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The Racial Equation: Pan-Atlantic Eugenics, Race, And Colonialism in the Early Twentieth Century British Caribbean

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THE RACIAL EQUATION: PAN-ATLANTIC EUGENICS, RACE, AND COLONIALISM IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY BRITISH CARIBBEAN

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Christopher Anderson Davis

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To: Dean John F. Stack, Jr.
Steven J. Green School of International and Public Affairs

This dissertation, written by Christopher Anderson Davis, and entitled The Racial Equation: Pan-Atlantic Eugenics, Race, and Colonialism in the Early Twentieth Century British Caribbean, having been approved in respect to style and intellectual content, is referred to you for judgment.

We have read this dissertation and recommend that it be approved.

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The dissertation of Christopher Anderson Davis is approved.

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Florida International University, 2018

DEDICATION

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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This dissertation explores the intellectual discourse on race in the early twentieth century, particularly from 1919 to 1958, examining how British and American eugenicists and Caribbean nationalists debated the limits of colonial politics in the British Caribbean using academic and scientific language. These discussions emerged in the aftermath of World War I, the economic crises that led to the Great Depression, the political and labor unrest in the British Caribbean, and the consequences of the Second World War. The dissertation's goal is to examine how residents of the British Caribbean understood, appropriated, and challenged some of the principles of eugenics, particularly those espousing ideas of white superiority. The dissertation has taken great consideration of both private and published sources from white and black intellectuals in the Anglophone Caribbean to document the dissemination of concepts of race, ethnicity, and identity in the region during the interwar period. Additionally, focusing on such critical areas as education and social policies, it explores whether eugenic ideas influenced the twentieth-century governance of British West Indian colonies.

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Introduction

In the early to mid-1900s, British West Indian intellectuals entered into a trans-Atlantic dialogue on racial studies to dictate the representation of the Caribbean's past and future. The raging debates divided researchers and residents of the region. Members of the eugenics community argued that science justified racial hierarchies, explaining the inevitable economic, political, and social privileges of the white ruling class. That idea was highly contested by enlightened Caribbean people, who rejected it as harmful to the development of their region. Well-known activists and scholars of the 1920s and 1930s used their prominence and international standing to counter the tenets of scientific racism. In the process, they laid the foundations for the intellectual movement that led toward decolonization. They too applied research to reject white supremacists' claims on race. They made a powerful argument that would not only delegitimize eugenics, but also motivate and sustain the decolonization movement: the social and political conditions of the region's black population were not the result of pseudo-scientific eugenic factors, but rather an outcome of a range of historical and contemporary realities linked to the stain of colonialism.[1]

In late 1800s England, eugenics, the scientific practice of linking human behavior to heredity, became a notable part of academic debates on race. The foundation of eugenics stemmed from the work of British scholar Francis Galton. He and protégée, Karl Pearson established the area of inquiry as an international field of studies examining how human genes determine behavior across generations of families. Eugenics therefore

[1] Christine Barrow, "Edith Clarke: Jamaican Social Reformer And Anthropologist" *Caribbean Quarterly* 44, no 3/4, Celebrating 50 Years Of The UWI (September/December 1998), 18.

essentially represented an evolving set of ideas about the role of heredity in the predicted behaviors of humans. Galton and Pearson were pioneers in developing the field, but increasing numbers of scholars around the world used the concept for different reasons with varied schools of thought focusing on different areas and approaches. Some eugenicists applied their research to the principles of the Malthusian theory of population. Other internal battles emerged between applicators of Mendelian theories of inheritance and the adherents of the biometric theories of Galton. Eugenicists in Britain, Germany, France, and the United States often disagreed with the kinds of biological, psychological, and physiological metrics measured and analyzed in the field. The debates on the purposes and goals of eugenics often played out at international eugenics and genetic conferences and within the editorial pages of the academic journal, *Science*.[2] Despite these variations, the twentieth century narrative of eugenics was generally one of white men reinforcing a hierarchical class structure, where the "superior" white, able-bodied gene pool faced contamination from inferior races and those with mental and physical disabilities. Thus, eugenicists encouraged policies that restricted the medical and sexual rights of certain communities in the name of continued white prosperity. Marginalized groups, particularly people of African descent around the world, did not receive the opportunity to refute problematic racial discourses. Nevertheless, the intellectual classes

[2] *Science* is a peer-reviewed academic journal published by the American Association for the Advancement of Science. The first edition was published in 1880, and has been long one of most widely circulated academic journals in the world. Thus, anything published in *Science* would receive notable attention.

of these communities created academic spaces to refute the ideologies of the "authorities of race."

The Racial Equation: Pan-Atlantic Eugenics, Race, and Colonialism In The Early Twentieth Century British Caribbean explores the intellectual discourse on race in the early twentieth century, particularly from 1919 to 1958, examining how British and American eugenicists and Caribbean nationalists used academic and scientific language to debate the limits of colonial politics in the British Caribbean. Their discussions were shaped by the aftermath of World War I, the economic crises that led to the Great Depression, ongoing political and labor unrest in the British Caribbean, and the consequences of World War II. The dissertation examines how residents of the British Caribbean understood, appropriated, and challenged some of the principles of eugenics, particularly ideas of white superiority. Using both archival and published sources produced by white and black intellectuals in the Anglophone Caribbean, *The Racial Equation* analyzes how concepts of race, ethnicity, and identity were disseminated and received in the region during the interwar period. Additionally, focusing on such critical areas as education and social policies, it explores how eugenic ideas influenced the twentieth-century governance of British West Indian colonies.

British colonialism in the Caribbean affected, if not defined, the development of the racial identities of the region. White British settlers, since their arrival in the 1600s, established a system of racial inequality where skin color could determine a resident's economic and social station. White residents oversaw the political and economic decisions of the region. White settlers held nearly all of the administrative positions, controlled the majority of the plantations in an agriculture-based economy, and

constituted the merchant class. People of darker skin tones, the Afro-Caribbeans, operated at the other end of this racial hierarchy, receiving fewer economic, political, and land ownership opportunities. Mixed-race and Asian groups occupied the middle rungs within this spectrum, their backgrounds granting them increased but still limited rights.[3] People of color had some access to business and land ownership and could operate in some administrative positions. Notwithstanding, the Caribbean racial hierarchy highly favored white residents, with those of European heritage typically holding political and economic control. Acceptable societal mores, including language, clothing, literature, and entertainment were also defined within the context of the culture of the White inhabitants. Despite constituting the majority population of the British West Indies, the low social standings of people of color prevented their communities from interacting with the classes with power in their societies. Indeed, the issue of race in the British Caribbean led to conflicts over rights to employment opportunities and favorable living conditions, especially during the Labor Unrest of 1934-1939.

The post-emancipation period in the British Caribbean reorganized the ways black and white residents interacted with each other. Rather than a master-slave relationship, West Indians adhered to a system where colonial officials distributed social and economic privileges based on class. Caribbean activists and social reformers addressed some of these racial inequalities in the 1920s and 1930s. The region's indigenous and

[3] Chinese and Indian migration to the British Caribbean in the 1800s and 1900s changed the racial dynamics of the British Caribbean. British merchants and landowners encouraged East Indians and Chinese residents to migrant to the Western Hemisphere to work on plantations in Jamaica, Trinidad, and Guyana in the aftermath of the emancipation of slaves in 1838. These migrations increased competition among non-white residents of the Caribbean for resources, as African, Mixed-Race, Chinese, and Indian residents sought similar employment opportunities, and access to land ownership.

migrant African, Indian, and Asian populations served as an agricultural labor force that provided economic benefits to the British Empire in such areas as sugar, coffee, and the shipping industries. The period after the emancipation of slaves in 1838 showcased the tensions between the black and white populations. The 1865 Morant Bay Rebellion in Jamaica and the period of labor unrest in the 1930s are two examples of violent resistance to colonial rule in the post-emancipation Caribbean. In the late 1800s and early 1900s, Britain attempted to establish a British Caribbean Confederation, where the islands would consolidate into a single political and economic union. The British Caribbean Confederation would be a mechanism through which the metropole could tighten its grip on its Caribbean possessions. Residents, however, resisted the confederation model as individual colonies developed nationalist ideas. These men and women not only undercut British attempts to unify the region but also used the social and racial concerns of the 1920s and 1930s to agitate for improved living conditions for socially disadvantaged Caribbean people. Additionally, the British colonial government had to reconsider its political strategies towards its Caribbean possessions as the rise of American hegemony affected the political power balance of the Caribbean Basin.[4]

Increasingly, the United States shared Britain's ambitions of maintaining a sphere of influence in the Caribbean and used eugenic ideas to justify its unique brand of imperialism. Through events such as the Spanish-American War (1898), the occupation

[4] After the Labour rebellions of the 1930s, the British Colonial Office established the Royal Commission and Development and Welfare Commission to understand their failures in supporting the British Caribbean. At the same time, the United States intervened with the governments of non-British territories in the region, particularly Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and Cuba, alongside US territories like Puerto Rico and the US Virgin Islands.

of Haiti (1915-1934), and of the Dominican Republic (1916-1924), as well as the purchase of the Danish Virgin Islands (1917), the American government increased its involvement in the region. American expansion into the English-speaking Caribbean raised questions about sovereignty. American forces had entered independent countries within the Western Hemisphere such as Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Its relationship with Cuba and Puerto Rico stemmed from the spoils of the Spanish-American War. Involvement in the English West Indies, on the other hand, required negotiations with another empire, Great Britain. Race played a significant role in these American incursions into Caribbean politics, as American military and government officials argued that white racial superiority justified their interventions. American officials respected Britain's sovereignty over its possessions, and thus, unlike the case with Haiti and the Spanish Caribbean, did not invade those islands. By the early twentieth century, the language of racial superiority and eugenics supported some of the colonial policies of the United States and Great Britain.

Early Twentieth Century Eugenics intersected ideas of white supremacy embedded in British Imperialism and American hegemony. Leading American eugenicist Charles Davenport's work in Jamaica displayed some American racial views on the British Caribbean in 1928. Eugenics was not new to Jamaica, as British intellectuals, such as the head archivist of the Institute of Jamaica, Frank Cundall, had brought ideas of racial science to the island since the 1890s. Additionally, many of the educated of early twentieth century Jamaica went to the United Kingdom for additional schooling, and the natural science departments of many Anglophone universities offered eugenics as an accepted academic course. Davenport's investigation of race in Jamaica was, however, a

departure from the British branch of eugenics. The latter focused on how hereditary studies proved that genes affected the stations of people from different social and economic classes. Davenport, as the head of the Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory in Long Island, NY, focused more on the racial implications of eugenics, which argued that different races had different mental and physical attributes. Part of this dissertation, therefore, investigates the 1929 publication of Charles Davenport's *Race Crossing in Jamaica* to examine the unique intersection of scientific racism, colonialism, and national identity in the Caribbean in the Twentieth Century. Davenport imagined the Caribbean as "a laboratory" to test his hypothesis on the mixing of races. He argued that the hybridization of races introduced low-quality genes into the European gene pool and low-quality individuals to society. His intellectually dishonest use of scientific methods through eugenics drew both admirers who sought to use his work to justify discrimination, as well as harsh critics who held up his research as symbolic of the academic racism that plagued scholarship in the early 1900s. *Race Crossing in Jamaica*, embarked upon as his signal piece of research in the field, exemplified the minefield of attempting to examine race through the ideas of eugenics, as this episode demonstrated how people of color rebutted the research of a famous eugenicist.

Other scholars indirectly involved with eugenics appropriated the language and theories of the pseudoscience to mount a platform seeking to justify racism in the British Caribbean but lost their credibility in the process. Sydney Harland, the famed British botanist, traveled to Trinidad in the 1920s becoming one of the early professors at the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, one of the first large-scale tertiary education institutions in the Anglophone Caribbean. This position would put him in contact with the

best and the brightness that the region had to offer regarding education. Dr. Harland's adherence to the ideas of eugenics infiltrated not only his work on plants but also his interactions with people of color in the region. Harland's promotion of eugenic ideals upholding white colonial supremacy made him an unwelcome figure in the educational and political circles of 1930s Trinidad. As the 1930s proceeded, practitioners of eugenics were under attack by men and women who refused to accept the faulty science that sought to justify societal inequalities based on race. As diverse voices entered the halls of academia in the 1930s, many scholars of that generation embraced anti-colonial ideas in their research.

A liberal shift in the international academic and scientific communities of the 1930s heavily criticized eugenics, as new analytic platforms introduced cultural studies methodologies to examine British/Caribbean societal structures. Eugenicists such as Davenport treated the humans in their genetic studies as mere laboratory subjects used to support discriminatory theories about the genetic traits of race, without considering other external factors, such as political turmoil and societal practices. Davenport argued that Jamaican society demonstrated the perils of the hybridization of European and African people, as the progeny of mixed heritage had the ambition and cognitive abilities of whites and the "intellectual inadequacy" and delinquency of blacks.[5] Dr. Harland similarly argued in local Trinidadian academic circles that both the science of eugenics and historical figures confirmed the inferior intellect of people of African descent. Caribbean scholars and social commentators such as Trinidadian CLR James and Alfred

[5] Charles Davenport, "Race Crossing, Draft 5, Not Dated,"1, Lecture Race Crossing n.d. 5 drafts Folder Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

Gomes; and the ground-breaking Jamaican anthropologist Edith Clarke, displayed in their work that academic fields like eugenics were examples of scientific racism seeking to confirm hypotheses about race without factual ground to stand on. Globally, new liberal and radical scholars employed social studies such as literary criticism, political science, and anthropology to deconstruct the racism platforms constructed through eugenic beliefs. The counter-discourse laid bare the racist language used by pseudoscientists to uphold the white ruling class power in multicultural societies. As Davenport and Harland portrayed Afro-Caribbeans as inferior to all other ethnic groups, CLR James and his Revolutionary *Beacon* writing group in Trinidad and Edith Clarke's long-form study on Jamaican society in the West Indian Social Study sought to show the culture of residents of the British Caribbean, where the effects of colonial rule shaped their daily lives. Through fiercely challenging the racist theories of mid-twentieth century European and American academics, these Caribbean residents prevented the future degradation of black residents giving them a voice in the charting of their communities. Black intellectuals from the Caribbean helped debunk eugenics by using tools of social science, making intellectual arguments, and outsmarting the purveyors of faulty science.

Purpose

The Racial Equation analyzes the nature of discourses of race and scientific racism in the Anglophone Caribbean from the 1920s when Drs. Harland and Davenport began working in the British Caribbean, to 1958, when Edith Clarke published her book, *My Mother Who Fathered Me*. Not many scholars of the transatlantic eugenics movement have studied how scientific racism affected the ability of Caribbean scholars to promote their views and defend their personhood within the greater scientific-academic sphere of

the early twentieth century.[6] This dissertation uses sources from key intellectuals from the field of eugenics as well as major figures who wrote about Caribbean racial and national identity in the twentieth century to highlight instances in which eugenics debates intersected with identity and colonial politics in 1900s Jamaica and Trinidad. The goal is to show how these conversations in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s reflected the tensions of racism and colonialism in the British Caribbean. This dissertation identifies problematic works that use eugenics theory as a vehicle for discussing the racial composition of the Caribbean such as "Race Admixture" and *Race Crossing in Jamaica.* It examines published responses in newspapers and academic journals to highlight the reactions and resistance mounted by Caribbean intellectuals to these racial studies in the 1920s and the 1930s. Anti-Black eugenics publications represented a tradition of white scholars who used their positions in academia to uphold ideas of white supremacy and global racial hierarchy. Men like Dr. Sydney Harland agreed with views such as Davenport's and sought to promote the application of eugenics towards the perpetuation of segregation in the British Caribbean. An article penned by Harland in 1931 Trinidad spawned rebuttal articles and studies, as new generations of local academics rejected pseudo-scientific literature embodying scientific racism concepts. More importantly, Harland did this systematically and scientifically. This dissertation looks closely at how black intellectuals fought eugenicist ideas. As an editor of a late 1930s Trinidadian publication known as

[6] Although there are books like Juanita de Barros' *Reproducing the British Caribbean: Sex, Gender, and Population Politics after Slavery* that discuss eugenics in the British Caribbean, she focuses much more of the medical conflicts in the region. Additionally, Laura Briggs, in *Reproducing Empire: Race, Sex, Science, and U.S. Imperialism in Puerto Rico* and Alejandra Bronfman's *Measures of Equality: Social Science, Citizenship, and Race in Cuba, 1902-1940* looks solely on those islands in the Spanish Caribbean.

The Beacon, CLR James used that platform to confront eugenic language and principles among the intellectual classes on the island. He sought to encourage other local writers to use their backgrounds in literature, history, politics, and the sciences to find strength in a Trinidadian identity that would not wilt in the face of sustained racial attacks by eugenicists such as Dr. Harland. Clarke's book *My Mother Who Fathered Me* employed skills from such fields as anthropology and sociology to understand the sociocultural milieu of mid-1900s Jamaica. Instead of placing blame for the difficulty of improving Jamaican society on solely biological factors, Clarke sought understanding of the problems of rural Jamaican communities from community members themselves. Although, one could argue that while eugenics remains an over-studied epic, reactions and struggles against it remain under-examined.

Dissertation Argument

The Racial Equation focuses on how different groups in the British Caribbean understood, appropriated, and challenged the language of American and British eugenics and scientific racism in the early 1900s. By recognizing the differences in acceptance and response to the spread of global eugenics by ethnic communities within Caribbean societies, this dissertation seeks to prove that the promulgation of ideas like eugenics opened new facets of conversation about racial identity and politics in the region and sparked resistance to the negative ideology of the pseudoscience. These responses are significant, as they represented the state of the tension and hostility among the black and white communities of the region in the 1920s and 1930s. The language of eugenics that gained prominence across the Atlantic World in the early twentieth century emerged from colonial and racial ideologies from the nineteenth century British Caribbean. Long-term

discourses about race and governance played a role in exchanges between the United States, Great Britain, and the Caribbean. Afro-Caribbean people from the 1900s through to the 1940s used the academic idioms of the time to discuss race, ethnicity, identity, and nationality in their region. Eventually, debates over scientific racism and eugenics were part of a broad intellectual milieu that incubated resistance to British colonialism. Although previous research examined the rejection of scientific racism as a means to criticize colonialism, this dissertation aims to focus solely on the Anglophone Caribbean during the peak and the decline of eugenics in the 1920s and 1930s.[7] This region was crucial to the eugenics movement, and to eugenicists; so, an examination of resistance there is imperative.

This study addresses critical questions about the history of the international Eugenics Movement, colonial transitions in the 20th century Caribbean, and the rise of Caribbean intellectualism. First, how did the migration of eugenic ideas contribute to debates about the racial composition of British Caribbean residents from the early 1920s to the late 1930s? The local racial dynamics affected the dissemination and negotiation of ideas of race in the region. This dissertation identifies intellectuals from Britain, the United States, and the Anglophone Caribbean who participated in debates about race, science, and colonialism. In this approach, the spread of concepts of race and identity through the vehicles of science, medicine, and education in the English-speaking Caribbean will be clear.

[7] Once again, Barros' *Reproducing the British Caribbean*, Briggs' *Reproducing Empire*, and Bronfman's *Measures of Equality* all discussed the resistance by locals to the idea of negative eugenics, but not at the scale in the Anglophone Caribbean that this dissertation intends to do.

Another key part of this investigation asks the question, how did Caribbean people react to studies like *Race Crossing in Jamaica* and the West Indian Social Survey? How did race, class, and socioeconomic status affect the reaction to the emergence of Caribbean eugenics? Ultimately, how did Caribbean intellectuals use British and American ideas about eugenics to negotiate regional politics that rejected anti-colonialism and fostered national identities?

Approach

Two visible groups engaged in the realm of scientific racial language during the early twentieth century British Caribbean. One ideology represented the white intellectual community of the English-speaking Caribbean, whose work reflects some of the region's views on race, nationality, science, and medicine. The other comprised people of color led by Caribbean intellectuals who used anti-colonial language to combat the racism of eugenics.

The first group contained eugenicists and scientists who embraced claims of white superiority. This group included British scholars who resided in the British Caribbean and American researchers who documented heredity in the region. As the Caribbean experienced social unrest in the 1930s, residents of the region continued to debate the issues of race and science. In 1930s Trinidad, Harland debated black intellectuals like CLR James on the intellectual capacity of Afro-Caribbeans.[8] These debates played out in anti-colonial newspapers of the region, such as the *Beacon.* Harland reasoned that the works of eugenics and geneticists in the 1920s proved that persons of African descent

[8] Harvey R. Neptune, *Caliban and the Yankees: Trinidad and the United States Occupation*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 30.

exhibited a deficit in intelligence. This project also locates within this group, white British residents of the Caribbean who occupied academic and government positions in their societies.

White academics and colonial officials were not the only people who discussed and debated scientific racism in the Caribbean. People of color were also engaged in the dialogue about race, eugenics, and nationality. This group included persons such as Trinidadian scholar CLR James and fellow members of the *Beacon* writing group in 1930s Trinidad. Public figures such as James, Ralph Mentor, and Albert Gomes, published articles and editorials critiquing race science and eugenics. They were also involved in the development of anti-colonial movements that embraced Afro-Caribbean heritages over British colonial identities. This group constituted the leadership of black intellectualism and nationalism in the twentieth century British West Indies and provided the ideas that inspired other groups on the islands to seek more autonomy from colonial rulers. Additionally, many middle to lower-middle people of the Caribbean expressed their thoughts about the use of racial science in the region. Through extensive analysis of the published works and unpublished writings of intellectuals and the laypeople of the Caribbean, this dissertation extricates and dissects notions about race in the exchanges amongst the Caribbean, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Mobilization against eugenics constituted a basis for ideological unity among black leaders in the Caribbean, as it gave them a foundation from which to fight race-based justifications for colonialism collectively.

Someone who sits between both groups is white Jamaican anthropologist Edith Clarke. Her work demonstrates opposition to eugenic thinking when interacting with

Afro-Caribbean residents. Clarke, who worked in varying posts in Jamaica's public service from the 1930s to 1960s, was the first woman elected to the Legislative Council there. Her 1950s work *My Mother Who Fathered Me* served to highlight the culture, and not heredity, of lower class Jamaica played a role in their community trajectory. Her work displayed a shift to employing anthropological, and not biological, approaches to study Caribbean societies, even though some of her conclusions about Jamaican people are problematic, as her conclusions about the role of family structures in the underdevelopment of Jamaica societies fail to nuance the effects of the colonial system on the economic and political power of the population.

Research Path

Since part of *The Racial Equation* is a work in intellectual history, a great deal of the first primary sources are published academic works by the major Caribbean, British, and American scholars commenting on racial science between the 1890s and the 1940s. This group includes Charles Davenport, Morris Steggerda, Franz Boas, Frank Cundall, Sydney Harland, CLR James, and Edith Clake. Through these works, this dissertation documents the transatlantic dialogues on race science, eugenics, and colonialism in the early 20th century. In addition to their published works, several of these figures have archived correspondence and research notes documenting their work. These archival sources offer a rare glimpse into links between the eugenics communities of Great Britain, the United States, and the British Caribbean.

The Racial Equation uses resources from archives from around the Atlantic World to document the spread of eugenics to the British Caribbean. Many documents about the American Eugenics Movement used in *Race Crossing* came from the American

Philosophical Society. Their archives include the papers of Charles Davenport, his rival Franz Boas, as well as the papers of Eugenics Records Office and the American Eugenics Society. In Britain, two collections of particular importance are the papers of Sydney Harland and Edith Clarke. At the John Innes Centre and London School of Economics Library respectively, there are research collection boxes for each of these figures, including their fieldwork, as well as unpublished drafts of their academic writings. Both the National Archives and Library of Jamaica and the National Archives of Trinidad provided a large portion of the local documents. The Alma Library in UWI St. Augustine provided governmental files about colonial policies in the twentieth century Caribbean, especially on the development of the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture. Additionally, the *Kingston Gleaner* online archives provided the voices of residents in this period, as they grappled with the ideas about science, race, colonialism, and society disseminated by intellectual figures of the time.

Chapter Breakdown

The first chapter is a literature review that documents the use of racial language in the Anglo-Atlantic and the rise of eugenics in the scientific community. This chapter uses both published primary and secondary sources, which include journal articles and monographs, to show how discussions of race in science, government, and academia in the 1910s and 1920s led to the spread of eugenic ideas to the British Caribbean. The chapter also examines the use of concepts of race by Caribbean residents before the rise of eugenics as a practice in the region. It traces how issues of race and eugenics entered the public discourse and shaped the interactions of adherents of eugenics with the populations under study. Additionally, to show the intersection of race, academia, and

colonialism in the lead up to use of eugenic language in the region, this chapter will profile the work of Frank Cundall, the head of the Institute of Jamaica from 1891 to 1937. His role in shaping an anti-black narrative as an important intellectual government official showed the tensions of race governance in the British Caribbean as racial theories like eugenics gained adoption in the Atlantic World as well as And it highlights how ideas and ideology are packaged and presented to justify institutional inequity/ racist governance.

The second chapter links Sydney Harland's position at the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture to eugenic discourses in the region. This chapter documents and illustrates the conditions under which regional institutions, such as colleges, can shape ideas. Key questions in this chapter are what was the state of academia in the Caribbean in the interwar period and what kind of racial and eugenic politics infiltrated these agencies? This chapter also uses the published work and private papers of academics and social leaders in the Caribbean, such as CLR James, Alfred Mendes, and other members of the *Beacon* writing circle show how locals pushed to develop diverse academic spaces in the Caribbean in the early twentieth century. The members of the *Beacon* groups sought to establish positive self-images among the people of color to embolden local identities. Harland's article "Race Admixture" was published in a moment where the identity of residents of Trinidad came into question. These competing voices made it difficult for eugenic language to dominate conversations about race in 1930s Trinidad.

The third chapter focuses on a revealing moment played out in the international arena among American eugenicists and those who rejected eugenics, the publication of *Race Crossing in Jamaica* in 1929. Davenport had received enormous financial backing

from American industrial and academic benefactors for this study on mixed-race individuals from African and European heritages. Critical questions raised in this chapter include: What did *Race Crossing in Jamaica* reveal about understandings about race by Americans in the Colonial British Caribbean? How did the American centric research design fail to understand the realities of race/class in 1920s Jamaica? Finally, how did this research about race in Jamaica affect the wider conversation on this subject in American academic circles? This chapter displays the disconnect between Davenport (and his assistant Morris Steggerda) and the growing group of scholars who rejected the project's conclusions. It documents Davenport's rise in eugenics, as well as the behind-the-scenes collaborators who pushed the anti-black narrative of the studies. Davenport's ideas did not represent the product of one scholar's scientific search for truth – they represented an ideological agenda driven forward by individuals who were motivated by a desire for substantiated, unquestioned power. To provide Jamaican actors greater voices in this chapter, local newspapers such as *The Daily Gleaner* provide a contrast to Davenport's work.

The final chapter documents the role of the West Indian Social Survey (1948) in highlighting a shift in the governance of the British Caribbean. This chapter shows how the immediate impact of major events such as the Great Depression affected Caribbean communities much more than intellectual scholarship on eugenics that was only accessible by the elite classes. These events force the Colonial Office to address the economic and political problems caused by colonial neglect in the region to begin supporting an ailing population. Instead of embracing racist eugenic policies to improve island life, however, colonial officials believed that if they could fix the situation by

identifying the "issues of morality" that held back Jamaican social advancement. The ideas behind race and develop shaped responses to crises, as government inaction and allegations of the blame for circumstances only added to the tension of twentieth-century colonialism. This chapter documents Edith Clarke's mission to understand the social realities under which many Jamaicans lived through her book *My Mother Who Fathered Me* (1957), as "fixing" Jamaican culture could also repair the societal issues of the island. Her conclusions about the link between illegitimacy and development of Jamaican family life received a fair share of criticism. Yet, Clarke serves as a key figure in this chapter, as her implementation of cultural methodologies to study Jamaican families in the 1940s displayed a shift in rejecting eugenic language as a platform for governmental action. The public and private sources of Clarke, the investigators of the WISS, and locals reacting to the publishing of *My Mother Who Fathered Me* displayed how the British Caribbean sought to be resilient despite the harsh realities faced at the end of the colonial period. The main questions posed by this chapter are: how did Colonial Officials use the Development and Welfare Commission and the West Indian Social Survey to attempt to regain respect from the Caribbean populace?; Additionally, how did the decline of eugenic language in the British Caribbean during and after the Great Depression reshape how British Caribbean subjects were portrayed in academic literature?

The conclusion focuses on the lasting impact of twentieth-century racial science in the Caribbean and its possible effects on the region's views on race, nationhood, and identity.

Chapter 1: A Birth of a Field and the Reinvention of Race

In the late nineteenth century, a new science emerged from the field of evolution that argued that the inheritance of certain genes determined behaviors of members in society. This field, known as eugenics gained popularity within the European and American scientific communities. The leaders of the field used laboratories, university classrooms, and international conferences to promote "beneficial" solutions to the world's population issues. The solutions suggested by eugenicists, however, alienated the groups condemned in eugenic research. As the leading eugenicists of the world came from Western European backgrounds, critics of the field believed that able-bodied white supremacism fueled "racial scientists" and the controversial nature of eugenic research fostered conflict among scholars and members of the public affected by the language of the field.

This chapter discusses the rise of eugenics as an accepted academic field in the late 1800s and early 1900s. It compiles relevant secondary sources published by critical thinkers to display how the study of eugenics exploited biological understandings of genes and heredity to promote discriminatory practices towards communities deemed "genetically inferior." The goal of this chapter is to show how the history of eugenics, Caribbean Studies, and imperial studies connect and display the relationship between racial language and colonialism in the 1920s - 1940s. Additionally, this chapter highlights British colonialists long-held notions of upper-class white supremacy in order to justify the vast Empire in the 19th and 20th centuries. The chapter examines Frank Cundall's role at the Institute of Jamaica, as his position represented a critical coalescence of race, academia, and colonialism before the mainstream popularity of eugenics in the Anglo-

Atlantic. The language he used made fields like eugenics acceptable to colonial officials in the British Caribbean.

Early Eugenics

The scientific field and academic discipline of eugenics flourished briefly between the 1880s and 1930s. The field stemmed from work of the same family that had introduced evolution to the public. Francis Galton, an English scientist and cousin of Charles Darwin, coined the term 'eugenics' in 1883.[9] He defined eugenics as 'the science of improvement of the human germ plasm through better breeding.'[10] He constructed this genetic science with "biometry," his theory on how changes in the gene pool over several generations influenced the progress of a species. He argued that one's genes resulted from the inheritance of smaller advances throughout a gene pool.[11] He published his thoughts in *Hereditary Genius* in 1865, one of the first texts on the subject of eugenics.[12] His collaboration with Karl Pearson, a professor of mathematics at University College London, encouraged Galton to adopt the Darwinian concept of evolutionary science to study human beings. Pearson introduced societal concerns into Galton's work as he contended that industrial Britain needed reform from the "unfit." The unfit included "the insane, the defective, the alcoholic, and the diseased from birth or from excess."[13]

[9] Daniel Kevles, *In the Name of Eugenics: Genetics and the Uses of Human Heredity,* (Berkeley: University of California, 1985), 3.

[10] Anne Kerr, and Tom Shakespeare, *Genetic Politics: From Eugenics To Genome,* Cheltenham, England: New Clarion Press, 2002), 4.

[11] Kerr and Shakespeare, *Genetic Politics, 8.*

[12] Kevles, *In the Name of Eugenics,* 3.

[13] Kevles, *In the Name of Eugenics,* 33.

Together, they promoted the ideas of positive and negative eugenics. Positive eugenics espoused policies that encouraged those deemed to have good germplasms to procreate and populate the world with non-disabled, productive citizens. Conversely, negative eugenics sought to restrict the reproduction of individuals with undesirable traits.[14] Although Galton's biometry gave birth to modern eugenics, practitioners of racial science had other methods to research inheritance.

Besides the thrust of biometry, the field of eugenics also drew on Gregor Mendel's Theory of Inheritance. Mendel, an Austrian monk educated in physics, math, botany, and chemistry at the universities of Olmutz and Vienna, made a discovery as he studied the plants of his monastery's garden. After ten years of experimentation on pea plants, he saw how certain traits, such as height and smoothness, transferred from generation to generation. In the process of "hybridization," organisms received traits from both parents' sex cells. Some traits were dominant, which meant that an organism most likely would express these traits. Traits that lacked dominance were determined recessive, as they were harder to express. Among human beings, for example, a person who had one parent with blue eyes and the other with brown would likely have brown eyes since the genes for brown eyes are dominant while those for blue are recessive. Thus, Mendel argued for the idea that the genealogies of an organism could project the trajectory of traits.[15] Mendel developed these theories in the 1860s. The rediscovery of his Theory of Inheritance in the late 1800s led to a wave of academics becoming

[14] Gerald V. O'Brien, *Framing The Moron: The Social Construction Of Feeble-Mindedness In The American Eugenic Era*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 7.

[15] Kevles, *In the Name of Eugenics*, 42-43.

interested in racial science. Eugenic programs, also under the names of racial science and racial hygiene, appeared in laboratories and universities across Europe in this period.

European nations with large university systems and well-funded laboratories became sites of eugenic research. After Galton and Mendel's work on heredity became popular in the scientific community, large numbers of academics joined the growing field. One significant moment occurred in England when Pearson received the Galton Eugenics Professorship from University College in January 1911.[16] With this position, Pearson possessed the funds and academic power to develop a national eugenics program. He also established an international presence in the field. By the early 1900s, the ideas of eugenics had spread to other nations, and local eugenicists established organizations on racial science. The leading German eugenicist, Alfred Ploetz, founded the German Society for Racial Hygiene in 1907. He also named Galton as an honorary committee member.[17] These scholars started a trend in Europe, as England, France, and Germany developed some of the world's most notable racial science programs, as their eugenicists worked at universities and laboratories that embraced such research.

Nations developed their eugenics program based on local circumstances. For example, a key part of the English eugenics movement reflected a response to the class struggles of the Industrial Age. The level of poverty in late nineteenth century Britain led scholars to search academia to find cures to this "social disease." Scientists determined that Darwinian concepts might give their society some potential solutions to their

[16] Kevles, *In the Name of Eugenics,* 38.

[17] Andre Pichot, *The Pure Society: From Darwin to Hitler*, (London: Verso, 2009), 129.

population problems. English racial scientists concerned themselves with ridding the streets of paupers and reducing the nation's support for the wards of the state. The legacy of the German strain of eugenics differed, as researchers in that country, self-appointed "racial hygienists," sought to address issues such as purity of German gene pools, as well as the declining German birth rate.[18] The prevention of *Entarung*, the German term for degeneration, informed Ploetz's notions of racial hygiene.[19] German racial hygienists blamed "the poor, the disabled, those who were medically declared weak, those with alcoholism, [and those with] venereal diseases" for society's genetic woes.[20] The decision to protect nations' racial legacies and rid societies of the "unfit" became the mantras for the growth of eugenics. At the same time, as Germans reclaimed stronger gene pools, they would reproduce a stronger nation of non-disabled individuals, in this logic.[21] During the period spanning the late 1880s to the early 1920s, these studies on racial science and the risks of the "germ plasm" became international conversations on race and practices in human reproduction.

Although the field developed slower in the United States than in Britain and Europe, eugenics gained credibility in the U.S. at the beginning of the 20th century. The growing collegiate education system of the United States in the late 1800s provided fertile ground for new academic fields to emerge in less than a half century, and eugenics,

[18] Sheila Faith Weiss, *Race Hygiene and National Efficiency*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 201.

[19] Weiss, "Race Hygiene in Germany", 201.

[20] Ploetz, *Die Tüchtigkeit unserer Rasse*, 116-144, quoted in Robert Proctor, *Racial Hygiene: Medicine under the Nazi*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 15.

[21] Ploetz, *Die Tüchtigkeit unserer Rasse*, quoted in Proctor, *Racial Hygiene*, 15.

with branches in biology, chemistry, zoology, anthropology, and even philosophy, became a force in the American university system. Outside of colleges, many independent organizations in the same period advocated the research of American eugenicists. The founding of the American Breeders Association (operated by the Kellogg family in Battle Creek, Michigan) in 1903, as well as funds of the Carnegie Institution in Washington D.C., provided organizational support for the field.[22] Of its various practitioners, few matched Charles Davenport, the leader of the American eugenics movement, as his work revealed much about American intellectual history and scientific racism.

A Partial Historiography of Eugenics

Eugenics has been a topic of sustained attention by historians. Daniel Kevles' *In the Name of Eugenics: Genetics and the Uses of Human Heredity* (1984) provides a comprehensive investigation of the eugenics movement in Great Britain and the United States.[23] Kevles documents eugenics from its beginnings in the 1880s in England to its peak in 1920s America, and its decline after World War II. According to Kevles, eugenics gained favorability with the middle classes of Great Britain and the United States in the late 1800s and early 1900s, as the principles of eugenics related to other social movements of the period, like the Progressive Movement. The Anglo-American language of eugenics exalted Western Europeans as desired immigrant groups. Eugenic

[22] Steven Selden, *Inheriting Shame: The Story of Eugenics and Racism in America,* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1999), 4.

[23] Daniel Kevles, *In the Name of Eugenics: Genetics and the Uses of Human Heredity,* (Berkeley: University of California, 1985).

leaders in the United States, such as Charles Davenport, advocated for policies that protected the quality of "white stock." Thus, adherents of eugenics justified their discriminatory views of race, class, gender and reproductive behaviors. English and American eugenicists claimed that non-Europeans were "genetically unfit" and that the hybridization of races weakened the European gene pool. Anglo-American eugenicists advocated for Western communities to enact measures that protected their gene pools from the "unfit." In the 1910s and 1920s, governments in the United States and Britain passed laws that limited immigration from certain countries, criminalized interracial relationships, and allowed officials to sterilize individuals deemed to have genes that would produce generations of unfit individuals.

A new generation of social scientists argued against the scientific racism used in the research methods of eugenicists. The popularity of eugenics declined in the 1930s, as several factors led to the dismantling of the field as a legitimate scientific practice. Additionally, by the late 1930s, many Americans and British sought to avoid association with Nazi applications of eugenic practices towards Jewish and disabled populations. Kevles' concludes by underlining the legacy of positive and negative eugenics in Western societies, as fields such as genetics implement modern-day applications of eugenic policies.

Most recently, historians have explored not only how applications of eugenic theories differed based on place, but also how marginalized groups perceived eugenic theory. For example, many historians sought to focus on the relationships that American eugenicists shared with European eugenic communities. Marouf Hasian Jr. in *The Rhetoric of Eugenics in Anglo-American Thought* (1996) discusses how different racial

and cultural communities in America and Britain understood the eugenics movement. Hasian explores black, female, Jewish, Catholic, and Socialist communities' reactions to the discourse of eugenics during the peak of its academic influence in the 1910s and 1920s.[24] Hasian says that his "goal is not necessarily to test the veracity of particular scientific claimants against some universal measure, but to rather illuminate [the rhetoric] that go[es] unnoticed in particular social controversies."[25] Hasian analyzes monographs and academic journals of the twentieth century to study how marginalized groups used the language and terminology of eugenics to negotiate their place within Anglo-American societies.[26] Hasian argues that the "rhetoric" of eugenics was stronger than the science itself, as the terminology of the field gave its practitioners linguistic power.[27] A key part of *The Racial Equation* is how the language of eugenics allowed academics to employ terms and research materials to justify their racism through science. Nancy Ordover's *American Eugenics: Race, Queer Anatomy, and the Science of Nationalism* (2003) shows that the leaders of the American Eugenics movement discriminated against people they thought weakened the American gene pool. These people included Queerpeople, Southern European immigrants, non-Europeans in the United States, the physically challenged, and women.[28] Ordover argues, "The long-lasting appeal of eugenics has

[24] Marouf A. Hasian Jr., *The Rhetoric of Eugenics in Anglo-American Thought*. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1996). 3-6.

