

Race, Empire, and the Edinburgh Medical School conference
University of Edinburgh, 18-19 April 2024

VENUE: Research Suite, Centre for Research Collections, 6th Floor, Main Library, University of Edinburgh, 30 George Square, Edinburgh, EH8 9LJ. Non-UoE staff/students must ask at the Library's front desk to be let into the building.

This conference is kindly supported by the Susan Manning Workshop Fund from the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities (UoE), the Decolonised Transformations Project (UoE), the History of Science, Medicine and Technology Research Group (UoE), and the Society for the Social History of Medicine; it is co-hosted by the Edinburgh Centre for Global History and the Edinburgh Health and Medical Humanities Network.

DAY 1 | THURSDAY 18 APRIL 2024

9.30am-10.00am **COFFEE & WELCOME**

10.00am-11.00am **PANEL 1**

Michelle Faubert (Manitoba), 'To felicitate the doctor on having so advantageously exchanged physic for sugar': Slavery, Literature and Eighteenth-Century Physicians from the Edinburgh University Medical School

Katherine Paugh (Oxford), Yaws, Sibbens, and the Pox: Medicine and the Histories of Race and Sex in Edinburgh and the Atlantic World

11.00am-11.10am **COMFORT BREAK**

11.10am-12.10pm **PANEL 2**

Linsey McMillan (Edinburgh), 'I come to complain of bad treatment': Medical Observation and Enslaved Healthcare Experiences in Britain's 'Last Caribbean Frontier'

Margaret White (NHS Lothian), 'Qualified to act as surgeon on board any ship in the African Trade': The Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh's Development of Qualifications in an Imperial Context, 1790-1805

12.10pm-1.00pm **LUNCH**



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- 1.00pm-2.30pm **PANEL 3**
- Linda Burnett Andersson (Uppsala) and Bruce Buchan (Griffith),** Bodies of Knowledge: Collecting Race and Re-Membering the Colonial Past
- Rebecca Martin (LSHTM/UCL/Royal Museums Greenwich),** Sir William Turner: Anatomist, Mentor, Race Scientist
- Mobeen Hussain (TCD/Oxford),** Sourcing Skulls and Skeletons: Race, Anthropometry, Medicine, and Empire, c.1890s-1930s
- 2.30pm-2.50pm **COFFEE BREAK**
- 2.50pm-3.50pm **PANEL 4**
- Matthew Daniel Eddy (Durham),** Deracialising Health: William Fergusson's Colonial Reports from Sierra Leone during the 1820s
- Daisy Chamberlain (Royal Museums Greenwich),** Foregrounding the Scientist of Colour: 'Science' and 'race' as Anticolonial Tools in the Works of James 'Africanus' Beale Horton, Theophilus Scholes and Cedric Dover
- 3.50pm-4.00pm **COMFORT BREAK**
- 4.00pm-5.30pm **PANEL 5**
- Tarquin Holmes (Independent) [ONLINE],** Scottish-trained Doctors, Race and Leprosy Debates in Late 19th and Early 20th Century Cape Colony and Britain
- Lea Mattia (Independent),** Glimpses of the Ages: Theophilus Scholes and Imperialist Racism
- Dana Nabulsi (Harvard) [ONLINE],** The Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society in the Levant: A Battle for Bodies and Souls
- 5.30pm-7.00pm **DRINKS RECEPTION**
- Venue: IASH, 1-5 Hope Park Square, off Meadow Lane, Edinburgh, EH8 9NW (five minutes' walk from George Square)
- 7.00pm **DINNER (PAY YOUR WAY)**

DAY 2 | FRIDAY 19 APRIL 2024

- 9.30am-10.00am **ARRIVAL COFFEE**
- 10.00am-11.00am **PANEL 6**
- Meng Zhang (Manchester),** Colonizing Chinese Medical Language: Edinburgh Physicians' Translation Project of Western Medical Terms in Early 20th Century China

Clement Masakure (University of the Free State), Dr. Andrew Milroy
Fleming and the Establishment of Biomedical Services in Colonial
Zimbabwe, 1897-1931

11.00am-11.10am

COMFORT BREAK

11.10am-12.10pm

ROUNDTABLE

*Reparative Histories of Medicine and the Edinburgh Medical School's
Tercentenary, 2026*

Anne-Marie Coriat, Registrar, College of Medicine and Veterinary
Medicine, UoE

Gwenetta Curry, Usher Institute, College of Medicine and Veterinary
Medicine, UoE

[Other panellists TBC]

12.10pm-1.00pm

LUNCH

1.00pm-2.30pm

PANEL 7

Roger Jeffery (Edinburgh), Women Medical Students and Anatomy
Training: Insights from the Early Cohorts in the Edinburgh Extra-Mural
School, 1886-1914

