of British doctors that struggled to find a job at

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[159] Ibid., 33-39 AND Stepan, *The Idea of Race in Science,* 116-117
[160] Stepan, *The Idea of Race in Science*, 117-121.

home. This mass of unemployed British M.D.s began looking to the colonies for career opportunities to avoid unemployment. African physicians like Horton and Easmon, though equally (if not even more) qualified than their white counterparts, suffered racist discrimination as a result of the pressures to provide these physicians with jobs. [161]

Darwin became disturbed with what had come of his discovery in its application to humanity. Darwin wrote explicitly on the subject in his chapter "On the Races of Man" in his 1871 book *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex*. As the title suggests, Darwin had come to agree with the theories put forth by Pritchard several decades previously, at least to a point. He opens the chapter by stating ""It is not my intention here to describe the several so-called races of men; but to inquire what is the value of the differences between them under a classificatory point of view, and how they have originated."[162] Not particularly concerned with the delineation of the differences between races, Darwin was instead working against those who had begun to use his theories to suggest that the different races were not just different groups of human beings but entirely separate species. He found the entire conversation surrounding race to be muddled due to the lack of consensus surrounding what actually constituted a race in a definitional sense, citing theorists who had posited as few as two and as many as 62 races to underscore his point. Going further, he, like Pritchard, argued that natural selection was not a cause of racial variance, instead believing in sexual selection.

According to Darwin, races developed in human prehistory when men were dominated by instinct and focused on the physical attributes requisite to survival. After the development of intellect and speech, however, sexual selection protected body from change, rendering natural selection largely static as the standards by which humans judged possible

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[161] Patton, *Physicians, Colonial Racism, and Diaspora in West Africa.* 19-20.
[162] Bernasconi and Lott, *The Idea of Race*, 54

of each race could resemble one another even in instances where no interbreeding had occurred.[166]

Though his points on the of gradation of races, the omnipresence of the humanities, and the ability for human beings to interbreed were cogent, the one concerning natural versus sexual selection was the one seized upon by racialist scientists seeking to cement the differences of race as based in biology. This is because this contention actually supports the idea of fixed racial types, doing so by excluding the improvement of large populations over time past the development of intellect and speech. This allowed racial scientists to claim that physical, intellectual, and moral abilities of each race now existed in an overall stagnant form, if they ever were subject to environmental influences in the first place. The greater takeaway from this is that this contention, given the enormous weight of Darwin's authority as the progenitor of a scientific revolution, allowed for the link between biology and culture to remain intact in the new evolutionary era.

These ideas of racial stagnation gained traction because Blumenbach's environmentalism had been rejected as outdated and unsubstantiated. While modern audiences might reject the findings of these scientists to be unscientific conjecture rooted in racism, Stepan reminds us how incredibly important it is to remember that without the ability to know or understand how environmental factors affect genetics (DNA and RNA only discovered in the mid-twentieth century), there was no credible, observable evidence to support the belief that natural selection was still active in human beings who had advanced beyond the most primordial state of society.[167] That is to say, scientists at this point believed that natural selection only applied through the point of full racial development and the development of human intelligence and speech. After this, humans were believed to have

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[166] Ibid., 62.
[167] Stepan, *The Idea of Race in Science*, 86.

transcended the natural selection process as mates were chosen primarily based off of

The failure of these officials to implement British culture into West African societies wholesale (a venture Smith predicted would end in great frustration decades prior) made these officials receptive to alternative explanations as to why the locals refused to "progress" along their linear scale of Millsian societal progress despite their role as cultural "parents." The racial science proposed by men like Knox, de Gorbineau, and Hegel, seemingly justified by Darwin's theory of evolution and Galton's application of this theory to human beings, provided these officials (and later British society as a whole) with a new way to justify their project. It was not that their racial "children" were actively *rejecting* their culture, but rather that they were simply *unable* to comprehend it. It was not that there was something wrong with the "*nurture*" and the way in which the British were providing it, but an *immutable* aspect present in the *nature* of West Africans, cemented in the evolutionary process of natural selection that had seemingly stopped millennia ago, prevented them from comprehending the "lessons" their "parent" had been providing. Consequently it is highly unlikely that Sancho, Amo, Equiano, Cugoano, and other like them would have achieved the same level of political, academic, and commercial success that they did if they had begun pursuing it in the mid-nineteenth rather than the mid-eighteenth centuries.