[25] Hasian Jr., *The Rhetoric of Eugenics in Anglo-American Thought*, 12.

[26] Hasian Jr., *The Rhetoric of Eugenics in Anglo-American Thought*, 7.

[27] Hasian Jr., *The Rhetoric of Eugenics in Anglo-American Thought*, 22.

[28] Nancy Ordover, *American Eugenics: Race, Queer Anatomy, and the Science of Nationalism.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), xi-xxviii.

rested on its protection of the status quo, on its emphasis on individual and group "failings" over analyses of systemic culprits, and its bedrock insistence on scientific/technological remedies over fundamental social and institutional change."[29] Thus, *American Eugenics* serves to illustrate how US officials applied eugenics as a means of social and political control. Ordover and Hasian are typical of much recent scholarship, which emphasizes the application of negative eugenics, through which practitioners of racial science advocated restricting reproduction among the "inferior" to save society from "unfit" genes.[30]

Several works document eugenic programs outside of the United States and Europe. Nancy Stepan's *The Hour of Eugenics: Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America* (1991) is a key work that describes the emergence of eugenics in Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico. Stepan argues that Latin American eugenicists focused on other concerns in comparison to their Anglo-American counterparts. Although race played a role in some interactions, Latin American eugenicists were more concerned about health and hygiene in relation to national reproduction.[31] A portion of Alejandra Bronfman's *Measures of Equality: Social Science, Citizenship, and Race in Cuba, 1902-1940* (2004) explores the emergence of the social sciences in 1900s Cuba. Anthropologists, including

[29] Ordover, *American Eugenics*, xiii.

[30] Other related texts: Stefan Kühl, *The Nazi Connection: Eugenics, American Racism, and German National Socialism*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Steven Selden, *Inheriting Shame: The Story of Eugenics and Racism in America*, (New York: Teachers College Press, 1999); Paul A. Lombardo, ed. *A Century of Eugenics in America: from the Indiana Experiment to the Human Genome Era*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011).

[31] Nancy Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics: Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 100.

several with interests in eugenics, contributed to emerging Cuban racial identities. Particularly, Bronfman tackles the status of Afro-Cubans, as white elites adopted eugenics to proclaim the inferiority of their African population in the context of debates over the nature of racial pluralism and democracy. Afro-Cubans did not accept this designation without a fight, as Afro-Cubans negotiated the imposed tension of their skin tone with their emerging nationality.

The historiography of eugenics displays the level of influence Dr. Davenport had on the international level. Both Stepan and Bronfman mention Dr. Domingo Ramos, a Cuban eugenicist who associated with Charles Davenport. According to Bronfman, Davenport collaborated with Ramos to establish eugenic organizations and conferences in Latin America.[32] Delegates from countries like Mexico and Peru rebuffed Davenport and Ramos' attempts to introduce racial categories to the eugenics of Latin America, as Stepan showed that these conferences highlighted tensions between national and local policies about mixed-race identities.[33] Yuehtsen Juliette Chung also tracks Davenport's work outside of the United States in her article, "Better Science and Better Race?: Social Darwinism and Chinese Eugenics" (2015).[34] Chung analyzes how Chinese governmental and scientific officials sought to tackle the problem of 'racial improvement' in twentieth-century China. Chung argued that the twentieth century served as a period where Chinese

[32] Alejandra Bronfman, *Measures of Equality: Social Science, Citizenship, and Race in Cuba, 1902-1940*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 118-124.

[33] Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics* , 178. Further reading on the importance of conferences on the development of Pan-American eugenics is Alexandra Minna Stern, *Eugenic Nation: Faults and Frontiers of Better Breeding in Modern America*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

[34] Yuehtsen Juliette Chung, "Better Science and Better Race?: Social Darwinism and Chinese Eugenics," *Isis*, Vol. 105, No. 4 (December 2014), 793-802.

officials wanted to improve the quality of Chinese stock by implementing Western ideas of science and race.[35] Chung shows Chinese embracing of eugenics through the leadership of Pan Guangdan. As a student at Columbia University, Guangdan received eugenic training from Davenport before returning to China to shape academic practices in the 1930s and 1940s. Guangdan developed Chinese eugenics in the context of two contemporary periods of war, one against the Japanese and one a civil war. Despite the lack of resources and political criticism, Guangdan advocated for policies that encouraged positive eugenics that promoted unions between the strongest ethnic groups in China.[36] He also called for China to develop programs to prevent the genetically unfit from reproducing, as a means of strengthening China's supposedly weak genetic pool.[37] Davenport's work with Ramos and Guangdan is important, as it shows how scholars outside of America and Europe interacted with American eugenics leaders. Additionally, although eugenicists tended to advocate racial segregation and discriminatory policies, this did not necessarily prevent some white eugenicists from collaborating with scholars of other races. Eugenic theory and practices were alternatively accepted, adapted, or contested on the ground.

A current trajectory of eugenic studies shifted to investigations of race and empire. In the 2000s, new scholarship documented the dynamics of balancing the issues of race and identity in a global empire using the rhetoric of eugenics. Historians focused

[35] Chung, "Better Science and Better Race?," 794.

[36] Chung, "Better Science and Better Race?," 800.

[37] Chung, "Better Science and Better Race?," 799.

on how British and American imperial pursuits adopted eugenic principles to justify their foreign rule in the late 1800s and early 1900s.

Laura Briggs, in *Reproducing Empire: Race, Sex, Science, and U.S. Imperialism in Puerto Rico,* (2002), brings together the complexities of colonialism, eugenics, and gender from 1898 to the 1960s. She shows that in the aftermath of the United States taking over Puerto Rico after the Spanish-American War, this intersection of sex, science, and empire displayed white men who fantasized over the erotic and exotic perceptions they had of nonwhite women.[38] With the increased American presence within the island, greater advancements in sexual wellness occurred partly to clean up the "health" of the island and because American men sought sexual relationships with the island's female population. Briggs argued that this opened up a greater intrusion into the health lives of Puerto Ricans, as the United States treated Puerto Rico as a "laboratory" to gain a better understanding of issues of health. Thus, eugenics became a tool to justify policies that "modernized" the people of the island.[39] Different institutions such as healthcare industries, bureaucratic offices, and The Roman Catholic Church tried to claim stake to the bodies of the residents of Puerto Rico. Briggs focused on how the impact of health studies affected women, especially those of African descent and of impoverished backgrounds as they were most likely to receive greater abuse within these circumstances. There were concerns of population control, eugenics, sterilization, and birth control in relation to the Puerto Rican woman's body, as outside agents sought to

[38] Laura Briggs, *Reproducing Empire: Race, Sex, Science, and U.S. Imperialism in Puerto Rico,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 4.

[39] Briggs, *Reproducing Empire,* 76.

control how they should operate within the structures of American imperialism.[40] Puerto Rican women, however, did not accept this negative treatment that American officials dealt them and resistance movements arose in the face of these attempts to sterilize and restrict their sexual and health rights. Briggs' work gives *The Racial Equation's* the structure to highlight the resistance of Caribbean residents to the invasive ideologies of colonialism and eugenics.

Warwick Anderson's *Colonial Pathologies: American Tropical Medicine, Race, and Hygiene in the Philippines* also showed how following the Spanish-American War the United States used science and medicine to justify white control of their colonial possessions. Similar to Briggs, Anderson described how the American conquest of the Philippines was represented as a civilizing mission, as the settling American military, bureaucratic, and health organizations saw "infantile" Filipinos as perfect subjects for "a colonial laboratory" to achieve "hygienic modernity." [41] From 1898 to 1947, Filipino bodies served the purpose of American military and civil leaders understanding tropical medicine and in turn, improving health for whites whether it was for military purposes or improved disease treatment.[42] Although whites feared the effects of disease, it was the Filipino who was labeled as diseased and in need of "civilizing."[43] Similar to Briggs, Anderson shows that the Filipinos too resisted "the white man's burden," as locals

[40] Briggs, *Reproducing Empire,* 56-58.

[41] Warwick Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies: American Tropical Medicine, Race, and Hygiene in the Philippines*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 3.

[42] Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies*, 106-107.

[43] Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies*, 75.

entered and rose through the ranks of the country's healthcare industry. Additionally, Filipino health officials did not share the same public health goals as the Americans, as they wished to serve the true health issues of the nation, and not necessarily the concerns of colonial tropical health.[44]

This dissertation aims to follow the lead of Briggs and Anderson by entering the British Caribbean to document the application of eugenics in a colonial setting and how it was resisted. Although American and British eugenics had different aims and purposes, a similarity that held was that of race becoming a tool to justify the continuous foreign presence of white rulers over a majority non-white territory. The conflict of race and governance, therefore, serves as a major theme of this work.

Caribbean Racial Hierarchy

The Racial Equation also draws from several fields of scholarship at the intersection of race and intellectualism in the Atlantic World. Scholars of both the slavery and colonial periods in Caribbean history assert that migrations of European settlers and Africans slaves established the social order of the islands. The generation of scholars that emerged in the decades after the colonies of the British West Indies had gained independence. In the 1970s and 1980s, Afro-Caribbean scholars explored ideas of race, identity, and history in the Caribbean Basin through historical and anthropological reflections on the ideological power of racial hierarchies. Rex Nettleford's work, *Identity, Race, and Protest in Jamaica* (1972) explored how British colonialism shaped the identities of West Indian residents arguing that it imposed racial beliefs which

[44] Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies*, 192.

characterized British behavior as proper and superior, while as Afro-Jamaican culture recived the perceptions of primitive and inferior. In an exploration of his place in Jamaican society, he noted that as a well-educated Afro-Jamaican, who had studied at English universities, he was sometimes labeled as white by residents. Nettleford advanced the view that the development of Jamaican identity in the 1950s and 1960s came through racial pride movements that promoted the African heritages of Jamaica.[45]

Kamau Brathwaite's *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770-1820* (1970) argues that the British slave trade and the plantation society of the Caribbean in the colonial period established the divided social order of Jamaica that primarily hinged on skin color. Brathwaite subscribed to a certain form of a racial hierarchy of creoles in the British Caribbean where there were four groups of importance: whites, free people of color with privileges, free people of color without privileges, and slaves. He wanted to see how "far these divisions contributed to, or militated against, the process of creolization within the society." [46] Brathwaite used the term "creolization" to describe the formation of colonial societies in the Americas. He particularly focused on the dawn of island-born European, African, and Mixed-race individuals.[47] Brathwaite highlights the different roles of these members of the colony, where English planters ruled the island, and those of African descent lived and worked as slaves on the plantations of large

[45] Rex Nettleford, *Identity, Race, and Protest in Jamaica*, (New York: William Morrow and Co. Inc., 1972), 27-29, 45.

[46] Kamau Brathwaite, *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica: 1770-1820*, (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers, 2005), 30.

[47] Brathwaite, *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica*, xvi.

landowners. Those of mixed European and African ancestry operated between these two racial groups, holding positions as domestic workers, artisans, and small business owners. After emancipation, Afro-Jamaicans gained more autonomy in some aspects of local affairs, as the former slaves gained access to some economic and legal opportunities. Brathwaite argued that the station within which Jamaican residents operated in pre-emancipation society affected their ability to negotiate economic and social opportunities within a racial hierarchy that continued after abolition. White planters and colonial government officials enacted policies that restricted land ownership and controlled non-agricultural employment opportunities for people of African descent. Thus, white Jamaican residents maintained local authority in the period of British Caribbean emancipation controlling many of the interactions on the island. Braithwaite's work focused on archival research from white actors in pre-emancipation Jamaica, skewing some of the analysis towards the idea of white hegemony in British West Indian societies. *The Racial Equation* reflects these ideas about the racial hierarchy of Jamaica during slavery, as the maintaining of social and racial classes prolonged the Colonial power structure in the Caribbean into the 1900s.

Following the approach employed by newer works on multiracial, transnational Caribbean intellectual communities, *The Racial Equation* will trace the circulation of ideas of race science and eugenics in the early 20th century. These new contributions to Caribbean history emphasize the importance of exchanges between people, ideas, and media in the development of the British West Indies. Within this tradition, Lara Putnam's *Radical Moves: Caribbean Migrants and the Politics of Race in the Jazz Age* (2013) focuses on how migrant members of Caribbean society challenged British Caribbean

racial hierarchy. Putnam argues that in the interwar period, Caribbean migrants operated in an international system where "states interacted with each other, compared themselves to each other, and learned from each other's mistakes, all in pursuit of recognition as sovereign equals."[48] *Racial Moves* argues that migrant Caribbean people used their mobile status to interact and discuss conceptions of race and Caribbean identity shaped by colonialism.[49] Putnam documents how circum-Caribbean conversations through the media of political newspapers compelled British West Indians to demand more political autonomy. She contends that Caribbean migrants in the United States, Central America, and Europe disseminated discourses of social and economic independence to members of the Afro-Caribbean diaspora.

Juanita de Barros' *Reproducing the British Caribbean: Sex, Gender, and Population Politics after Slavery* (2014) provides a critical examination of the issues of colonialism and gender within the population and the period addressed in this dissertation. De Barros studies the population patterns and the health care concerns of Jamaica, Barbados, and Guyana from emancipation in 1838 to the Labor Unrest of the 1930s.[50] She notes that *Reproducing the British Caribbean* explores the "emancipation experiment," where British Colonial officials created policies and welfare organizations that supported the health and growth of populations of the Caribbean.[51] Governmental

[48] Lara Putnam, *Radical Moves: Caribbean Migrants and the Politics of Race in the Jazz Age*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 2.

[49] Putnam, *Radical Moves*, 3.

[50] Juanita De Barros, *Reproducing the British Caribbean: Sex, Gender, and Population Politics after Slavery*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014),

[51] De Barros, *Reproducing the British Caribbean*, 14.

officials, physicians, and scientists concerned themselves with projects that promoted healthy reproductive policies and eradicated medical concerns, like venereal diseases that cause health issues in the region.[52] De Barros emphasizes that this "emancipation experiment" targeted women, as these policies affected their ability and their decisions to become mothers. She also focuses on who controlled the health rights of the people of the Caribbean and noted, for example, that white and black medical officers discussed possible implementation of eugenic policies, such as sterilization, as a means of regional population control.[53] De Barros showed the spawning of debates about race and health rights coming from the controversy of white officials employing sterilization to the region's African majority.[54] Like de Barros' study, this dissertation will examine colonial medical practice as a site for the circulation of scientific racism and eugenic practices in the governments and schools in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago.

Afro-Caribbean intellectuals and political activists debated independence and grappled with scientific racism during a period of transition, as both the British and Americans sought to maintain influence in the region. Afro-Caribbean intellectuals challenged their position within the British Empire during the interwar period. Harvey Neptune's *Caliban and the Yankees: Trinidad and the United States Occupation* (2007) documents the tensions between the United States and the United Kingdom over social, economic, and political power in the Caribbean. Neptune argues that race was central to

[52] De Barros, *Reproducing the British Caribbean*, 15.

[53] De Barros, *Reproducing the British Caribbean*, 144.

[54] De Barros, *Reproducing the British Caribbean*, 166-168.

this regional power struggle, as the colonial powers employed white supremacist arguments to justify their rule over the region. At the same time, independence activists challenged racial hierarchies in their efforts to gain autonomy and, eventually, independence from Britain. Neptune studies the interactions of American servicemen and Trinidadians in the 1940s, as the British Colonial Government negotiated with the United States to grant permission for a US naval base during World War II. For Neptune, this base symbolized the new colonial story of the Caribbean, as both American and British officials sought to control a multitude of economic, strategic, and political factors in the region. The residents of the island did not fully accept these foreign claims of power. Rather, Trinidadians carved out their ideas about identity and independence through their interactions with Americans and British colonial officials.

Building on Neptune's exploration of Trinidadian intellectuals, this dissertation considers the role of scientific racism and eugenics in debates over the political status of British Caribbean islands. Neptune's work provides a model for the study of the interactions of white American and British officials with people of color in the Caribbean. He highlights the power dynamics of these relationships with a discussion on the social and political culture of 1940s Trinidad. Neptune's work relates to this dissertation, as both identify black and white Caribbean residents as participating in the circulation of intellectual and social ideas about race in the 1920s and 1930s British Caribbean. Actors in *Caliban and the Yankees* had to understand the role of race in these interactions between residents, colonists, and occupiers.

The Racial Equation addresses the criminalization of blackness. As black residents of the British West Indies entered a post-slavery society, the white minority

tracked the transition of the freed people. For example, the British Colonial government of Barbados protected access to land rights for the white planter class by preventing black residents from leaving estates forcing them to rent rather than own land.[55] Colonial officials also passed vagrancy laws that targeted the behaviors of the poor black population. The colonial government employed morality legislation to criminalize behaviors they deemed could weaken the economic and social standards of the British Caribbean.[56] Anthony D. Phillips, in "Emancipation Betrayed: Social Control Legislation in the British Caribbean," argued that laws such as the 1874 Act for the Suppression and Punishment of Vagrancy allowed the dwindling white population to implement a strong law-and-order agenda to consolidate power.[57] The history of the criminalization of black life in the Caribbean helped to maintain the ideology of white superiority in the region. Phillps' work shows that the colonial politics of the Caribbean seeks to use any means to control the bodies of Caribbean residents. Control of the population became necessary to maintain the right to governance. This control ranged from adopting laws that targeted the freedom of certain groups or embracing pseudoscience principles that promoted ideas of natural inferiority based on genetics.

[55] Anthony D. Phillips, "Emancipation Betrayed: Social Control Legislation in the British Caribbean (with Special Reference to Barbados), 1834-1876 - Freedom: Beyond the United States, "Chicago-Kent Law Review 70, no. 3 (1995), 1367.

[56] Phillips, "Emancipation Betrayed," 1370.

[57] Phillips, "Emancipation Betrayed," 1371.

A Reflection of the Intersection of Race, Academia, and Colonialism: Frank Cundall

Frank Cundall, a scholar/archivist at the Institute of Jamaica, was a notable recorder of the island's history.[58] His importance lies in the fact that in his time he sat at the intersection of race, academia, and colonialism in Jamaica. The preeminent record keeper built up the prestige of the Institute of Jamaica through collecting animal remains and plants. He also collected as many works as he could on Jamaica and the wider West Indies, which led to the establishment of the National Library of Jamaica. Cundall's service resulted in the preservation of much of the available pre-1900 information on the island. However, as a government official, his work reflected the best interest of colonial policies in the region. Much of Cundall's language supported the white English ruling class, and he portrayed non-British groups as either subservient or antagonistic. Even as he ensured the preservation of primary sources that could document the island's history, the archivist's biases helped preserve the island's white rule. Cundall's work fits in this dissertation, as his position as governmental figure and a leader in academics for Jamaica in the later 1800s and 1900s provided his research credibility. He ultimately used this position to uphold negative beliefs about Jamaicans of African descent, control the bodies and politic motives of the majority of the island's population, and justify the necessity of colonialism, a common theme among the scholars of this dissertation.

Cundall's ascent intertwined with the establishment of the Institute of Jamaica. The Institute, located in downtown Kingston, was founded in 1879 by Governor of Jamaica Sir Anthony Musgrave. It essentially represents a museum dedicated to archiving

[58] Franklin W. Knight, *The Caribbean: The Genesis of a Fragmented Nationalism, Third Edition,* (Oxford: Oxford Univeristy Press, 2012), 231.

the natural history of the island. This site displayed the importance of Jamaica as a British territory. Cundall, born in London on January 17, 1858, began work as the Secretary and Librarian in February 1891.[59] He worked at the Institute of Jamaica until his death and used his position as Secretary to provide Jamaicans with a record from the Spanish Conquest to its position as a British Territory. The author of many books on various aspects of Jamaica, one of Cundall's main interests was the island's flora. He described and recorded many rare plants arguing that the unique flora gave the island its beauty.[60] He also vividly articulated the importance of certain animals to the country's ecosystem.[61] Cundall's books on the history of Jamaica elevated him as a gatekeeper of Jamaica's past. This seat, however, also displayed his position and biases as a white academic and colonial official living in a non-white community in the British Empire.

As the head of the Institute of Jamaica, Cundall produced several works documenting Jamaica's population history in the early 1900s.[62] One of his first books on Jamaican history, entitled *Jamaica in 1905*, detailed the history of the island using sources he acquired for the Institute. Much of the information presented came from primary sources, but the biases of his subjects and himself were clear. Cundall's descriptions of the non-European groups of Jamaica emphasized their physical differences from Europeans. For example, based on accounts from the Spanish encounter

[59] National Library of Jamaica, "Frank Cundall (1858 - 1937)," https://nlj.gov.jm/biographies/frank-cundall-1858-1937/ (Accessed September 15, 2018).

[60] National Library of Jamaica, "Frank Cundall."

[61] Frank Cundall, *Jamaica in 1905*, Kingston: Gleaner Company, 1905, 12.

[62] Knight, *The Caribbean*, 231.

of the natives of the Caribbean and the Americas, Cundall described the Arawaks as "cinnamon red in colour," had facial features "familiarly known as Chinese" and their skulls "permanently retained an extraordinarily flat shape."[63] He may have portrayed some of the activities of the Arawaks as notable, but Cundall's language implied that "primitive" lifestyles proved no match to the Spanish invaders.[64] He also pointed to the Spanish as the murderers of the island's aborigines.[65] Cundall seemed to blame the "evil legacy" of slavery on the Spanish and Portuguese occupiers of Jamaica, as the English only took advantage of a situation already in place when the island was handed over to the English Monarchy in 1655.[66]

His views on slavery and emancipation often maintained benevolence on the part of the English, since the native black population was too ignorant to empower itself. Cundall believed that the English had the right mindset to gradually abolish slavery, as the poorly educated and "half-grown" "negroes of Jamaica were not equipped for self-government after emancipation.[67] *Jamaica in 1905* portrays members of the island's African population as misguided and unable to lead themselves since they had not held any responsibilities before emancipation. Cundall did not hold the view that slavery should have continued, as it was inhumane, and many, though not all, of the plantation owners were abusive. From his perspective, the African customs and the lack of adoption

[63] Cundall, *Jamaica in 1905*, 12.

[64] Cundall, *Jamaica in 1905*, 14.

[65] Cundall, *Jamaica in 1905*, 27.

[66] Cundall, *Jamaica in 1905*, 15.

[67] Cundall, *Jamaica in 1905*, 27-28.

of English traits kept the blacks of Jamaica in an inferior state.[68] Cundall noted that much of the island's people had discarded their African heritage for a British Imperial identity. Nevertheless, some remnants of African cultures, such as illegitimacy and "obeah, or witchcraft," showed that not enough black Jamaicans had fully accepted British culture.[69] Cundall argued that without "the stimulating influence of English direction and encouragement," Jamaica would never progress to a great civilization.[70] Cundall's books served to inform white audiences and visitors about both the natural beauty that Jamaica possessed, but that island's population lacked the ability to transform the island into a modern nation. By maintaining negative notions about the abilities of people of color, it became easy to accept the hierarchy of race that protects the system of colonialism implemented on the island.

In *Jamaica In 1928: A Handbook Of Information For Visitors And Intending Residence With Some Account Of The Colony's History*, a follow-up to *Jamaica in 1905*, the government official continued to place the burden of improving Jamaican society on Afro-Jamaicans. He noted that the intelligence of black Jamaicans had improved greatly in the last few decades, but without the help of white organizations and the white government on the island, Jamaica would never flourish.[71] Cundall thought of members of the Negro race as "children, childlike in belief and faith," and lacking in the ability to

[68] Cundall, *Jamaica in 1905*, 29-30.

[69] Cundall, *Jamaica in 1905*, 30.

[70] Cundall, *Jamaica in 1905*, 31.

[71] Frank Cundall, *Jamaica in 1928, A Handbook Of Information For Visitors And Intending Residence With Some Account Of The Colony's History*, London: Published for the Institute of Jamaica by the West India committee, 1928, 60.

view themselves in work and maintaining an economy.[72] He often balanced his criticism of Afro-Jamaican life with some compliments about its "progress." He seemed pleased that Jamaicans were setting up organizations like the Jamaica Producers' Association showing "an intelligent interest in their own welfare and … desire for co-operation, which is unfortunately occasionally accompanied by a tendency to develop strikes."[73] Although Cundall argued against Afro-Jamaicans being artistic, he respected the development of a very musically inclined people with great dancing ability, as residents reached a level to use the same musical instruments of the rest of the world.[74] He often pointed to the manner in which Jamaicans spoke English as a sign of their lack of ambition and intelligence. Surprisingly, he seemed to admire the proverbs Afro Jamaicans had developed over centuries of life on the island.[75] Cundall wrote *The Negro Proverbs of Jamaica*, a collection of quotes, passages, and riddles captured in Jamaican patois, with a glossary of patois words. Although excited to share Jamaican proverbs from West Indian, African, and European origins for his readers, he still found this a great problem for Afro Jamaicans, as:

> "the proverbs of a race seldom display its good points. They are practically the race's criticisms of its own salient defects. If taken seriously, therefore, the proverbs of a race are apt to give an impression of its faults rather than its virtues. In the case of the West Indian negroes those defects on which most stress is laid are: hasty conclusions, improvidence, insincerity, greediness, want of foresight, interference, ingratitude, insolence, vanity, and presumption."[76]

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[72] Cundall, *Jamaica In 1928,* 61.

[73] Cundall, *Jamaica In 1928,* 60.

[74] Cundall, *Jamaica In 1928,* 63-65.

[75] Cundall, *Jamaica In 1928,* 63-65.

[76] Frank Cundall, *The Negro Proverbs of Jamaica*, London: Hazell, Watson & Viney Ld., 1927, 9.

Cundall consistently throughout his work argued that Afro-Jamaicans seemed stuck in their development. He often stated that slavery had held back the development of the West Indians, as education and enriching of intelligence had no place on a plantation. Though making this concession, he implied that African culture would never allow a group to reach the level of civilization that Europeans, particularly the English, had. This bias towards European civilization in his academic writings, made the argument for British colonialists to maintain a presence in regions outside of Europe. This coded language about the inferiority of Africans fitted well in an age where eugenics flourished.

Although Frank Cundall did not directly use eugenics in his work, it is clear that he believed that their African origins had left Afro-Jamaicans in arrested development. Given the opportunity to write about the people of the island, his words represented a white supremacist view of race and colonialism. White residents of Jamaica were only five percent of the population in 1928, yet held most of the influence of colonial government. Cundall wrote handbooks to encourage tourism to his home island yet his portrayal of the African population as "childlike" protected the value of whiteness for the region. His work allowed his readers who potentially sought to travel to Jamaica on vacation to see themselves as superior to the native majority population. Additionally, his work reflected a colonial sentiment that white rule did not only financially and politically benefit the small white ruling class, but a white presence on the islands of the British Caribbean was for the islanders' own good. It was Cundall's opinion that black Jamaica needed to fully assimilate to English culture to survive without a white presence. Thus, it was not surprising that in 1926 he was one of the local dignitaries who met eugenicist Dr. Charles Davenport and his assistant Morris Steggerda upon their arrival in Jamaica,

directly linking him to the two figures that carried out a major eugenics study of the people of the island. As the duo ventured into using eugenics to study Jamaican racial dynamics, Cundall continued to espouse views of an inferior black population. When a person bears a government title and produces works with a government agency as a publisher to spread ideas about race that are inaccurate, it indicates how racist thinking had become deeply embedded in colonial institutions.

Cundall's power in Jamaica made it difficult for those who opposed his work. Although his views on the people of Jamaica proved controversial, the archivist's place as a national figure stemmed from his endeavors outside the realms of race. He proved to be a prolific writer, who provided dozens of pieces on diverse areas of Jamaican and British Caribbean life. Without his diligence at the Institute of Jamaica and the National Library of Jamaica over five decades, many valuable aspects of the island's natural history might have been lost. The many positive stories he penned of the people of the island might also not have been published under another leader of Jamaica's intellectual wing. Additionally, he was far from the only person of his reputation to speak ill of the African population of the island and the descendants of African slavery in the greater Americas. Nevertheless, *The Racial Equation* argues that the language used by this prominent colonial government official and others fostered an environment where questionable understandings about race could be taken and disseminated as fact. When a government fears that its grip over its colonial subjects is weakening, the promotion of the inferiority of marginalized groups by governmental agents lays bare the linkages between the language of racism and the protection of colonialism. Thus, the academic

and intellectual environment of the British Caribbean was fertile for fields like eugenics to enter the fray.

Conclusion

This literature review displayed the work that preceded *The Racial Equation's* goal of presenting a substantial work on eugenics in the twentieth century British Caribbean. Many strong works on the history of eugenics, studies on the rise and fall of empires, and the field of Caribbean Studies shaped the narratives of *The Racial Equation*. Frank Cundall's monographs describing blacks in the Caribbean showed that although the concept of eugenics may not have been present in some of the published sources coming out of Caribbean academia in the early 1900s, the use of racialized language to uphold the colonial status quo was present. This bolstered other scholars,' who entered Caribbean spaces in the 1920s and 1930s, as use of eugenic language became a tool to remind the subjects of the British West Indies of their eugenic inferiority. The first example of these narratives was Dr. Sydney Harland's period as a professor of Botany at the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture in the 1920s and 1930s St. Augustine, Trinidad. Similar to Cundall, Harland, a native of England, was provided a colonial government-appointed position to use as a platform to promote his work in a Caribbean space. Although his academic and governmental focus was on cotton and tropical plants, his public embrace of eugenic principles ultimately pushed him into a greater conversation about race and colonialism in interwar Trinidad.

Afro-Caribbean residents sought to resist the acceptance of the field of eugenics in their region, since the language was typically dismissive of African heritage and blackness. Others scholars have focused on transnational ideas about eugenics and

resistance to those ideas. Although scholars have noted that eugenics lost credibility by the 1940s because of anti-Nazi sentiments, and the rise of skeptical academics, the role of Black intellectuals in rejecting and discrediting eugenic ideas tends to be overlooked. *The Race Equation* highlights the impact of eugenics debates in the British Caribbean and how intellectual ideas filtered down into government-sponsored reports and white representations of black life in Trinidad and Jamaica. This dissertation demonstrates how eugenics ideas were resisted and fought by black intellectuals and other people of color to stop the advance of ideas of colonialism fueled by race.

Chapter 2: The Miseducation of Trinidad: Dr. Sydney Harland, The Beacon, and 1930s Discords on Race and Academia

In *The Caliban and the Yankees,* Harvey Neptune explored the political and cultural impacts of the establishment of an American Naval Base in Port of Spain during World War II. One peculiar anecdote captured a moment when the island's intelligentsia combated the scientific racism concepts expounded by foreigners. Dr. Sydney Cross Harland, a white Englishman who focused primarily on training Caribbean nationals in the study of agriculture, believed that he should also share his opinions regarding the value of racial genetics, emphasizing the importance of science in identifying social woes. Harland sent a controversial article, titled "Race Admixture" to *The Beacon* in 1931. *The Beacon,* a journal started by writers C.L.R. James, Albert Mendes, and Albert Gomes in 1931 served as a local academic and literary forum examining informative and controversial issues affecting Trinidadian culture. Harland chose that forum to illustrate his knowledge of eugenics to the Trinidadian society. He presented that Europeans had superior mental capacities compared to people of African heritage.[77] His evidence regarding the "damnation" of "negroes" was drawn from various scientific disciplines. As a professor at the British Caribbean's only major regional college in the late 1920s and early 1930s, Harland had a powerful pulpit from which to promulgate his beliefs in scientific racism. His actions illustrate how colonial officials of the interwar period could use their academic positions to re-force imperialist beliefs towards controlling the diverse population of the Caribbean.

[77] Sidney C. Harland, "Race Admixture," *The Beacon: A Monthly Review* 1 no. 4 (July 1931): 25-30.

The chapter addresses three key issues in this order: the establishment of the Tropical Agriculture College later called the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture (ICTA), the early career of Sydney Harland himself, and the importance of *The Beacon* publication to the writers of Trinidad. The narrative of Harland and the locals who opposed his views is important to this chapter, which explores the conflicts of race in the building of an academic community in the British Caribbean in the 1920s and 1930s. This chapter examines how an underdeveloped educational infrastructure in the region militated against access to education for Caribbean nationals. Additionally, it explores how ideas like eugenics affected popular discourse among the region's people. Dr. Harland's views on Afro-Caribbean intelligence illustrated that the expansion of British-organized education did not deinstitutionalize racism in that particular area of the British Caribbean.

A vital part of this discussion is an examination of the establishment of the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture in Trinidad. Building a college in the Caribbean allowed local men to access academic knowledge of agriculture, the region 's primary industry. The newly established college attracted British academics, allowing them to relocate to the Anglophone Caribbean thus giving them a platform to spread their ideas of scientific research to other parts of the Empire. Even though British scholars introduced a high-quality, practical education to colonial Caribbean students, it did not extend to concepts, which could assist in the necessary dismantling of existing racial hierarchies. The training extended from professors at ICTA focused on promoting economic agriculture development to the residents of the British Caribbean and beyond. The ideas of colonial rebellion could not be found in the laboratories of the St. Augustine. Rather,

this dissertation promotes that the expansion and elevation of the literate classes of the region in the 1920s fostered a group of intellectuals of color in the British Caribbean who were able to respond to problematic discourses of scientific racism. By challenging the institutionalizing ideas of racism by a select group of University-endorsed people, Trinidadian writers sought to stop the perpetuation concepts to reinforced colonialism, especially flawed ideas based on the pseudoscientific rationale of eugenics.

The process of developing the Imperial College had created the need for professors like Dr. Harland into Trinidadian society. His credentials as a botanist and a British professor reflected in the article, "Race Admixture" which appeared in *The Beacon* publication. As a well-published scientist who had troubled relationships with people of color in the Caribbean, it was odd that Harland would choose to submit such a controversial piece of work in a journal monitored by an editorial board of people of color. Harland's debates with The *Beacon*'s editorial board, a group of local scholars dedicated to fostering intellectualism among Trinidadians, will be examined towards the end of this chapter, as C.L.R. James, Alfred Mendes, and other local writers exposed his brand of eugenic thinking as symbolic of colonialism in Trinidad.

Issues in Educating the Caribbean

In the early 1900s, many British West Indies occupants had limited access to education. Depending on where one lived in the region, access to primary school may be available, though working-class families did not always have the opportunity to finish secondary school. Historically, the privileged classes of the colonial societies, including people of color who had reached middle-class status, generations of white immigrants, and transplants from the metropole, received primary and secondary school training, and

attended college either in the United Kingdom or the United States.[78] For example, the parents of writer C.L.R. James and future Prime Minister Eric Williams acquired private tutors to supplement the schooling on the island.[79] By the turn of the twentieth century, higher education was imperative to gain or maintain class stature. The colonial administrators protected the interests of the Empire and the sanctity of their educational system as they sought to instill the importance of the British Government in the lives of its subjects: "The history of education, in particular literary education, in the West Indies, as in many of the ex-colonies, is one of persistent Anglo-control and Anglo-orientation."[80]

Exposure to the liberal arts in the 1930s proved to be a breeding ground for progressives and revolutionaries who sought to alter the colonial dynamics in Trinidad and the British West Indies. In Trinidad, the core of the island's literary juggernauts was among the first Afro-Caribbeans to embark on careers using their intellectual and educational skills. They did not attend ICTA as they did not intend to enter the agricultural business. The cohort of James, Williams, and future writers of *The Beacon* received training in the classics, religion, history, and philosophy. This form of education differed from the manual labor roles that most people of the "lower classes" were expected to assume post-adolescence. The lack of institutions of higher learning in the

[78] Sander, *The Trinidad Awaking*, 17-19.

[79] Reinhard W. Sander, *The Trinidad Awaking: West Indian Literature of the Nineteen-Thirties*, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1998, 17-19.

[80]Helen Tiffin, "The Institution of Literature," in *A History of Literature in the Caribbean Volume 2: English and Dutch-Speaking Reasons*, John Benjamins Publishing Company: Amsterdam, 2001, 47.

British Caribbean bothered the middle classes since it showed the lack of financial support and the low priority given local and regional development by the Metropole.

Establishing The Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture

Caribbean residents long desired to establish more educational institutions in the Basin. The British Caribbean often lacked the infrastructure of their fellow Colonial neighbors and regional politicians sought for Parliament to fund institution to improve their poor financial state. The region rallied around the idea of the Royal Government of the United Kingdom establishing a college or university at the British West Indian site. The Caribbean could not hold the attention of the British Empire during the interwar period. By the 1920s, the British Imperial Office had shifted focus to territories in Africa and Asia. Caribbean residents became desperate for infrastructural expansions to improve a deteriorating quality of life. The development of a major college in the area would assist in creating academic prospects for students. The choice of an agricultural college, as opposed to an institution offering a wider curriculum, was not by chance. Local politicians and Colonial officials argued that pushing for an agricultural focus for a British Caribbean college would ensure that the metropole would invest in the venture. If the college was successful, Caribbean officials believed they could request and secure additional investments from Britain, thus reestablishing the region's prestige within the Empire.

The Caribbean lacked the capacity to support itself without British aid. After World War I, this area was one of the first to feel the true impact of the Great Depression. The region sold fewer goods since both American and European markets had found other avenues for acquiring cash crops produced in the Caribbean. Compounding the problem

was the fact that the British had established the islands as mono-crop societies, where products such as sugar and cotton had become the sole plank of the respective economies. These territories had neither the acreage nor time to develop multiple industries. This lack of industrialization limited their ability to create economically complex societies. The Caribbean could not advance without the aid of the Empire. It was, therefore, the absence of opportunities for residents of the British Caribbean, especially in education, that led to the development of this major venture, the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture.

Sir Edward Dawson was one of the most forceful advocates for the College. His efforts surrounding higher education were part of a larger drive to bring funding and development to the region. Sir Edward, President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in the British West Indies, argued in 1920 that England's lack of development in their dominions was worrisome for the future of the Empire. The distances between London and the West Indian islands negatively impacted their dependent relationship. The region, in comparison to India or Africa, received no funding or institutional development. Dawson reiterated these concerns in a meeting of the Royal Society of the Arts. He called for "A Central College" in the West Indies "for the training of teachers [and medical officers]," as "The better the teachers are trained, the better they will be able to educate the people on … instruction in hygiene and sanitation, because the question of better health conditions is one of the pressing problems of the West Indies." Sir Edward also hoped that the London School of Tropical Medicine would enhance the education of the West Indies and help the Tropical Agricultural College along the way.[81]

[81] "West Indian Problems," The Daily Gleaner, January 22, 1920, 8.

Dawson believed that a revised educational system with governmental support could create a new West Indies, "strengthened and united and more powerful to take its place in the imperial scheme worthy of the colonies which a hundred years ago were called the brightest jewels of the English Crown."[82]

Another leader in the charge to construct the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture was Sir Francis Watts. Sir Francis resided in Barbados and held the title of Imperial Commissioner of Agriculture for the West Indies during the 1910s and 1920s.[83] He spent a considerable amount of time contacting and meeting with chief British colonial figures in the hope of gaining the necessary support. Sir Francis sent letters across Britain to businessmen in governmental, educational, and agricultural circles as well as the Agricultural Society of Trinidad. He also reached out to several British universities and The British Cotton Growing Association.[84] Watts used these contacts to assess what funding was necessary to purchase land and supplies for the campus in St. Augustine, as well as to gain political and social support to make the Tropical College a reality. Sir Francis needed to show the Imperial Government that the college could improve the quality of life for British West Indies people as well as appeal to members of empire external to the region.

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[82] "West Indian Problems," The Daily Gleaner, January 22, 1920, 8.