Ola Uduku (Liverpool) [ONLINE], West Africans at the Edinburgh
Medical School

Henry Dee (Glasgow), The Edinburgh Indian Association, Anti-Colonial
Cosmopolitanism, and the Politics of Accommodation in Scotland's
Capital, 1883-1964

2.30pm-3.00pm

COFFEE BREAK

3.00pm-4.30pm

PANEL 8

Zachary Kingdon (National Museums Scotland), Race, Gender and
Medical Practice in Early Colonial West Africa

Diran Soumonni (Witwatersrand) [ONLINE], 'Our Tradition is Very
Modern': Re-membling African-Scottish Scientific Exchanges (1850–
1900) through Transepistemic Innovation

Ayodele Ige (Glasgow), The Impact of the Edinburgh Medical School-
trained Yoruba Doctors on Traditional Healing Practices, 1880-1960

4.30pm

THANKS AND FAREWELL



PANEL 1

'To felicitate the doctor on having so advantageously exchanged physic for sugar': Slavery, Literature and Eighteenth-Century Physicians from the Edinburgh University Medical School

Michelle Faubert, University of Manitoba and Visiting Fellow at Northumbria University

David Alston reports, 'some 40 per cent of the surgeons who sailed on Liverpool slave ships were Scots', many of them trained at Edinburgh University, as were other British surgeons in the slave trade.¹ Today, however, their very presence in the slave trade seems anomalous, even wrong: these doctors – trained to save lives – thereby supported an endeavour in which 'roughly 5 million men, women and children' died (Rediker 5). In this presentation, I will focus on the knotty problem of these doctors' public personae. I ask, How did these doctors wish to communicate their identities once they became involved with a trade so at odds with the aim of their medical training? Intriguingly, several Edinburgh University-trained physicians in the slave trade published literary texts about slavery, suggesting that they wished to be considered artists and intellectuals, perhaps even sensitive, even while acknowledging their part in the deadly barter in human flesh.

Michelle Faubert is a Professor at the University of Manitoba and Visiting Fellow at Northumbria University, UK. Her monographs are Granville Sharp's Uncovered Letter and the Zong Massacre (2018), Rhyming Reason: The Poetry of Romantic-Era Psychologists (2009), and – upcoming with Edinburgh University Press – Romanticism and Subversive Suicide: Human Rights, Existential Freedom and Biopower.

Yaws, Sibbens, and the Pox: Medicine and the Histories of Race and Sex in Edinburgh and the Atlantic World

Katherine Paugh, University of Oxford

During the eighteenth century, there was lively debate about the relationship between the disease categories yaws, sibbens, and the great pox (or syphilis as we now know it). This paper will chart discussions about these three disease categories in medical literature produced by doctors who worked within or travelled through medical circles in Edinburgh, and reflect upon how these discussions mediated perceived racial, ethnic, and sexual difference in the Atlantic world. Modern medical experts generally regard these three disease categories as more or less interchangeable. They are all 'treponemal' diseases, caused by bacteria of the species *Treponema pallidum*. During the eighteenth century, however, yaws was often associated with Africans and the Caribbean, and sibbens was often associated with Scots, thus shoring up perceptions of racial and ethnic difference. Yet some observers claimed that these were different names for the same disease, which had originated in Africa, and was spread via the Atlantic slave trade throughout the Atlantic world. For this reason, African therapies for yaws were sometimes avidly collected and circulated in Scotland. The Edinburgh chemistry professor Joseph Black, for example, received a detailed account of African cures for yaws in his correspondence with a medical man in the Caribbean. Moreover, the affirmation or denial of a distinction between these disease categories could have implications about the sexual behaviour of sufferers. Because the great pox was widely perceived as a disease caused by

¹ David Alston, *Slaves and Highlanders: Silenced Histories of Scotland and the Caribbean* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2021), 320.

sexual indiscretion, while yaws and sibbens were often understood to be passed by a variety of other kinds of contact, arguments for or against a distinction between these diseases could be used to support or escape imputations of sexual immorality. Of particular interest will be the work of Ebenezer Gilchrist, James Hill, and Edward Topham. Gilchrist, a Scottish physician, wrote a pamphlet in plain style, intended for consumption by lay people, which questioned the popular tendency to conflate sibbens and yaws, and to claim that both held no imputation of uncleanness. The English journalist Edward Topham, who published his letters from Edinburgh, disagreed with Gilchrist that sibbens was caused by uncleanness, and saw it as a uniquely Scottish disease. The Scottish surgeon James Hill, who trained as a surgeon in Edinburgh, meanwhile, argued that sibbens was not a uniquely Scottish disease, that it was a mistake to conflate sibbens with yaws, and in fact that sibbens was the same as the great pox, and passed primarily by sexual contact. Hill, too, acknowledged that in making these arguments he was defying popular opinion, which regarded sibbens as the same as yaws, and a disease that was not a mark of sexual indiscretion. Significantly, enslaved Africans in the Caribbean also often claimed that yaws was not a sexually transmitted disease. The descriptions of a popular equation amongst Scots between yaws and sibbens, and a popular belief that sibbens was not sexually transmitted, thus suggest that there may have been a flow of knowledge between Scots and enslaved Africans about the nature of yaws. This paper will thus seek to tease out these debates about yaws, sibbens, and the great pox, in order to unpack the work that these categories did in mediating racial, ethnic, and class differences, and in governing sexuality.

