

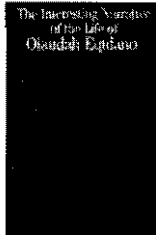
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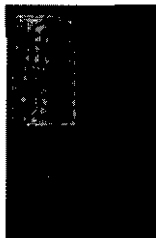


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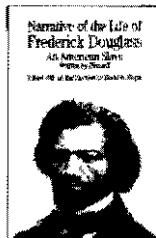


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eighteenth century, Danish, Dutch, and English trading companies maintained commercial stations in Anlo ports where local merchants and brokers were resident.

Greene makes the point that, after 1750, the competition among patrilineages, which was generated by the Atlantic slave trade, contributed to the marginalization of the rights of Anlo women in complex ways. She implies that this competition was linked to a process of mercantile accumulation and to what can be called the regionalization of Anlo-based trading capital. She provides an impressive and detailed analysis of the formation of an important new social organization in the eighteenth century: the clan. Clan membership determined the social distribution of material resources such as land and cultural resources such as membership in religious orders, the formation of social identities and the defining of social statuses, and the structuring of gender relations through marriage practices and inheritance patterns. The clan was a "site" of wealth and property accumulation. Greene emphasizes the historically significant roles of women, as agents, in clan activities and relationships; they contested their own social subordination within the framework of the dictates of male-dominated lineage politics and the exigencies of Anlo's political economy.

Through her careful study of the eighteenth and nineteenth-century lives and careers of particular clans/families (such as Amlade and Gbodzo) and individuals (such as Elias Quist and Atitsogbi, better known as Geraldo de Lima), Greene demonstrates that Anlo's historical subjects—male and female—were rooted in the cultural, ideological, and social relations and outlooks of their time. Her analysis shows how these were interwoven in complicated and changing ways with hegemonic structures and connections. She traces the historical fortunes of religious orders like Nyigbla and Yewe, which women joined in large numbers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Greene has put to good use her wide-ranging and deep knowledge of Anlo history. The study is based on historical information culled from interviews that she carried out in Anlo, the records of Danish trading companies in the Danish National Archives, oral histories/traditions published during and after the colonial era, and published travelers' and missionary accounts. She has made effective and judicious use of relevant anthropological studies. Greene's book raises some questions, however. Recent studies of ethnicity in Africa have drawn attention to the fact that, in the pre-colonial period, multiple identities were the norm in African societies rather than single, fixed ethnic ones. Was Anlo social-political order, somehow, an exception to this tendency? She does not engage this literature in her own historical analysis, and the reader is left with an unanswered query. It is made clear throughout the book that Anlo society was closely connected to the Atlantic trade, especially from the 1710s on. However, the (structural) connections among wealth and property accumulation, the circula-

tion of merchant capital, and the social distribution of the means of exchange, on the one hand, and the formation of ethnic identities and new institutions and the changing social positions over time of women, on the other, are not fully spelled out. Nevertheless, Greene has produced an exemplary work on an important aspect of West African social history. This is a study which should be read not only by Africanists but by Americanists and other scholars whose interests include the Atlantic slave trade.

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ADELL PATTON, JR. *Physicians, Colonial Racism, and Diaspora in West Africa*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996. Pp. xx, 343. \$49.95.

In this engaging book, Adell Patton, Jr., chronicles the professional struggles of seven generations of West African doctors, from 1850 to 1985. It is a complex study, the product of fourteen years of extensive archival research and numerous interviews in Britain and West Africa. Patton was also a participant-observer in West African hospitals and clinics. He focuses on English-speaking physicians from Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Gambia, and Ghana. These physicians studied in European (mostly British) universities; at Howard and Meharry in the United States; in Canada and the Caribbean; in the Soviet Union and its satellites; and, increasingly since independence, in Africa. They faced competition from British doctors and increasingly institutionalized racism. As Patton neatly puts it, "imperial power, racist ideology, notions about black sexuality, and social stratification within the medical ranks intensified intraprofessional conflict and competition" (p. 15).

Chapter one contains a brief topical overview of traditional medicine, doctors as political leaders, the British and French colonial medical services, medical certification, African women physicians, reforms in British medical education, African medical schools, and dilemmas of post-independence physicians. Chapter two, which I found to be the weakest in the book, surveys the medical profession in Africa beginning with Pharaonic Egypt. Somehow Patton ascribes the Arabic term *hakim* (scholar, physician) to this era. In his discussion of Islamic medicine, he quotes from an article on misunderstood Arabic-language diacritical marks: an interesting problem, but hardly the major story of the medical profession. Patton has read only a little of the literature and might as well have left this chapter out.