[83] The British Cotton Growing Association to Francis Watts, May 17, 1920, ICTA Establishment 1 (A) Box 1 Folder 1, Alma Jordan Library, University Of the West Indies, St. Augustine; Francis Watts to Professor J.B. Farmer, April 13, 1920, ICTA Agricultural College Establishment 1 (B) Box 1 Folder 2, Alma Jordan Library, University Of the West Indies, St. Augustine; Francis Watts to Mr. Nowell, August 31, 1922, ICTA Establishment 2 Box 1 Folder 3, Alma Jordan Library, University Of the West Indies, St. Augustine.

[84] Francis Watts to H.Hamel-Smith April 15, 1920, ICTA Establishment 1 (A) Box 1 Folder 1 Alma Jordan Library, University Of the West Indies, St. Augustine; Francis Watts to A.E. Shipley, April 12, 1920, Alma Jordan Library, University Of the West Indies, St. Augustine.

As the potential development of a university gained momentum, different Caribbean islands lobbied for the right to host that prestigious institution of higher learning. A battle between the Greater Antillean island of Jamaica and the East Caribbean island of Trinidad arose. Jamaica argued its case based on size and its prestige as the leading Caribbean island. Trinidad became the more popular choice, however, due to its location in the Eastern Caribbean and access to other islands such as Barbados, St. Vincent, and Grenada.[85] The critical matter of choosing the right island for the university had several consequences, the main one being that the site would gain greater significance within the British Empire. The importance of hosting this university would also allow that island access to increased governmental funds from the metropole.[86] The most significant benefit of all would be having access to some of the great scholars of the British Empire. Since one of the main purposes of establishing a Tropical College of Agriculture in the Caribbean was to a focus on enhancing the efficiency of plantations, the host island would receive immediate information on improving the farming of crops in their colony.[87]

As the agricultural industry faced challenges from rival islands like Cuba, and popularity of beet sugar in Europe, the British West Indies needed the Tropical College of Agriculture as a shot in the arm for the region's number one business. Despite the disappointment of not receiving the campus, Jamaica joined the islands of the Eastern

[85] "Tropical College in W.I.," *The Daily Gleaner*, January 06, 1921, 3.

[86] "Agricultural College in W.I., " *The Daily Gleaner*, September 2, 1920, 5.

[87] "West Indian Problems," *The Daily Gleaner*, January 22, 1920, 8.

Caribbean in sending financial support towards building campus facilities and the creation of programs that would identify each island's top students who would benefit from grants and scholarships to attend the regional's top educational institution.[88] These Caribbean islands hoped that graduates would return with the skills and knowledge through which they could contribute to national economies and educational pride.

As a support for the development of the region's primary industry, the Tropical Agriculture College assumed an essential role in the colonial structure and hierarchy. The practical education of the Tropical College would not include teaching liberal arts. The administrators wanted an institution that mutually benefited the economic ecosystem between the West Indies and the metropole. Agriculture was the business of the West Indies in the eyes of Parliament, so providing an institution that could improve the region's agriculture, without emphasizing knowledge beyond those fields, suited Imperial plans. The establishment of Tropical Agriculture College would therefore not deliver a well-rounded education of the type associated with many colleges and universities. Instead, this institution would identify the best men in the British Caribbean to innovate the region's colonial legacy of farming. These scholars needed to become experts in preventing diseases from killing cash crops and in finding ways for improving the health and sustainability of the farming enterprise. Crop improvement would benefit individual

[88] "Establishment of An Agricultural College in the West Indies: Dispatch from the Secretary of the State to the Governor, dated 27th January 1920," 9, ICTA Establishment 2 Box 1 Folder 3, Alma Jordan Library, University Of the West Indies, St. Augustine; "Memorandum of Association of The West Indian Agricultural College," ICTA Establishment 2 Box 1 Folder 3, Alma Jordan Library, University Of the West Indies, St. Augustine.

islands, plantation owners, international corporations, and the general wellbeing of the British Empire.[89]

The scholarships and yearly funding by the Colonial Governments of the majority of the islands of the British West Indies and Parliament did not constitute a charitable exercise but would serve to improve a sagging industry that once was the pride of the British Empire.[90] The Tropical Agriculture College did not accept many students, and classes had less than twenty pupils. Although the administration made great efforts to make the campus inclusive of all races, classes mostly contained white students. ICTA was the endpoint in an educational system that was disproportionately accessible to middle and upper-class students, as odds of a lower class student attending ICTA was low. Whites were disproportionately represented in the student body, though a minority of the Caribbean population came from Europen origins. Less than half of the enrolment comprised black, Indian, or Chinese Caribbean residents.[91] Nevertheless, the professors sought to grab the best and brightest of the region to turn the smarter men of the islands

[89] Francis Watts to Mr. Smith, 17th October, 1922, ICTA Agricultural College Establishment 1 (B) Box 1 Folder 2, Alma Jordan Library, University Of the West Indies, St. Augustine; "Memorandum of Association of The West Indian Agricultural College," ICTA Agricultural College Establishment 1 (B) Box 1 Folder 2, Alma Jordan Library, University Of the West Indies, St. Augustine; "Secretary of The West Agricultural College to Francis Watts," 2nd August 1923, ICTA Agricultural College Establishment 1 (B) Box 1 Folder 2, Alma Jordan Library, University Of the West Indies, St. Augustine.

[90] "Outline of Steps to be Taken in Connection with The Tropical Agricultural College," ICTA Agricultural College Establishment 1 (B) Box 1 Folder 2, ICTA Agricultural College Establishment 1 (B) Box 1 Folder 2, Alma Jordan Library, University Of the West Indies, St. Augustine.

[91] "The Principal to the Under Secretary of State," ICTA Agricultural College Establishment 1 (B) Box 1 Folder 2, Alma Jordan Library, University Of the West Indies, St. Augustine; Bridget Brereton, *From Imperial College to University of the West Indies*: *A History of the St Augustine, Trinidad & Tobago*, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers, 2011.

into leaders of the agricultural industry, rather than looking at other subjects or fields of study.

The Tropical College of Agriculture would also address the wider educational issue in the Caribbean. Although the proposed institution was intended to solve economic and practical concerns rather than add to the greater intellectual community, there was hope that its establishment would signal the start of more high-end colleges and universities in the region. There were several colleges and universities elsewhere in the Caribbean such as in Puerto Rico, Haiti, and Cuba offering courses in the agricultural science fields.[92] Many Caribbean nationals attended schools in the United States and Britain for similar purposes. None of these major institutions received support from the vast network of the Imperial British Office and the many academics and institutions located in the metropole. Establishing British operated schools like ICTA ensured that the people of the Caribbean would receive an excellent education from the best minds in the Empire. Sir Francis Watts, who became the first Principal of the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, exerted a strong effort to make ICTA a prominent university from the time of its opening on October 26, 1922.[93] His commitment secured "the services of many of the most eminent men in the field of tropical agriculture and leading members of the West Indian commercial community in this country."[94] Sir Francis made it clear that

[92] Francis Watts, "Report to Tropical Agricultural College Committee," ICTA Establishment 1 (A) Box 1 Folder 1, Alma Jordan Library, University of the West Indies, St. Augustine.

[93] "W. Indian Agricultural College." *The Times*, 26 Oct 1922," ICTA Agricultural College Establishment 1 (B) Box 1 Folder 2, Alma Jordan Library, University Of the West Indies, St. Augustine.

[94] I.S. Amey, "Report of the Tropical Agricultural College Committee," ICTA Establishment 1 (A) Box 1 Folder 1, Alma Jordan Library, University of the West Indies, St. Augustine.

the ICTA would become a success because the region and empire lacked an institution of its kind:

> "It must not of course be supposed that college training, even of the most practical kind, can supply the place of actual experience on plantations and in factories; but can make men far better fitted to profit by that experience. Such men will bring a wide outlook to their …, will be constantly on the watch for improvements in current practice, and, when they have gained experience, will be qualified to cope with insect pests and fungous diseases."[95]

This excellent education would force governments to elevate the standard of education in the islands and improve the middle classes of the region. There needed to be different levels of study for different kinds of students, so those chosen to attend ICTA could participate in courses that sharpened their abilities, regardless of the type of degree and subject they chose.[96] An additional college created an increased need for educators to develop different aspects for the Caribbean's institutions of higher learning. Sir Francis sought to bring over scholars from Britain. The ICTA planned to hire professors and offer courses in Agriculture, Mycology, Entomology, Agricultural Chemistry; Organic Chemistry; Agricultural Bacteriology; Agricultural and Physiological Botany; Genetics; Sugar Technology; Agricultural Engineering and Physics; and Stock and Veterinary Science.[97] Hiring several notable professors in these fields could shift the focus of agricultural education in the Caribbean. Considering that this was still an area where agriculture was contributing to the finances, successful collaborations between with the

[95] I.S. Amey, "Report of the Tropical Agricultural College Committee," ICTA Establishment 1 (A) Box 1 Folder 1, Alma Jordan Library, University of the West Indies, St. Augustine.

[96] Francis Watts, "West Indian Tropical Agricultural College Committee," ICTA Establishment 1 (A) Box 1 Folder 1, Alma Jordan Library, University of the West Indies, St. Augustine.

[97] Francis Watts, "Report to Tropical Agricultural College Committee," ICTA Establishment 1 (A) Box 1 Folder 1, Alma Jordan Library, University of the West Indies, St. Augustine.

British scholars and local scientists may alter the way white foreigners viewed West Indian agricultural capabilities.[98]

Dr. Harland: Botanist and International Scholar

Dr. Sydney Harland was one of these privileged men whose reputation in the scientific community enabled him to become one of the first professors at the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture. Dr. Harland was a complex figure. His work in botany had made him a notable member of the international scientific community in the mid-1900s and his expertise in the scientific field in general, a voice in the ongoing debates about eugenics. In this period, scholars sought to understand the links between genes and behavior. Dr. Harland's rebellious, combustible personality helped to shape his reputation.

The new prominence given academia in the Western Hemisphere had reshaped the minds of those who influenced and sought to influence the course of Caribbean economics and politics. In the late 1800s, more middle-class men in Europe and the United States were attending universities and colleges. These men sought to share their knowledge of the arts and sciences as members of public and private organizations. Science had undergone radical changes in the late 1800s, resulting in the emergence of many subfields, such as genetics, and creating nuances in previously established

[98]"The Agricultural College, The Trinidad Guardian, September 30, 1922" ICTA Agricultural College Establishment 1 (B) Box 1 Folder 2, Alma Jordan Library, University Of the West Indies, St. Augustine; "The Agricultural College, The Port-Of-Spain Gazette," ICTA Agricultural College Establishment 1 (B) Box 1 Folder 2, Alma Jordan Library, University Of the West Indies, St. Augustine.

disciplines, including biology.[99] The tendency to use science as a means of improving society, however, became problematic with the establishment of fields like eugenics. Key members of the scientific community argued that the application of research could solve some societal problems. The associated discussions on applying these theories highlighted the elitism of many of the academics of the time, and their failure to reject subjective ideas perpetuated for centuries about race, poverty, and class.

Dr. Harland became a person of influence because his embrace of eugenics affected how foreign colonial officials operated during the British Caribbean interwar period. His previously established relationships in the British Caribbean made him an ideal professor for the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture. A world-renowned botanist and educator who had spent his early career in different Caribbean islands, Dr. Harland's recruitment to the college was significant, as he could unlock the potential of his students, particularly those of diverse ethnic backgrounds. However, his eugenic views alienated many of Trinidad's residents as he sought to use his newly acquired position to reinforce eugenics as a viable scientific enterprise. Public and private records collectively illustrate that people disliked his abrasive personality.

In a time where higher education was limited to a chosen few, the ideas discussed and accepted by the academic community could shape the views of educational fields for generations. The power of eugenics stemmed from the influence of those shaping the narrative. Dr. Harland's experiences as a noted botanist and geneticist gave him significant credibility in the scientific community. Therefore, if people like Harland were

[99] S.I. Kornhauser discusses the changes to the university system of Europe and the United in "Edward Laurens Mark," *The Anatomical Record* 102, no. 3, November 1948, 273-277.

willing to risk their reputations as serious scientists to promote a field that lacks serious imperial evidence like eugenics, it would tend to give that field some level of credibility. It is extremely critical to understand the motivation of the leading proponents of eugenics and how they sought to use its theories to institutionalize and justify racism for centuries. The background and motives of Dr. Harland illustrate how during the interwar period the institutional power of eugenics could serve to reinforce the logic of racism.

The story of Sydney Cross Harland began in Snainton, England. He was born on July 19, 1891.[100] His father Erasmus was a tailor, insurance man, and furniture seller and his mother Eliza was a homemaker and an avid reader.[101] Her love of reading transferred to Sydney and caused him to seek books as a source of entertainment and growth. Education was pivotal in Harland's young life while he attended public and boarding schools throughout England. His family was not wealthy; however, they had enough means to support his studies. He was particularly fond of chemistry but always showed an interest in plants and gardening. Throughout his autobiography, *Nine Lives: The Autobiography of a Yorkshire Scientist*, Harland often compared the life cycles of plants to the development of humans. He argued that one needed education as a plant needed water, both being essential for natural development. His botanical analogies did not always positively co-relate to actions committed during his life. He confessed that although he had physical ailments limiting mobility, he often committed what he deemed mischievous acts during his youth, such as burning down one hundred acres of fir trees in

[100] Sydney Cross Harland and Max Millard, *Nine Lives: The Autobiography Of A Yorkshire Scientist*, Raleigh, NC: Boson Books, 2001, 9.

[101] Harland, *Nine Lives*, 12.

Scarborough in 1906.[102] Dr. Harland blamed his youthful misdeeds on the measure that "In those days I was almost devoid of conscience. If I did anything wrong, I was only concerned with not being found out."[103] When he was not antagonizing locals in his neighborhood, he sought to debate anyone who challenged him, including his headmasters.[104] Ultimately, Harland's temperament shaped his future professional interactions, as he "was very outspoken and difficult to control."[105]

As a botanist, Dr. Harland traveled the world on multiple assignments, the majority centered in the British West Indies. Although he sought a career in chemistry, he performed better in geological studies, which mirrored his passion for botany.[106] After graduating from King's College, Harland needed to decide on his career. His degree in geology did not allow him to work in research as he had hoped. Against his mother's wishes, he accepted a teaching position in a private school in Christiansted, St Croix, then known as the Danish West Indies.[107] Although he avoided potential tropical diseases, his mother continued to believe that he would be "afflicted" while residing in the Caribbean. Even before serious levels of eugenic language is espoused, there are fears of that the Caribbean environment could be hostile to one's health. During this tenure in the islands,

[102] Harland, *Nine Lives*, 23.

[103] Harland, *Nine Lives*, 24.

[104] Harland, *Nine Lives*, 23.

[105] Harland, *Nine Lives*, 22.

[106] Harland, *Nine Lives*, 33.

[107] Harland, *Nine Lives*, 36.

Harland acquired networking contacts that allowed him to receive teaching and research positions in the scientific community.

Through hard work and exceptional circumstances, he became at varying times a supervisor, a professor, and a departmental chair in St. Croix, Canada, Scotland, St Vincent, and most notably Trinidad. Through the assistance of Dr. Longfield Smith, the Director of the St. Croix Agricultural Experiment Station in 1913, Harland received his first job in botany.[108] He had no prior knowledge about genetics before starting this position. However, after reading William Bateson's book, *Mendel's Principles of Heredity*, Harland began to comprehend nuances of evolution, hybridity, and segregation for plant studies.[109] His successes in St. Croix provided him with opportunities to work and travel to Truro, Nova Scotia in June 1914 working in a laboratory at an Agricultural College.[110] After leaving that position in September of the same year, he worked as a Junior Science Master at the Arbroath High School.[111] His tenure in Great Britain ended in March 1915, when he accepted a position in St. Vincent from the Colonial Office. During this time, his reputation in genetics had continued to grow. He served as the Assistant Agricultural Superintendent in a position with many financial benefits and key governmental responsibilities related to the governance of agricultural needs of the

[108] Harland, *Nine Lives*, 39.

[109] Harland, *Nine Lives*, 40.

[110] Harland, *Nine Lives*, 40.

[111] Harland, *Nine Lives*, 45.

island.[112] He was behind many agricultural advances there, as he and his students explored the genetic issues that weaken the ecological sustainability of St. Vincent.[113]

Prior to Sir Francis Watts offering Dr. Harland an opportunity to become a founding member of the British West Indies' first large-scale educational facility, the scientist had returned home to England working in Manchester. He had however become too accustomed to the "scenes of the tropics - - coconut palms and sandy beaches."[114] So when the opportunity at the future Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture became available, he did not hesitate to relocate once more. Rather focusing on money, Harland's relocated to St. Vincent and the surrounding islands provided the opportunity to foster a relationship with Sir Francis Watts, the top agricultural official in the Colonial Office in the West Indies. When Watts envisioned the establishment of the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, he hoped to hire men like Harland, a rising star in the field of agriculture and someone who previously taught diverse student body. Dr. Harland, a man who had woven himself into the fabric of several multiracial islands by teaching and working at different administrative levels, became an ideal faculty member in the first years on the institution.

Dr. Harland's work at the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture provided him with an extended stay in the British West Indies. During that period, he became a source of controversy both on and off campus. He had worked as the Professor of Botany for

[112] Harland, *Nine Lives*, 46.

[113] Harland, *Nine Lives*, 51.

[114] Harland, *Nine Lives*, 57.

three years from 1923 to 1926[115] and, since most of his research focused on the growth and sustainability of cotton, was appointed Director of the Cotton Research Station from 1926-1936. The Empire Cotton Growing Corporation supported Dr. Harland while he resided in Trinidad from 1930 to 1935, as his residence at ICTA coincided with a push to study new strains of cotton.[116] Harland lectured in over fifty courses during ICTA's first year.[117] He believed that he connected with his students and that they appreciated his work in the classroom and the lab. Much of his efforts focused on applying genetics to improve the yield of cotton in tropical locales.[118] He published several works covering his experiences in developing cotton hybrids and on being a distinguished botanist in the Caribbean. Harland's successful research of cotton added to his prestige in the British academic community, as he collaborated with other notable botanists and geneticists of the period.[119] Dr. Harland's aggressive personality, however, the source of trouble in his youth, became an issue at ICTA, his combative nature putting him at odds with several of his students and co-workers.

Race became a significant factor in the contentious interactions between Dr. Harland, the faculty, and his students. His abhorrent behavior ultimately led to his separation from the ICTA faculty. In his publication titled, *Nine Lives*, Dr. Harland portrayed himself as a friend to the black community of the British Caribbean. When he

[115] Brereton, *From Imperial College to University of the West Indies*, 37.

[116] Harland Personal Notebook, Harland Collections, The John Innes Centre, Norwich, England.

[117] Harland, *Nine Lives*, 61

[118] Harland, *Nine Lives*, 61.

[119] Harland Personal Notebook, Harland Collections, The John Innes Centre, Norwich, England.

resided in St. Croix, he stated for example, that he had no qualms lodging with a "coloured family."[120] At every teaching position held in the Caribbean, he always taught "black or coloured students," and felt that he connected with those groups.[121] Although never discussing his students during tenure at the college, he at one point stated, "The children were of all shades of colour. About half were white and the rest were either coloured or black. So far as I could judge, intelligence was pretty well distributed among them."[122] Harland might not have explicitly expressed a poor opinion of the intellect of his students of color, but implied as he often made it clear in his autobiography that he sought to "uplift" West Indians.

His love life in the Caribbean received scrutiny, amongst other things, serving to reveal his ambiguity towards race. During his stay in St. Vincent, Sir Francis introduced Harland to Ann DeLairre, a local guide and a personal assistant. Harland's relationship with DeLairre developed quickly, as:

> "She was an attractive mulatto in her mid-thirties. Her father was a prominent wine merchant of French origin, and her mother was black. She proved assiduous in her duties, and in due course came to provide for more of my needs than I imagine Sir Francis had envisaged. In a word, it was from her that, at the age of 23, I received my education sentimental in the classical French manner. She became pregnant, and this put an end to our relationship. In 1916, she gave birth to a son, whom she called George. I saw George from time to time during the remainder of the time I spent in St Vincent. Later his mother sent him to the United States, where he settled, married and raised a family."[123]

Harland, who had three daughters with his English-born wife, Emily Wilson Camer had several extramarital relationships, repeatedly seeking a divorce from Emily

[120] Harland, *Nine Lives*, 38.

[121] Harland, *Nine Lives*, 39,

[122] Harland, *Nine Lives*, 38.

[123] Harland, *Nine Lives*, 47.

who steadfastly refused. He became involved with Ann Freeman, daughter of the Director of Agriculture for the West Indies, William Freeman.[124] While Camer and her daughters still resided in England, Ann Freeman became pregnant with Harland's son. In order to protect their child from a reputation of having been born out of wedlock, Harland decided to marry under the assumed name Richard Lynn, to avoid alerting to the authorities about marrying another woman while still married to Camer.[125] Eventually Ann Lynn and Richard Lynn to moved England.[126]

Ultimately, Harland divorced Emily in 1933, to be with the love of his life, his assistant Olive Atteck: "In June 1934 we went by steamer to Grenada, got bans put up, and were married at the Registry Office in St George's, the capital. My best man was O'Brian Donovan, the coloured Superintendent of Agriculture, and we spent two glorious weeks of honeymoon at the Quarantine Station."[127] The controversy over the marriage stemmed from the fact that Harland's wife had come from a prominent Chinese-Trinidadian family. Dr. Harland believed he had broken a social norm prohibiting interracial marriages. He noted, "My disregard of the taboo on mixing socially with the local racial minorities was bad enough in itself, but when I actually married a Trinidadian Chinese, it was considered beyond the pale. The situation was made worse by the fact that Olive worked as one of my assistants…"[128]

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[124] Harland, *Nine Lives*, 75.

[125] Harland, *Nine Lives*, 76.

[126] Harland, *Nine Lives*, 75.

[127] Harland, *Nine Lives*, 94.

[128] Harland, *Nine Lives*, 75.

Harland's eccentric love life matched his personality, and he claimed to be targeted by government administrators in Trinidad. According to his account in *Nine Lives*, he had sought to expose the flaws in Trinidadian society and had become persona non grata increasingly with the British Colonial Establishment. "This was in large part due to my own personality, which from my early childhood has been disrespectful of authority and indifferent to social convention."[129] Although he claimed that he drew praise from islanders, he also received a mark of infamy from Governmental officials such as Sir Geoffrey Evans, the Principal of the Imperial College; and Controller of the Cotton Growing Research Station and Governor Sir Claude Hollis.[130] Harland believed that Evans wanted to push him out of Trinidad. The scientist's diary described an episode in 1935 in which Evans had actively pressured students to prevent him from attending a Christmas party at the college.[131] Harland also criticized his treatment by the institution following his expression of concern on the lack of improvements to the campus greenhouse.[132] He also had disagreements with the Empire Cotton Station over the preservation of plants subsequent to experiments.[133] Such incidents, compounded with existing friction with members of ICTA, ultimately led to Harland's ousting. The scientist eventually sued the ICTA and the Empire Cotton Corporation for wrongful dismissal.[134]

[129] Harland, *Nine Lives*, 95.

[130] Harland, *Nine Lives*, 95.

[131] Harland Personal Handbook, 26-28.

[132] Harland Personal Handbook, 38.

[133] Harland Personal Handbook, 39-40.

[134] Brereton, *From Imperial College to University of the West Indies*, 37.

Harland's autobiography depicted a man who had a very high opinion of himself and his work and held the view that others enjoyed his personality which he admitted was "eccentric." He saw himself as an outgoing friend and an attractive romantic partner for the people he interacted with throughout his life. Nevertheless, the views expressed in *Nine Lives* conflicted with some of the evidence from other sources regarding Harland's abrasive personality with some students.[135] His removal from his position at Empire Cotton Growing Corporation because of his poor relationship in dealing with matters of race, among other things.[136]

Prior to leaving ICTA in 1926, Hartland was a member of the institution's Academic Board. Principal Sir Francis Watts scheduled frequent faculty Board meetings as a means to seek suggestions about ways to revamp the growing college. Most of the discussions focused on curriculum revision as Sir Francis sought new courses in accordance with discoveries in agriculture; uniformity of examinations, difficulties across disciplines, and the promotion of academic paper writing for professors and students.[137] The ICTA suffered from retention problems as students came to the college with varying academic backgrounds and proficiencies.[138] A key concern focused on the possibility of the admittance of West Indian students with weak academic records, and how they would

[135] Brereton, *From Imperial College to University of the West Indies*, 37.

[136] Brereton, *From Imperial College to University of the West Indies*, 37.

[137] ICTA Academic Board Minutes 76th-125th Meeting Box 2 Folder 2, Alma Jordan Library, University Of the West Indies, St. Augustine.

[138] Brereton, *From Imperial College to University of the West Indies*, 16-17.

perform in comparison to students from other islands.[139] The faculty of ICTA knew that race would become a factor if programs with black students had high failure rates. This racial issue would also affect the reputation of the campus.[140] It did not help that ITCA did not have the ability to grant degrees like normal colleges and universities. The education at St. Augustine had to be effective in providing the tools necessary for students. The development of agricultural skills held great importance since attendance at ICTA by itself would not guarantee employment abroad.[141] Thus, ICTA Board members, who were the chairs of the all the major scientific departments on campus, spent a considerable amount of time developing prospectuses and curriculums to satisfy the abilities of the students and the standards of the agricultural field, both locally and internationally. Other meetings focused on designing buildings, farming sites, and laboratories for the still nascent campus to receive funding from government agencies and attract research scholars. The ultimate goal of these board meetings was to set targets

[139] One topic discussed in the minutes was that ICTA officials never expected the college to draw solely from the British Caribbean for its student population. Sir Francis Watts and future administrations knew that they would need students from around the British Empire, and even within the Americas, to attend the St. Augustine Campus in order for ICTA to become a viable institution. The ICTA Staff spent a considerable amount of time discussing if students could receive admittance both on academic and regional basis, as they did not want one region to dominate a cohort. They also were very worried about the academic standing of recruits, as the educational proficiency across the empire varied. Ultimately, the ICTA staff seemed to be pleased with these recruits. Additionally, in ICTA Agricultural College Establishment 1 (B) Box 1 Folder 2, 155, the college sought to change its name in 1923 from the West Indian Agricultural College to Imperial Agricultural College to reflect the broader scope of students and faculty they sought to be a part of the campus in Trinidad.

[140] Brereton, *From Imperial College to University of the West Indies*, 17.

[141] Brereton, *From Imperial College to University of the West Indies*, 17.

for the institution and to illustrate how effective it would become in developing the British Empire's next generation of agricultural scientists.[142]

The ICTA Board meetings suggested that Harland did not always use this platform to effectively participate in shaping the early development of the Tropical College. Based on Harland's self-assertion as a promoter of the welfare of locals and stated goals of uplifting students, these meetings would have presented the perfect opportunity to display such concern for his students and the future of the institution. According to the records, however, Harland mostly attended as a silent participant in comparison to other long-term members of ICTA's board. He first appeared in the minutes at a December 19, 1923 meeting.[143] He also came to meetings on December 29, 1923, January 8, 1924, and April 26, 1924, respectively.[144] As a representative of the Botany Department, he did not appear to lead a discussion in any of the scheduled meetings. It was not until the meeting of June 28, 1924, that his name appeared in the minutes with a substantive contribution. At this meeting, he pleaded with fellow professors to increase their efforts to produce publications for the school, suggesting an in-house journal.[145] Such an agenda aligned with Harland's motives in *Nine Lives* of becoming a well-known geneticist through publications and networking. Publishing ultimately became his legacy while on the ICTA Academic Board. During his tenure,

[142] ICTA Academic Board Minutes December 1923 -May 1931 Box 2 Folder 1, Alma Jordan Library, University Of the West Indies, St. Augustine.
[143] This is the earliest typed copy of the minutes in the collection.

[144] "Minutes of the Academic Board December 1, 1923," ICTA Academic Board Minutes December 1923 - May 1931 Box 2 Folder 1, Alma Jordan Library, University Of the West Indies, St. Augustine.

[145] "Minutes of the Academic Board December 1, 1923," ICTA Academic Board Minutes December 1923 - May 1931 Box 2 Folder 1, Alma Jordan Library, University Of the West Indies, St. Augustine.

fellow professors increased their publications, in both the local *West Indian Bulletin* and foreign academic journals.[146] This meeting proved to be the only time in which Harland truly interacted with the Board. Although he played a role in deliberations related to admissions to the college, there is no other record that he had an input into any other pertinent matters. Harland eventually ended up leaving his position at ICTA but remained a factor via the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation) in 1926.[147] Records of these meetings gave some indication of Harland's relationship with ICTA and its Board. Although portraying himself as a valued faculty member, he did not use that platform to advance his educational message as he did in *Nine Lives*. His self-described "eccentric" behavior ruffled feathers with others in his department, leading him to take a lackadaisical approach to the meetings. Harland also noted that he attracted negative attention from "higher-ups" since his opinions were not politically correct at a time, especially when Trinidad's political climate was changing.

Harland's initial submission to *The Beacon* in 1931 was not the first time he had sought to interject himself into the controversial race politics of the British Caribbean. He had argued in *Nine Lives* that his views on race were refreshing to students, as he attempted to foster a community where everyone was engaged. "On Saturday mornings I gave a special seminar for the West Indian students, in which they were allowed to discuss questions on Government, social conditions, the colour question and everything

[146] Alma Jordan Library, University of the West Indies, St. Augustine.

[147] Harland, *Nine Lives,* 71; "Minutes of the Meeting of the Academic Board, held on June 28, 1924, ICTA Academic Board Minutes December 1923 -May 1931 Box 2 Folder 1," Alma Jordan Library, University Of the West Indies, St. Augustine.

under the sun."[148] Harland expressed throughout the text that his shared relationships with people of color engendered more conflicts with British Colonial officials than the *"common people"* of the region.[149] A key omission in his discussions about race in *Nine Lives* was his submission of "Race Admixture" to the Beacon in 1931. Perhaps *Nine Lives* might have displayed what Harland in his judgment believed to be the most controversial moments in his personal and professional life.

He might not have thought much of the article, "Race Admixture," yet its publication was a powerful reflection of the social and political divide between people of color and white foreigners in 1930s Trinidad. Harland was able to have meetings with students about "the race question" because it did not affect his career trajectory. He admitted that West Indian students, especially those of color, often found it difficult to find employment after graduation and were limited to positions within the region, while white international students easily found jobs abroad.[150]Harland's autobiography did not attribute this job imbalance to the ability of the West Indian students. Thus, it begs the question as to why he adhered to eugenic thinking about blacks even though he could

[148] Harland, *Nine Lives,* 61.

[149] When people of color is used in this dissertation, it tends to be all encompassing because much of the language used in terms of race, eugenics, and colonialism focused on a privileged white class and a disenfranchised class of people of many ethnicities. Much of the time, people of African descent became the face of this disenfranchised class, as they received the most attention in the literature and the rhetoric of racial debates. Nevertheless, this black-white divide is problematic, as there were plenty of affluent black families in the Caribbean. Skin tone played a role as well, as acceptance of some black people into elite social circles in the British Caribbean often played up to the issues of colorism. Additionally, other non-white groups, like the Chinese, Indians, and Middle Easterners, entered the business classes of the region. In the case of the Beacon, Trinidadian writers of Portuguese descent in the 1930s often aligned their politics with Afro-Trinidadians, because of discrimination from British residents. For *The Racial Equation*, people color and black people tends to be used similarity, but acknowledgement of the differences of the terms is noted.

[150] Harland, *Nine Lives,* 61.

vouch for their abilities. It may be possible that Harland's hardline stance on the objectivity of science prevented him from thinking about the flawed premises of eugenics in comparison to other fields that used genetics as a basis to understand scientific phenomenon.

Methods of Harland's Madness

The records of Harland's prospectus and curriculum from his tenure at ICTA are not in public archives. His lectures though from Manchester University where he taught on returning to England in the 1950s may serve to clarify his views of applying the significant discoveries in genetics towards advancing understanding about humans. Manchester University provided him with a teaching position training future scholars in genetics. He wanted his students to understand the tremendous impact that Mendelian genetic theory had contributed to both the field of science and the understanding of human development.[151]

Harland taught that genetics formed the basis of human personality since all human traits must have a genetic origin.[152] His extensive use of genetics in his botany career gave way to his beliefs about genetics in humans. In his work with humans, Hartland argued that human experiences had shared characteristics with other species, as genes primarily dictated development, other influences such as the environment playing

[151] Sydney Harland, "Clinical Health Lecture I, January 30, 1953," Harland Collections, The John Innes Centre, Norwich, England, 3.

[152] Sydney Harland, "Genetics and Personality," Harland Collections, The John Innes Centre, Norwich, England, 5.

secondary roles.[153] His faith in human genetics led him to argue that science would lead to discoveries about the essence of humans. R.A. Fisher, a mathematician who applied arithmetic to Mendelian genetics, had a philosophy that "in the future, the revolutionary effect of Mendelism will be seen to form the particular character of the hereditary elements."[154] Dr. Harland often sought to use genetics to explore his curiosity about life. In one lecture titled, "Genetics and Personality," he argued against the notion that human development received influence by environment: "Heredity is here all powerful, since the character is displayed in any imaginable environmental context."[155] For him, genetics showed that the lineage of certain humans such as musicians, allowed them to experience their natural abilities regardless of location.[156] In one study he investigated Twinning and Multiple Births, his lecture notes discussing how to prove that twins were the key to illustrating that personalities were inherited, not developed.[157] Although his alternate projects on humans may not have appeared to be significant, these ventures may shed light on how his relationship with the study of genetics shaped his worldview. Dr. Harland stated, "Remembering that man is an animal, and resembles animals in many ways, it may be profitable to look for personality differences of a simpler type which may

[153] Harland, "Genetics and Personality," 7.

[154] Sydney Harland, "Cotton – illustrating various aspects of genetics," Harland Collections, The John Innes Centre, Norwich, England.

[155] Harland, "Genetics and Personality," 5.

[156] Harland, "Genetics and Personality," 1.

[157] "Social Interrelations of Twins and Attitudes of One Twin toward the Other," Harland Collections, The John Innes Centre, Norwich, England.

show in animals."[158] This selective but consistent use of genetics shows a relationship with the ideals of eugenics.

Although he did not have a formal relationship with the members of the International Eugenics Movement, Harland often incorporated the ideas of the leaders of eugenics in his work.[159] Harland often argued that the principles he used to create better cotton crops through hybridity and selective breeding could aid humans. These theories were very similar to those of the top eugenicists of the mid-twentieth century, as positive eugenics sought ways to improve humankind through selective breeding, regardless of racial differences. These beliefs, in turn, had the best-perceived genes needed for human advancement. As a staunch adherent to genetics, he often stuck to the notion that although races were inherently different, the focus of science should be towards identifying why such differences existed, rather than instituting measures against people who were different.

The Beacon: A Caribbean Intellectual Space

One avenue through which the contentious issue of eugenics received challenge in the Caribbean was in articles appearing in *The Beacon*, a literary organ of the academics of 1930s Trinidad. Scholars writing on the *Beacon* have primarily focused on the impact of the short stories or the political aspects of the pieces. Although scholars agree that the tension of eugenics affected the writings of the Caribbean intelligentsia, they often overlook that of science was a common topic of the journal. *Caliban and the Yankees* by

[158] Harland, "Genetics and Personality," 1.

[159] Harland, "Genetics and Personality," 12.

Neptune, Brereton in *From Imperial College to University of the West Indies*, and *The Trinidad Awaking* by Reinhard W. Sander all referenced the controversy of Dr. Harland's article on the inferiority of the African race. The main takeaway from each text is that the infamous opinion piece by Harland enraged of the Beacon's readership. Also, it forced the editors of the *Beacon* to clarify their position that although the journal's goal was to promote Trinidadian/West Indian literary culture, they also wanted to create a written space for scholars of all backgrounds to express their unbiased views. *Caliban and the Yankees* and *The Trinidad Awaking* explore the cultural realities informing the publication and its evolution as an outlet for writers and readers to explore elements of their "West Indian-ness."

The Beacon became a literary training site for future scholars and revolutionaries. Many "Beacon Group" writers joined different sides of the political movements in Trinidad and the international Black Freedom movements in the 1900s.[160] The *Beacon* also provided locals with a creative outpost to lash out at the oppressiveness of the British Empire and the concerns of the global Great Depression on the future of the region. Neptune and Sander did not focus their investigations on why a trained white foreign botanist sought to publish work in a non-scientific journal. This point on Harland is relevant; he represented how some members of the white establishment believed they were the authority on all aspects and in mediums in Colonial life. Harland's academic life highlighted the racial tensions in his field of work and displayed the abilities and privileges white men had in the British West Indians.

[160] Sander, *The Trinidad Awaking*, 27-36.

Despite the idea espoused by some colonial administrators that Trinidad and the British Caribbean lacked a serious literary culture, the early twentieth century saw a rise of academics and writers from the West Indies. It would be unfair to portray the British Caribbean as a region that lacked libraries of scholarship before the twentieth century. Although the explosion of critical works by West Indian writers blossomed in Post-World War I communities, regional writing was rooted in the development of newspapers and scholastic musings about environment, agriculture, and economy. The rise of the literate people in the region reshaped the topics discussed in public written community forums. This rise of a read-class among the middle-class colored population of Trinidad has received attention in the historiography of the Caribbean. In *The Trinidad Awaking*, Sander depicts how Trinidadians inclined to knowledge.[161]

Although Sander shows that the Trinidad literary projects came decades after those of Jamaica, by the 1930s both islands shared local and transnational intellectual communities, with Trinidad beginning to contribute significant names to the literature produced by people of the region and their diaspora abroad.[162] Key members of this emergence were C.L.R. James, Albert Gomes, Albert Mendes, the future editors of *The Beacon*. The main essays and books that Trinidadian writers produced in the interwar periods dealt with colonialism contributed to the perils people of color suffered on the island during the Great Depression. The reaction to ideologies of Socialism and Marcus Garvey's United Negro Improvement Association as well as the failures of the Captain

[161] Sander, *The Trinidad Awaking*, 6-7.

[162] Sander, *The Trinidad Awaking*, 6-7.

Cipriani government in Trinidad led working class and middle-class citizens to organize and tackle the social issues of the island.[163]

Literature and academic writing made it possible for the people of the Caribbean to resist colonial rule through intellectualism. It took a great effort by middle-class black families, as well as other groups underrepresented by the colonial office in the region, to educate their children to rise through the castes of society. By the 1900s, people of color had obtained the autonomy to foster a learned class. Although education in the British Caribbean became normal for some residents, the schools lacked the resources to teach the masses to high intellectual levels. In comparison to Britain, there were not many secondary schools or institutes of higher learning within the borders of the British Caribbean. Previously, violence was the main tool to express rejection of colonial rule. With a group of intellectual heavyweights leading the resistance, colonial officers had to find more compelling ways to maintain their rule against a rise of anti-colonial writers. These local scholars were able to convince the masses that rejecting British ideals helped improve their communities. *The Beacon* entered a larger conversation held by black intellectuals throughout the world that rejected racial language denigrating black communities.[164]

By the interwar period, people of color in the British Caribbean had begun to resist the racist language pontificated in eugenics. In a moment of racial denigration spearheaded by Harland, *The Beacon* group through their publication sought to combat the espoused negative perceptions of people of color. Although eugenics had become a

[163] Sander, *The Trinidad Awaking*, 20-21.