A conflict, however, comes to mind when one considers the seemingly mutu-flic

it ever be raised to the same level as the "parent?" Moreover, at what point does the "parent" decide that the "child" has been raised as high as possible on this scale and deserves to be released into their racial "adulthood?" Who was to be the arbiter of these decisions?

The answers to these questions: in this new racial ideology there is no arbiter, as each race was composed of myriad members. The "child" race, held to be *innately* and *immutably* inferior to the "parent," could never be raised to that highest level of society as defined on the scale employed by British colonialists. As such, the "child" was never to be released, instead existing in a state of eternal "tutelage" more aptly understood as subjugation to the "parent" for the sake of maintaining the colonizer's material advantage in the occupied region at the colonized locals' expense. Under this ideology of racism, heavily influenced by a belief in a biologized conception of race rooted in innate and inedible inferiority and the systematic abuse of power perpetrated by British colonialists against colonized peoples, occupied West African states would never be seen as worthy of the self-government put forth in the Parliamentary resolutions of 1865. Their people would become and remain indefinitely inferior in the perceptions of British colonial observers.

Conclusion

Over the course of this study we have examined two British images of West Africa. The first was a "snapshot" of sorts that displayed British-Fante interactions in Annamaboe and the life and thoughts of Ignatius Sancho during the slave era. The second, of the life and thoughts of Dr. James "Africanus" Beale Horton and the incident surrounding the unjustified, racially motivated firing of Dr. John Farrell Easmon. We then analyzed these images through the use of two lenses, those of culturalism and racism as defined by Fredrickson. Moreover, we scrutinized some (though not all) of the more prominent theories of philosophers and scientists that went into the creation of these lenses in an attempt to gain a greater understanding as to how and why they existed (or how and why they did not) and become utilized by British people while regarding West Africa and Africans in the periods that they did. All of this was in service of a final question: why was there such a greater sense of "acceptance" in the eighteenth century than in the nineteenth between Britain and West Africa, and what are some of the ways in which this surprising step backward was "justified" by British colonialists?

What was found was that racism, as it was understand and defined over the course of this work, is a lens that cannot be accurately or unthinkingly applied to the period exemplified by the first two case studies. Modern audiences and studies that would seek to do so either misunderstand or fail to consider the context that necessarily informs the concept's origins in British/West African relations between the slave and colonial eras

upper. It instead affirmed the belief that the cultural practices and values of those at any level of society were the most rational responses possible of a given society to their circumstances. Similarly, his conception of the impartial spectator promoted an idea of acceptance, contextual awareness, and self-reflection prior a member of one society making judgments concerning the practices of another.

With this in mind, applying the lens of racism to Annamaboe and Sancho in the slave era and even to the early life of Horton is not only anachronistic but deleterious to the study of this era and its inhabitants. By anachronistically presuming that an innatist biologized conception of racial difference and colonial paternalism uniformly informed British perceptions of West Africans from the eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries, one removes the possibility of these relationships and figures existing. If this conception truly applied to this era, how could the British ever condescend to deal with the Fante and other West African groups, given the great economic advantages they had over British traders? How could Sancho, lacking the political and academic standing of men like Equiano, Cugoano, and Amo, ever become educated and grow to become the first African to vote in a British election or have his obituary published in a British paper? Why would Reverend James Beale have bothered to even consider opening a school in Freetown, much less travel the region and recruit a promising young African student like Horton? The answer, of course, is none of these things could happen if racism could be consistently employed while viewing these and other British-West African relationships during this era. The British would never have accepted their compliant role in Annamaboe, Sancho would never have become a successful head of staff or grocer, and Horton would never have had the opportunity to attend Edinburgh and earn his M.D. The lens of racism, applied in such a manner, serves only to obfuscate these more complex (and frankly more fascinating) realities through the

denial of the relationships that were built between British and West African peoples in this era. To bring this image into sharp focus and reveal the intricate workings and realities present in this period, the lens of culturalism must be employed.

Similarly, the application of culturalism to the study of the second set of studies is equally fallacious. By the late nineteenth century the ideology of racism had coalesced into its hateful whole. As the years progressed there was less and less opportunity for West Africans to advance under British colonialism, no matter how they might try to assimilate into British culture and internalize its social norms. The simple fact of their parentage and the culture in

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