Fortunately, Patton is on much surer footing for the rest of the book. Chapter three describes the medical scene in mid-nineteenth-century Sierra Leone. He shows how the British authorities initially controlled the development of a largely British-trained African medical elite to serve their own imperial interests. Chapters four and six show how pseudoscientific rac-

ism subsequently impeded the success of African physicians, many of whom were of Creole (repatriated former slave) origin. Here Patton includes a discussion of the era's historical context, which helps the reader follow the story. He traces the ups and downs and often bitter experiences of the Easmons, a Creole medical family that produced three generations of physicians. Chapter five chronicles African physicians' struggles for professional recognition in the colonial context, again using the careers of several prominent physicians as examples.

The tone of the book changes in the final two chapters, which take up the era of decolonization. Patton examines the career of David Ekundayo Boye-Johnson, a physician of African origin who "became Creole" by taking on new cultural patterns. He studied in North America, returned to Africa, joined the Episcopal Cathedral of St. George, married into an aristocratic Creole family, and concealed his Temne-Sherbro origins (pp. 195, 210). Boye-Johnson advanced rapidly in the colonial era and more rapidly still during decolonization, when expatriate European physicians began to leave. With the end of colonial medical regulations, foreign-trained African physicians found many long-standing obstacles removed.

With independence came new challenges. Many African physicians were educated in the Soviet Union. These physicians were trained in a different medical culture, one that emphasized teams of specialists and shorter periods of general medical education. Their focus on preventive rather than curative medicine tended to lower their status, because they lost their monopoly of medical knowledge. And, of course, the struggle between the two medical systems was intensified by Cold War rivalries. Patton concludes that "the East-West conflict within Africa laid the foundation for a mosaic laboratory of professions that still plays a significant role in development" (p. 248).

In an epilogue, Patton summarizes his main points and calls for further research in African professional associations, for the stabilization of medical standards in West Africa, and for international support for the crisis-beset region.

This carefully researched book is full of information about the social history of African medical professionalism. The author rarely strays from his primary source materials and regrettably does not consult the works of Franz Fanon, Albert Memmi, or other important analysts of colonial relations. Wider implications are suggested, but Patton's focus remains on the physicians themselves. The book must stand as a tribute to their endeavors, their frustrations, and their triumphs.

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DAVID E. TORRANCE. *The Strange Death of the Liberal Empire: Lord Selborne in South Africa*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996. Pp. xvii, 286. \$55.00.

Evaluating British high commissioners to South Africa during the Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902) and the reconstruction period that followed, historians rate William Waldegrave Palmer, Lord Selborne (1859–1942) a distinct second to Lord Milner (1852–1925) in importance. But they really need to be understood as a pair, for in tandem (Milner served 1897–1905; Selborne 1905–1910), they were supremely influential. Between them, they shaped South African society and politics in ways that determined decisively the course of that nation's troubled history throughout most of remainder of the twentieth century. David E. Torrance's biography of Selborne places him in a more central position in those events than previously understood. It also gives us a much clearer portrait of Selborne the thinker and politician than we have ever had. Contrasting Selborne's strategies and actions to Milner's, Torrance succeeds in placing the latter figure in sharper focus as well.

Torrance's Selborne makes a great case study for Marxists. His driving preoccupation in all things during his years in South Africa was to secure a supply of cheap and compliant "native" labor for the gold mines, whether it be South African, Mozambican, or Chinese from overseas. Selborne's Edwardian Social Darwinism nicely insulated him from the harsh implications of his policies for the laborers involved.

Furthermore, Selborne's most influential accomplishment as engineer of the Union constitution (1910) was his lobbying for British capital dominance at the expense of British imperial hegemony in the new state. That is, during the political maneuverings involved in the drafting of the constitution, he showed himself to be quite prepared to allow moderate Afrikaans-speaking politicians, who had just lost the war, to dominate the new state in the sure knowledge that such a dispensation would eventuate in firm British control of the industrial economy. Milner, who had believed above all else in British "racial" domination over all others, white or black, would have strongly opposed such a strategy. Events would prove Selborne to be right, at least until 1948.

On first arriving in South Africa, Selborne found that he needed all the diplomatic and political acumen he could muster. First, it was necessary for him to midwife the internal sovereignty of the reconstructed Afrikaner governments of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State (1907). That placed the Afrikaners in at least ostensible authority over the gold and diamond mines, the very thing the British had gone to war to prevent in 1899. Second, hardly had Selborne arrived at his post when the English Unionist government that had dispatched him fell to the Liberals (led by Prime Minister Henry Campbell-Bannerman) in December 1905, placing him in a decidedly uncomfortable position. Fortunately for him, the new colonial secretary, Lord Elgin, kept him on for the sake of continuity. But Selborne remained thereafter in the awkward position of either attempting to influence the policies of a government innately suspicious of him or carrying out