[164] Sander, *The Trinidad Awaking*, 21

popular academic exercise regarding research and accompanying discussions throughout the world by the 1920s, a wave of new scholars had rejected many of its principles. The rise of black, Chinese, East Indian, and non-Anglo white voices emerged in Trinidad spurning the acceptance of British culture and customs as the only way of living "proper" lives. These groups of men who came from middle-class backgrounds were dismayed with the treatment of the region's poor. These writers argued that without highlighting the realities of poverty in Trinidad, their society would do nothing to help the island's weakest. Rather than allowing Dr. Harland to advance eugenics as an explanation for people of color not succeeding in colonized spaces, men like C.L.R. James and Albert Mendes celebrated the island. These writers dreamt of a better tomorrow, where foreign forces that sought to use racism to reinforce their right to rule could no longer exercise power. What this issue of perception relates to the lost voices is in these debates about eugenics in the Caribbean and the people who received unwarranted analyses on their reputations and genetic makeups in the attempt to racialized science. The intellectual class of Trinidad became the voices that rejected eugenics and critiqued it as a tool of colonial/Imperial processes in the 1920s and 1930s.

The Beacon group represented one of many communities rejecting eugenics as a viable academic pursuit. By the 1920s and 1930s, it was apparent that concepts associated with eugenics would not sustain long-term, as groups rejected the use of science to justify racism. As educated nationals who had a stake in challenging ideas of racism within their communities, the group refused to accept Dr. Harland's perpetuation of false notions of racial stereotypes from his position of power. *The Beacon* writers discussed in this chapter represented resistance to elements of racism manifested in

different areas of British Caribbean life. These writers refused to allow eugenics to become another point of conversation through which the colonial elite could justify their rule. A larger argument of *The Racial Equation* is the idea that eugenics as a concept promoted poor conversations between the elites and the masses. The eugenic thought used held demeaning language in relation to those perceived as "having weaker genes." Thus, the power of "having superior genes" shaped the power structure of these conversations and since the colonial elites believed that they "have superior genes," the power would remain with them. The resistance needed to remove eugenics as a focal talking point so that local communities could receive the empowerment so desperately needed. The intellectual debates found in *The Beacon* publication served as a means to not only reject the form of eugenic thought promoted by Harland but also to expose the links between eugenics and colonialism.

Ultimately, the international lure to seek change from abroad led Mendes and James to depart *The Beacon* for careers elsewhere.[165] According to Neptune, *The Beacon* popularity varied issue to issue, with more controversial editions receiving greater levels of circulation.[166] Thus, the magazine ceased to exist as Gomes and his fellow writers found it difficult to sustain long-term publishing success. Nevertheless, the magazine's

[165] Sander, *The Trinidad Awaking*, 29. According to Vera M. Kuzinski in *A History of Literature in the Caribbean* 11-12, Mendes and James were just a part of a larger West Indian migration of Anglophone writers to locations like Toronto, London, and New York to participate in a large global writing community. They provided West Indian voices in these spaces, yet ironically, they sometimes were also removed from the current happenings in the region they represented. The West Indian migrant voice was in the middle ground between local cultures and international identities. In Helen Tiffin's "The Institution of Literature," James believed that going aboard was the only way for this contingent of authors to become noticed by the large publishers, as they would not able to publish in the West Indies without sacrificing control of their own work 59.

[166] Neptune, *Caliban and the Yankees*, 14.

ethos of fostering open forums to discuss controversial topics created a legacy of notoriety and praise. It is noteworthy that James was an Afro-Trinidadian and Mendes and Gomes of Portuguese descent."[167] According to Stefano Harney, "Despite these schisms the new writers of Trinidad were united in their celebration of the local, the creolized, of the culture of Black and East Indian working class and peasant class, and the struggle for national dignity and independence from England."[168]

The writer C.L.R. James is arguably one of the most recognized names in Trinidadian culture. His literary works in *The Beacon* publication was just one of many avenues through which he contributed his radical thought towards achieving improvements in the lives of Afro-Trinidadians. His famous writings include *Beyond a Boundary* and *Black Jacobins*. An essay entitled "The Case for West Indian Self-Government" reflected his general views on colonialism and looked towards the hopeful day when the black residents of the British Caribbean would run their own countries without foreign interference.[169] James, who was of middle-class origins, did not want to stay in the "comfort" of this class if it meant that other Afro-Trinidadians could not have their moments of sovereignty. He often used his literary prowess to inspire the dismantling of imperialism. His work allowed him to become a collaborator both at home and abroad in the Black Freedom/African Nationalist movements throughout the 1900s.

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[167] Stefano Harney, *Nationalism and Identity: Culture and Identity in a Caribbean Diaspora*, Kingston: University of the West Indies: 1996, 23.

[168] Harney, *Nationalism and Identity*, 22.

[169] Anna Grimshaw, ed., *The C.L.R. Reader*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1992, 49-62.

The Portuguese of Trinidad operated from a middle ground space. They came from a group of indentured servants in the mid-1840s and rose through the social and racial hierarchies of the island to become members of the entrepreneurial middle class.[170] European groups, especially Non-Anglo whites received more rights than people of color on the island. The British governing class, on a social level, did not view the Portuguese as an exceptional group in relation to other European exclaves in the British Caribbean. This resentment shaped the younger members of the Portuguese community, as they identified less with other white groups. Rather, some joined the revolutionary atmosphere that swept up the "coloured people" of Trinidad. Portuguese rebels sought to break from the upper classes of Trinidad.[171] Two significant men emerging from this rebellion community were Albert Mendes and Albert Gomes.

A key member of the Beacon was Albert Mendes. Mendes, son of a merchant, attended school in England and fought for Britain during World War I. It was this time overseas where he emerged with socialist ideals.[172] He opened his eyes the failings of the British Imperialists he had sworn to defend, and the October Revolution of Russia had significantly impacted him.[173] Mendes left Trinidad in the 1940s, and by the 1950s, he became a recognized writer within the circles of the Harlem Renaissance. He never rose to the heights of his contemporaries, but Mendes used the racial and class struggles in

[170] Sander, *The Trinidad Awaking,* 18.

[171] Sander, *The Trinidad Awaking,* 18.

[172] Sander, *The Trinidad Awaking,* 71.

[173] Sander, *The Trinidad Awaking,* 72.

Trinidad to shape his writing in several of his novels, such as *Pitch Lake,* where he sought to place the "lower classes" of the island as the central characters of his work. Sander argues that Mendes did not present himself as a member of these classes, but a viewer of authentic Trinidadian culture from a different position in his society.[174] Victor J. Ramraj, in his contribution to *A History of Literature in the Caribbean Volume* 2, stated that James and Mendes contributed to the subgenre of "barrack –yard" stories, where Caribbean authors "depict graphically the bittersweet life of slum dwellers."[175] These stories humanized the "lower classes," giving them personalities that reflected the racial and social dynamics of the region, rejected exotic, one-dimensional characterizations of people of color, and dispelled the notion that they sought conformity to the Anglo lifestyle. "Barrack–yard" stories exposed how the system and the environment of Colonial Trinidad contributed to the lack of social and economic development among the classes affected most by poverty and lack of governmental concern.

Gomes, unlike the other writers, maintained his base in Trinidad, becoming an editor of the well-received anthology volume, *Trinidad.*[176] He was not from a well-to-do family as was Mendes, but his status as a Portuguese Trinidadian had meaning within the dynamics of 1930s Trinidad. He understood the struggles of the socially disadvantaged,

[174] Sander, *The Trinidad Awaking,* 74.

[175] Victor J. Ramraj, "Short Stories," in *A History of Literature in the Caribbean Volume 2,* 203.

[176] Sander, *The Trinidad Awaking,* 147.

though not living out the day-to-day crises that many Afro-Trinidadians experienced.[177] As editor of the *Beacon* and *Trinidad,* Gomes provided a platform for writers from the lower rungs of the social ladder who sought to expose and document the conditions of the county via literature. He became a local politician after his writing career ceased.[178] These perspectives and dialogue from people of other racial, economic, and gender backgrounds served to shape the short stories, information essays, and opinion pieces that made up the issues of the *Beacon.*

The extraordinary impact of The *Beacon* came from the editors' decision to allow scholars from around the world to submit essays. The primary focus of the journal was to promote works from Trinidadians about Trinidad; but Americans, Jamaicans, British people, and diverse other nationalities, all contributed to the journal. These submissions from external writers included fiction, poetry, social and political commentary. For *The Racial Equation*, the *Beacon* journal allowing intellectuals in Trinidad and beyond to express their views on the impact of science in their contemporary world is critical in showing how ready the writers were to rebuke eugenic language.

The editors of the *Beacon* thought their journal could be an avenue for conveying and discussing scientific concepts that may seem complicated to the masses.[179] One of the editors, Albert Gomes, included various essays on famed scientists such as Albert

[177] Sander, Sander, *The Trinidad Awaking*, 36.

[178] Harney, *Nationalism and Identity*, 172.

[179] Martin Meyer, "Einstein's Place in Science," *The Beacon: A Monthly Review* 1 no. 1 (March 1931): 14-16; Albert Gomes, "Reason, Intuition and Instinct," *The Beacon: A Monthly Review* 1 no. 1 (March 1931): 17-21.

Einstein. He also deliberated over the role of science in aspects of society, for example engaging in such discussions as science versus religion. Gomes used the pages of the Beacon to question the motives of Herbert Spencer, the leading developer of Social Darwinism. In the book titled, *Reason, Intuition and Instinct,* Gomes believed that by turning science into philosophy, Spencer had attempted to make gods of humans.[180] Gomes appears to have been very concerned with the rhetoric of eugenics entering the Caribbean. In his article, he noted the perils of accepting "the Malthusian Theory" and worried about readers accepting negative ideas of the future of humankind based on dire population predictions and food scarcity. [181] Gomes also concerned himself with the issue of race in the Atlantic world, writing pieces that uplifted "the negro" who was required to deal with white oppression[182] Illustrative of this are his writings capturing the tension of race, class, and intellect: "They say that in the South, which is the religious side of the United States, the finest type of black has to salute the lowest type of white… and the lowest type of white in the South of the U.S.A. is the oil-drilling, oil-smelling, uncultured white, who swears and chews and makes the black man salute him!"[183]

The Beacon kept abreast of relevant news regarding science, health, and government. In the Editorial Notes of the September 1931 edition, the Editorial Board examined issues related to the British government's discussing laws proposing the

[180] Gomes, "Reason, Intuition and Instinct," 19.

[181] Albert Gomes, "On Taking One's Life," *The Beacon: A Monthly Review* 1 no. 3 (June 1931): 24-27.

[182] Albert Gomes, "Black Man," The Beacon: A Monthly Review 1 no. 4 (July 1931): 1-3.

[183] Gomes, "Black Man."

sterilization of persons with mental disabilities. One highlighted part of the article the proposed legislation which would "permit the sterilization of mentally deficient persons was recently thrown out at its first reading in the House of Commons by 167 votes to 89."[184] The Board was however concerned since even though the legislation had sought to allow persons and families to be able to choose sterilization, local governmental and mental health officials had a large say in the matter. This episode showed that the editorial mindset was against some of the ideals of negative eugenics, railing against the sizable support received for the legislation in Parliament noting: "… the bill as being in defiance of common sense and ordinary sanity, anti-working-class, pagan and unchristian. It was indeed amazing how 89 men at Westminster could be so naive as to consider the very first condition of any seriousness." [185]

Between issues Vol.1 no 4 and Vol. 2 no.2 of the Beacon (July 1931 to June 1932), scholars argued the merits of defining the abilities of a race through science. The dialogue began between Harland and James. Eventually, a series of tense articles, responses, and rebuttals throughout several issues between Harland, James, Gomes, and other writers and contributors of the *Beacon*, such as Mendes, Ernest Carr, Fred West, Ralph Mentor, and Dr. W. V. Tothill.

The Intellectual Conflict over Eugenics

A controversial publication in July 1931, "Race Admixture" by Dr. Sidney C. Harland came down hard on Afro-Caribbeans. Dr. Harland argued that the science was

[184] "Editorial Notes" In *The Beacon: A Monthly Review,* 1 no. 6 (September 1931), 10-12.

[185] "Editorial Notes" In *The Beacon: A Monthly Review,* 1 no. 6 (September 1931), 10-12.

clear that "negroes" would always be inferior to whites: "Our conclusion is, therefore, that while it is not apparent to what extent the negro is inferior in intelligence to the white man, there is little doubt that on the average he is inferior."[186] Harland said that Europeans always had a sense of superiority, but that their Christian heritage told them to suppress what they innately knew. He reasoned that the development of Darwinism and Eugenics had given humanity the ability to study empirical evidence proving white superiority. Dr. Harland argued, "many tests have been carried out in the United States to discover what differences there are between the white and the coloured elements in the population in respect of intelligence." All of the mentioned tests found that "pure negroes scored 69.2 percent as high as the whites; that the three-quarter negroes scored 73.2 percent as high as the whites; that the mulattoes scored 81.2 percent."[187] Harland further submitted that Negroes could not present great men such as Toussaint L'Ouverture as examples of Black Excellence, as the latter fitted the role of a genetic outlier and not a great one at that. This explosive article, as was to be expected, ruffled feathers including those of men like C.L.R. James, who were offended that Dr. Harland would express such views in a journal which promoted intellectual discussions regardless of racial background.

In "The Intelligence of the Negro: A Few Words with Dr. Harland," C. L. R. James disputed many elements of Harland's submission. C.L.R. James, the famous Trinidadian intellectual, had a reputation for writing about Trinidadian and Caribbean

[186] Harland, "Race Admixture," 25-30.

[187] C. L. R. James, **"**The Intelligence of the Negro: A Few Words with Dr. Harland," *The Beacon: A Monthly Review,* 1 no. 5 (August 1931), 6-10.

pride. In a previous *Beacon* article, James had penned: "Trinidadians are, as I have good cause to know, and the educated traveller can easily see from their book-shops, music-stores, newspapers, and conversations, a highly refined and cultured people," displaying his belief that locals were more "modern" than racists gave them credit for.[188] Thus, in August 1931, he had no qualms in challenging Harland's views and in pointing out that the scientist was using eugenics as a way to hold on to outmoded ways of thinking about race, unlike other fields of academia which had shed previously prejudiced messages. Furthermore, James argued that a man like Harland who had resided in the West Indies for several years, educated dozens of black students, and witnessed blacks excel in law, medicine and the arts, was a man hardened in prejudiced ways. In the opinion of James, biases could be the only reason Harland had refused to recognize the leaps and bounds black men and women were making in the Empire and the United States. In listing some reasons as to why he thought it necessary to respond to Harland, James wrote:

> "The first is, that there may be negroes who might read his article and, misled by his reputation, feel some internal disquiet. Dr. Harland, I think it fair to say, means well. He obviously likes to think of himself as a man with no prejudices, a truly scientific man, compelled after deep study and thought to come to the conclusion that the negro is about five (or is it ten?) per cent inferior to the white man in intellect. But Science is the only department of human life where the heart must not lead the mind. It is not necessary for Dr. Harland to mean well. It is far more requisite that he should think well. But far from thinking well, it seems to me that the Doctor has not thought at all."[189]

Harland, in "Magna Est Veritas et Praevalebit," published October of 1931 doubled down on his comments asserting "negro inferiority." He dismissed James' use of the work of social scientists as a legitimate reason to reject eugenics. Rather, he stuck to

[188] James, **"**The Intelligence of the Negro: A Few Words with Dr. Harland," 6-10.

[189] James, **"**The Intelligence of the Negro,"10.

what he said was "the view accepted by *all* competent biologists, - that the negro is inferior of intelligence to the white race."[190] He continued to stand by his belief that few blacks had reached the educational attainment of whites: "And even those who were part black were mostly white. 15,000-20,000 men of genius. Two of these, Dumas and Pushkin, were of negro ancestry, but they were more white than negro."[191] Harland's refusal to endorse black intelligence was embedded in his sense of both racial (and colonial) superiority and showed partisan divisions of the global intellectual community.

Harland's comments on the abilities of Africans had an added layer of agitation serving also as a reminder of the inequality of people of African descent in any manner across the empire. Previously, slavery, criminality, and dire poverty of the colored masses of the Caribbean were points of criticism for white imperialists. The perceived inferiority of Africans emanated from the economic and political positions in which they found themselves through the inability to progress socially. Although the experiments used to study the genetic phenomena in animals and plants varied considerably from the realities of human civilization, Dr. Harland was adamant that science was the only way to prove any theory, and there was never fault in scientific research.

This tense debate between Harland and James on the merits of using science to argue intelligence and abilities based on race spilled over to other writers and readers of *The Beacon.* These commentators believed that the controversial statements by both Dr.

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[190] Sidney C. Harland, **"**Magna Est Veritas et Praevalebit: A Reply to Mr. C. L. R. James," *The Beacon: A Monthly Review* 1 no. 7 (October 1931), 18-20.

[191] Harland, **"**Magna Est Veritas et Praevalebit," 20.

Harland and James necessarily invoked responses from members of the scientific community and the people of Trinidad and Tobago.

In the September 1931 edition of *the Beacon*, Mendes tried to bring a middle ground to this challenging racial discussion. Saying that "Mr. James and Dr. Harland are intelligent men: for both I have an unbounded respect," Mendes made it clear that the notion that genes determined ability was false and without supporting authoritative evidence. This part of his essay showed his rejection of Harland's eugenic based rationale. Mendes however, could not be convinced that "Negros" had proven themselves as members of advanced civilizations. Mendes knew many "Negros" who were just as smart as whites. He believed that the Nordics' achievements in the development of Western society had proven them as a superior race. Mendes' opinion hedged on the idea of "cultural environment" pushing Nordics to achieve more and leaving Africans to stay satisfied with little.[192] He listed studies arguing that environmental factors rather than biological premises linked to the beneficial development of intelligence: "Intelligence tests were last year made on negroes in the U.S.A. to substantiate this and it was found that the nearer the city the negro was, the more intelligent he became. But surely this is true of all races? The English country-bumpkin is not anywhere as intelligent as his city-brother."[193] Thus, his argument hinged on the fact that Africa was not necessarily an environment providing the skills to perform well on this test. He also noted that people of African descent had not contributed to the Arts and Sciences in the way hose from Nordic

[192] Alfred H. Mendes**, "**Correspondence," *The Beacon: A Monthly Review,* 1 no. 6 (September 1931), 27-28.

[193] Mendes**, "**Correspondence," *The Beacon*, 27-28.

territories had done over the centuries. Mendes referred to European expansion into Africa, as white men exploiting the value of the continent's resources while the indigenous worshiped celestial objects and failed to contribute to the vast knowledge of the world. Mendes conveyed the idea that African traditions held no global cultural significance and "no literature, no painting, no music" had come from that continent without European influences.[194] His argument gave credence to the idea of European superiority based on production in modern society; claiming this as an objective way to address the problem. Although he saw Trinidadians as a "future-forward" people, he could not say the same for most Africans.

Albert Gomes entered the conversation about the *essence* of race on the side of James. Although of Portuguese descent, Gomes' relationship with the "colored people" of Trinidad was evident by the subjects addressed in his works. His eyes saw all the people of Trinidad as a single people living in similar circumstances. He acknowledged the role of race in the interactions of the diverse people of the region but made it clear that race was not a factor determining the development of people. Gomes sought to attack Harland's argument by employing Harland's main crutch for this debate, science. He first targeted the belief that "white germ-plasm" superiority stemmed from evolution. He rejected Harland on these grounds, referring to the evolution theory based on Darwin as "a shifting affair at the mercy of chance and accident."[195] To make claims that "the Negro's inferiority is a chronic one" ignores, in the views of Gomes, adherence to

[194] Mendes**, "**Correspondence," *The Beacon*, 27-28.

[195] Mendes**, "**Correspondence," *The Beacon*, 27-28.

Harland's scientific logic. Additionally, Gomes questioned how a man of science such as Harland could deliberately answer issues of race superiority with confidence when the experiments and research never produced the evidence to back those claims. In the view of Gomes, evolutional theories had not reached a point where certainty about progression was no longer a theory. Gomes believed that the top biologists and evolutionary theorists could not prove that man evolved from apes or plants.[196] He questioned how Harland could be "smugly satisfied with the theories of a science which was still unable to give any good account of the development of the embryo."[197]

In response to Gomes, one reader, Fred West, totally opposed the idea of the progress of the "Black Man." West submitted a piece titled "You Are Right, Black Man, But How…?," which sought to eradicate any notion of African Intelligence.[198] He argued that even the sense of acknowledging the minuscule accomplishments of Blacks needed White validation, as Whites dominated the idea of progress in World Civilization. He bolstered this statement by including other cultures, such as the Chinese, the Japanese, and "Hindoos," whom he noted all had achievements preceding European contact and did not need European improvement.[199] Traditions from Africa, however, were in West's opinion, rudimentary, and had never reached a level where assistance from European

[196] Albert Gomes, "Germ Plasm: Some Comments on Dr. Harland's Articles," *The Beacon: A Monthly Review,* 1 no. 7 (October 1931), 23.

[197] Gomes, "Germ Plasm," 23.

[198] Fred West, "You Are Right, Black Man, But How . . .?: A Reply to Albert Gomes' *Black Man*," In *The Beacon: A Monthly Review,* 1 no. 7 (October 1931), 11-12.

[199] West, "You Are Right, Black Man, But How . . .?," 11-12.

minds became necessary for development.[200] West represents readers who accepted black mediocrity as fact and refused to see achievements by people of African descent as equal to groups whose traditions had been hailed as world-changing by past scholars. West can accept Harland's these because it reinforced his previous beliefs about black intellectual ability.

Although Ernest Carr did not directly address Harland's article, his October 1931 piece "The Negro Child and Its Environment" seemed to touch on the essence of the topic.[201] Carr, a local schoolteacher who later became a senior civil servant, wrote fictional short stories for *the Beacon* in the "barrack-yard" style typical of other submissions.[202] His work focused on the difficulty of raising black families in a world in which they lacked value and respect. Carr's opinion-based style essay discussed how black children in white environments never seemed to receive the same benefit of the doubt as did their white counterparts. Black children rather were defined regarding future failings based on racial grounds, rather than on their possible abilities.

Carr implicitly rejected the idea of genes determining a person's ability. He argued that perceived racial differences became barriers towards maintaining racial oppression. He for example noted that the issue of "good and bad hair" created an unnecessary crisis in the lives of black families, as "It is easy to see the sense of

[200] West, "You Are Right, Black Man, But How . . .?," 11-12.

[201] Ernest A. Carr, "The Negro Child and Its Environment," *The Beacon: A Monthly Review,* 1 no. 7 (October 1931), 14-15.

[202] Sander, *The Trinidadian Awaking,* 19; Ernest A. Carr, "Black Mother," *The Beacon: A Monthly Review,* 1 no. 4 (July 1931), 8-14.

inferiority with which a sensitive child would grow up under this arbitrary physical handicap, which is none the less crippling for being imaginary."[203] Although published just a month after Mendes' middle ground essay, Carr sought to prove that Mendes was still guilty of playing into the "racial psychology" that remained an obstacle for blacks. Carr reasoned that generations of African mothers had internalized beliefs about the inferiority of the African race. Thus, instead of raising Negro children without the stress of uplifting a community of disadvantaged people, black women had to spend a considerable amount of time adjusting their children to the mores of white civilizations. Carr believed that until black mothers did not have to deal with the burden of "racial psychology," Negro children would continue to operate in an undesirable state of mind, where artificial racial standards determined their value to a society that lacked respect for them.

Ralph Mentor continued the attack on Harland and Mendes, as he believed both were guilty of perpetuating ignorance to prop up white supremacy. Mentor, a local reporter in the 1930s, became a trade unionist and later a member of the resistance movement to colonialism on the island.[204] Mentor's lengthy piece "Truth Is Mightier Than Fiction" had to be published in two parts, January-February 1932 and March 1932. In this essay, Mentor directly rejected any notion that people of African descent had any sense of inferiority, whether genetic or environmental.[205] Mentor took issue with Dr.

[203] Carr, "The Negro Child and Its Environment," *The Beacon*, 14-15.

[204] Sander, *The Trinidadian Awaking*, 19.

[205] Ralph Mentor, *"Truth Is Mightier Than Fiction*," *The Beacon: A Monthly Review,* 1 no. 10 (January-February 1932), 9.

Harland's hypocrisy for using both genetics and historical factors to downplay black intelligence. First, Mentor explained that Darwinian discoveries could not prove a superior type of human based on race. Rather, some scientists employed pseudo-scientific studies which were without merit since they could not conclusively determine the superiority of a gene pool.[206] He was also critical of Harland's notions that the leading edge of science and knowledge from European backgrounds proved that Africans lagged far behind. Mentor reasoned that England had not made a significant contribution to the Western world until the sixth century: "It took Great Britain five hundred and seventy-one years to produce her first writer of merit, Gildas, who wrote a "History of Britain," Yet Dr. Harland reproaches because Negroes in the United States have not produced a Shakespeare in about one-eleventh the time it took Great Britain to bring forth hers."[207]

Mentor pointed to Harland's selective choice of statistics and populations to uphold the idea of white supremacy without further exploring how black contributions to these regions allowed white people to succeed.[208] He noted that black people in the United States had filed over 400 patents, and several of the first writers in the Americans were of black heritage. He criticized Mendes for stepping into the conversation as a fiction writer, suggesting that the latter masked his ignorance of the achievements of early African civilizations with his literary prose.[209] Mentor went on to document how

[206] Mentor, **"***Truth Is Mightier Than Fiction*," *The Beacon*, January-February 1932), 10.

[207] Mentor, **"***Truth Is Mightier Than Fiction*," *The Beacon*, January-February 1932), 12.

[208] Mentor, **"***Truth Is Mightier Than Fiction*," *The Beacon*, January-February 1932), 11.

[209] Mentor, **"***Truth Is Mightier Than Fiction*," *The Beacon*, January-February 1932), 9-12.

early Egyptian and Ethiopian civilizations had laid a basis for the achievements of the previously "barbaric" Greeks and Romans in the BC era.[210] He expressed the view that the success of Africa was not just limited to ancient history, as kingdoms in Guinea, Congo, and the Bight of Benin had "developed an industrial and social organization, and executed works of art in bronze, glass and terra-cotta."[211] Mentor also stated that "the Niger Regions and the Soudan" had the "existence of a great and ancient culture in days of antiquity."[212] He further argued that Europeans did not control the entire narrative, as Arabs had played a larger role in the transition of early African dominance to contemporary European rule.[213] Mentor concluded that it was unjust of both Mendes and Harland to portray Africa as a backward continent. Africa's "state of failure" did not stem from the idea that a group of genetically inferior people inhabited the continent. Nor did the region and its descendants lack achievements in science, technology, and culture. Instead, the shift of power during the Atlantic slave trade had inhibited Africa, allowing European explorers to ascend as global powers.[214]

Mentor displayed how white supremacy obscured facts from those who claimed to be objective. Mendes and Harland were quick to subscribe to racist literature that subjugated African achievements to footnotes in order to justify white rule. Mentor

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[210] Mentor, ***"****Truth Is Mightier Than Fiction*," *The Beacon*, January-February 1932), 9-12.

[211] Ralph Mentor, "Truth Is Mightier Than Fiction," by In *The Beacon: A Monthly Review,* 1 no. 11 (March 1932), 11-13.

[212] Mentor, ***"****Truth Is Mightier Than Fiction*," *The Beacon*, (March 1932), 11.

[213] Mentor, ***"****Truth Is Mightier Than Fiction*," (March 1932), 12-13.

[214] Mentor, ***"****Truth Is Mightier Than Fiction*," (March 1932), 12.

refuted the notion that biology or environment represented the only factors in the success of a race. Instead, he introduced into these debates the idea that transitions of power between communities was a common theme in history and affected the ability of oppressed groups to highlight their achievements. He posited the idea that racist scholars, to perpetuate white supremacist theories, excluded opposing facts to protect their platforms. Mentor's outrage stemmed from his view that since scholars like Mendes and Harland were academics, people to whom societies looked for knowledge, the ordinary person would not necessarily question the fallacies of their arguments and thus without validity, the massed would accept false concepts that degraded African people.

Mentor's "Truth Is Mightier Than Fiction" served to be the final lightning rod for this tense debate. Despite his rejection of science as a tool to frame discussions about racial development, another reader, Dr. W. V. Tothill, took one last shot. Tothill was an expatriate medical doctor who had served "with the West India Regiment during World War I."[215] He contributed both fiction and nonfiction pieces to the *Beacon,* responding to Mentor 's history lesson with statistical measures from Kenya published in the March 26, 1931, edition of the *British Medical Journal*. In his May 1932 Correspondence letter, Tothill listed the cranial size of the different races as well as the comparison of densities of skulls between Europeans and East Africans.[216] The study had concluded that Africans had better physical traits, while Europeans might have more capacity for intelligence.[217]

[215] Sander, *The Trinidadian Awaking,* 19.

[216] Dr. W. V. Tothill "Correspondence," *The Beacon: A Monthly Review,* 2 no. 1 (May 1932), 38.

[217] Tothill "Correspondence," *The Beacon,* 38.

Mentor's response to Tothill seemed to represent the final discussion of race and science in the *Beacon.* In the June 1932 article titled, "Facts More Convincing Than Theory: A Reply to Dr. W. V. Tothill," Mentor argued that Tothill's submission proved his point about the need to justify white superiority via science. Mentor explained that cranial measures did not prove biological superiority, but just that people of European descent had slightly larger skulls than people of other races.[218] Mentor had also read the article published in the *British Medical Journal* pointing out that part of the content had sought to emphasize biases by the white Kenyan minority. The article had contributed to the narrative of black inferiority in order to continue unquestioned British governance in that country. Mentor's final point was that white scholars needed to stop trying to convince educated people of color that their inferiority was permanent. The lengths white men went to reconstruct the objectivity of science as a tool to justify the suppression of people of color deeply bothered Mentor.343

The prolonged and literal war of words in *the Beacon* showed the importance of the contentious issue of race in the minds of Trinidad's intelligentsia. It is interesting that Harland did not cite his months-long battles with C.L.R. James and Albert Mendes in the issues of *The Beacon* in his book *Nine Lives*, especially since it sparked a vicious conversation about race and ability in Trinidad. To control the narrative on race and ability became a pivotal point for the dissolution of white supremacy and colonialism in the British Caribbean. Scholars of color and their allies needed to rebuke Harland's words since any acceptance of racial science by the readership could hurt the efforts of

[218] Ralph Mentor, "Facts More Convincing Than Theory: A Reply to Dr. W. V. Tothill" *The Beacon: A Monthly Review,* 2 no. 2 (June 1932), 12-13.

revolutionary politics among the region's oppressed classes. Persons aligning with Harland ultimately pushed the agenda that people of color, even though a few had made some progress, could not reach the genetic heights of those of European descent. Thus, it was futile for men like James, Gomes, and Mentor to combat the "truth" coming from educated, scientific men like Harland and Tothill. This viewpoint held that the rationale of white superiority did not come from feelings; rather, their hard truths came from objective research that had historically shown that Europeans naturally had better genes and produced better societies as a result. Here lies the issue, when does a debate on constructed concepts like race and ability become solvable situations? Could Harland et al. provide Afro-Caribbeans the skills to overcome their perceived "deficiencies?" Alternatively, does Harland use the idea of negative eugenics justify his refusal to aid the development of another race?

Conclusion

This chapter concerned itself with issues of access to education, racial tension in intellectual spaces, and the challenge to end racialist assumptions. West Indians wanted to prove that in a world of racism, imperialism, and oppression, the region's peoples were competent and motivated. They knew that their skin colors and perceived lack of education were potential tools in the hands of colonialist to be used to hold them back. Even though the Tropical Imperial College of Agriculture focused more on planting techniques than instruction on human social development, the Trinidad-based college still gave locals an opportunity to show the abilities of the intellectual community of the British Empire, proving their mental capabilities to white foreign scholars in the process. Nevertheless, the issue of race and colonialism always complicated these attempts. The

prejudiced nature of negative eugenic thought had poisoned the minds of researchers, forcing them only to view societies in biological terms rather than actual abilities, and neglecting to accept that a combination of factors, nature, and nurture, affected the development of communities. Although Harland spent decades in the Caribbean, his biases against black people remained apparent in his interactions within the region. Despite being a longtime resident, having a "coloured" best man at his wedding, and even having a child of a quarter-African heritage, Harland seldom showed a sincere desire to aid these communities. Harland knew that people of color were intelligent and had the capacity to succeed, and yet he continued to adhere to a racist ideology. The intractability of this belief system showed more about the power of racist ideology to maintain white supremacy rather than any notion of true scientific thought. The chaos created by his work in *The Beacon* gave insight into the mindset of many white scholars who supported notions of white supremacy based on a variety of rationales. Similarly, the response by members of The Beacon group to defend people of African descent from literary oppression displayed how a progressive class of Trinidadians interacted within an environment of tense racial divisions to reject such negativity that could harm both soul and the reputation of the nation.

Ideas stemming from education, intellectualism, institutions of higher learning, and regional cultural publications reshaped the regional discourse on race in science. The liberal arts nature of the work of T*he Beacon* group differed greatly from the practical and scientific nature of the writings of the scholars of the tropical College, yet the differing sets of knowledge from both groups had a role within this discussion. Although issues raised about establishing the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture did not

receive as much emphasis as did Dr. Harland/*The Beacon* debates, both were critical in establishing the climate in which ideas of eugenics interacted with British Caribbean reality in the 1920s and 1930s. Men of Harland's background dominated the political and social classes of Trinidad. Although he was an idiosyncratic personality, he undoubtedly represented the access white British administrators had to the resources of the region.

Another scholar who used the Caribbean as a site to uphold beliefs about eugenics was famed American scientist Charles Davenport. While Harland sought to reestablish ideas about race and eugenics to establish his superiority to Afro-Caribbeans, Davenport used the Caribbean to prove his questionable theories on race to justify policies that restrict freedoms for people of African descent.

Chapter 3: "Good Genes, Bad Study: The Issues of Charles Davenport's Jamaican Race Project"

In the controversial publication, *Race Crossing in Jamaica,* Charles Davenport, America's leading eugenicist, employed the dangerous rhetoric of racial science to denigrate the people of color living on the island. Davenport's brand of eugenics often sought to "cure the genetic problems" of the United States. He often combined elements of scientific studies on the physical and intellectual capacities of his subjects with bombastic conclusions about the hierarchy of races. His goal was to promote white supremacy from the laboratory to government, as he geared his work to argue that people from non-Western European origins were not fit to run this world. His attempt in Jamaica to examine the racial characteristics of a foreign population was a big step for his work, as a successful study in a non-U.S. territory could enhance his reputation as an academic. Nevertheless, Davenport's penance for producing academic research with extreme racial biases led his work to receive a massive rebuff by a generation of academics that rejected eugenics as an explanation for the world's issues.

In the 1920s, eugenicists received international notoriety as practitioners of the field. This grand establishment of the field allowed men like Charles Davenport to devise a plan a large-scale study on the genetic background of Jamaica without a serious level of resistance. Charles Davenport's influence in the work eugenics both in the United States and abroad provided him the access to study a foreign group. Although eugenics draws controversy, Davenport's role in the global eugenics movement provided him with the means to complete this project. The reputation of eugenics, however, declined as *Race Crossing in Jamaica* neared publication. *Race Crossing in Jamaica* intended to support

theories about perils of racial impurity and general inferiority of African people, and Charles Davenport overextended the racial theories of the field through problematic research. The book, and the eugenics movement at large, became a failure, as a rise of social science fields that focused on cultural methodologies to analyze the differences between races argued against the problematic data collections and pseudoscience of the project.

The story of *Race Crossing in Jamaica* reflected a greater issue in the application of eugenics, which is the power of hegemony. This chapter argues that Dr. Davenport, as a prominent white American scholar, used his privilege as a prominent American scientist to develop and test a controversial hypothesis regarding eugenic thought on residents of a foreign nation. His position as a notable scientist allowed him to engage with intellectuals and policymakers in disputes that dealt with race and biology. Since the height of eugenic studies took place in the 1920s, this period intersected the end of the Progressive Era, where the morals of white middle-class societies became a mantra for the civilizing of "inferior" societies. Jamaica might not have been an American colony like Puerto Rico or the Philippines, but the island's racial demographics fit the idea of "the white man's burden," where it was the job of European descent people to improve the lives of the "racially inferior." By questioning and rectifying the racial demographics of Jamaica, Davenport wanted to inspire white societies to protect themselves from "denigrating their genetic material" by rejecting mixed-race societies. The publishing of *Race Crossing in Jamaica* also allowed Davenport to ascend to a level internationally to be the leader of a global eugenics movement, which would allow him and the Eugenic Records Office to begin a process of creating databases that would monitor the genetic

backgrounds of communities around the world.[219] Nevertheless, a shift in the ideals of academia led to the decline of eugenics, as social scientists questioned the merits of projects like *Race Crossing in Jamaica*, and argued against the protection of stereotypes via pseudoscience.

This chapter relates the greater dissertation in three ways. First, the chapter reestablishes the idea that the zenith of eugenics occurred in the 1920s, as this field became less favorable in the 1930s, especially after controversial works like *Race Crossing in Jamaica*. Second, the chapter continues a reoccurring theme in this dissertation, which documents the role of a white actor in the issues of racial identity in a British Caribbean setting. Davenport and Steggerda, as Americans, had different rights as non-British citizens in Jamaica, yet received high levels of deference because of their whiteness. Third, this chapter also reiterates that eugenics ultimately failed as a viable field because there was a change in who participated in academic race studies as time progressed to the 1930s and 1940s. New waves of sociologists and anthropologists, as well as biologists and geneticists, avoided using stereotypes as the main source of inspiration for their research purposes. Rather, the rise of cultural methodologies reversed an academic trend on researching race that adhered to a strict acceptance of biological rationale for racial differences. Cultural methodologies come from fields like

[219] The Eugenic Records Office collected detailed information about their subjects' physical and intellectual capacities. Their early successes at the Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory in Long Island allowed them to collect information on groups in the New York Tri-State area, then other populations in the United States. With the prestige Davenport acquired through his advocacy of eugenics, as well as the ERO retaining funding for producing studies recognized within the Eugenics Community, Davenport sought use this clout to convince other national eugenics programs to allow the ERO to conduct similar *Race Crossing in Jamaica* style studies in their countries. The records in Davenport's Collection at the American Philosophical Society showed that Davenport reached out to Eugenics Organizations around the world in the late 1920s, with the intention to collaborate and conduct studies on genetics of their country.

anthropology and sociology, and the practitioners do not claim that behaviors of humans come from purely hereditable rationale. Rather, the environment, ancient traditions, and other interpersonal factors can shape the behavior and mindsets of humans. As academia move further in the twentieth century, scholars sought insight into the differences between different racial communities rather than relying on tropes that continued ideas of inferiority among races.

Eugenics played a critical role in reshaping the demographics of the United States. Thanks to the work of racial scientists in the 1910s and 1920s, federal policies that limited immigration to the United States came into effect. Additionally, many states adopted anti-miscegenation policies and legalized sterilization for those deemed to have "inferior genetic material." The inspiration and support of these political measures came from the work of eugenicists in academia. In 1912, Dr. Henry Goddard published his study of rural, lower class residents of New Jersey in *The Kallikak Family: A Study of Heritability of Feeble-Mindedness*. The information about the strain of "feeblemindedness" to spread from generation to generation and the pedigree charts documenting the spread of "inferior genes" by this family became the basis of sterilization laws in the United States.[220] The Immigration Act of 1924 (The Johnson-Reed Act) has received attention from scholars for basis in eugenics. Harry Laughlin, the head secretary of ERO, helped craft the language of the bill with Congressman Albert

[220] Steven Selden, *Inheriting Shame: The Story of Eugenics and Racism in America*, (New York: Teachers College Press, 1999), 95-100.

Johnson and the data used for this legislation came from eugenic studies from ERO.[221] In fact, Laughlin became an "expert eugenics agent" for Congressman Johnson in his 1924 testimony about immigration restriction in Congress.[222] Similar laws on miscegenation and compulsory sterilization also received support from the work of eugenicists, whose studies became the basis for the language of these bills. The data used to support the enactment of bills came from studies similar to *Race Crossing in Jamaica.* Thus, by ramping up the number of studies conducted on various racial and social groups, eugenicists like Davenport could seek to influence policymakers with the goal to use science to reinforce white ablest supremacy.[223]

Davenport's successes in the production of his eugenic projects in the United States brought him international acclaim. In 1911, he published one of the first major texts in eugenics, *Heredity in Relation to Eugenics*. This genealogical study of four New England families became a best-selling collegiate and medical school textbook for studies on health.[224] Other notable publications included his 1910 monograph *Eugenics: The Science of Human Improvements* and 1904's *Statistical Methods, With Special Reference to Biological Variation*. He received invitations to conferences from Cuba to Germany,

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[221] Randall Hansen, Desmond King, *Sterilized by the State: Eugenics, Race, and the Population Scare in Twentieth-Century North America*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 36; Selden, *Inheriting Shame*, 85-86.

[222] Paul Lombardo, "Eugenics Laws Restricting Immigration," http://www.eugenicsarchive.org/html/eugenics/essay9text.html. (Accessed July 16, 2018).

[223] Much of the language of eugenics rejected the value of disabled bodies, as they considered people with various ailments a threat to the gene pool for healthy white people.

[224] Charles Davenport, *Heredity In Relation To Eugenics*, New York: Arno Press, 1972, (First Edition 1911).

he brought scholars as far away as China to work under him, and he became a critical member of the eugenics societies in foreign countries. His international academic reputation preceded him, which made it easy for him to access a country that he lacked no political ties. Yet, his reputation did not prevent Davenport from receiving serious criticism.

By the 1930s, scholars that rejected the acceptance of blatantly racist research became a critical part of the academic community. New scholars, coming from fields in the social sciences, played a role in revising the analysis of racial studies in an academic environment. As scholars such as Melville Herskovits and Franz Boas raised the profile of anthropology and sociology, students and community developed the rationale to reject simplistic ideas about racial characteristics. These changes in studying race become very clear with the work of Edith Clarke with her study of Jamaican society in the 1940s. This focus on methods employed in the race studies of social scientists is not to say that the work of anthropologists and sociologists were perfect in the understanding of race after rejecting eugenics as a viable academic platform. Nevertheless, without the influence of minority scholars, the continual perpetuation of ugly stereotypes may have continued for a longer period in academia.

This chapter starts with an introduction to the life of Charles Davenport, as his academic trajectory mirrored the rise of greater eugenics movement as well. Davenport may not have been the first major eugenicist, but his role as the leading American eugenicist show the heights of what this movement achieved in American society. This chapter will then look at the process of coming up with the idea to publish his work on the genetic background of the people of Jamaica. Dr. Davenport and other American

eugenicists long were concerned about "the negro problem," where the inferior genes of people of African descent would cause a racial suicide if interracial relationships received acceptance in European and American societies. Davenport believed that Jamaica could serve as an adequate test site to prove that mixed-race individuals were undesirable because of their inappropriate genetic makeup. Morris Steggerda, a graduate student Davenport tasked to collect his data, took two years to find the data necessary to uphold Davenport's thesis. The completion of *Race Crossing in Jamaica* received negative backlash.

Charles Davenport: American Scientist and Eugenic Advocate

Raised in Brooklyn, New York, Charles Davenport (1866-1944) grew up in a wealthy, pious New England family. His father, Amazi Davenport earned a fortune in selling insurance and managing estates in the New York metropolitan area.[225] Charles was the youngest son of the eight children between Amzi and Jane Joralemon Dimon. Amzi's second wife. Charles' brother, William, worked as a minister and social worker.[226] Charles' sister Frances obtained a degree in higher education and worked for the Carnegie Institution of Washington as a researcher in the Institution's Department of History.[227] Carnegie Institution of Washington was a key institution in her brother's work. This institution promoted and financially supported Charles' research in eugenic

[225] Oscar Riddle, "Biographical Memoir of Charles Benedict Davenport 1866-1944," *National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America Biographical Memoirs Volume XXV Fourth Memoir*, 1947, http://nasonline.org/publications/biographical-memoirs/memoir-pdfs/davenport-charles.pdf, 75.

[226] Oscar Riddle, "Biographical Memoir of Charles Benedict Davenport 1866-1944," 75.

[227] E. Carleton. MacDowell, "Charles Benedict Davenport, 1866-1944: A Study of Conflicting Influences," *Bios* 17, No. 1 (Mar. 1946), 36.

studies. Charles's ambitions differed from his siblings as his interests and research in science and education promoted him to a prominent level in society in this field.

Charles Davenport rose to the highest education level a young man could ascertain the late 19th century America. Graduating from the prestigious Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute in 1886, he continued his graduate education at Harvard. There he earned his Ph.D. in biology and zoology in 1892. Davenport studied under Edward Laurens Mark, a critical scholar in the field of anatomy who earned his Ph.D. in cytology from the University of Leipzig in 1876.[228] He received his training at a time when scientists had revolutionized their research methods and techniques, increasing the number of cellular discoveries.[229] This revolutionary moment also transformed the American academia. This change was due to the U.S. university system replicating the German model of graduate studies. Harvard University's hiring of a prominent American scientist trained in the German University system increased the appeal of its science programs. Mark's mentorship of Davenport influenced the kind of research conducted at Harvard. After graduating, Davenport remained on campus as an instructor until other opportunities arose. He received one of the first professional job opportunities at the University of Chicago in 1899.[230] There he established his earliest scholarly reputation in the fields of taxonomy and animal ecology. Davenport flourished in the new frontier of evolutionary science. He also developed contacts in the academy and research laboratory

[228] Kornhauser "Edward Laurens Mark," 275.

[229] Kornhauser "Edward Laurens Mark," 275-276.

[230] MacDowell, "Charles Benedict Davenport, 1866-1944: A Study of Conflicting Influences," 15.

institutions respectively. He later became the Director of the Summer School of the Biological Laboratory of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences. The latter position soon attracted the attention of the Institute of Carnegie Endowment. These influences culminated in 1904 when the Carnegie-endowed Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory tapped him to head their Station for Experimental Evolution in Long Island, New York.[231]

At the Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory, Davenport established several departments that examined the role of gene behavior of organisms. His earliest displays illustrated his adherence to Mendelian theory, as His work with animals, implemented studies that traced the dominant and recessive genes. Davenport's successes in zoology allowed him to shift his attention to genetic detail to humans. By 1907, he centered his studies of animals and exclusively published articles on the heredity of humans. Davenport stressed that his background in animal studies prepared him for his eugenic crusade. In his 1924 article titled, *Agriculture and Genetics*, Davenport compared his work in genetics to a farmer raising his stock by taking advantage of natural laws, health, wealth, and immorality. The theory compared the raising children to raising other domestic animals. He reiterated that they must receive the best cultural conditions – and what cultural conditions better than life on the farm may afford.[232] Davenport mentioned in another 1924 lecture: "The widespread heresy that people are born alike, with the same potentialities, and consequently capable of being trained to react in just the same way, will be instantly opposed by every parent who has reared three or four child to

[231] MacDowell, "Charles Benedict Davenport, 1866-1944: A Study of Conflicting Influences," 15.

[232] Charles Davenport, *Agriculture and Genetics*, 1924, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

maturity."[233] The establishment of the Eugenic Records Office (ERO) at Cold Spring in 1910 became the symbol of his change in career ethos.

The ERO sought to become the "clearinghouse" of genetic data in the United States. Davenport first directed the ERO to the New York Metropolitan area. He employed dozens of researchers to work as field agents in different communities. Davenport, especially in the case of Steggerda, personally trained the field workers to identify the physical, mental, behavioral and genetic traits needed for ERO studies. As Davenport developed his method of data collection, he framed the style of work of the ERO. An interesting note is that many of these field workers were young female college students/graduates. Davenport also provided plenty of employment opportunities for woman scholars.[234] Armed with surveys, questionnaires, and other tools of the trade, ERO field workers recorded physical and mental characteristics of humans. These task and standards include taking into account class, ethnic, and racial attributes. Davenport, in his 1922 lecture, *Aims and Works of the ERO*, stated:

> "The general aim of this department is, in a word, the study of internal factors that control the development with some reference to the immediate application of the knowledge to the improvement of mankind. At no time has this hypothesis been entertained that internal factors alone are required for development or that, given viable conditions of the environment, that the course of development is predetermined no matter the limits of variation of the external conditions may be. There are, however, so many organisations which attempt to change the course of human development by changing external conditions only and that are neglectful of the role played by internal, developmental impulses that it has seemed justifiable for the Department to stress the so badly neglected factor."[235]

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[233] Charles Davenport, Lecture: Heredity and Race in Eugenics, 1920, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society, 1-2.

[234] ERO Field Workers, Eugenics Records Office Collection, American Philosophical Society.

[235] Charles Davenport, *Aims and Works of ERO*, 1922 Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society, 1.

The Eugenics Record Office Sterilization Committee established their intentions: "Eugenics is the science of race improvement through the application of the laws of heredity. Among other things, it seeks to cut off the inheritance lines, and thus the supply of the socially adapted." [236] In short, they reserve the right to persecute those deemed with poor genetics to advance society for the strong. In a policy meeting, Davenport argued: "The practical application of eugenical science has two general divisions. These are the preventions of racial degeneration by arresting of discouraging the breeding of undesirable racial elements and the improvement of racial stock by eugenic breeding in what we deem to be desirable racial elements."[237]

Immigrants served as one of the first groups targeted by the ERO. One of the ERO's goals sought to devalue the genetic abilities of immigrants, especially those from areas outside of Great Britain, Germany, and Scandinavia. One of the earliest studies of the ERO documented the characteristics of Italian immigrants who attended William Davenport's church in Brooklyn, NY.[238] Davenport's lecture on *Comparative Social Traits of Various Races* used data from high school children to make judgments on the social abilities and integration of immigrants to the United States. The study wanted to prove that the different European races naturally have different temperaments. The ERO field worker, Miss Rosemary F. Mullen, examined fifty-one young women from the

[236] General Statement, ERO Sterilization Committee, Eugenics Records Office Collection, American Philosophical Society.

[237] Eugenics Research Association Committee on Policy Folder 2, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society, 20

[238] Christine Rosen, *Preaching Eugenics: Religious Leaders and the American Eugenics Movement.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 75-77.

Washington Irving High School in New York. The study used five members of different ethnic groups. These groups consisted of Russian Jews, Germans, English, Irish, Italians, and Swedes respectively. All of the subjects received evaluations on traits Davenport argued displayed quality social traits, which consisted of leadership, humor, sympathy, obtrusiveness, and coolness.[239] A keynote about this lecture stemmed from the fact that Davenport and the ERO easily acquired access to the girls of the school to conduct a study examining their cognitive abilities. The ERO seldom mentioned how they acquired the subjects of their studies, especially in the case of children. This ability to acquire subjects for the study is a testament to the contacts of Davenport as the head of the Cold Spring Laboratory. Many of these studies reflected the opinions of the organizers of the ERO rather than producing valid scientific research. Although he implemented the scientific method in his designs, it is apparent that personal viewpoints became more critical in the design, results, and conclusion of the projects. In the study, Davenport explained that his vision of humor could determine if other broad immigrant groups understood what was funny. Davenport often made broad judgments based only on nationality, as he argued a platform where certain ethnonational groups naturally perform certain behaviors. In another 1924 lecture on Body Build, Davenport claimed:

> "The different races of man are unlike the temperament also. Some of them, like the Scotch, are prevailingly profound, thorough, somewhat somber, others like the Mediterranean peoples are prevailing mercurial and light hearted. The trait of reserve has developed to high degree among the North American Indians; that of fidelity to a superior race among the Bantu negroes; that of industry and dependability in the Chinese, and so on."[240]

[239] Charles Davenport, Lecture: Comparative Social Traits of Various Races, 1921 August 11, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society, 19.

[240] Charles Davenport, Body Build, 1924, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

These problematic issues often lacked rebuttals from other researchers. This lack of rebuttals allowed Davenport to continue his unchecked dominance in American eugenics.

Davenport's time at Cold Spring Harbor solidified his influence on eugenics, both nationally and internationally. His position as Director of Cold Spring added luster to his career research. His ties to the Institute of Carnegie Foundation increased his academic influence, as well as having the publishing and advertising power that made his research prominent. The year after establishing the ERO, he published his first major book on the topic of eugenics titled, *Heredity in Relations to Eugenics*. This genealogical study of four New England families became a best-selling collegiate and medical school textbook for studies on health. It also made him the preeminent name in American eugenics, which allowed him to bridge local eugenic programs to the global eugenics community. This international fame even exceeded his national prominence.

Davenport traveled the world to collaborate and debate top global geneticists on the importance of eugenics to the advancement of international society at conferences and through editorials. His notable position also allowed him to build strong relationships with important academics and donors respectively. By ascertaining funds and donations from philanthropic organizations and people like the Carnegie Institute, John D. Rockefeller and the widow of railroad magnate E.H. Harriman, Davenport was able to expand the prestige of the ERO. Through the assistance and association of Harry Laughlin, Superintendent of the ERO, Madison Grant, the author of *The Passing of the Great Race*, Henry Fairfield Osborn, the President of the American Museum of Natural History, Irving Fisher, Yale neoclassic economist, and Alexander Graham Bell, famed

inventor, Davenport created his idea of a eugenic empire.[241] This circle of powerful economic, political, and social organizations helped Davenport's credibility. Although few matched his intellect, attempts at political influence, and prestige between 1910 and 1928, everything began to decline in the 1930s after the publication of *Race Crossing in Jamaica.*

Acquiring Knowledge to Solve "The Negro Problem"

Long before Davenport began the research for *Race Crossing in Jamaica*, he was concerned with how the genes of other race, particularly of African origins, affected the greater gene pool. In his opinion, Africans had "inferior" and "deficiency" genes in comparison to any other race group. His general argument focused on the idea that once African genes enter a gene pool, the genetic legacy of that population became tainted. Thus, despite all of the different social issues attached to eugenics, "The Negro Problem" served as a critical topic for researchers. Davenport's "search for hybrid people of African descent" became a main objective of the ERO, as he sought to support his damnation of Africans by conducting investigations on groups who had partially black genetic backgrounds.

Davenport made it clear in his work that the colonization efforts of his American ancestors played a critical role in the "crisis" of miscegenation. Davenport used the platform of eugenics to argue against further colonization efforts since the American continent illustrated evidence of the hazards of race mixing. In the article titled, "The

[241] The ERO often used the names of non-academic adherents to eugenics as a means to publicize and promote the practice. This is very evident in lectures like Eugenics Lecture, Eugenics Records Office Collection, American Philosophical Society.

Eugenic Principle in Immigration," Davenport presented the idea that Columbus' decision to colonize the Caribbean contributed to the racial suicide of whites.[242] This article showed Davenport's strong adherence to eugenics, as he believed that the decision to colonize became a long-term selfish decision by European explorers in terms of genetic health. The greed for the riches of the Americas led to an unintended consequence of racial degradation. The importing of African slaves was negative not because of the morals of owning other humans or ethics of slave trading. Instead, it was the interaction with Africans that tainted the genetic pool of Europe. Davenport even objected to the United States importing the cheap labor of genetically inferior regions of Europe. He pointed to the greed of Western Europeans as the reason for the social divisions that separated Europe and prevented able-bodied Nordics from receiving the respectful treatment they deserved in their communities.[243] He wanted Americans to realize that the foundation of the nation may have been built on genetic faults, but the use of eugenic principles cant end the harm: "Of the colonized territories, America must protect its heritage the most. Slavery may have been "a necessary evil," but it has become a threat to the long-term genetic health of the country. Eugenics is the only cure."[244] Thus, when the structure of colonialism benefited whites without the intermixing of the races, he held no qualms about exploiting the labor of "inferior" groups.

[242] Pan-American Conference on Eugenics and Homoculture (1st: 1926: Cuba) Folder 1, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society, 67-68.

[243] Charles Davenport, Scientific cooperation with nature: eugenics, n.d.,, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society, 10.

[244] Charles Davenport , Lecture: Protection of the Nation Germplasm, 31 December 1920, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

Davenport highlighted that past cases of genocide reinforced his theory about the natural separation of races. In the article titled, "Skin Colors of the Races of Mankind," Davenport explained that various studies prove that the levels of "melanism" in the skin of humans determined the four races of the world. These races are black, white, red, and yellow respectively.[245] The amount of melanin in a group's skin did not just determine their racial groups. Davenport made it clear that it served as a way to protect the racial groups from cohabiting in the same areas. A presented example was that of the melanin of the black race. He stated that it made it impossible for them to reside in Europe since early European annihilated darker skin residents from the continent. Conversely, in the mind of Davenport, history showed that "blacks need sunlight to defend themselves from "white enemies," and those whites could not survive the hot climes where darker skin people traditionally lived.[246]

Davenport promoted a theory that mixed-race people were naturally a rebellious group because their genetic makeups led to "disharmony in instincts." He also said that in the "race crossing" that while in the comparison to "negro" or white groups, mulattoes lacked satisfaction with life due to living between both races."[247] Mixed race people, in comparison to pure whites, engaged in criminal behavior and consumed alcohol at a much higher rate.[248] Davenport alleged that "mulattoes" lacked loyalty to either race

[245] Charles Davenport, Skin Colors of the Races of Mankind 1925 October 27, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society, 3-4.

[246] Davenport, Skin Colors of the Races of Mankind 1925 October 27, 10-14.

[247] Davenport, "Race Crossing, Draft 5," 8.

[248] Davenport, "Race Crossing, Draft 5," 8.

because of "conflicting instincts." These "conflicting instincts" stemmed from the mixed signals from the genes, combining the ambition of whites and the "intellectual inadequacy" of blacks.[249] He concluded that his studies on race mixing led to him to position to argue against the practice. Although he does not state that all race-crossing efforts produced inferior humans, he believed the benefits had no worth to society. He also made it clear that the production of mulattoes generated harmful individuals, with "conflicting instincts" that prevented them from contributing to society.[250]

Other eugenicists often displayed grave concerns about the effects of "negro genes" on the greater gene pool. One contemporary of Davenport, H. E. Jordan showed his concern for "The Negro Problem," In his article titled, "The Biological Status and Social Worth of Mulatto," in *The Popular Science Monthly: The Mulatto*.[251] H.E. Jordan described the "The Negro Problem" as an issue where a nation must control the influence of its black population over its society. He stated that "Mulattoes" prove to be problematic, "as they maintain higher statuses to blacks in multicultural societies because their whiteness allows to them to climb the social standing."[252] Interestingly enough, Jordan used Jamaica as an example. He stated that the island was in "a worse state" because of race mixing "as their population is overwhelming black and there are only a

[249] Davenport, "Race Crossing, Draft 5," 7.

[250] Davenport, "Lecture Race Crossing, Draft 5," 11-12.

[251] H.E. Jordan, "The Biological Status and Social Worth of Mulatto," in The Popular Science Monthly: The Mulatto, 573-582, in Charles Davenport, Caucasian Negro, 1891-1927, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

[252] Jordan, "The Biological Status and Social Worth of Mulatto," 573.

few amounts of whites and "Mulattoes" on the island."[253] Jordan, citing Davenport as a reference, believed that "Mulattoes" received unearned social prestige because of their white genetics, yet their mixed genetic backgrounds are degenerated and not "genetically healthy."[254] Jordan make strong refutations on people of African descent, as "The negro cannot undergo mental development beyond a certain define maximum," "Cross-breed has no "soul,"" and ""Mulattoes" do not truly rid themselves of "the negro problem" through selective breeding."[255] They either choose to stay with other "Mulattoes" or with "negroes" and maintain degenerate genes. "Mulattoes" play up their whiteness to replace whites. Despite the confidence of Jordan in rebuking "negro and mulattoes," he admitted that no real data is backing up any of these statements. Rather, his experiences with these undesirables led him to believe in the infantile nature of "negros" and the shifty nature of "mulattoes." Without interventions, both groups will absorb whites and destroy Western Civilization.[256] Articles from the noted academics like H.E. Jordan amplified the message of eugenics to wider audiences and validated the world of the Eugenic Records Office.

In order to gather more information and increase his influence in race studies, Davenport participated in the Committee on the American Negro. Sponsored by the National Research Council's Division of Anthropology and Psychology, the Committee on the American Negro brought together some of the nation's medical doctors, scientists,

[253] Jordan, "The Biological Status and Social Worth of Mulatto," 573.

[254] Jordan, "The Biological Status and Social Worth of Mulatto," 576.

[255] Jordan, "The Biological Status and Social Worth of Mulatto," 578-579.

[256] Jordan, "The Biological Status and Social Worth of Mulatto," 581-582.

and professors to analyze "The Negro Problem."[257] Besides Davenport, Steggerda, and Boas, some of the scholars present included, Aleš Hrdlicka and Harold Cummings, M.D. of Tulane, Dr. C.F. De Garis, Dr. Ernest Huber, and Dr. Adolf Schultz from the Department of Anatomy from John Hopkins University, George Herrmann, M.D. of Tulane and many others who dealt work that analyzed Black bodies. These meetings showed some of the early indications for a greater project to collect eugenic data on black people. In one meeting, Davenport requested to collect data on Negros in America and Africa, since the committee needed to know the origins of "the Negro problem."[258] He and the committee negotiated between conducting standardized ERO-style eugenic tests and conducting the study with anthropological and psychological merits taking center stage. Other committee members argued that a well-rounded investigation of black communities in America and Africa employing the methods of Physiology, Psychology, Medicine, and Demography must all be used to fix "the Negro Problem."[259] Davenport, fueling his mission to advocate eugenics as the only way, pushed for harder quantitative studies. This new approached allowed the collection of raw data. The latter collection reflected ideals of eugenics as something that qualitative studies in the past could not

[257] "National Research Council, Division of Anthropology and Psychology, Committee of the Negro Preliminary Report," October 30, 1926, in Charles Davenport, Committee on the American Negro, 1926 November 21- 1931 October 28, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

[258] "Study of the American Negro: Subjects," in Charles Davenport, Committee on the American Negro, 1926 November 21- 1931 October 28, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

[259] "Committee on the American Negro, Proposals for the Organizations of Investigations, on the American Negro, The Problem," in Charles Davenport, Committee on the American Negro, 1926 November 21- 1931 October 28, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

achieve.[260] He compounded this point by highlighting the potential work of Morris Steggerda in Jamaica, as the proven method of ERO in quantitative studies. Ultimately, the Committee on the American Negro's investigation did not receive monetary support to go forward. Nevertheless, Davenport felt compelled to be the leading voice in race studies and pushed a eugenic agenda in these conversations while in already making moves in Jamaica.[261]

Based on the issues raised in the publication titled, "Race Crossing" and other works/lectures, Davenport required empirical evidence to back assertions that racial hybridity produced inferior individuals detrimental to society. He saved his harshest critiques for the progeny of black-white unions and needed to produce a study that illustrated the harm that black genes had on the white gene pool. Davenport built up the knowledge to tackle his most ambitious race study of his career.

The Preliminary Work for *Race Crossing in Jamaica*

The 1929 research study *Race Crossing in Jamaica* began an investigation of the physical and mental characteristics of European, African, and mixed European-African inhabitants of the island. Davenport emphasized the consequences of racial mixing in multiracial societies, as he attempted to prove that the introduction of non-white genes into the white gene pool did not benefit white societies. Before working with physical

[260] "National Research Council, Division of Anthropology and Psychology, Committee of the Negro Preliminary Report," Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

[261] "Proposals for Negro Study," February 21, 1927, in Charles Davenport, Committee on the American Negro, 1926 November 21- 1931 October 28, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

anthropologist Morris Steggerda to design his study in Jamaica, Davenport conducted years of research to establish a rationale for his ambitious and flawed study.

The successes of anti-immigrant and anti-miscegenation laws in the United States, allowed Davenport to believe he could export American-style eugenics to the world. In this form of American hegemony, the implementation of eugenic racial studies could become tools to determine the genetic value of a country. Additionally, certain groups with problematic genetics could be removed to improve the genetic health of that nation. Although "the negro problem" intended to be a precautionary tale by Davenport to ramp-up anti-miscegenation policy in the United States, it also reflected a push by eugenicists to look globally to alter the spread of poor genes around the world. By building a database of race studies around the world, through association with national eugenic communities, eugenicists like Davenport intended to control global genetic health. By the 1920s, United States began to use soft and hard power in places like Haiti, Dominican Republic, Philippines, Cuba, and Puerto Rico. Often American politics and journalism claimed that they had the right to intervene in these regions because of "the white man's burden," as it was their mission to protect "infantile" groups of people from themselves. Parts of the eugenics movement of the United States reflected similar beliefs about race, nation, and genes. Adherents to eugenics and empire building believed that people of these regions were genetically inferior and a mixture of their genes and culture can undermine the successes of white superiority. Thus, the people of color of the world, in the minds of these adherents, needed to civilized to improve their behavior but segregated away from the healthy white genetic pool to protect the white communities from possible genetic degradation.

In an undated lecture titled, "Race Crossing," Davenport went into detail describing the hazards of "racial hybridization."[262] Based on the hypothetical nature of his ideas about race and ability, it is clear that the un-dated lecture "Race Crossing" was written before the events of in Jamaica from 1926 to 1928. This lecture displayed Charles Davenport was obsessed with the topic of racial composition. Much of the language of this treatise concentrated on the degrading of genetic health of society. In "Race Crossing," his definition of race emphasized his beliefs in separate human groupings:

> "Races are groups of individuals of a species that differ by one or more well marked characters. Thus among humans we have the white, negro, and Asiatic race, and in Europe the blue-eyed, blond race of the north, the brunt race of the Mediterranean and the shut-headed race that extends from the Alpine region of Europe Eastward."[263]

Davenport continually discussed the topic of dominant and recessive genes. Applying his research on animals and plants, he posited that some dominant genes were not advantageous for some species, as they provided less than favorable traits. He used the example of a hybrid dog that lacked certain useful instincts and instead advocated for racial purity, as it allowed certain races to maintain their advantageous genes.[264] Davenport noted that the melanin of the black skin of "negroes" protected them from sunburn, the fat of Eskimos allowed them to tolerate the cold, and the Australian Aborigines needed long legs to chase kangaroos.[265] He stressed the benefits of racial purity because it allowed these groups to adapt to the hazards of their natural habitats. He

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[262] Charles Davenport, "Race Crossing, Draft 5, Not Dated,"1, Lecture Race Crossing n.d. 5 drafts Folder Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

[263] Davenport, "Race Crossing, Draft 5," 1.

[264] Davenport, "Race Crossing, Draft 5," 3.

[265] Davenport, "Race Crossing, Draft 5," 3.

concluded that diverse societies weakened the benefits of specific genes because members of different races mated and introduced harmful hybrid humans into the world. [266] In order to reinforce his belief that superior bloodlines of the world came from Western European stock, he needed to present the notion the miscegenation was a crime against nature. Thus, non-Western Europeans became threats to biological threated that could taint this "superior" gene pool.[267]

Although he argued the benefits of certain genes, Davenport disagreed with human hybridity. He concluded in his publication titled, "Race Crossing" that humans used environmental and sexual reasons, to maintain racial purity. Humans' failure to breed within their own race, he believed, led to "disharmony in instincts in the phenotype."[268] One example spoke about people of black and white parentage, as they inherited the inferior genes of lesser people.[269] Davenport produced lectures about race combinations to demonstrate the issues that hybridization brought to different studies. Based on secondary source research, Davenport wrote extensively about black-white and American Indian-white groups of the United States, the Metis (Portuguese, Amerindian, and African) of Brazil, and the Dutch and the native Hottentots of South Africa.[270] He posited that although their African genes gave these groups "superior physical

[266] Davenport, "Race Crossing, Draft 5," 4.

[267] Davenport, "Race Crossing, Draft 5," 1.

[268] Davenport, "Race Crossing, Draft 5," 4.

[269] Davenport, "Race Crossing, Draft 5," 3.

[270] Davenport, "Race Crossing, Draft 5," 6.

inheritance," these genes also brought weaker immune systems, intellectual inadequacies, and a lack of work ethic.[271]

Davenport's basis for his research on the idea that "Human genetics [was the] foundation stone upon which permanent progress of the race must rest."[272] Thus, he must be the one to fight for the future of the genes. Davenport exhibited frustration in his work towards the "inferior people" who wanted to protect the status quo of natural, uncontrolled mating. Through his advocacy, he believed only qualified eugenicists could have "a knowledge of what society requires – what kind of traits and in what proportions; secondly, a knowledge of eugenics to get this hereditary into the population; and thirdly, an ability to bring about the desired combinations."[273] Davenport promoted the idea of acceptable levels of polygamy of humans of proper stock. He stressed eugenicists should be given by their government the absolute power to exclude "inferior" people from the gene pool; through this extreme measure, eugenicists can eliminate the reproducers that contribute to the decline of the gene pool.[274] Davenport justified this prevention of mating rights to "inferior" people because having "inferior" genes should not allow one to hold equal rights in developing future generations of humans.[275] Davenport followed up this paper with a lecture titled, "Do Races differ in Mental Capacity?" He justified his crusade against the genetically unfit as a matter of human reluctance to accepted and regulate "the

[271] Davenport, "Race Crossing, Draft 5," 6-8.

[272] Charles Davenport, Body Build, 1924, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society, 12.

[273] Davenport, Body Build, 1924, 8.

[274] Davenport, Scientific Cooperation with Nature: Eugenics, n.d., 10.

[275] Davenport, Body Build, 1924, 9.

evidence for mental differences in the races of mankind."[276] He also knew that the removal of negative opinions about protecting mental inferiority from societal decision-making allows eugenicists to make "accurate measurement with reliable tools … [to] demonstrate a difference."[277] One of Davenport's first proposed studies on "human hybridity" looked at "American Indian Negros." In these investigations, he and his team used the resources of the ERO to identify who qualified as a hybrid in this study and evaluate the values of hybrid groups' genetic material. The collection of data proved to be the value of the organization since the office maintains the biological information of hundreds of thousands of people from around the world.[278] Davenport became adamant to explain his concerns with race mixture, and with the funding of the ERO, he could use his influence in the eugenics world to produce what he thought would be a definitive work.

Funding for the Study

Davenport envisioned the *Race Crossing in Jamaica* as the preeminent work on racial hybridity. The collection of data on black, white, and mixed black-white populations and analyzing their physical and psychological traits was critical. Even though he had considered other Caribbean islands, such as Haiti, Davenport decided to study Jamaica over other places with similar black-white demographics because of Jamaica was an English speaking colony and a had a significant mixed-race

[276] Charles Davenport, Lecture: Do Races differ in Mental Capacity?, 1924 March 24, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society, 6.

[277] Davenport, Lecture: Do Races differ in Mental Capacity?, 1924 March 24, 6.

[278] Eugenics Record Office, American Indian Negro, 1919-1928 Eugenics Record Office Papers, American Philosophical Society.

demographic.[279] To fund this vast study, Davenport used his multiple connections to establish a significant funding source for the race studies.

The Draper Fund for Studying Race Crossing provided the financial support for conducting this particular study.[280] The Draper family had a prominent place in both America's Southern and New English aristocracies, as family members included Confederate Army officers, the wealthiest planters and largest slaveholders in Kentucky, and leaders of the monopoly of textile manufacturing in the United States.[281] This family of segregationists used their large sums of generational wealth to fund large-scale eugenic studies that acquired scientific data on race. Davenport first connected with George Draper, M.D. through correspondence about a book on human body builds.[282] "Colonel" Wickliffe Draper, who as an American fought with British Royal Air Force at the start of World War I, also supported Davenport's efforts.[283] After the end of his military career,

[279] Davenport typed extensive notes about US Virgin Islands the through information from these works: "De Boey, Theodoer The Virgin Islands the United States (The Geographical Review, vol.4,pp.359-373, 1917.)," "Census of Virgin Islands of the United States, November 1, 1917 (Washington, 1918)," "Westergaard, Waldamer, The Danish West Indies under Company Rule (1671 – 1754). New York, 1917)" and "Sabriskie, Luther K. –The Virgin Islands of the United States of America. Historical and Descriptive, Commercial and Industrial Facts, Figures, and Resources. New York and London, 1918," and "Theodoer De Boey, and John T. Faris –The Virgin Islands, Our New Possessions and the British Islands, 1918,"in Folder: Draper Fund for Studying Race Crossing, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society. Davenport also mentioned Haiti as location for research in: Charles Davenport to Morris Steggerda, March 15, 1926. Morris Steggerda Folders, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

[280] Michael G. Kenny, "Toward a Racial Abyss: Eugenics, Wickliffe Draper, And The Origins Of The Pioneer Fund," *Journal of History of the Behavioral Sciences* 38, no. 3, Summer 2002, 259–283.

[281] William H. Tucker, *The Funding of Scientific Racism: Wickliffe Draper and the Pioneer Fund*, (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois, 2002), 16-17, 19.

[282] George Draper to Charles Davenport, February 5, 1924. Folder: George Draper, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

[283] Tucker, *The Funding of Scientific Racism*, 21.

Colonel Draper went on to complete undergraduate studies at Harvard, focusing on eugenics courses.[284] By the 1910s, Harvard became the leading institution on eugenic education, as some of the faculty advocated segregationist policies, claiming that science upheld the inferiority of non-Nordic groups.[285] The anti-miscegenation ethos of Davenport's work influenced Colonel Draper to work with him. Using a significant inheritance from his father, Colonel Draper funded the $1 million to set up the Draper Fund Study of Race Crossing in 1923. This newly formed study initiated the studies on the "dangers of hybridization."[286]

Davenport and Colonel Draper decided to document the racial issues in the population of Jamaica. On May 12, 1926, Davenport confirmed that he had secured funding for Morris Steggerda to work on a study that examines "the qualities of hybrids between whites and blacks by April 1928."[287] The significant funding by Colonel Draper allowed Davenport to remoted place Steggerda in Jamaica without disrupting operations at Cold Spring Harbor. The proposed budget totaled $10,000 including monthly stipends to Steggerda, travel expenses to Jamaica, St. Vincent, the Virgin Islands, and equipment costs respectively.[288] Steggerda served as the chief researcher on the project. Davenport recruited the doctoral student from the Department of Zoology at the University of

[284] Tucker, *The Funding of Scientific Racism*, 23.

[285] Tucker, *The Funding of Scientific Racism*, 24.

[286] Tucker, *The Funding of Scientific Racism*, 30-31.

[287] Charles Davenport to Dr., May 28, 1928, Folder: Draper Fund for Studying Race Crossing, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

[288] "Budget Estimates. Col. W. F. Draper Fund. July '26 – April '28." Folder: Draper Fund for Studying Race Crossing, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

Illinois – Urbana-Champaign in March 1926. Under the supervision of Dr. Charles Zeleney, Steggerda was encouraged to apply to Cold Spring Harbor to work as a summer researcher in the field of human heredity.[289] Steggerda's skillset on conducting tests on race crossing impressed Davenport to a point where he delayed the start of the project to wait on the student to take care of his ailing mother.[290] Through the Draper Fund for Race Crossing, the Carnegie Institution of Washington, and Eugenics Record Office, a financial package was offered that covered all travel expenses for his new employee, as well as the costs to help the student finish his education.[291] As Davenport said:

> "the condition of this gift is that a study of consequences of miscegenation between whites and negroes is to be made, preferably in the islands of Jamaica and Haiti and a report be written upon the finding, to be ready for the printer on or about April first, 1928."[292]

Once Davenport sold Steggerda on the idea of making Cold Spring Harbor, NY his home base, he then discussed the project on studying heredity in Jamaica.

Davenport never intended to maintain a residence in that island for the research portion of *Race Crossing*. Davenport quickly installed Steggerda as his chief researcher in Jamaica. Davenport and Steggerda negotiated a two-year contract, with the salary of t $3000 and all travel expensed paid.[293] Prior his departure, Steggerda received instruction in regards to protocols needed for sample collection in the Caribbean. Davenport and his

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[289] Charles Davenport to Morris Steggerda, February 5, 1926, Morris Steggerda Folders, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society; Zeleney to Davenport, February 9, 1926.

[290] Morris Steggerda to Charles Davenport, February 20, 1926, Morris Steggerda Folders, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

[291] Charles Davenport to Morris Steggerda, March 15, 1926, Morris Steggerda Folders, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

[292] Davenport to Steggerda, March 15, 1926.

[293] Davenport to Steggerda, March 15, 1926.

team trained his graduate assistant to measure the "special abilities and disabilities of the research subjects, their intelligence, performance tests, special capacities tests, physical tests, association tests and tests of general mechanical and social intelligence."[294] The plan also entailed the consultation with the Draper Fund and Davenport's travel to Jamaica with Steggerda on September 1, 1926. There they would set up his researcher's base in Jamaica's capital, Kingston. [295] Davenport had visited the country once before to study "the inheritance of skin color and form of the hair in negro-white crosses."[296] He would leave Steggerda to conduct the physiological and psychological measures on the members of the Jamaican population sample chosen for the study. Davenport also provided Steggerda with various laboratory instruments to collect samples of the blood and oxygen of the examined population. Cold Spring Harbor targeted autumn 1927 as the date to complete this research.[297] Steggerda obliged to the best of his competency the requests of his new boss.

The Research Trip Begins

The two researchers sailed from New York on September 1, 1926, on the SS. "Santa Marta," arriving in Jamaica in five days on September 6th. [298] A local committee

[294] Charles Davenport to Morris Steggerda, May 25, 1926, Morris Steggerda Folders, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

[295] Davenport to Steggerda, May 25, 1926.

[296] Davenport to Steggerda, May 25, 1926.

[297] Davenport to Steggerda, May 25, 1926.

[298] Charles Davenport, "Memorandum on Trip to Jamaica with Mr. Morris Steggerda, to Start Work under Draper Fund," Folder: Draper Fund for Studying Race Crossing, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

that included Frank Cundall of the Institute of Jamaica, Dr. Wilson of Kingston Hospital, Mr. Bradbury, the Director of Education, Dr. Washburn of the Rockefeller Foundation, and Mr. H.J. Newman of the Mico Training School, greeted the two Americans upon their arrival.[299] As mentioned before, the Institute of Jamaica serves as a National Museum, Library, and Archive for Jamaica. Cundall was still the president of the institution. The Mico Training School is the leading teachers' college in Kingston. Many middle-class educators attended Mico became the Primary and Secondary School teachers for the nation.

Thanks to the association with local officials, Davenport and Steggerda received access to many locations on the island. The duo visited the American Consulate and received clearance from the Secretary of State to conduct their study. Wilson assured Davenport that Steggerda could evaluate inmates of the penitentiary, hospital, and lunatic asylum.[300] Mr. Bradbury gave clearance for the study to all schools under government support. Mr. Newman invited Davenport to study his wards at Mico College.[301] During this trip, Davenport secured "a boy" to assist Steggerda during the duration of his stay. They also visited the local asylum. During this visit, Davenport noted, "a number of Chinese and Hindus [present in the asylum] but no Mongoloid dwarfs [those with Downs' Syndrome]."[302] On September 8th, Davenport and Steggerda conducted their first

[299] Davenport, "Memorandum on Trip to Jamaica," 1.

[300] Davenport, "Memorandum on Trip to Jamaica," 1.

[301] Davenport, "Memorandum on Trip to Jamaica," 2. The term college and school were interchanged in talking Mico.

[302] Davenport, "Memorandum on Trip to Jamaica," 2.

study, as they measured "the height, weight, span, sitting height and chest girth of 39 students of about 13 years without shoes or coats."[303] After other meetings with local doctors and government officials, and received unanimous support for his study, Davenport left Steggerda and Jamaica for the United States on the "Carillo," September 11, 1926.[304]

Steggerda had to record specific statistics for the data needed for *Race Crossing in Jamaica*. Davenport deemed it necessary to focus on collecting information about certain traits of the island's residents: anthropometry, physical measures, social abilities, and psychology.[305] For the anthropometrics, Davenport categorized 61 statistics that measured the various lengths and weights of his subjects' anatomies.[306] These measures included in-depth skeletal, spinal, and even nasal statistics.[307] Davenport also wanted Steggerda to acquire images of the Jamaicans' physical features. He tasked him with collecting drawings of the hands and feet of subjects, as well as data describing the dental structures, the hair textures, eye colors, the finger and palm prints of those involved in the project.[308] The purposes of these social observations were to determine the characteristics and personalities of the people that Steggerda would interact. Davenport also included a

[303] Davenport, "Memorandum on Trip to Jamaica," 2.

[304] Davenport, "Memorandum on Trip to Jamaica," 3.

[305] Charles Davenport, *Race Crossing in Jamaica*, (Washington, D.C., Carnegie Institution, 1929) [Shortcut Version http://velesova-sloboda.vho.org/archiv/pdf/davenport-race-crossing-in-jamaica.pdf (Accessed October 15, 2014)], 2.

[306] Davenport, *Race Crossing in Jamaica*, 2-3.

[307] Davenport, *Race Crossing in Jamaica*, 4-5.

[308] Davenport, *Race Crossing in Jamaica*, 5-6.

battery of tests to determine the intelligence of his subjects. The first set of test focused on the musical capacity of subjects, testing if they could identify parts of the structure of music, such as pitch, tonal memory, and rhythm.[309] Other psychological tests involved drawing ability, reading comprehension, and mathematics.[310] Once the team at the ERO agreed to the measures needed to complete a successful project on race crossing in Jamaica, Davenport and Steggerda departed Cold Harbor Spring to begin their work.

Steggerda stayed in Jamaica to conduct the project's data collection as Davenport returned to Cold Harbor Spring in the fall of 1926. Based in an office in Kingston, the researcher traveled all over Jamaica, (and to the Cayman Islands), to fulfill Davenport's agenda. Steggerda found various populations on the island to document. By October 8, 1926, he had already observed and assessed hundreds of growing children, as well as administered Army Alpha Tests on many of Kingston based male subjects. [311] By October 29, he began searching for white subjects on the island. At this point, Steggerda extended his studies to the Mico and Calabar Colleges.[312] As he conducted his observations, Steggerda noted his pleasure in speaking to the white people in Kingston because he could discuss "how poor a race they [black Jamaicans] are."[313]

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[309] Davenport, *Race Crossing in Jamaica*, 6.

[310] Davenport, *Race Crossing in Jamaica*, 6-7.

[311] Morris Steggerda to Charles Davenport, October 8, 1926, Morris Steggerda Folders, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society; Morris Steggerda to Charles Davenport, October 17, 1926, Morris Steggerda Folders, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

[312] Calabar is another notable

[313] Morris Steggerda to Charles Davenport, October 29, 1926, Morris Steggerda Folders, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

Steggerda paced himself as he collected all of the information requested by Davenport. To entice Steggerda to work up to Christmas 1926, Davenport offered to raise his monthly salary by $250.[314] Steggerda concluded the year by conducting psychology tests and collecting the results of metabolism pumps and blood samples of the current pool of subjects.[315] By December 4th, the researcher had over one thousand subjects in the public school system. The teachers even offered samples of homework to add to the data collection sample.[316] He planned upon his return to Jamaica to go to Seaford Town, an area with a sizable German transplant population as well as a connection that could link him to government officials.[317] He left Jamaica on December 16, 1926, to enjoy New York for Christmas.[318]

For the project, Steggerda needed to find a certain amount of people of a certain racial background for Davenport's study to work. Davenport developed the project with the idea that if Steggerda examined over 150 individuals of African, European, and Mixed backgrounds on the island, they could confirm that racial segregation protected white bloodlines from degradation. In a letter sent to Steggerda on April 8, 1927, Davenport said "These matters you see bear upon our main problem: the relative capacity

[314] Charles Davenport to Morris Steggerda, November 20, 1926, Morris Steggerda Folders, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

[315] Morris Steggerda to Charles Davenport, December 7, 1926, Morris Steggerda Folders, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

[316] Morris Steggerda to Charles Davenport, December 4, 1926, Morris Steggerda Folders, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

[317] Morris Steggerda to Charles Davenport, November 28, 1926, Morris Steggerda Folders, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

[318] Steggerda to Davenport, December 7, 1926.

of "negroes, mulattoes, and whites" to carry on a white man's civilization. It is clear that a white man's civilization is based largely on thrift, foresight, and honesty."[319] Davenport needed this research to illustrate that black Jamaicans, despite having "superior physical abilities" were "intellectually inadequate" compared to white Jamaicans.

Furthermore, Davenport needed this research to show mixed raced Jamaicans' inferiority to pure white Jamaicans. These goals potentially advanced his views regarding racial hybridization and for white superiority. Thus, Steggerda's funding to resided in Jamaica needed to last over a long period to find enough subjects to meet the hypothesis. At first, Steggerda could only collect scant amounts of data on the Kingston populations he had access to thru organizations like the Mico School. Hence, he had to venture out of the city of Kingston and into the Jamaican countryside to collect data on additional subjects.[320] This alteration came at a time when the ERO at Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory had set a quota goal for Steggerda. He now had the mission to obtain measures for 300 adult subjects on the island; 150 men, with 50 being black, 50 were white, and 50 were of mixed race backgrounds. The failure by Steggerda to match the quota for white participants for the study in Jamaica forced the study to relocate to another island.

Since he could not find as many white Jamaicans as he had hoped for, he ventured out to Grand Cayman Island. He left on May 25, 1927, and did not return to his office at

[319] Charles Davenport to Morris Steggerda, April 8, 1927, Morris Steggerda Folders, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

[320] Morris Steggerda to Charles Davenport, May 2, 1927, Morris Steggerda Folders, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

Mico College until July 8.[321] Davenport could not reach Steggerda in this new location as readily as he could in Jamaica, and this proved problematic, with the researcher missing critical components of data, such as the eye colors of some of the subjects.[322] The trip to the Cayman Islands proved fruitful for the study because Steggerda met the majority of the quotas for white women through this excursion.[323] Nevertheless, the Cayman Islands excursion showed a fault in the study, which that the researchers could not find enough white subjects to fulfill the quota set by the ERO. Although the Cayman Islands were indeed a part of the British Caribbean, they did not share a long-term history with Jamaica. As an island group with different historical and genetic backgrounds, adding white Cayman Island subjects without adding black Cayman Island subject could skew the results of the project.

At the time, Cayman Islands received governance under the authority of the Colony of Jamaica based on its geographical distance to the larger British territory. [324] Davenport additionally scheduled a trip to the British Virgin Islands if Steggerda could not find enough subjects of African descent for the project, but he canceled it since Steggerda found adequate black subjects in Jamaica. Nevertheless, these voyages did not fit the original research design, as the Cayman Islands nor the British Virgin Islands were

[321] Morris Steggerda to Charles Davenport, July 8, 1927, Morris Steggerda Folders, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

[322] Charles Davenport to Morris Steggerda, June 8, 1927, Morris Steggerda Folders, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

[323] Charles Davenport to Morris Steggerda, July 14, 1927, Morris Steggerda Folders, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

[324] BBC.COM, "Cayman Islands profile," https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-20219637, (Accessed July 27, 2018).

not Jamaica proper. Additionally, even though cultural considerations seldom factored into the biological debates Davenport and Steggerda wanted to engage in with this book, comparing the genetic trajectories of separate cultures, despite social and political links between the multiple territories, can create a new set of problems for study. Ultimately, if the whites of Grand Cayman Island were replaceable for white Jamaicans because both groups were a part of the British West Indies, why were the black and mixed raced subjects held to a higher standard of residence?

As Steggerda continued his search more subjects to meet the quotas imposed by Davenport, the head of ERO began to organize the data sent back to Cold Spring Harbor. Regular correspondence between the two men became a pattern where the local researcher supported the distant scientist with the collected data on Jamaican citizens via postage. On occasion, Davenport sent new materials, such as an official Cold Spring Harbor letterhead or lab subjects, to Steggerda. The reverse correspondence included the interactions of Steggerda with some of Davenport's Jamaica-based colleagues. This group included Dr. Washburn, who often took care of the purchases of the supplies for Steggerda.[325] As the researcher sought adult subjects to add to the project, Davenport analyzed the previous data sent about the school-age children. Davenport organized the data by race as a means to classify their subjects.[326] Steggerda also included photos of the subjects adding a visual element to the research with both men. He also considered a film

[325] Morris Steggerda to Charles Davenport, March 4, 1927, Morris Steggerda Folders, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

[326] Charles Davenport to Morris Steggerda, February 7, 1927, Morris Steggerda Folders, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

to explain their work in Jamaica.[327] Davenport and Steggerda publicized their work in Jamaica with updates in journals and organizations favorable to the topic of eugenics. In a meeting of the Galton Society, Davenport and Steggerda shared a shortened presentation about their "Preparations of Negro-White Studies in Jamaica to Professor Thorndike, Dr. Wissler, and Dr. Bingham.[328] Steggerda noted that the island's people had "no mores" because the Illegitimacy rate of 75 percent and that the Jamaica mulatto held higher statuses to other mixed race people in other societies, such as Mississippi.[329]

The Jamaican research portion of the study concluded at the end of 1927. As he returned to his temporary office at Mico College, Steggerda sought to collect the final pieces of data from the Jamaican population. By August 1927, he added prisoners to the large collection sample of schoolchildren, white women from Grand Cayman Island, and four more policemen.[330] At this point, Davenport had to use money from the Draper Fund to hire workers at Cold Spring Harbor to sort through the over 4700 pages of this investigation.[331] Steggerda ended his stay in Jamaica on October 5th and arrived in New Orleans on October 10.[332] Outside of some bouts with malaria and the U.S. Customs

[327] Morris Steggerda, "Pictures for a Film to be used in Explaining the Work Done in Jamaica," Morris Steggerda Folders, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

[328] Galton Society Folder 3, 1926-1927, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society, 14-16.

[329] Galton Society Folder 3, 1926-1927, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society, 14-16.

[330] Charles Davenport to Morris Steggerda, August 8, 1927, Morris Steggerda Folders, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

[331] Charles Davenport to Morris Steggerda, July 9, 1927, Morris Steggerda Folders, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

[332] Morris Steggerda to Charles Davenport, September 23, 1927, Morris Steggerda Folders, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

intercepting some of the lab equipment, Steggerda returned to the United States with the research portion of the *Race Crossing* in Jamaica a rousing success.

The Subjects

One issue of Davenport and Steggerda's study stemmed from the pool of subjects selected for the book. There may not be much documented archived recollections from the men and women about their experiences with Morris Steggerda, yet, based on the articles of *The Daily Gleaner*, those chosen were far from random. Davenport and Steggerda wanted a variety of people based on occupation. However, many subjects of the study were prominent educators and members of influential white families. It was difficult to identify the subjects of the "ERO Caucasian Negro Jamaica files" to the Jamaicans recorded in the *Gleaner.* The common English first and last names of the island's residents made it hard to claim absolute veracity on the whereabouts of the class of *Race Crossing*. Key surnames continued to appear in the public record of 1930s Jamaica. For example, the white subjects of the study came primarily from only a few families, such as the Boddens, the Kamekas of Jamaica and the Gardeners of Grand Cayman Island.

Additionally, some sisters received side-by-side examinations, such as the Broodies, the Hurlstons, the Hutchings, and the Salmons. The lack of a large base of white residents was the reason why Davenport and Steggerda settled on these white subjects. Based on the surnames of the studies of Mulattoes and Negros, one can argue that Davenport did not need nor wanted those groups to receive family examinations. Although Davenport addressed his use of families in *Race Crossing in Jamaica*, mixing two different kinds of data for this project showed that lack of standards Davenport had

for the project. Davenport's logic employed about the progression of genes in the gene pool and that families shared strong genetic ties. The decision to use the genes from families could have skewed the results in favor of white genes, as these families were not representative of the broad, diverse population of the island. Since most of the white groups in Jamaica (and Grand Cayman Island) shared the same genes and upbringings as they were upper-class family members, the study would provide an imbalanced view of race and ability. Rather, the study becomes comparisons between people of different economic classes. Randomness is a key element in scientific studies. These experimenters must be able to replicate the study in other environments to prove the validity of the hypothesis. Although survey participation has long been a detriment to quantitative discoveries in many fields, this decision to allow one group of the study to have preferable data only aids displayed the high level of pseudoscience required to envision this project.

Ultimately, this study could not confirm that there were no inferior or superior races while conducting the study. It is difficult to find the voices of the people of the study because that was part of the design. The subjects, mainly the black and brown ones, went nameless in the publication because they were just pawns in a flawed project for Steggerda and Davenport's eugenics push. These Jamaicans, whether they were teachers, affluent, or actual criminals, would never get a chance to refute the judgment of their genetics by a foreign researcher. For Davenport, Steggerda, and the other contributors of the book, Jamaica did not represent a nation of diverse people, but rather a collection of subjects needed to unlock the code of genetics and end the plague of miscegenation.

The Editing Process

Davenport and Steggerda targeted the spring of 1929 as the ideal time to publish *Race Crossing in Jamaic*a, but once Steggerda returned to the United States, he had to settle a few matters. Davenport and Steggerda had only until March 1928 to complete the manuscript.[333] For the rest of 1927, Davenport and Steggerda worked judiciously to transform the raw data and analysis of the genetic health of Jamaican residents into a publishable monograph suitable for the scientific community. This task required the assistance of additional scholars. They employed Steggerda's wife, Inez Dunkelberger Steggerda, to analyze the palm measurements.[334] Dr. Francis Benedict, who worked in the nutrition laboratory of the Carnegie Institution of Washington in Massachusetts, also greatly aided the data analysis.[335] Before the research phase of the project began, Benedict's involvement in the race-crossing project included training Steggerda to use several laboratory devices before embarking for Jamaica, and now he assisted in analyzing some aspects of the collected metabolism data. On April 3, 1928, Benedict provided for Davenport charts, tables, and graphs on the metabolic data of the Jamaican

[333] Charles Davenport to Morris Steggerda, August 8, 1927, Morris Steggerda Folders, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

[334] Davenport, *Race Crossing in Jamaica*, 6.

[335] Francis Benedict to Charles Davenport, January 21, 1924, Francis Benedict Folder, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

subjects.[336] In this packet and future memos, Benedict provided additional edits to improve the presentation of the paper.[337]

The Carnegie Institution of Washington agreed to publish *Race Crossing in Jamaica* in 1929.[338] Before published as a monograph, *Race Crossing in Jamaica* became a part of Steggerda's thesis at the University of Illinois. In order to receive his doctorate in zoology in May 1928, Dr. Zeleney, Dr. Benedict, and Dr. Davenport all aided him in transforming some of the data on the Jamaican citizens into a satisfactory exit paper on "the negro."[339] Davenport also convinced Steggerda to publish his thesis for the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, which ended up in the July-September 1928 edition of the journal.[340] Freed from the obligations of Urbana, Davenport and Steggerda now devoted much of their time over the final proofs of the publication of *Race Crossing in Jamaica.*[341] The two researchers considered the placement and language of word and image, including ninety-two photos of their Jamaican subjects.[342]

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[336] Francis Benedict to Charles Davenport, March 29, 1928, Francis Benedict Folder, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

[337] Memo. On the tables in the articles on browns and blacks in Jamaica. April 10, 1928. Francis Benedict Folder, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

[338] Charles Davenport to Morris Steggerda, June 7, 1928, Morris Steggerda Folders, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

[339] Charles Davenport to Morris Steggerda, May 16, 1928, Morris Steggerda Folders, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society

[340] Charles Davenport to Morris Steggerda, October 29, 1928, Morris Steggerda Folders, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society

[341] Morris Steggerda to Charles Davenport, November 28, 1929, Morris Steggerda Folders, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

[342] Morris Steggerda to Charles Davenport, October 29, 1929, Morris Steggerda Folders, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society. Steggerda and Davenport shared over 30

By March 1929, the final manuscript reached Carnegie Institution of Washington. Davenport and Steggerda had completed their nearly three-year process to transform their research on capabilities on Jamaican races to a published book. After receiving advertising space in a few academic journals, the two eugenicists waited to see how the public would react to their examination of race crossing.[343]

The Book

In the "Introduction" of *Race Crossing in Jamaica*, Davenport did not attempt to disguise some of the large flaws of the book. When discussing the selection of subjects for the "negro, mulatto, and white groups," Davenport said:

> [There are great inherent difficulties in selecting personnel for the three groups that will be strictly comparable, as representing random samples of the respective groups. First of all it was decided that all three groups should belong to the prevailing agricultural class and that the Whites of the governing class and the white merchants of Kingston should be excluded. A difficulty arises in this, that just those Whites who are satisfied to live as agriculturalists in the midst of the island are hardly as representative of the more ambitious and intellectually endowed Whites as the agricultural Blacks are of the run of the Black population. It is possible that in choosing non-urban Whites we have selected farther below of average of Whites than in selecting non-urban negroes we have selected below the average of negroes.][344]

By admitting that the selections of groups were inherently flawed, the premise for the work started on a weak note. Davenport also included a short history of Jamaica, giving great attention to the demographical development of the island. Although he mentions many of the local groups that resided on the island, like the Marron slave societies or "the

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correspondences that primarily focused on editing the *Race Crossing in Jamaica* and inserting the proper prints for the text. Morris Steggerda Folders, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

[343] "Miscellaneous Notes," *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 24, no 167 (September, 1929), 325.

[344] Davenport, *Race Crossing in Jamaica*, 9.

coolie" labor from China and India, the book quickly shifted to the scientific measures Davenport and Steggerda collected in the late 1920s.[345]

Davenport outlined the Psychological and Developmental testing on his Jamaican subjects in the early chapters. Parts III, IV, and V explained all of the tests employed by Steggerda to acquire the information for the study. The book listed the exam he wanted the subject underwent, provided the way how the exam was scored, and explained why that test was significant in the great scheme of the book. For example, in "Criticism of Absurd Sentences," subjects had to understand why a sentence like "I have three brothers: Paul, William, and myself" did not make sense.[346] Another test, "Copying Geometric Figures and Drawing a Man," requires subjects to match drawings accurately in a short amount of time.[347] After establishing the over hundred mental, physical, psychological, and developmental exams the Jamaican subjects had to complete, Davenport presented some major findings for his work.

Davenport also recognized that he needed to discuss families separately. Davenport focused on the defects some of the families in his study had because some of the family groups in the study were inbred.[348] Key focuses in this section looked at generation family charts and comparisons of siblings and identical twins. For example, the Kameka family, a group of German migrants that resided in Seaford Town, suffered

[345] Davenport, *Race Crossing in Jamaica*, 10-11.

[346] Davenport, *Race Crossing in Jamaica*, 17.

[347] Davenport, *Race Crossing in Jamaica*, 16.

[348] Davenport, *Race Crossing in Jamaica*, 44.

many medical tragedies because many of the family members married cousins and the other few German families in Jamaica, thus concentrating their gene pool to a couple of men and women. Another example looked at the Ebanks Twins, two "14-year-old Brown girls" whom Davenport's tests showed that they shared similar, but not exact, tendencies regarding physical appearance and mental capacities.[349] Davenport gave the explicit family histories of these mostly white groups, including the men and women researched in Grand Cayman Island.[350] This section needed to address why he acquired family records for the project when it can affect the greater hypotheses he aimed to prove in his work.

Race Crossing in Jamaica attempted to make large statements about the development of black, white, and mixed raced peoples of the island of Jamaica. In keeping with his and Draper's assumptions, argued against race crossing because the genes of blacks dominated recessive white genes.[351] Davenport documented that some of the physical measures of people of African descent born in the Americas shared more similarities with American-born whites than African-born blacks.[352] Davenport shared that large-scale heredity studies could not show how dominant genes defeated recessive genes.[353] His work on Jamaica still showed that the races of the island had variability and that mixed raced people took on the traits of their black ancestors rather that white

[349] Davenport, *Race Crossing in Jamaica*, 56.

[350] Davenport, *Race Crossing in Jamaica*, 44.

[351] Davenport, *Race Crossing in Jamaica*, 63.

[352] Davenport, *Race Crossing in Jamaica*, 63.

[353] Davenport, *Race Crossing in Jamaica*, 62.

parentage.[354] These differences, however, did not emphatically prove the inferiority of the mixed-race subjects.

Davenport showed that the blacks, the whites, and the mixed-race people of Jamaica might have more similarities than he had assumed. For example, some of the anthropometric measures showed that there were no significant differences in the skeletal structures of white and black Jamaicans.[355] The inclusion of whites from Grand Cayman Island skewed some of the anthropometric results as well.[356] The physiologic measures also did not show great variance among the three Jamaican groups.[357]

The psychologic, developmental and familial data analysis showed that each Jamaican group had strengths and weaknesses. Despite setting up a study that researched "primitive peoples with Europeans as controls," white, black, and brown (mixed race) Jamaicans traded victories in psychologic tests.[358] Black and brown subjects had superior musical capacity in comparison to the test results of white islanders.[359] Conversely, white subjects had the stronger drawing ability.[360] Whites seemed superior in many of the geometrically based tests, but Davenport stated that the data of the Army Alpha tests showed no large differences between the mental abilities of black, white, and brown

[354] Davenport, *Race Crossing in Jamaica*, 62.

[355] Davenport, *Race Crossing in Jamaica*, 70.

[356] Davenport, *Race Crossing in Jamaica*, 70.

[357] Davenport, *Race Crossing in Jamaica*, 71 -72.

[358] Davenport, *Race Crossing in Jamaica*, 71 -72.

[359] Davenport, *Race Crossing in Jamaica*, 72.

[360] Davenport, *Race Crossing in Jamaica*, 72.

Jamaicans.[361] Davenport highlighted that blacks had superior simple mathematics skills. He still tempered these results, as he commented that the "more complicated a brain, the more numerous its "association fibers," the less satisfactorily it performs the simple numerical problems which a calculating machine does so quickly and accurately." Davenport implied that whites could afford to fail these math tests because they had "more complicated brains" than other Jamaican residents.[362]

Despite the research showing minimal differences between black, white, and mixed-race Jamaicans, Davenport still argued against hybridity. The tests conducted showed that no group excelled at all tests better than others did. Brown Jamaican subjects, however, showed no superiority at any of the tasks in comparison to black and white subjects.[363] This issue in itself, according to the researcher, showed race crossing did produce some inferior individuals based on the measures of Davenport's analysis. Nevertheless, the studies of *Race Crossing in Jamaica* did not provide conclusive evidence about the hazards of race crossing and gene inheritance as mentioned in the undated Davenport's "Race Crossing" lecture.

Reception and Aftermath

Despite the hard work Davenport and Steggerda had put into their Jamaican project, the resulting publication did not receive the acclaim of Davenport's previous eugenic works. Since the work did not confirm white superiority or the inferiority of

[361] Davenport, *Race Crossing in Jamaica*, 73.

[362] Davenport, *Race Crossing in Jamaica*, 68.

[363] Davenport, *Race Crossing in Jamaica*, 69.

mixed-race Jamaicans, the results of the test did not match Davenport's beliefs on race crossings. The release of *Race Crossing in Jamaica* lacked glowing reviews in scientific journals.

Maurice Krout, in his 1932 article "Culture and Culture Change" in the *American Journal of Sociology*, argued that Davenport might have a flawed argument. Davenport explained that his study proved "fundamental differences" between the abilities of black, white, and mixed-race people. Krout insisted that despite black Jamaicans performing better that white Jamaicans on many of the tests conducted for the project, Davenport had used language to skew the advantageous traits of the white population.[364] He determined that Davenport has never considered the cultural differences between black and white Jamaicans, which might have explained why each group succeeded at the different kinds of test given to them by a foreign researcher.

The physical anthropologist Harry L. Shapiro delivered another critique. Shapiro's work examined the mixed race Mahina-I-Te-Pua and the Zaca peoples of the Pacific South Seas in 1929 and 1934-1935.[365] As a Jewish scholar, Shapiro disputed the kind of research and analysis promoted by Davenport. Shapiro criticized the lack of respect that eugenicists had for their researched subjects. Shapiro followed the movement of Franz Boas, a famed Jewish scholar from Columbia University, who started the charge against researchers using science to justify their racially charged statements. Shapiro, in

[364] Maurice H. Krout, "Culture and Culture Change," *American Journal of Sociology* 38, no. 2 (September 1932), 253.

[365] Warwick Anderson, "Hybridity, Race, and Science: The Voyage of the *Zaca*, 1934–1935," *Isis* 103, no 2, (June 2012), http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/666354. (Accessed November 5, 2014), 229.

his work, held that not only should those who conduct scientific research not promote racial purity, but also that racial hybridity was natural and had occurred for thousands of years.[366] Shapiro became one of many voices that condemned the role of racism in scientific research.

An article in the *Journal of Negro Education* offered another take on Davenport's work. H.A. Tanser, the author of the article "Intelligence of Negroes of Mixed Blood in Canada," showed that his data collected proved that mixed race Canadians tended to perform better in several intelligence tests. Yet, Tanser pointed out that he could not analyze how the socioeconomic levels of his subjects affected their abilities to conduct these tests. Tanser said that Davenport never concerned himself with such factors in *Race Crossing.*[367]

W.E. Castle provided one of the more damning reviews of Davenport and Steggerda's work. Published in *Science* 1850, Castle, a faculty member in genetics at Harvard, argued against Davenport's assertion that traits based on race harmed the genetic health of society. Castle targeted the study's analysis of the skeletal measurements of the Jamaican subjects. Castle dismissed Davenport's argument that disproportionate leg and arms sizes created "dangerously disharmonious combinations."[368] Rather, Castle explained that this slight deviation in length of legs

[366] Anderson, "Hybridity, Race, and Science," 251-252.

[367] H. A. Tanser, "Intelligence of Negroes of Mixed Blood in Canada," *The Journal of Negro Education* 10, no 4 (October 1941), 650.

[368] W. E. Castle, "Race Mixture and Physical Disharmonies," *Science*, New Series, Vol. 71, No. 1850 (Jun. 13, 1930), 604.

between black, white, and mixed-race people did not prove detrimental to their capacities.[369]Castle shared that the worst thing about inheriting "the long legs of the negro and the short arms of the white" was picking things off the ground.[370] He also quipped that humans had no issue with breeding dogs with meager skeletal structures like the St. Bernard-Dachshund.[371] Castle said the focus in American eugenics to argue that "the negro as inferior" and that "negro-white crosses as a degradation of the white race" served to promote racial attitudes rather than accurate analyzes of physiological data. Castle said that eugenics only created bogeymen to strike fear in public.[372]

Some of the more hardline supporters of eugenics still supported Davenport's *Race Crossing.* Frank H. Hankins, a colleague of Dr. Morris Steggerda at Smith College, wrote a favorable review of *Race Crossing in Jamaica* in the journal *Social Forces* in 1932.[373] Hankins agreed with the analysis of the book. He also emphasized Davenport's argument against racial hybridism, as he accepted Davenport's negative comments toward mixed-race Jamaicans. A. Grenfell Price published the article "White Settlement in Saba Island, Dutch West Indies" in the January 1934 edition of the *Geographical*

[369] Castle, "Race Mixture and Physical Disharmonies," 605.

[370] Castle, "Race Mixture and Physical Disharmonies," 605.

[371] Castle, "Race Mixture and Physical Disharmonies," 605.

[372] Castle, "Race Mixture and Physical Disharmonies," 606.

[373] Frank H. Hankins. "Heredity and Environment, The Biological Basis of Human Nature. by H. S. Jennings; Heredity. by F. A. E. Crew; An Introduction to Physical Anthropology. by E. P. Stibbe; Race Crossing in Jamaica. by C. B. Davenport; Morris Steggerda; Eugenics Aims and Methods. by Henry Davis; S. J. London; Genetic Studies of Genius. Vol. III, The Promise of Youth. by Lewis M. Terman; Twins: Heredity and Environment. by N. D. M. Hirsch; Studies in Hereditary Abilit ... (Review)" *Social Forces* 9, no 4 (June, 1931), 585-590.

Review.[374] Grenfell, conducting a similar study on white inhabitants who lived in the Caribbean, used *Race Crossing in Jamaica* to model his research. He also argued that his work in the Dutch West Indies confirm Davenport's research, as Grenfell's findings replicated Davenport's descriptions of black, white, and mixed-race Jamaicans.[375]

Davenport also used scientific journals to defend his reputation. The criticisms of Castle in *Science* 1850 and Karl Pearson in *Nature* 3177 particularly offended Davenport.[376] Castle's condemnations of Davenport's leg measures of black, whites, and browns triggered Davenport's ire. He turned to studies on hybridity in animals and other studies on mixed race people to prove that the validity of his data on the Jamaican subjects. Pearson had argued that Davenport used too few subjects to make his strong statements against black-white hybridity. Also, Pearson also questioned Davenport's ability to judge if all of his subjects belonged to the racial groups that the project had ascribed them. Davenport's defense against this criticism was that "funds at the time were limited" and they did what they could under the circumstances." Davenport admitted that there was a chance that some of his "West African Negroes" subjects may have mixed with "Arabians and Jewish traders." Regardless, he made it clear that no one in his study passed for whites, as "they were taken from very segregated white populations."

[374] A. Grenfell Price, "White Settlement in Saba Island, Dutch West Indies," *Geographical Review* 24, no 1 (January 1934), 42-60.

[375] Price, "White Settlement in Saba Island, Dutch West Indies," 58.

[376] Charles Davenport, "Some Criticisms of "Race Crossing in Jamaica," *Science,* (November 14,1930), Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society 501-502.

Davenport's response in *Science* showed that he knew that he was under attack for his research and had to defend his work and his legacy.

Additionally, Davenport sought the advice of other scholars on race to understand the poor reception to his work, while also being steadfast in his defense of eugenics. One relationship Davenport utilized in revising his work came from Franz Boas. Boas did not attack Davenport in their friendly exchanges in the last 1920s. Boas and Davenport developed a relationship and exchanged ideas about race, science, and academia. Boas never in these correspondents pushed Davenport away for his viewpoints. Boas kindly pushed Davenport to think about race outside strict eugenical outlooks. His critiques of Davenport's work led the eugenicist to avoid using the simplistic logic of eugenics to make broad statements about race. Boas told Davenport to consider how social class and environment played roles in the development of communities. Boas argued that environment might shape how individuals responded or reacted to the lines of questions in these studies. Racial differences also stem from social differences, as people of the same race can have differing understandings of music or education based on the class and location where one resides.[377] Nevertheless, Davenport resisted the overlying criticism of Boas to protect his race theories. He accepted the criticism of Boas, but his previous work proved that the environment hypothesis only strengthens his belief in eugenics. In

[377] Franz Boas to Charles Davenport , April 3, 1929, Franz Boas Folder 3, 1926-1931, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society. Michael Keevak, *Becoming Yellow: A Short History of Racial Thinking*, Princeton University Press: Princeton, NJ, 2017, 95.

agricultural work, blacks handicapped the work rate of whites, and that "sambos" may only be 1/8 or 1/16 white.[378]

Another major name that stayed in contact with Davenport was Melville Herskovits. Herskovits sought to give wisdom to Davenport about looking at race outside a eugenic lens. Davenport, needing a way to describe how the color of the blood of his black subjects in a study had a distinct color, wrote a letter to Herskovits. Davenport did not understand why describing "Negro blood" as the color was problematic, as a past scholar Milton Bradley used terms like "ox-blood red" to describe subjects of different races.[379] Under Davenport's rationale, not only was "ox-blood red" the most representative color for these samples, Milton Bradley's color scheme should be valid to label all the different hues of blood among the races. Herskovits, responding to Davenport's passionate defense of the color scheme, said that the problem with the study was not that his subject did not have a certain blood color. Rather, Herskovits wanted Davenport to understand that he could not prove that all Negros have Milton Bradley's ox-blood red based on a study of five black subjects.[380] This study could not make a statement about the entire bloodline of a whole race of people. Naturally, in the following correspondence, Davenport disagreed.[381]

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[378] Charles Davenport to Franz Boas, March 12, 1929, Franz Boas Folder 3, 1926-1931, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

[379] Charles Davenport to Melville Herskovits, August 28, 1926, Melville Herskovits Folder, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

[380] Melville Herskovits to Charles Davenport, 7 September 1926, Melville Herskovits Folder, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

[381] Charles Davenport to Melville Herskovits, September 18, 1926, Melville Herskovits Folder, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

Aftermath

Support for Davenport may have wavered outside of the eugenic community, but hardliners still aligned with his teachings, even after the missteps of *Race Crossing in Jamaica*. Davenport was a key man in orchestrated the 1932 International Eugenics Congress. He interacted and collaborated with Nazi eugenicists, men who ultimately develop the measures to apply eugenic principle against Jews, women, and other disenfranchised groups in 1930s Germany. Davenport received a reward of honor from the Nazi government. He even conducted a lecture with Eugen Fischer, a prominent 1920s and 1930s eugenicist from Berlin. They both warned their communities about the plague of hybrids that seeped into Western society, and they developed a series of questionnaires interested in identifying and documenting their progress of mixed race people before it is "too late."[382]

Additionally, non-academics seemed to enjoy the findings. Charles Herrman, a New York City Doctor, wrote to Dr. Davenport on Nov. 19, 1928, about the powerful message of *Race Crossing*.[383] Herrman compared the racial conditions of Jamaica to those of Harlem, New York. He also showed concerns about the rising Spanish, Cuban, and Puerto Rican populations in the city. He believed these "slightly pigmented Individuals" could affect the health of white people since many were mixed with the low level of African blood. This letter shows the desired effect of the book, as prominent

[382] Charles Davenport, Lecture: Studies on Race Crossing, n.d., , Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society, 1.

[383] Charles Herrman, M.D. to Dr. Davenport, Nov. 19, 1928, West Indies, Eugenics Records Office Collection, American Philosophical Society.

Americans such as Dr. Herrman questioned if mixed-race people can harm the United States. If more middle-class people became involved with the ethos of Davenport's brand of eugenics, he would be able to lead a movement against those deemed "inferior."

Well before embarking on the Jamaican adventure, Davenport longed to become the preeminent name in international eugenics. At the 1926 Pan-American Conference on Eugenics and Homoculture in Cuba, Davenport formally discussed his plans to establish Anthropology and Homiculture institutes around the world. Each of these centers would have a focus in applying eugenics "to investigate the complete biological condition … of individuals that desire to inhibit in their territories, or limit the residency of natives of that country that may not desire the carrying of said investigation."[384] From this conference on, Davenport worked diligently to contact the heads of eugenic organizations around the world, in place not diplomatically friendly to the United States, like the Soviet Union. He even contacted Tuskegee Institute to conduct a racial study of the students of the college, though it appeared that nothing came from this correspondence.[385]

Davenport did not accept the negative criticism he received for publishing *Race Crossing in Jamaica*. He saw this book as his outline for his collecting the genetic data of the world, and use that data to restrict interracial mating, which he argued would lead to the decline of Western Civilization. Davenport continued to conduct lectures with the theme of the genetic conflicts of hybridity. He even touted research that showed "Even in

[384] Pan-American Conference on Eugenics and Homoculture (1st: 1926: Cuba) Folder 1, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society, 56-57.

[385] Charles Davenport to Miss Atkins, Director of the Physical Training, Tuskegee Institute, April 3, 1933, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society.

the womb, Negroes develop longer legs."[386] Thus, if societies do not stop miscegenation, racial groups would inherit genetic material incompatible with their body type. His crusade never failed in his mind, as if Davenport received his goal of becoming the Global Director of Eugenic Studies, he could ultimately prevent racial suicide. Davenport's prestige greatly declined in the 1930s, and the overall practice of eugenics became irreversibly linked to the atrocities of the Nazi Regime in Europe in 1940s. Just like the Nazis and Eugenicists, the age of Davenport ended in 1945; his death symbolized the true end of American Eugenics Program era

Conclusion

The varied reactions to the findings in the publication, *Race Crossing in Jamaica* displayed the change in ethics and attitudes that scientists had about their role in academia. Despite the data of *Race Crossing in Jamaica* not necessarily matching the conclusions of Davenport, the work still had its supporters. These eugenicists not only gave good reviews of the work but also used some of Davenport's data in their works. Nevertheless, a growing group of scientists argued against the broad conclusions on race made by Davenport with his dataset. The criticisms of the kind of measures Steggerda recorded, the analysis of those measures by Davenport's team, and the biased language of the analysis by Davenport created a negative atmosphere around the research. After years of data collections and thousands of dollars in support, *Race Crossing in Jamaica* had failed in its objectives. The issues of Davenport's methods of data collections and his ambitious but weak analysis of the data hurt the legitimacy of the project and his legacy.

[386] Charles Davenport, Lecture: How Early in Ontogeny does Human Racial Characteristics show themselves?. 1933 December, Charles Davenport Papers, American Philosophical Society, 2-4.

One reflection of this chapter shows how the spirit of American progressivism and imperialism in the inspired non-governmental actors in interacting in international spaces for the benefit of both the United States and Western Civilization. Davenport's work started in the laboratories, as he wanted to test the value of Mendel's theory of inheritance. Once it proved to be successful on farm animals and plants, he believed he could use this to solve the societal woes of humans. Instead of sticking to the realm of academia, Davenport and his cohort of eugenicists believed that eugenics become a tool to clean up the moral decay in American society. Their work aligned with the broader progressive movement of the early twentieth century in the sense that members of the middle class wanted to transform America from poor conditions to modernity.

Similarly to how increased political action led to improved industrialization, development of better streets, and increased investigations on corrupted officials, eugenicists wanted to use their work to create healthier Americans and adopt racist laws and policies through science. In the minds of eugenicists, immigrants, African-Americans, "hillbillies," and other lower classes could lead to plunging the genetic health of the United States away from the ideals of the progressive era. Thus, it became imperative to make sure that those who harmed the great work of middle-class activists must be removed to prevent future corruption in America. Common to much of the work of pseudoscience, the false equivalency of comparing the trajectories of the United States and Jamaica showed only emphasized the flawed logic of Davenport.

Davenport and Steggerda throughout the study disregarded the local history and culture of Jamaica to push forward a narrative that English speaking nations that had large demographics of European and African descendants can be compared on a

biological level. Davenport studied Jamaica out of convenience as he thought the racial dynamics were similar enough for him to support his wild hypothesis on human "racial hybridity." Ultimately, saving Jamaica from "racial suicide" was never his goal, as Davenport wanted to draw parallels to the racial composition of the United States. In the mind of Davenport, any island in the British Caribbean could be used to show white America the dangers of non-white majority communities and that without eugenic measures, European dominance will lead to the decline of civilization.

By seeking to prove the inequality of races, naturally, *Race Crossing in Jamaica*, the removal of Jamaican voices in this study of their bodies emphasized a need to marginalize non-white communities. Regardless of if the person examined was black, white, or biracial, the subjects became as a means to uphold old ugly stereotypes about race to protect the industry Davenport developed in his scientific studies. Davenport dehumanized the residents of Jamaica, which in a way upheld the idea of American hegemony over their smaller neighbors. Davenport designed his projects around his beliefs to prove if someone qualified to live in his genetic utopia. The stories behind the journeys these groups of men, women, and children disappeared when the data consumed of scholars only sought to build further divisions between the races.

The legacy of Davenport's *Race Crossing in Jamaica* ultimately served as a microcosm of eugenics' questionable reputation in the greater scientific community by the 1930s. Throughout this study of documenting the perils of hybridity, eugenicists believed that they could be successful in curing the ills of the world through pseudoscience. However, once scholars who employed techniques that relied less on wild hypotheses and instead employed methodologies that considered cultural, historical, and

sociopolitical factors, eugenics no longer received reverence in academia because there was never any real use of science involved. The field was a form of academic racism that used the language of the evolutionary sciences to justify its place in the universities and laboratories of Western Civilization. Even though hardliners defended the anti-miscegenation message of the work, the clear majority of scholars could not accept Davenport's bias analytical methods and horrid data sets. With Davenport focusing on the racial implications of his analysis to advocate measures of white superiority and black inferiority, eugenics became just another tool to reinforce imperialism, colonialism, and the protection of privilege white classes. Jamaicans who participated in the *Race Crossing* study were only lab rats to Davenport, as he failed to see his subjects as a part of multicultural society. Rather, places like Jamaica needed to represent the fears of miscegenation that could destroy white nations. Rather than examining how to restrict policies and the trajectory of slavery and mass colonialism damaged the autonomy of people of color to develop their civilizations, eugenics became a weapon to continue the justification of segregation and degradation of nonwhite people.

Illustrative of another lens through which Caribbean realities could be viewed, Clarke and her assistants sought to enter Jamaican communities to understand how colonialism affected Caribbean residents from the viewpoints of the actual residents rather than speculative ideas from those who had not experienced racism and colonialism. Clarke's background in sociology and anthropology would most certainly have meant an encounter with elements of eugenic thought. She did not apply those notions in executing social welfare work, her skill set allowing an understanding of issues of poverty in the region without a need to explain every interaction in racial or scientific ways.

Chapter 4: Edith Clarke: Race in Low Places and Blue Mountains: Edith Clarke and 1940s Jamaican Social Welfare Project

Despite the racial demographics of the region, white figures like Edith Clarke still held influential power in the construction of the British West Indies in the mid-1900s. Aforementioned figures, like Charles Davenport and Sydney Harland, were not leaders of the West Indies. In line with eugenic tenets, they viewed the region's black people from a purely biological perspective rather than through the socio-cultural lens deployed by Clarke. The West Indian Social Survey might have been only a ploy by the British Government to retain power on the island. Nevertheless, Clarke took the investigation on a path that brought island life to the forefront, exposing the realities of ordinary Jamaicans.

Edith Clarke's training as a progressive anthropologist at the London School of Economics and University College from 1926 to 1931 was critical to her role.[387] She had studied anthropology under Professor Bronisław Malinowski, becoming his Research Assistant. Clarke had also received a Rockefeller Fellowship for fieldwork in West Africa prior to returning to Jamaica. Much of her personality and technique as a public servant reflected that background and illustrated the nature of anthropological training as developed and practiced in the 1930s. She tried not to interfere in the cultural background of the Jamaican people, often researching African traditions still practiced by Jamaicans in the New World. It was her view that through this anthropological study, notes could be

[387] Christine Barrow, "Edith Clarke: Jamaican Social Reformer and Anthropologist," Caribbean Quarterly 44, no 3/4, CELEBRATING 50 YEARS OF THE UWI, SEPT/DEC. 1998, 15.

taken of areas needing attention in the Afro-Jamaican community to support future development on the island.

Edith Clarke was born in Savanna-la-mar, Westmoreland, Jamaica in August 1896.[388] She was the daughter of Hugh Clarke, patriarch of the Westmoreland Clarkes, a prominent white family deeply involved in the governmental affairs of the island. Upon her return from University in the 1930s, Clarke became a mainstay in the sightseeing articles of the *Kingston Daily Gleaner*. Every party, every charity event, and every public lecture in which she participated appeared in decades worth of articles at the local newspaper.[389] Reporters often documented where she dined around the island, when she left and returned the island, whether these departures were business or pleasure, and her relationships with the Jamaican Governor and any royalty that came to the island. Clarke was also a local golf player.[390] Although it was not surprising for someone of her affluence to take up the sport of golf, an expensive past time, it is notable that she was very good. Clarke won several golf tournaments over the many decades in which she played. When she disappointed as a favorite at major tournaments, it was widely noted by

[388] "Edith Clarke dies at 83," *The Daily Gleaner,* November 08, 1979, 1, Newspaperarchive.com

[389] The Gleaner has the reputation as one of the most respected newspapers in the British Caribbean. However, one complaint by scholars is that the newspaper in the pre-independence days heavily focused on middle-class and upper class issues and often did not include much of the lower class viewpoints. Thus, by using the sources, there is an understanding that the audience may skew slightly affluent and thus the issues addressed in the newspaper reflect that.

[390] "At "The Club "Were some keen golfers…" *The Daily Gleaner,* January 26 1935, 39, Newspaperarchives.com. Since this took place in Clarke's hometown of Sav-Va-Mar, this confirms she was also the local professional golfer mentioned in the Gleaner for the duration of the 1930s and 1940s.

the local sports reporters.[391] By 1940, her golf career seemed to wane, as victory eluded her in a tournament she had won the previous year.[392] The focus of this chapter, however, is Clarke's relationship with the people of Jamaica via the social study, since her impressive sporting achievements did not play a role in her governmental or academic projects.

Clarke could have been content with the role as a local celebrity but seemed drawn to charity work. Christine Barrow, a modern scholar of Clarke, in one article referred to the Jamaican national as being born into a life of public service: "Her family background had a legacy of active social reform and advocacy on behalf of the poor… crossing the boundaries of class and colour to confront the realities of poverty and marginalisation."[393] Prior to commencing work with the national social welfare project, Clarke was very involved in improving the lives of the nation's poor. She had set up an organization to protect young children and was a vocal advocate for improved women's rights.

Clarke was a prominent name in many of the island's relief efforts. In cases of a major hurricane or natural disaster impacting Jamaica, she was often on the frontlines both in mobilizing the various charity arms requesting support and in being one of the first campaign donors. Clarke used her status as a local socialite to encourage others to

[391] *The Daily Gleaner*, February 05, 1932, 39. There were many Edith Clarkes in Jamaica in the period of 1930-1979 but the Gleaner made an effort to refer to the Edith Clarke of this project as Miss Edith Clarke. Other local Edith Clarkes did not have this title except for the athlete.

[392] "Golf Week-End In Westmoreland," *The Daily Gleaner*, March 28, 1940, 32.

[393] Barrow, "Edith Clarke: Jamaican Social Reformer and Anthropologist," 15.

support organizations that increased alms to the poor in projects as diverse as assuring access to safe drinking water and increasing educational opportunities.[394]

She became the head of the Anti-Tuberculosis movement in Jamaica, and in 1935 led a toothpaste-tube collection competition, which served as both a recycling initiative and a reward program for good behavior by the island's youth.[395] The toothpaste tube project became part of a wider silver paper collection fund, a nationwide program celebrating the Silver Jubilee of the King. It also served to support a foundation for an ambitious TB sanatorium; the silver collected could worth 38 pounds a ton.[396] Clarke did not just encourage donations, she was the face of the campaign, as she led the charity's efforts in sorting and packing of silver paper, tin foil, and lead foil, which were then sold by the ton to firms in England to be melted and recycled.[397] Clarke, with the support of the Governor's office, campaigned vigorously for the opening of a sanatorium to fight the Tuberculosis (TB) epidemic in Jamaica. In a slum clearance campaign in the island, it was reported by the Gleaner that nearly 100 percent of the residents had some lesions stemming from TB. The argument was that the close quarters in which they lived easily facilitated spread of the "affliction." Thus, a government task force was established to clean the slums and address the populations affected by disease and malnourishment.[398]

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[394] "Speech At Sal-Va-Mar," *Kingston Daily Gleaner*, January 19, 1935, 1.

[395] "Forhan's Toothpaste 1935 Christmas Competition," *Kingston Daily Gleaner*, April 06, 1935, 25.

[396] "Scouts Called On To Collect Foiled Silver Paper, Tin foil, Lead Foil And Lined Stamps To Aid Jubilee Memorial Fund," *Kingston Daily Gleaner*, August 10, 1935, 3.

[397] "A Charming Snapshot Of Miss Edith Clarke," *Kingston Daily Gleaner*, March 05, 1935, 3.

[398] "Better Housing, Better Food, Means Less Tuberculosis," *Kingston Daily Gleaner*, August 08, 1935, 5.

Although the clearances affected the already troubled availability of housing for the poor, they also provided opportunities for persons such as Clarke to educate the public about the health risks faced by the socially disadvantaged in 1930s Jamaica. She was representative of a group of upper-class white women in 1930s that enter government work and focus on health. Clarke's work in TB displayed a different way to use health and biology to shape interactions, and she earned recognition from local power brokers, such as Lady Denham, wife of the Governor.[399]

Upon her return to Jamaica from University College in London in the 1930s, Clarke entered the Jamaican civil service. Before Clarke worked for the West Indian Social Survey, she was as a representative of the Board of Supervision, a government agency that advocated for the poor in Jamaica. She would travel to different districts in Jamaica to mediate issues that affected lower class citizens. For example, she represented the Board of Supervision in a dispute at a Poor House, as she pushed for the removal of the former master from the Poor House for negligence towards the residents. Additionally, as a part of the Board of Supervision, she conducted a four-year study on poverty on the island, which preceded the WISS by a few years. Through this study, Clarke and the Board identified two main problems accelerating Jamaican poverty, juvenile pauperism and disease. Clarke's study also argued that reducing the cost of poor relief never helped the disadvantaged because there were too many organizations involved and none of them directly protected the poor. She believed that merging three smaller poor relief agencies into a central institution would eliminate heavy overhead

[399] "Lady Denham's Appeal," *Kingston Daily Gleaner*, August 12, 1935, 17.

expenses and provide a strong nursing and medical staff for chronic cases that required treatment for long periods.[400] However, the government and agencies like the St Catherine Parochial Board often rejected her recommendations, on the grounds that such reorganizations would necessarily increase the amount of money sent to the government by taxpayers, as well as take power away from non-government groups working in poor relief.[401] Clarke's failure to convince the Parochial Boards of Jamaica to sacrifice their autonomy over the Poor Houses for the sake of government investment did not teeter. She sought to mobilize the populace "on the question of the housing problem as it affects the poorer classes in the Island," as she wanted average Jamaicans to be involved in securing the well-being of others.[402]

Another key concern in Clarke's advocacy was to improve the lives of women. A great part of her work targeted issues of illegitimacy, women's rights and health care, and access to education. She often used her position as the Secretary of the Board of Supervision to bring to the forefront of women's issues. For example, she called several government meetings to "deal with the question of illegitimacy and concubinage."[403]

An active Secretary of the Board of Supervision, she was often confronted by opposition to her work. As evidence however of the value of Clarke's contribution, at

[400] "Snags Seen In Govt Poor Relief Plan," *Kingston Daily Gleaner*, March 12, 1940.

[401] "Caustic Criticisms Of Govt As St Catherine Bd. Reject Poor Relief Plan," *Kingston Daily Gleaner*, March 19, 1940, 4.

[402] "Talks On Housing Problem," *Kingston Daily Gleaner*, October 23, 1940, 11.

[403] " Illegitimacy Committee Head Doctor's Evidence," October 09, 1940, 6.

one point the parliament of Jamaica gave her a pay raise to keep her in the post.[404] This increase in salary displayed the Government's appreciation for her efforts in Social Welfare, as she often went above and beyond her duties to challenge the status quo of island relief. Thus, she became the perfect candidate to lead the next wave of social welfare following the development of a royal commission to investigate social conditions on the island.

Commissioned Research on Colonial Development

The British Government knew that they had to improve societal conditions in Jamaica following the 1930s Labour Rebellions of the Caribbean. Although the British Imperial government neglected to resolve the issues that caused the Rebellions before they occurred, officials needed to commit to a plan to aid the development of the colonies. In the 1930s, social movements toward the independence of Caribbean states were led by Afro-Caribbean radicals by writers like CLR James in Chapter 3. The years of colonial ignorance by the Metropole allowed labor leaders like the Bustamantes and Manleys to gain influence over the working class members of the Caribbean. Thus, after 1938, the Colonial Office became more active in the operation of its Caribbean possessions. Without attempting to show concern over the day-to-day lives of their West Indian subjects, the Colonial Office could lose all respect to the masses of the region. Such action was particularly pressing in light of weakened Caribbean economies following the Great Depression.

[404] "Yesterday In Council," *Kingston Daily Gleaner*, March 14, 1940, Kingston *Daily Gleaner*, March 14, 1940, 25.

The British Parliament established The West India Royal Commission in 1938 to examine problems and to consider what improvements were necessary for securing the region's future. After a year of investigation, the commission released a document in February 1940 detailing their recommendations for addressing the situation in the West Indies.[405] The commission identified poor education, a lack of access to public health, and low availability to housing as issues that had hurt the people.[406] On the economic front, the commission thought that local government should protect the rights of workers through trade unions, and the agricultural section needed restructuring to utilize resources better.[407] Thus, the commission recommended that the British Parliament should infuse over £1 million every year for a 20-year period to fund projects that would serve to ameliorate conditions. This fund would support the building of better schools and hospitals, provide more land to the socially disadvantaged, and promote gainful employment practices in the effort to avoid repetition of the dramatic events of the Labour Rebellion. The commission also singled out Jamaica as a colony in need of a change in labor and housing practices.[408] The outbreak of World War II, however, delayed some of these recommendations from coming to immediate fruition.[409] Although

[405] *The West India Royal Commission 1938-1939: Recommendations,* 6.

[406] *The West India Royal Commission 1938-1939: Recommendations,* 9-15.

[407] *The West India Royal Commission 1938-1939: Recommendations,* 15-23.

[408] *The West India Royal Commission 1938-1939: Recommendations,* 29.

[409] *The West India Royal Commission 1938-1939: Recommendations,* 8.

many economic changes were coming to Jamaica as a result of the Labour Rebellions, the issue of race on the island needed addressing as well.

The British government persisted with its attempts to introduce improvements to the Caribbean eventually releasing the document, "Development and Welfare in the West Indies," in 1940, which presented recommendations for improving varying aspects of Caribbean life. The report, written by Sir Frank Stockdale, Comptroller of the Development and Welfare in the West Indies, noted that his office intended to invest £ 1,000,000 into "long term programmes of social reform" as a means to aid the Caribbean.[410] Stockdale, wrote this document on behalf of the Colonial Office, intending to improve the economic health of the varying properties that the British government laid claim to around the Caribbean Sea. Sir Frank's information for his document ascertained from Jamaica, British Honduras, and modern-day Belize.[411] The report presented that the issues of this diverse region stemmed from inadequate health care, especially in rural areas.[412] People in the countryside were deemed more susceptible to viral diseases like malaria, "without a hope to aid them in these afflictions."[413] A key recommendation encouraged the establishment of a health education office in Jamaica, as a major concern for many was access to health care in areas where the nearest hospital was not convenient

[410] Sire Frank Stockdale, *Development and Welfare in the West Indies 1940-1942*, Her Majesty Stationery Office: London, 1944, 1.

[411] *Development and Welfare in the West Indies 1940-1942*, 2-3.

[412] *Development and Welfare in the West Indies 1940-1942*, 4-5, 15.

[413] *Development and Welfare in the West Indies 1940-1942*, 24.

for travel.[414] This office would create policies to aid newly established health units for people of the region to live in, particularly in rural areas.[415]

The "Development and Welfare in the West Indies 1940-1942" document also presented suggestions for improving the economic and educational situation in the region. Concerning the region's main economy, Stockdale admitted that the British government had not done a good enough job in protecting the agricultural health of Jamaica and the British Caribbean. Despite the efforts of the ICTA, the governments of the Caribbean were not able to redevelop their plans for Caribbean agribusiness. The culture of plantation farming and the monocrop economy had eroded the soil quality of the region.[416] The Great Depression had also contributed to difficulties for premium products sold on the international trade market. British shippers found it challenging to export relatively expensive Caribbean products to regions that could not afford them.[417] One suggestion for solving this problem was working with the United States to develop a relationship through the US Fish and Wildlife Services to train Caribbean residents to improve fishery businesses and protect other animals that could be used for economic purposes.[418] On top of that, US military bases during World War II had helped curb some of the problems of unemployment in port cities in Jamaica and Trinidad.[419]

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[414] *Development and Welfare in the West Indies 1940-1942*, 20.

[415] *Development and Welfare in the West Indies 1940-1942*, 16.

[416] *Development and Welfare in the West Indies 1940-1942*, 33.

[417] *Development and Welfare in the West Indies 1940-1942*, 40.

[418] *Development and Welfare in the West Indies 1940-1942*, 42.

[419] *Development and Welfare in the West Indies 1940-1942*, 45.

As for education, Stockdale noted extreme neglect by the Colonial Office. Regionally, children only received a primary school education if possible.[420] Many rural children received little to no formal schooling at all. This state of affairs negatively impacted the region generally preventing progress.[421] Stockdale devised a plan to improve schools by instituting compulsory education for children aged 4 to 16, and tried to giving access to such necessary programs such as a free school lunch for rural children.[422] "Development and Welfare in the West Indies 1940-1942" also suggested changes in teacher education. Realizing that the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture did not provide programming beyond that related to farming, Stockdale suggested an increase in liberal arts training for local teachers.[423] He knew that the government needed to empower these educators and also recommended creating an attractive salary structure, which would enhance their social status allowing them to use their position to uplift their respective communities. He believed that these local teachers would better understand than would outsiders the issues of their community.[424] Additional suggestions included providing adequate housing for teachers and students, creating vocational programs and facilitating travel for educational purposes. The establishment of a broadcasting system,

[420] *Development and Welfare in the West Indies 1940-1942*, 66.

[421] *Development and Welfare in the West Indies 1940-1942*, 69-70.

[422] *Development and Welfare in the West Indies 1940-1942*, 69.

[423] *Development and Welfare in the West Indies 1940-1942*, 71-74.

[424] *Development and Welfare in the West Indies 1940-1942*, 73, 74.

which made simple education and information accessible to wider audiences continued this theme of investing in new institutions to a region that lacked innovation.[425]

The most highlighted aspect of these recommendations was the Colonial Office's ideas for social welfare reform. Although Stockdale commended the many years of "social welfare work performed on a voluntary basis in the West Indies," he also argued that these uncoordinated separate programs should be integrated to improve relief and charity efforts in the region.[426] Stockdale stated that Jamaica had been successful in creating proposals and programs under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act.[427] Hence, a recommendation by "Development and Welfare in the West Indies 1940-1942" called for an overhaul of social services in the region.[428] In this restructuring, the Colonial Office sought to improve coordination between existing public and voluntary social services with governmental departments, such as the Poor Law, Prisons, Probations, and youth services respectively.[429] The office also contended that social work officers could become more efficient in investigating issues affecting different communities throughout the region.[430]

One topic addressed in "Development and Welfare in the West Indies 1940-1942" was "the organized campaign against the social, moral, and economic evils of

[425] *Development and Welfare in the West Indies 1940-1942*, 77-80.

[426] *Development and Welfare in the West Indies 1940-1942*, 49.

[427] *Development and Welfare in the West Indies 1940-1942*, 49.

[428] *Development and Welfare in the West Indies 1940-1942*, 53.

[429] *Development and Welfare in the West Indies 1940-1942*, 53.

[430] *Development and Welfare in the West Indies 1940-1942*, 53-54.

promiscuity."[431] Lord Lloyd Stockdale had identified lack of morality as a core issue in the region. Similarly, the committee overseeing the restructuring program believed that the lack of Christian morality in terms of sexuality had affected interpersonal relationships as well as the growth of people in the region.[432] Suggestions by the committee included reestablishing relationships with denominational Christian churches to improve the region's morality.[433] The report called for the training of social workers at social studies departments of British universities. These administrators would exchange ideas between the British ideals of social work with the realities of life in the West Indian colonies. [434] This exchange of ideas included significant work with Youth organizations and Poorhouses.[435]

Although "Development and Welfare in the West Indies 1940-1942" represented a rather thorough report on the issues that West Indian residents faced, it had failed to address some concerns. The document stipulated how the people of the island could or should change their culture to improve the economic and political situation in the region. Yet, the Colonial Office did not rectify the inequitable economic system and allocation of resources, which had been justified in part by eugenics, should be altered or upended. Although the Colonial Office promised better education and healthcare to West Indian residents, as those issues predated the Labor Rebellion, the governments of the region

[431] *Development and Welfare in the West Indies 1940-1942*, 55.

[432] *Development and Welfare in the West Indies 1940-1942*, 55.

[433] *Development and Welfare in the West Indies 1940-1942*, 56.

[434] *Development and Welfare in the West Indies 1940-1942*, 56-57.

[435] *Development and Welfare in the West Indies 1940-1942*, 59.

were slow in implementing these improvements, especially in lower class and rural communities. Additionally, by only having white Colonial Officers conduct the research for this governmental project, it prevented the Colonial Office from understanding many of the concerns of the governed. Those surveying for the Development and Welfare Fund did not live in the same economic, political, and social conditions as the subjects of the report lived under, which will affect how informants perceived issues. One missed opportunity included the land distribution crisis between local Jamaicans and the landowners. One of the largest issues facing Afro-Caribbean residents was the lack of land rights. Many slaves did not have property after emancipation, and those properties could be transferred from generations to generation to provide a stable house base. Plantation owners, nevertheless, held on to their land well into the 1900s, even though many were absent to those properties. Additionally, without the opportunity to own land, many black Jamaicans found it difficult to build assets outside of employment. Instead, the British Government never seemed concerned in giving locals opportunities at land ownership, and often sided with the white landowners in disputes that could widen property ownership. The report could have also included more visualized outlooks of the economic transformation possibilities for the region, as acknowledging the flaws of a monocrop economy does not readjust the economic steps the region can take to diversify their industries.

The focus on the morality of the region's subjects shifted the blame for some of the inequalities of the region. Much of the focus on the report wanted to repair the culture of the Caribbean, as there seemed to be a belief that Afro-Caribbeans inherited and embraced a non-productive culture. For people like Stockdale who were removed from

day-to-day life in the Caribbean, pointing to the cultural traits of lower-class Caribbean residents, in comparison to the behaviors of the upper-class report writers, shows that the British wanted to spread the blame of the failure of the region on the residents. By claiming that promiscuity and illegitimacy contributed to the poverty and crime of the region, some the responsibility of the neglect of the island could revert to the groups most harmed by the Depression. This perspective provided a framework in which Edith Clarke could devise a plan for what was to become a watershed investigation of communities in Jamaica. With her concerns in the social structure of Jamaican family life, Clarke's work could focus on three main constituents; the youth, women, and the poor. Clarke's study provided opportunities for the Colonial Office to understand better why ordinary Jamaicans conducted themselves in certain ways, while also pushing to the background some of the economic and political opportunities that hampered the regions' development.

In conceptualizing the West Indian Social Survey, Clarke made critical decisions to assure her influence in the design and purpose of the ambitious project. As the Secretary of the Board of Supervision, Clarke decided to take leave to the United Kingdom to secure "a post which would provide a greater outlet for her training in social service work."[436] She did not hide an ambition to join Sir Frank Stockdale's colonial redevelopment plans and attended this trip to England to lobby to become an officer of the West Indies Development and Welfare set-up.[437] In April of 1944, Clarke began

[436] "Miss Edith Clarke May Get New Post," *Kingston Daily Gleaner*, December 28, 1944, 3.

[437] "Miss Edith Clarke May Get New Post," *Kingston Daily Gleaner*, December 28, 1944, 3.

promoting the benefits of Stockdale's report. She emphasized how Stockdale had given the organization of the Jamaican welfare plan high praise and wanted the rest of the West Indies to emulate the style of the relationships and policies forged with voluntary social workers of the island. She also believed that Jamaicans ought to heed the criticisms of Stockdale and work with the Colonial Office to improve an already robust social welfare plan.[438]

The clear objective for the WISS was to survey local respondents about Jamaican family structure. Rumblings about a West Indian Social Survey began in 1945, as the Royal Commission sought to apply research schemes previously used in the African Colonies and Protectorates in the Caribbean. The provisional approval allowed "for a comprehensive sociological survey of the peasant community in Jamaica, to be carried out by a team of workers who will make full use of the data collected in the Jamaican census of 1943."[439] As the project came to realization, responsibility for its execution fell on three leaders, Clarke as the director and anthropologist, Dr. Joseph Obrebski, a Polish sociologist who had undertaken work at The London School of Economics and Political Science, and Dr. Madeline Kerr, an English psychologist who had also worked with poor communities in England. Various assistants from University College supplemented the data collection.[440] Each of the leads in this project had separate goals.

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[438] Social Service Work for Jamaica: Plans For Its Development," *Kingston Daily Gleaner*, March 14, 1944, 7.

[439] "The report on Colonial Research," *Kingston Daily Gleaner*, March 14, 1940, 16.

[440] Jamaica Survey, FIRTH/7/3/1, 1947-1957, LSE Library Archives and Special Collections.

Obrebski wanted to produce a publication called *A Jamaican Rural City*, which would focus heavily on the sociological findings of the WISS. Obrebski argued that Warsop was a rural Jamaican city that represented key traits that highlighted the "Peasant Community."[441] He wrote that the "Rural city as the product of history" stemmed from the colonization movements after emancipation. Additionally, Obrebski argued that emancipation was the turning point of the history of the territory. He believed that the current economic and social standings came after the end of slavery, as well as the continuation of colonialization, in the 1800s.[442] Obrebski's work on Jamaicans did not receive as much attention or acclaim as that of fellow researchers in the project.

Kerr's work greatly differed from Clarke and Obrebski. In her book *Personality and Conflict in Jamaica*, Clarke focused on applying principles of psychology to explain Jamaican culture. Kerr would agree and follow Clarke in focusing her publication on the role Jamaican males played in the long construction of social failings, suggesting that certain social situations had given rise to the development of what they considered a Jamaican personality type. She referenced such issues as parental roles, education, skin color, religion, and slavery.[443] Kerr's work failed to impress on the island in comparison to Clarke's. The latter's background as a Jamaican served in large part to explain why her book was notable in sparking the extensive national discussion about illegitimacy and the

[441] "Sample Studies, Interim Report, 'Jamaican Rural City'" FIRTH/7/3/2, 1947-1948, LSE Library Archives and Special Collections.

[442] "Sample Studies, Interim Report, 'Jamaican Rural City'" FIRTH/7/3/2, 1947-1948. LSE Library Archives and Special Collections.

[443] FW Hickling, G Walcott, "Prevalence and Correlates of Personality Disorder in the Jamaican Population," West Indian Medical Journal 62, no. 5), 2013, 446.

family as it did. Clarke was far from perfect in her assessment of Jamaica's sexual and familial mores, as her privileged upbringing did not allow to interact with the other social classes of the island at a cultural level. Reviewers who compared the two researchers' books believed that Clarke had a better understanding of the Jamaican people because of residence on the island. Kerr developed a work that may have furthered her career in England as an academic. It did not, however, receive the same acclaim on the island, as many middle-class Jamaican readers did not understand how Kerr constructed her idea for "Jamaican Personalities." There may not be a true "Jamaican Identity," but locals could not image a foreigner researcher with any prior ties to the island to be the judge of that concept. Many of the people who were the inspiration for a "Jamaican Personality" would not recognize these traits as purely native to the country, as they operated in a world where the concerns of work, land ownership, and sexual mores were completely different from even compatriots in neighboring towns. It should be difficult to boil down an entire culture to a short academic work, but the researchers behind the WISS attempted to use the data collected to produce such works.

For her study, Clarke proposed to travel to remote regions of Jamaica to interview residents about their lives. Support for the project came from the Colonial Social Science Research Council financed by the Colonial Office from funds provided for research under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act.[444] An advisory committee of the London School of Economics, consisting of Professors Raymond, Firth, Glass, and Schapera

[444] Edith Clarke, *My Mother who Fathered Me: A Study of the Families in Three Selected Communities in Jamaica*, The Press University Of The West Indies, Barbados, 1999, (First Edition 1957), xvi.

supervised the fieldwork design.[445] It involved the input of researchers Clarke, Kerr, and Obrebski, who conducted minor residencies in unserved areas of the island, gained the trust of the locals, and eventually got the residents to express their opinions on critical topics that affected their daily lives. Key questions involved education, sexual mores, economics, drug policies, and the governance of the island. One main goal of the researchers was to ensure that the subjects felt completely free to discuss taboo topics. Kerr and Clarke provided basic questions with some prodding, but for the most part, the subjects elaborated on the topics in eye-opening ways.

Before continuing further, the chapter must address two articles about Clarke's work in the West Indian Social Survey. As mentioned before, Christine Barrow's 1998 article "Edith Clarke: Jamaican Social Reformer and Anthropologist" perceives Clarke's work as critical for Caribbean anthropology. Barrow argues that Clarke was one of the first colonial administrators to realize that a major problem in colonial Jamaica was that leaders never came from the communities that they served.[446] Thus, part of Clarke's importance was her dedication to the people of Jamaica as a resident of the island. Barrow argues that her patriotism pushed her to investigate the social woes of the island in ways that served to humanize the actions of those investigated. Previous ethnographers were quick to label anything that they deemed negative as examples of "primitive and savage" behaviors.[447] As Barrow quipped: "It is remarkable that, with this objective in

[445] Clarke, *My Mother who Fathered Me*, xvi.

[446] Barrow, "Edith Clarke," 18.

[447] Barrow, "Edith Clarke," 20.

mind, Edith Clarke avoided the prevailing stereotypes of Afro-Caribbean families incorporated into the prevailing crude, pre-determined social policy prescriptions which assumed a causal link between family structure and poverty."[448] Nevertheless, Barrow pointed out the weakness of Clarke's work was that she could not completely remove her class biases. Her viewpoints about the proper way for a family unit to function, which was a father living with the mother of his children, became the ideal lifestyle based on how she wrote *My Mother who Fathered Me.*[449]

While Barrow placed Clarke as a product of her time who made large contributions to Caribbean Studies, Barbara Bush, in "Colonial Research and the Social Sciences at the End of Empire: The West Indian Social Survey, 1944–57," argued against Clarke's significance. Bush's article advanced the notion that Clarke's ambitions focused more on personal achievements than serving the public good.[450] Bush noted that the completion date of the WISS was longer than projected due to bureaucratic infighting as well as dealing with the many enemies Clarke had developed during her time at the Board of Supervision.[451] Bush also argued that the study had greater faults than just the personal biases of the researchers. She held that as white women entering black spaces in 1940s Jamaica, the power dynamic between the researchers and the informants gave the workers of the WISS more influence in their interactions for the study. Rather than

[448] Barrow, "Edith Clarke," 20.

[449] Barrow, "Edith Clarke," 26.

[450] Barbara Bush, "Colonial Research and the Social Sciences at the End of Empire: The West Indian Social Survey, 1944–57," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 41, no. 3, 2013, 454.

[451] Bush, "Colonial Research and the Social Sciences at the End of Empire," 455.

understanding the rural Jamaican peasants, Bush contended that the WISS only served to prop up ignorant views on Jamaican life, and could not be seen as a success for improving the lives of locals.[452] She believed that it had instead served to improve the professional careers of Clarke and Kerr and did little to challenge colonial policies.[453]

Although Barrow's and Bush's works on Clarke highlight some problematic issues with the WISS, this chapter views the value of this study in comparison to previous major research conducted with Jamaican subjects.

The West Indian Social Study and its Findings[454]

There were specific locations the West Indian Social Survey team identified to undertake varying components of the study. Key research sites included schools, town halls, private homes, and other establishments. Clarke attempted to provide safe spaces for the subjects to express their views on the many issues that Jamaicans faced. These ranged from the perils of poverty, the acceptance and rejection of certain sexual acts and behaviors, to the criminalization of marijuana, and instances of discrimination.

Based on the interview responses, it is clear that the people of Jamaica were very involved in the political world revolution taking place among working and lower-class

[452] Bush, "Colonial Research and the Social Sciences at the End of Empire," 462

[453] Bush, "Colonial Research and the Social Sciences at the End of Empire." 467.

[454] Much of the information in this section comes from The Edith Clarke files at the London School of Economics. The files used in this section come from personal interviews conducted by Clarke and Kerr. The British government has deemed these sources sensitive because many of the participants of the study may still be alive and active. Thus, collection of these materials involved handwriting, which caused me to lose some of the names of the interviewers for the interviews. In the records, it was not always clear whether Dr. Kerr or Clarke conducted a certain interview. Clarke completed the majority of interviews, with Dr. Kerr playing a significant role in secondary interviews. They also conducted an interview together. I indicate the interviewer wherever possible.

people. The names of the leaders of the Jamaican Labour Party and the People's National Party were on the lips of the poor, as schemes by the Bustamantes and Manleys began to galvanize ideas of political independence and economic recovery for the groups to be most impacted by these changes.[455] The beginning of the political divide was apparent as supporters of the Manleys rejected the Bustamante ideals of working with the English and Americans to build industry. Adherents to the Manley approach argued that the people were not fed, did not receive health care at local hospitals, could not receive education at local schools, and generally did not have the resources to rely on outsiders to bring them justice.[456]

The issue of race, as it had in studies such as Davenport's, loomed large. In the Blue Mountains, the local informants touched upon the issue of colorism in the community. In November 1948 interviews, local women described their fears of the perceptions of dark-skinned people. Subjects' wanted their children to be brown girls, as "fair skinned" people received better treatment in the Blue Mountains. The internalized colorism led to some informants refusing to have photographs taken of them because people would see "two ugly black women."[457] There was also a link between race and politics, as Garvey's black liberation movement inspired many of the darker skin Jamaicans to dream about a return to Africa, as life the British Caribbean did not support

[455] Clarke/9, LSE Library Archives and Special Collections.

[456] A key note, The Clarke family shared a relationship with the Manleys. There can be some biases in the presentation of these notes against the Bustamantes for this reason. These are raw notes taken by a variety of informants so one can be wary of the total veracity of placing negative use of a political party in notations.

[457] Clarke/9, Mountain Pass, LSE Library Archives and Special Collections.

the promotion of African features and African life. Racism and skin-color hierarchies shaped both the collective identity of Jamaicans as a single people, as well as the internal fracturing that fostered mistrust based on ethnic and social backgrounds.

Criminalization was a big concern for the people of Jamaica. One of the issues that rural respondents highlighted in their interactions with the general Jamaican government was what they described as "the persecution" of local medicine. Marijuana, or as used by the locals, ganja, was illegal but was sometimes prescribed by local doctors as a cure-all drug for many common health issues. For example, residents in the Blue Mountains claimed that ganja helped their appetites, as a "few whip from the slugs" aided them in eating during illness. Nevertheless, from the informants' perspective, the criminalization of marijuana by the government forced the police, who in some cases were reluctant, to crack down on anyone in possession of this plant.[458] The people of the Blue Mountains lived separate lives from those of low-lying areas and the city. Therefore, the attack on marijuana appeared as a method of controlling the people of the Blue Mountains. The amount of information collected by the West Indian Social Survey on marijuana proved that the drug was both controversial but important symbol of Jamaican society and identity in the 20th century. Over 20 of the interviewees in the notes of the WISS research team stated that ganja became the number one crime issue in Jamaica in the late 1940s. Local users in the Blue Mountains believed that it was doctors, not the police, who had led to its criminalization. One informant labeled doctors "hypocrites" stating that they would rather treat diseases like Tuberculosis without curing

[458] Clarke/21, LSE Library Archives and Special Collections.

it. Ganja, perceived as dangerous to one's health, was the cure, and instead of prescribing it, they tell the police to "stab it out of existence."[459]

The WISS Survey revealed widespread concern over health care. Interviewers documented rural Jamaicans' dissatisfaction with doctors. The locals complained that the free medicine was not good but that they could not afford to pay private fees for better healthcare. Informants believed that doctors did not "examine" them properly, did not pay enough attention nor devote sufficient time to hearing about their "case." They felt that it was impossible to make personal appointments with the medical officers; and when they did, they were only one of a crowd, failing to receive personalized treatment. Many rural Jamaicans turned to traditional medicine men since they provided personal attention even serving as local psychologists and pharmacists.[460] This preference in medical care displayed the importance of developing a "Jamaicaness" that did not fit a Colonial British identity.

Clarke noted in her files how the social institutions played a role in shaping Jamaican identity. The presentation of one's skin color impacted how one operated in society. In an emotional discussion about a group of color conscious people, the main take away for some of the discussants was that "although they were not light-skinned themselves" a way to enhancing their prestige was to become rich.[461] In the discussion,

[459] Clarke/21, Blue Mountain File No. 22 Crime No.2. Ganja, Page 2, , LSE Library Archives and Special Collections.

[460] Clarke/20, Health, all centres, 1947-1948, Dissatisfaction with Doctors. 11.8.48 File No 21: Health etc., , LSE Library Archives and Special Collections.

[461] Clarke/25, LSE Library Archives and Special Collections.

ultimately race and class played a role in the treatment of persons of different social standings. Darker skinned rich people sometimes mistreated an average Jamaican more in comparison to poorer lighter skin residents.[462] The stark economic disparity between the groups in Jamaica was clear when one informant said that even wearing shoes to school at age 10 was a sign of higher wealth levels. Being rich gained local status, as another informant said that even though he was not a physically imposing person, he was relatively wealthy and a very popular leader in the community. Another key issue related to wealth disparity was that of land disparity. There was simply not enough land to serve the numbers living in these communities. Thus there was a "space race" that led to conflict between neighbors and residents of towns and rural areas. This lack of inhabitable space led some community members to depart their neighborhoods for locales outside of Jamaica. As the practice of wiring money back to Jamaica from places like Panama and Cuba became common, working abroad and sending remittances became a featured part of the economy. Additionally, the introduction of Asian groups such as Arabs, Indians, and the Chinese had affected the ability of blacks to compete on the labor and land markets. There was, therefore, a growing tension between Asian groups and African groups.

While the West Indian Social Survey was successful in understanding the lived experiences of locals, there was a backlash from these communities particularly with respect to its rationale. The great mistrust between Jamaicans and their government was

[462] Clark and notes that the informant held prejudiced against people. Their community so you have to take a grain of salt about how this person's reaction to the social constructs of race and class affected daily interactions.

apparent in Clarke's survey. There was a prominent fear among locals that there would be no reinvestment into Jamaica unless the government had its way in removing black people from the valuable land. One informant in the Blue Mountains wondered "if it was true that the purpose of the survey was to take an inventory of the people's business so it might assist in the sending back to Africa of color peoples."[463] Not all were impressed by Clarke as well, as one subject believed that they were only making a book about "the neggar race" so the government could justify the deportation of Afro Jamaicans to Liberia.[464] Clark received questioning as to whether she liked black men as many grappled with the ideas of beauty, power, and racism in the 1940s. [465] Clarke stated that she loved all Jamaicans regardless of color, and wondered if they disliked their own African physical features. Many male informants expressed an attraction to fairer skin islanders, touching upon issues of centuries of conflict of colorism and social standing.

One key observation in the work of Clarke and the West Indian social survey was that the role of skin color in the study's interactions was emphasized differently in comparison to past studies on the island. It would be inaccurate to reject the role of race in the interactions of the interviewers and administrators in the WISS. The majority of the leaders of the Survey was white and had European educational backgrounds. Their backgrounds greatly differed from the Jamaican rural poor who struggled for survival in the 1940s. Naturally, the two groups would view their meetings during the survey in

[463] Clarke/28 The Survey 11.8.48, LSE Library Archives and Special Collections.

[464] Clarke/28 The Survey 11.8.48, LSE Library Archives and Special Collections.

[465] Clarke/28 Blue Mountain 9.8.48, LSE Library Archives and Special Collections.

different ways, and the judgments about Jamaican rural life in published sources would be conveyed to the masses in a language that may not be equal for the Jamaican subjects.

Ultimately, the WISS was a colonial project to understand the economic and social situation of Jamaicans and develop ideas to improve the island under the British banner. Thus, despite attempts by the interviewers to reduce the role of the race in their interactions with the Jamaican informants, there was always a level of consciousness of skin color in the ways information was passed on to Clarke and Co. Their "blackness" had a fundamental impact on life experiences, prospects, and quality of life in Jamaica. The setup of WISS also played a role in looking for "blackness," as the researchers need to recount a "Jamaicaness" that was not visible to non-natives of these poor rural communities, namely upper-class Jamaicans and white colonial figures. In comparison to Charles Davenport's research, nearly 20 years earlier, the focus of WISS was on the actions of the actors on the islands rather than on their racial background. Davenport and Steggerda ignored racial sensitivities in their research, as the Jamaican bodies were just test subjects in an attempt to justify a hypothesis against miscegenation. In comparison, when prompted, Clarke made efforts to discuss race when it was important to a local issue. There seemed to be an effort to focus more the voices of informants based on qualifiers like being rich, poor, young, old, male, and female, with equal weight and equal understanding. This approach can be problematic, as the structural inequalities caused by a racist colonial power structure will affect how whites and black actors interact, even when efforts were made to ignore the inaccurate notion of the inequality of races.

Clarke's main concern was the treatment of women, especially mothers, on the island. A considerable amount of the notes she took during the West Indian Social Survey dealt with women's healthcare, prenatal and natal concerns, and the sexual welfare of women. In looking at pregnancy in rural Jamaica, she found a reliance on local traditional treatments rather than modern Western medicine. Clarke's interviews with women about the childbearing process showed that many of the informants depended on traditional customs to take care of newborns and their mothers. The opinions of the local nurses documented widespread entrenched traditions. Some stipulated what to do in labor and the meals of both mother and child at the pre and post-natal stages. For example, one commonly accepted pregnancy food custom was that if the woman drank large quantities of water, she would drown the baby. Additionally, there were varying opinions on the consumption of foods such as salads and green vegetables, eggs, and citrus. In studying the feeding of newborns, rural informants were more likely to give babies herbs and teas before starting the child on a full breast milk regimen. Additionally, local mothers, midwives, and nurses did not have a consensus on infant health care.

Race was present in many of the interviews on childbirth. For example, some Jamaican women were concerned that a prenatal woman's diet could affect skin color. One informant encouraged mothers to eat okra and spinach to give a baby "a clear complexion." Other women said "Green calalu makes baby's hair straight" while two others said, "Calalu makes baby skin black." While some locals encouraged soon to be mothers to "drink milk to make the baby fair," others believed that "Milk is forbidden" because it would make the baby "too big." Three informants even argued that mothers should drink Sirracey tea during pregnancy or else the baby would be black. By

conducting these interviews, Clarke was able to touch upon the colorism issue affecting the island. The pressure on women to not only bear children, but to also influence their future physical appearance while still in the womb showed the strain of racism, and even ideas of eugenics, on the development of local communities.

Clarke's work sparked a nationwide discussion on how Jamaican family structures affected the long-term success of those social units. Her reflections on the study's finding became an influential book, titled *My Mother who Fathered Me*. The book was a critical moment for anthropological studies of communities in the British Empire. Clarke designed the book to compare and contrast three sites of the study, showing how local mores related to family lineage, sexual practices, and child illegitimacy had shaped the development of Jamaican communities. She summarized the purpose of her book in this way: "This account of the family in rural Jamaica consists of a comparative study of three communities which reflect the different ways in which the rural population is organized, and attempts to show how these different ways of life affect patterns of family life, the relationship between the members of the family and the composition of the household."[466]

To maintain anonymity for the project and the informants, Clarke decided to use aliases for the towns studied in the project.[467] Of the two years during which the project was conducted, nine months were spent in Sugartown, "which allowed us to observe the different pattern of life in the *tempo moto* as compared with the working season when

[466] Clarke, *My Mother who Fathered Me*, xvii.

[467] Clarke, *My Mother who Fathered Me*, xlii.

'crop' was on." Additionally, "Orange Grove" had the full cycle of agricultural activities observed as well. "Mocca," the smallest of the test sites, had the work completed in two months.[468] Clarke wanted to make it clear that she had sought to contribute "to the scientific study of West Indian (Creole) society" without adding "partisan bias, value judgments, and over-simple theorizing."[469] Clarke built her work on other studies conducted in the Americas and the British Caribbean on "negro communities," such as scholars such as R.T. Smith, Fernando Henriques, Franklin Frazier, and Melville Herskovits.[470] Using a framework primarily drawn from R.T. Smith's study of "negro families" in Guyana, Clarke argued that black communities in the Americas shared similar characteristics around reproduction and familial practices.

One important observation for the purposes of her work was that the common law marriage was prevalent across these communities, which contributed to the illegitimacy problem she was trying to tackle. Thus, what she saw as making her work unique in comparison to similar studies was its focus on exposing how "alternative types of mating relations influence the constitution and stability of household groups, and how differences in the organization and character of local communities are associated with significant differences in their patterns of family organization."[471] She discussed how the sexual mores of the island affected long-term marriage rates, as there were constraints

[468] Clarke, *My Mother who Fathered Me*, xxv.

[469] Clarke, *My Mother who Fathered Me*, xxv

[470] Clarke, *My Mother who Fathered Me*, xxix.

[471] Clarke, *My Mother who Fathered Me*, xxxv.

"by individual and social conditions to convert their non-domiciliary liaisons into stable consensual cohabitation."[472] In addition, a main component of Clarke's argument was economic, as she showed a correlation of marriage in contrast to concubinage based on economic status. In rich areas like Orange Grove, "marriage . . . is part of the class structure," while "in Sugartown and Mocca, there is, in fact, no apparent real association of marriage or concubinage with the economic status or class structure."[473]

Clarke targeted several issues that she felt affected the family structures of Jamaican rural life. The book is divided into chapters focusing on Land Tenure, Marriage, Sex, Procreation and the Institutions of Concubinage, The Organization of the Households, and The Development of Kinship Roles. In order to make her conclusions in each chapter, Clarke utilized her field notes from Mocca, Sugartown, and Orange Grove. She noted when informants in each location told similar or wildly inconsistent stories to show readers a pattern that developed her materialistic belief that illegitimacy in Jamaican culture played a role in the unstable family lives of communities on the island. For Clarke, exposing the immorality of illegitimacy, regardless if the actual subjects of the book believed they were living immoral lives, would lead to progress in these communities.

In her chapter on land tenure, Clarke argued that after emancipation, the system to redistribute land to freed slaves was inadequate. Some freedmen were able to purchase plots, while others resorted to squatting on abandoned land to gain ownership through

[472] Clarke, *My Mother who Fathered Me*, xxxviii.

[473] Clarke, *My Mother who Fathered Me*, xxxviii.

Statutes of Limitations.[474] This affected the Jamaican family in the long-term as courts only recognized children of legitimate birth as the successors. Since many persons in these rural areas were born out of wedlock, it was difficult to determine who could inherit family lands, if a person could receive them at all. This lack of land ownership affected the long-term economic benefits for these communities, as they did not have the necessary resources to compete in an agricultural based society. Additionally, if accepted by their fathers, illegitimate children and their mothers might live on the father's family land but had no legal rights to it. Were the father to lose the land, it reverted to the brothers, sisters or other descendants of the father, not his child.[475] Clarke concluded that the Jamaican families that had had the best cohesion constructed an inheritance system where a father mandated that his child would inherit his family lands, rather than rely on family members for long-term housing. This inheritance system contributed to long-term family success because it allowed families to remove the obstacle of finding land ownership from their burdens and give a family a chance of setting up a two-parent family.[476]

In the chapter on marriage, Clarke argued that many rural poor avoided the institution as it restricted certain freedoms in their communities. According to her, marriages in Jamaica were "monogamous and should be for life and this is an argument in favour of late marriage and of a preliminary period of concubinage which leaves the

[474] Clarke, *My Mother who Fathered Me*, 18.

[475] Clarke, *My Mother who Fathered Me*, 27.

[476] Clarke, *My Mother who Fathered Me*, 39.

parties free to separate at any time should they so desire" and that "It is not considered correct for a man to propose marriage unless he owns a house and, preferably, a bit of land. 'A man should not marry and live in a rented house.'[477] Thus, it was easier for young men and women to justify cohabitation and other practices that avoided marriage if the couples were not able to meet these societal (and religious) demands.[478] Nevertheless, this also allowed men to walk away from relationships even if children were involved.

The idea of love and marriage flowed into the next chapter on "Sex, Procreation and the Institutions of Concubinage." Clarke stated that towns like Orange Grove, with higher incomes and better family land law enforcement, had higher percentages of marriages and lower percentages of illegitimacy than Mocca and Sugartown.[479] Clarke noted that in towns like Sugartown, many of the men were migrants from other parts of the island, some with wives and children.[480] The sexual relationships they developed in Sugartown were therefore intended to be temporary, as they only came to the town on a seasonal basis. Thus, these men might not have the ability to support another woman and child. Impregnation of multiple women also played into what Clarke believed was the Jamaican ideal of the natural balance between men and women; masculinity was defined by the ability to impregnate women and femininity was defined by the ability to produce

[477] Clarke, *My Mother who Fathered Me*, 50, 51.

[478] Clarke, *My Mother who Fathered Me*, 53-54.

[479] Clarke, *My Mother who Fathered Me*, 61.

[480] Clarke, *My Mother who Fathered Me*, 64.

a child.[481] Childlessness was far from celebrated, as it was proof that one was not an adult.[482] This delicate balance between the social mores of marriage and adulthood affected kinship, as illegitimate children could not be certain about the long-term status of their fathers and the legal ramifications of separated families.

Clarke demonstrated that economics played a big role in the organization of the households in Sugartown, Orange Grove, and Mocca. Sugartown, the largest and most impoverished of the three, was the center with the highest rate of illegitimacy and concubinage, and the lowest percentage of marriage.[483] Orange Grove tended to have higher rates of marriage and Mocca often had marriage and illegitimacy rates that mirrored the national average. A key observation in this chapter was the difficulty in the Jamaican context of defining a traditional family in the sense of a nuclear family, as many residents lived with different family members under a single household. Grandmothers, uncles, cousins, half-siblings, and other extended members often lived together.[484] The great burden, however, of raising children came down to single mothers, grandmothers, and great-grandmothers, as these groups were more likely to be the breadwinner in a single parent household.[485]

Finally, the chapter "The Development of Kinship Roles" showed how the lack of two-parent households affected children's relationships with adults in their communities.

[481] Clarke, *My Mother who Fathered Me*, 65.

[482] Clarke, *My Mother who Fathered Me*, 66.

[483] Clarke, *My Mother who Fathered Me*, 82-83.

[484] Clarke, *My Mother who Fathered Me*, 90.

[485] Clarke, *My Mother who Fathered Me*, 100.

According to Clarke, a "child learns to regard the mother as the person with whom he has the most, if not the only, stable relationship."[486] A relationship between a mother and child was affected by the family style in which they lived. A child residing with a father in the home may not have as strong a relationship in comparison to a child whose support did not include a father, but a grandmother and aunts.[487] Economics affected these relationships, as a rich farmer in Orange Grove had the money to support a wife, his children, and a concubine with a housekeeper. He also had the leisure time to interact with his children on a daily basis.[488] In comparison, a father in Sugartown often left for work early in the morning and spent most of his time with his children on the weekends.[489] In single-parent homes, women had to balance working and child rearing, hoping that they could receive assistance from family members in the process. Women did not earn significant wages, so they often had to provide services from their homes, such as baking or laundry, to supplement wages.[490] In this chapter Clarke also developed the idea of many rural Jamaicans having mothers who were also their fathers. In the Jamaican context, mothers were expected to be the more loving parent, while the father was expected to provide discipline. Since a sizable number of Jamaican men did not live with their children, the mothers had to take on these two roles.[491] Clarke said that this did

[486] Clarke, *My Mother who Fathered Me*, 106.

[487] Clarke, *My Mother who Fathered Me*, 106.

[488] Clarke, *My Mother who Fathered Me*, 107-108.

[489] Clarke, *My Mother who Fathered Me*, 110.

[490] Clarke, *My Mother who Fathered Me*, 114.

[491] Clarke, *My Mother who Fathered Me*, 119.

not hurt the relationship between the single mother and child, as it brought them closer. It however made children more distant from their fathers, as they were unable to develop relationships with them.[492] Clarke also reported that illegitimacy affected how a child grew up, as they found school a difficult transition from early upbringing, often avoiding interacting with their step-parents, finding comfort in the arms of grandparents. As one informant said, men "had only fathered the idea of me [and] left me the sole liability of my mother who really fathered me."[493]

Clarke elected to focus her book on families because, in her view, the family could be a focus for nation-building. The field notes of the WISS made her work seem credible to potential readers. Since the WISS provided many areas of Jamaican society for Clarke to examine, she focused her work on illegitimacy, a cause against which she had long advocated as a public servant. *My Mother Who Fathered* Me positioned Clarke to champion herself as leader of women's rights in Jamaica. As a future member and the first female elected to Jamaican's Legislative Council, Clarke now had a platform to address issues that affected the mothers raising the nation's youth. Clarke presented a scenario where a household without both parents present could not be stable. As members of a patriarchy society where masculinity held great social worth, women were not guaranteed the same level of economic and political opportunities, from employment to retaining family land rights. Clarke believes this instability was passed on to the children, as they grew up in environments that did not have visible male figures and overburdened

[492] Clarke, *My Mother who Fathered Me*, 120.

[493] Clarke, *My Mother who Fathered Me*, 121.

female relatives. Clarke's argument thus removed the biological element of why black societies retain "issues" of development. Rather than arguing that black genes led black people to naturally make poor decisions and display erratic behavior as viewed by white actors, Clarke believed the internalized misogyny of Jamaican culture played a greater role in the island's problems. Although women, whether it was mothers, aunts, or grandmothers, had to make great sacrifices in order to raise children, men did not need to reach that same standard. Thus, the issues of Jamaica hinged greatly on a gender divide, one that was reinforced by past political and economic actions. Examples of this were the lack of land rights for the island's residents and migrating/seasonal nature of employment. For Clarke, black Jamaican men were not born to reject their roles as in-home fathers, but rather became socialized from a young age to think that was normal.

Nevertheless, Clarke's viewpoint on families was also problematic as she created "Jamaican archetypes" for her rural subjects. Women who had children without men in the day-to-day lives of their children were only victims of patriarchy, as Clarke implied that women could not be expected to truly "father their children," but overextend their motherly duties to care for her kin. Men who did not make an effort to stay in the homes of their children were only using women for sex without assuming the responsibility of children rising afterward. In the view of Clarke, sex was something men did to gratify their manliness and these kinds of men never planned to be fathers. Grandmothers and aunts who assisted in raising the children of family members were taking the responsibility of child rearing away from the parents. Clarke, by placing rural Jamaican community members in these categories, made it difficult for her to notice how narrow her opinion of her fellow citizens was. By placing sexuality as a key issue in the

Jamaican family, Clarke slightly upholds the idea that black men and women focused on intercourse. Since black people could not control their sexual appetites, they also could not control the number of children they would have to rear. Additionally, with the more children to rear, the more community assistance these families would need to survive. Thus, the poverty of the island was partially an issue of dividing a lack of resources among too many people. By putting the sexual mores of Jamaicans on trial for the nation's "lack of progress," a part of Clarke "cultural argument" shames Jamaicans to reject their sexual practices in order "modernize" their communities.

The work of Clarke and the WISS was not perfect, but studies of an anthropological nature inherently have issues of biases and the ability to understand cultures from the perspective of an outsider. It would be difficult for Clarke as an upper-class white Jamaican to fully accept and understand the entire culture of the island's socially disadvantaged black communities in which she had not grown up. This chapter argues that her work nevertheless reflects an effort to understand those communities rather than to discard the traditions and realities of the nation's black rural poor. Clarke's perspective seemingly showed an academic and a political shift in regards to discussing race. Rather than focusing on the physical/genetic/biological description of race like in eugenics, Clarke's work subtlety links race to psychology, even if it was unsaid in her work. Although the Colonial Government did not do enough for Jamaicans, the communities still had internal generational issues that needed to be settled. By linking behaviors and mores to racial traditions, she partly assumed that the re-education of Afro-Jamaicans to more acceptable sexual behaviors would become the key to "saving their communities." By moving the research language away from a biological basis, Clarke did

not exacerbate the eugenic language against Jamaicans, but rather created a dialogue for more governmental action, alongside a commitment to personal responsibility. Since she would continue a career in the Jamaican Government after the publishing of *My Mother Who Fathered Me*, she became a perfect person to push these ideals.

Reactions & Legacy

Following its publication in 1957, *My Mother Who Fathered Me* received widespread academic acclaim. It took Clarke a few years after the end of the WISS to receive clearance from the LSE to make full use of the field notes.[494] Once she balanced her writing time with her career in the Jamaican government, she was able to publish the book. Many of the reviews that came within two years of the publishing of the work praised Clarke's contribution to the canon of West Indian studies, even if they questioned some of her methods. R. T. Smith thought that Clarke could have defined the social classes of her informants better, as well as offered a better explanation as to why her case studies truly represented the majority of the island's culture.[495] Judith Blake, in her review, believed that although Clarke had accomplished groundbreaking work as a Jamaican doing a study on Jamaicans, there was a need to be specific as to how her research differed from other examinations of how children out of wedlock affected the

[494] Bush, "Colonial Research and the Social Sciences at the End of Empire," 455.

[495] R. T. Smith "Review: My Mother Who Fathered Me: A Study of the Family in Three Selected Communities in Jamaica by Edith Clarke and Hugh Foot," *American Sociological Review 23*, no. 4, August 1958, 474-475.

standing of women in their communities.[496] T.S. Smiley wrote that his main issue with the book was that Jamaica was not static and that Clarke might not have given enough credit to those reshaping the cultural mores.[497] Although Fernando Henriques would have liked to see more references to race, he hailed Clarke's examination of the three communities since it depicted Jamaican rural life in a way never seen before.[498] Mary Proudfoot argued that Clarke's work was critical reading for those unfamiliar with Jamaica, especially those interested in the administration of the island.[499]

Clarke's greatest accomplishment though, in *My Mother who Fathered Me* was perhaps the book's capacity to generate profound discussion among Jamaicans. Clarke received critical public respect, the book seemingly stirring the Jamaican society to its core. Many writers and readers of the *Gleaner* commented. Kitty Kingston, in her column, *Persona Mention*, promoted the book as an "account of the little-known customary and traditional system of inheritance and use of family land as it affects the family," providing ideas on peasant and working-class attitudes toward sex, marriage, procreation, and long-term kinship based on economic and social conditions.[500] Clarke spurred a discussion on concubinage and illegitimacy on the island, as locals sought to

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[496] Judith Blake "Review: My Mother Who Fathered Me. by Edith Clarke" *Population Studies* 12, no. 3, March 1959, 289-290.

[497] T. S. Simey, "The Measurement of Levels of Living with Special Reference to Jamaica by C. A. Moser; Development towards Self-Government in the Caribbean by; My Mother Who Fathered Me by Edith Clarke" *The British Journal of Sociology* 9, no. 2, June 1958), 194-195.

[498] Fernando Henriques, "190; My Mother Who Fathered Me. by Edith Clarke," *Man* 59, July 1959, 129.

[499] Mary Proudfoot "Review: My Mother Who Fathered Me: A Study of the Family in Three Selected Communities in Jamaica. by Edith Clarke" *International Affairs* 34, no. 2, April 1958, 226.

[500] Kitty Kingston, "Persona Mention," *Kingston Daily Gleaner*, November 28, 1957, 18.

grapple with the conflict of children born out of wedlock and then to have long-term disadvantages in Jamaican society. Clarice Allen wrote to the *Gleaner* to say how pleased she was with "Edith Clarke tackling the problem of paternal responsibility," as she called for more female leaders and the government to "rise to the cause of the children.[501] Another reader, W.S. Duhaney, was happy that an advocate like Clarke would fight for amendments like Registration of Births Law and other measures that supported women and families in the Legislative Council.[502]

Clarke became Jamaica's first woman member of the Legislative Council on December 19, 1956.[503] Despite the Gleaner mentioning the attire in which Clarke dressed for work, without doing the same for her male colleagues in that day's newspaper, Clarke went from "Miss" to "Her Honorable."[504] In keeping with her advocate spirit, Clarke's first action as a Legislative Council (LEGCO) member was to fight for the Bill for the Adoption of Children in Jamaica. She was an active member of LEGCO, fighting for laws that sought to address grassroots issues such as land ownership laws that hurt poor communities, universal adult suffrage for citizens over the age of 21, laws that gave children basic rights, and any legislation that would serve to improve the economic and social rights of women.[505] The most controversial measure in her early years in LEGCO

[501] "Illegitimacy," *Kingston Daily Gleaner*, August 09, 1958, 8.

[502] "Illegitimacy," *Kingston Daily Gleaner*, August 09, 1958,15

[503] Miss Edith Clarke given welcome FIRST WOMAN MEMBER Takes SEAT in LEGCO, *Kingston Daily Gleaner*, December 15, 1956, 1.

[504] "Miss Edith Clarke given welcome", *Kingston Daily Gleaner*, December 15, 1956, 1.

[505] "Facilities for Title Law amendment passed," *Kingston Daily Gleaner*, December 16, 1957, 18; "MOST people will agree with the Hon: Edith Clarke," *Kingston Daily Gleaner*, May 06,1957, 8.-p-8

sought to separate earned income of a wife from that of her husband for income tax purposes.[506] Clarke's work in LEGCO and with *My Mother Who Fathered Me* encouraged readers to call on groups and organizations in Jamaica, like Christians groups and the parishioners, to support legislation promoting better women's and family rights.[507] Other readers agreed with Clarke's plan that a registry of fathers of illegitimate children should be set up to track down these fathers and enforce responsibility.[508] Some readers even went so far as to encourage laws fining men who did not marry the mother of their children.[509] Ultimately, Clarke's work in *My Mother who Fathered Me* and in LEGO led to The Status of Children's Act of 1976, which "abolished the status of illegitimacy in law for hundreds of thousands of Jamaicans."[510]

Part of the success of *My Mother who Fathered Me* came from the period in which it was released. The book was released five years prior to Jamaican independence on August 6, 1962. Thus, Clarke added to the Caribbean Anthropological field in a period where more local voices where being heard in regards to self-government away from the British. Although Clarke worked for the Colonial Office as a researcher and held close ties to the governors of the previous local regimes, her work endeared her to many

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[506] "Separating incomes," *Kingston Daily Gleaner*, December 9, 1957, 12.

[507] "'My Mother Who Fathered Me,'" *Kingston Daily Gleaner*, August 20, 1958, 8.

[508] "Finding the father," *Kingston Daily Gleaner*, July 31, 1958, 12; "Motion seeks to register father of illegitimate child," *Kingston Daily Gleaner*, July 23, 1958, 12.

[509] "Marry or be fined," *Kingston Daily Gleaner*, September 6, 1958, 6.

[510] Rex Nettleford, in Forward of Edith Clarke. *My Mother who Fathered Me: A Study of the Families in Three Selected Communities in Jamaica*, The Press University Of The West Indies, Barbados, 1999, (First Edition 1957), ix.

middle-class Jamaicans who believed she was a different kind of colonial administrator. Her work in the WISS allowed Clarke to display an awareness of local issues and culture that many previous white observers did not seek to understand. Her work rode an intellectual wave against the failures of colonialism in improving the living conditions of the Caribbean, as dissatisfaction with colonialism in the 1930s and 1940s was a theme shared by writers like CLR James and the *Beacon* group in Trinidad. In a push for self-government, Caribbean intellectuals argued that the repression of colonialism prevented residents from dispelling the notion that the racial arguments about social structure were false. By upholding eugenic arguments as factual, such as Dr. Harland wanted to do in Trinidad, black people would be held back in showing their capacity of self-governance because of false ideas about genetics and behavior. Rather, once political actors considered the economic and cultural factors which the people of the region had to live under during British Colonial rule, they realized that the will of the people of the region was self-determination and the ability charter their own course in international politics. This situation made it easy for a person like Clarke to remain a member of LEGCO after the transition from colonial to an independent island. Her cultural arguments may portray black Jamaicans holding on to "cultural traits" like illegitimacy as problematic, but those behaviors were not innate. Clarke argued that Jamaicans could make progress if the right leadership (which included her) was in place and the island deserved a right to improve its society via their sovereignty.

Conclusion

During the Great Depression, the Colonial Office as colonialism failed Jamaica and other territories in the British West Indies, as their poor governance displayed the

dire need of financial and social support for the region. The Metropole was unsuccessful in equipping Jamaica with the best political structure necessary to improve the conditions of the Great Depression for its residents. The Labour Rebellions of 1934-1938 showed the outrage residents had with the lack of support by their government. The rage expressed in the riots and the labor movement did not come from a single incident, as their demands for better employment, land, and social services were never on the minds of colonial administrators. Without the efforts of local action, concepts like the Development and Welfare Commission and the West Indian Social Survey would not come into fruition. These plans developed by the Colonial Office were both investigations that seek to understand how the lack of resources by the Metropole shaped the Caribbean during the Depression and image-boosting missions to display to the citizens of the region that Colonial Office could make changes to their colonial practices that served the best interests of Caribbean subjects. The language of these policies reflected the disuse of eugenics as an explanation for the British Caribbean's socio-economic standing during and after the Great Depression. Based on high levels of governmental failure on the part of the Colonial Office, as well as a shift in the education of the officials that ran governmental organizations, to imply that Afro-Caribbeans were not biologically able to govern themselves would be a false notion. Thus, the WISS Nevertheless, by targeting "Jamaican morality" as an addition problem with West Indian societies, the Colonial Office allowed the culture of the Caribbean to become a part of the reason while the region failed to succeed.

Clarke's role as a social reformer in Jamaica shows that even though there were great differences in the role of the researcher and the populace she investigated, it was

possible for studies on this scale to move past simple notions of pseudo-scientific biology as a tool to understand differences. Much of the framework that Clarke developed in *My Mother who Fathered Me* has become a part of modern Caribbean studies, even though recent scholars have rebuked some of the conclusions about the "issues in morality" of Jamaican culture. The situation where an affluent white researcher investigating a mostly black populace in hopes of publishing a work that examines a link between generations of illegitimacy and social progress is problematic, as some of the voices of the examined group were removed in an attempt to advance some political goals. Yet, in comparison to researchers like Charles Davenport, however, it is clear that Clarke's main motive did not intend to exploit her subjects for personal advancement. Rather than focusing on the imaginary innate rationale and employing pseudoscientific biology as a be-all-end-all of assessment of Jamaica's perilous economic and social climate, Clarke tried to engage the Jamaican public in discussion about culture and governance. Based on her extensive findings, she sought to encourage the public to participate in fostering growth for the island, rather than assuming falsely that genes determine one's ability to participate in these critical conversations. Clarke was far from being a leading voice in the Jamaican independence movement. Nevertheless, she used position as a scholar who disallowed eugenic logic to work with Jamaican subjects to improve their conditions showed a change from assuming Afro-Caribbeans were not able to govern, to becoming a part of their right to govern.

Conclusion

The Racial Equation has explored the rise of eugenics as an accepted academic field in the late 1800s and early 1900s and documented the role eugenic theory and language played in the intellectual discourse on race and colonialism in the early twentieth century British Caribbean. As issues of racial politics in that region became amplified in the aftermath of World War I, the Great Depression, and World War II, the intellectual argument linking the ability to govern to racial attributes exposed efforts by local officials to protect colonial political structures. As these rulers sought to adopt some of the ideas of the pseudoscience to reinforce white superiority, local residents of the British Caribbean combatted the language of eugenics, and a narrative of resistance emerged.

In the cases of Cundall, Harland, and Davenport, eugenics served as a platform whereby colonial apologists could use a biological basis to justify racist policies. The resistance to this biologically framed argument came from the works of academics in the social sciences the Trinidadian intellectuals in the *Beacon* group who refuted eugenic theory; and the field research of Clarke and the researchers behind the WISS, which is a symbol of how the search for race changed from biological arguments to issues of behaviors and traditions. This resistance challenged assertions that black genetics were the reason for the social decay of the region. Rather, they argued that the fault resided in the inadequacy of the Colonial Office's response in providing for its overseas subjects in such areas as education, developing new fields of industry, and supporting people of color who constituted the majority population. *The Racial Equation* aimed to intersect the history of eugenics and the construction of race with colonialism in the British Caribbean.

It argued that eugenics did play a role in the governance of the region; and that the level of resistance by native British Caribbeans to reject eugenics was critical in instilling and fomenting anti-colonial sentiment that eventually fostered local self-determination and anti-racism movements.

The Racial Equation documented and explored events and episodes illustrating how eugenics affected understandings of race and colonialism in the British Caribbean after World War I. By introducing Frank Cundall in the literature review, it established that academic ideas seeking to institutionalize racism had been present long before the introduction of eugenic minded scientists to the region in the 1910s and 1920s. However, scholars like Dr. Sidney Harland and Dr. Charles Davenport used the Caribbean in unique ways in their efforts to validate their eugenic belief that white leadership deserved to maintain control of areas inhabited by people of color such as those within the territories of the British Caribbean. Whether couched in concepts of the "White Man's Burden" or "the inferiority of black genes," colonial officials used ideas of differential racial capacity to justify their continued presence in the region and their advocacy for segregational and discriminatory policies to protect the interests of white authorities. By the time Her Honorable Edith Clarke emerged, theories of eugenics were beginning to falter and no longer could be used to justify the presence of colonial officials in places like Jamaica. Rather, a generation of local activists and scholars using cultural methodologies rejected concepts such as the white man's burden and eugenics to legitimize colonial politics. It took a concerted effort by academics of Clarke's anthropological and sociological background to analyze Jamaican society from a less rigid, non-biological viewpoint. Although Clarke's work contained significant flaws,

including a tendency to refrain from blaming colonialism and her conclusion that the immorality of Jamaican people contributed to the weak social structure, her academic publication gave voice to many ordinary Jamaicans through research and interviews. By exploring the work of four key figures whose ideas intersected racial ideologies and the colonial agenda, the dissertation examined an evolving language of eugenics and how it was used to supplement colonial rule in the pre-independence twentieth century British Caribbean.

In short, *The Racial Equation* displays different ways that white Europeans searched for racial explanations of colonialism and its subjects. Persons such as Cundall, Harland, and Clarke all worked in one way or another for the Colonial British Government, as it was essentially their job to ensure that imperial structures were maintained in their areas of remit. While Cundall's preservation of Jamaican history and heritage differed from Dr. Harland's role as a professor of botany at the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture in 1930s Trinidad, both men used their prominent positions as national academics to promote a negative perception of "Africanness", their published works insinuating the inherent inferiority of Afro-Caribbeans vis-a-vis white English Colonists. From these key positions of a recorder of history and an educator, the two were uniquely placed to both shape and perpetuate ideas inimical to the welfare of the majority of islanders. It took the efforts of an "enlightened" class of multicultural writers and academics who did not focus on biological factors to confront these notions of white supremacy. Clarke, on the other hand, from her position at the Department of Supervision, the West Indian Social Survey, and the Jamaican Legislative Council advocated for the rights of the less advantaged. She worked on aiding women, children,

and the homeless in her mission to improve the quality of life for Jamaicans. Rather than focusing on "blackness" as a biological problem, she sought to combat cultural elements that she believed harmed the development of the socially disadvantaged. Her application of cultural approaches to the study of the Jamaican social structure was instrumental in changing for the better some of the dynamics of colonial officials' interactions with their constituents.

Exploration of the work of Davenport and Clarke showed how biased studies could greatly skew results. It was never Davenport's intent to prove that people of mixed-race or people of African descent held the same biological standing as Europeans. He rather sought to support the theory that, without measures to protect the white race, multiracial societies would become failed civilizations of which he saw Jamaica as an example. Thus, he instructed his assistant Steggerda to survey black, white, and mixed-race people focusing on biological and psychological tests that usually favored white participants. Davenport's goals were therefore not targeted towards the betterment of his subjects, but rather towards protecting the status of whites in multiracial societies and perpetuate his message of eugenics as a cure to social woes.

In comparison, Clarke's work in the WISS attempted to give Jamaicans a voice as to how they saw their communities. Instead of relying solely on the views of white investigators who did not have direct ties to the rural Jamaican communities that provided much of the information for *My Mother Who Fathered Me*, Clarke wanted to understand what locals thought about their situation. The perception of her book by some was damning, especially about her concepts of "immorality" in relation to the sexual mores of Afro-Jamaicans and her belief that this contributed to the social and economic

state of family and social structure in the island. Such information could not be the only cause for Jamaica's tense socioeconomic climate. Nevertheless, she did not believe that people of color were "inherently" incapable of improving their society. Clarke's study showed, in comparison to Davenport's, that the best way to understand challenges faced was for the person of power to speak to the disadvantaged in an attempt to build bridges and to understand their plight. Clarke exhibited many well-documented flaws, but her work accepted people of color as valued members of society and in need of assistance by a government that should have done better for them. If eugenic ideals continued to be held by policymakers, other colonial officials might not have bothered to aid a region suffering the effects of generations of neglect and racial abuse.

Inequality and Underdevelopment

Part of *The Racial Equation* touches upon the question: How white European leaders attempted to use race to explain poverty and underdevelopment? According to the eugenicists, a society bereft of men and women with the necessary genetic lineage to produce leaders and academics would fail. Since many of the early eugenicists were European and believed that Western Europe had the most modern success in development, then the genes of such citizens would produce the right "stock" to lead. On the other hand, black genes in the eyes of proponents of the theory, including Harland and Davenport, had failed to develop a modern civilization of consequence. Thus, whites were entitled to disproportionally share in the resources. Afro-Caribbeans, on the other hand, argued that the inequality and underdevelopment of the British Caribbean came from colonialism. The idea of the Caribbean in a British economic sense was to import enslaved African labor, and later voluntary Asian labor, to produce market goods in

monocrop plantation economies. The British Metropole had no intention of supporting the people of the region since the region had been developed to support the white ruler planter class and associates in the stock markets of London. Thus, improvements to the Caribbean were unhurried and seldom until the riots and acts of political mobilization occurred. Colonial officials who lived outside the region felt little imperative to improve the quality of life for their Caribbean residents. For every Sir Edward Dawson, President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in the British West Indies who challenged England's lack of desire to improve regional infrastructure (1920), and Sir Francis Watts who tirelessly worked to make the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture a reality (1926), there were many who simply did not care to improve the region.

The resistance to colonialism in Caribbean academic literature in the mid-1900s in journals such as the *Beacon* displayed the outrage of forced underdevelopment. Authors articulated the idea that if the region could not chart its own path, but needed to cater to the concerns of foreign rulers whose only interest was in extracting resources, then the consequences would necessarily be inequality and underdevelopment. Indeed, officials of the Colonial Office knew that much of the social disparity evident stemmed from their policies. The Royal Commission, the Development and Welfare Commission, and the West Indian Social Survey in the 1940s were all responses to the riots and acts of political mobilization in the British Caribbean during the Labour Rebellion of 1934-1939. After neglecting territories in financial support, the British usually only undertook the minimum to show the public that they had tried to help their situation. Long-standing social beliefs like the "White Man's Burden" also colored British views of their subjects of color. Colonial officials like Cundall argued that if the whites were to leave the

Caribbean, the "infantile and unfit" black subjects would be incapable of running the islands in which they resided.[511] This strong justification of white supremacy, vested in ideas that people of European descent were unquestionably adept at running modern societies, underpinned a reality of small foreign groups maintaining power over these territories.

Even though an ideological and demographic shift in academia presented people of color more respect and political and social ideas that gave Afro-Caribbeans more control over their communities, ultimately cultural arguments alone cannot resolve everyday issues and inequalities embedded in colonial disparities. Clarke's belief, highlighted in her book, that a change in a culture of "immorality" would necessarily lead to a shift in civilization ignores global economics. The idea that a strong family structure, where fathers created long-term households for/with the mothers of their children and a path for family land to pass on from generation to generation presents an ideal situation for Jamaican families. However, it still neglects the role of employment in the creation of stable families. The Jamaican and British Caribbean economies focused primarily on monocrop agriculture, where cane sugar sales determined the financial health for the territories. The collapse of the sugar market during the Great Depression greatly limited economic prospects for the region. Even other local industries like fishing and tourism were unable to compensate for sugar revenue. The region, from the days of slavery, through emancipation, the establishment of the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, and the Labour Rebellions of 1934-1939 was intended to be the producer of British sugar

[511] Cundall, *Jamaica in 1905*, 31.

for the global market. Once beet sugar became a local resource for Europeans in the 20th Century, and other nations could not afford to import British goods, the effects of the Great Depression hit the region and its already impoverished people first.

Additionally, the lack of local land ownership by Afro-Jamaicans long served as a problem to the economy, since much of the wealth of the island went to those who owned land and were able to produce crops or run businesses from those locations. One of the biggest complaints by protesters during the Labor Rebellion was that absentee landowners owned all the plantation land and Chinese-Jamaicans operated much the local trade businesses leaving Afro-Jamaicans out of retail and agriculture sectors as owners. Although land ownership might not have dramatically transformed the economic situation of Afro-Jamaicans, the ability to use their property to advance their economic protectives was touched upon by Clarke but was not the focus of her hypothesis.

As the post-Independence British Caribbean reveals, people of color running their affairs obviously did not lead to a vague notion of "civilization collapse." Much of the colonial, economic and political structures have however generally stayed in place, and the region has not reached the economic heights of places such as Europe, Asia, and North America. For the most part, the islands depend on agriculture and tourism as their main sources of income. Remittances from overseas compatriots to varying extents aid residents; and family members who migrated abroad often send goods that may be too expensive or hard to acquire locally. The region is still susceptible to financial vagrancies and the insecurities of global trade, as employment opportunities remain scarce in comparison to Europe and North America.

Nevertheless, the hard-won ability to chart their course is highly valued, and nations have sought to rely on each other in the thrust to secure future success. There remains a significant challenge though as the historical structure of the economic sectors makes it difficult for places such as Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago and Barbados to transition to new industries and to effectively compete with longer established nations on the global market scene. Nevertheless, the historical rejection of ideas embodied in eugenics represented a watershed in Caribbean intellectual development. Even as people attempt to link negative attributes to race, scholars quoted and drawed from the integrity and brilliance of the writings of CLR James and others of the time who challenged racist doctrine and defended the British Caribbean at a critical time in its struggle against the denigration of the personhood of the majority black population.

The idea that race is the determining factor in the ability to govern a nation is biased, false, and lacks historical contextualization--the circumstances under which people and ideas operated, perspective, and coincidence. With the British upholding ideas of racial superiority in justifying colonial rule, they never highlighted the many strategies and difficulties that they had in maintaining a vast empire. Rather, the Colonial Office wanted to present an argument that these foreign subjects needed the Metropole to govern their communities, even though the empire took more than it gave. The need by the Colonial Office to prevent the self-determination of the people of the British Caribbean thwarted their abilities to chart their path until the 1950s and 1960s. Afro-Caribbeans and the other ethnic groups of the region no longer wanted to be shackled by the imperatives of the Colonial Office and needed to explore how they could improve their nations, not for the metropole, but for themselves. The use of eugenic theory and language to explain,

legitimize and support the racial politics and goals of colonialism reflects the reality that power will inevitably develop belief systems and ideas for perpetuating its status quo. *The Racial Equation*, amongst other things, documents the period of British Caribbean development when pervasive theories of eugenics were fiercely challenged and resisted as the new era of independence was ushered in.

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