Katherine Paugh is Associate Professor of Atlantic World Women's History at the University of Oxford. Her research focuses on the histories of race, sex, and medicine in the Atlantic world. She has been the recipient of a number of grants and prizes, including the Berkshire Conference of Women Historians article prize and research grants from Harvard University, the Huntington Library, and the McNeil Center for Early American Studies. Her first book charted the history of motherhood amongst enslaved women in the British Caribbean and the Atlantic world during the age of abolition. She is currently at work on a second book on the history of venereal disease in the black Atlantic.

PANEL 2

'I come to complain of bad treatment': Medical Observation and Enslaved Healthcare Experiences in Britain's 'Last Caribbean Frontier'

Linsey McMillan, University of Edinburgh

Many British-born graduates of the Edinburgh Medical School launched successful medical careers in the slave societies of the New World, while hundreds of white men came from 'professional, mercantile, [and] planter families' in the West Indies to study in Edinburgh.² Some Edinburgh-trained physicians like Dr James Grainger wrote extensively of their experiences in

² Richard Sheridan, *Doctors and Slaves: A Medical and Demographic History of Slavery in the British West Indies* (Cambridge; University of Cambridge Press, 1985), 56-61.



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the Caribbean. Though Grainger is arguably better known for his georgic poem, *The Sugar-Cane*, this paper is concerned with his work, *An Essay on the More Common West-India Diseases*.

This paper explores the everyday healthcare experiences of enslaved individuals in nineteenth century Trinidad and British Guiana. Drawing on the reports of Crown officials called the protectors of slaves, this paper uses enslaved people's complaints to examine experiences of disease, chronic ill-health, disability, and self- and community-based care practices. It seeks to compare the observational work of medical men like Grainger and Alexander McDonnell with the words of ill and disabled enslaved individuals. Using a socio-medical framework and methodological approach like Saidiya Hartman's 'critical fabulation' this paper creates a space in which enslaved healthcare practices might be more intimately explored.

Linsey McMillan is a recent history graduate from the University of Edinburgh where she completed my PhD thesis titled, "They are ultimately to feel the benefit of change": Enslaved Healthcare and Amelioration in Trinidad and British Guiana, 1780-1834'. Her work is concerned with the healthcare experiences of enslaved people in Britain's newest colonies and of the impact of ameliorative legislation on their everyday lives. It examined complaints made by enslaved people to magistrates called the protectors of slaves, in which they spoke of their experiences of disease, motherhood and reproduction, disability, and acts of self- and community-care. A planned future project will explore these significantly under-utilised records further, asking how we can better understand the human geographies and spatial politics of ill and disabled enslaved people who traversed the urban and rural landscapes of nineteenth-century Trinidad.

'Qualified to act as surgeon on board any ship in the African Trade': The Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh's Development of Qualifications in an Imperial Context, 1790-1805

Margaret White, NHS Lothian

While there has been considerable research on the effects of the imperial project on both the practice of medicine and materia medica in Scotland and the wider world, less has been written on the effects of this on the development of medical and surgical qualifications. This paper will take an in-depth look at one institution, the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, in the short period between 1790 and 1805 when the College held examinations and issued Certificates stating that the bearer was 'qualified to act as surgeon on board any ship in the African Trade'. This period saw a number of developments in the awarding of Certificates and Diplomas by the College, including making sessions of study at Edinburgh medical school (or equivalent institution) mandatory for these qualifications. It also saw petitioning by the College for their qualifications to be given equal recognition to their London counterparts by the military and East India Company. This paper will argue that the needs of the imperial project both in the Caribbean and South Asia were an important driver to these developments.

Margaret White is a practicing psychiatrist with an interest in Scottish Medical History. Her publications include the paper 'Mortality among those certified under lunacy legislation in Scotland during World War I' (2023), and she has a paper in press on the history of the Astley Ainslie Hospital. This paper is developed from a finding made during her current research on the founding of the Royal Edinburgh Hospital.

PANEL 3

Bodies of Knowledge: Collecting Race and Re-Membering the Colonial Past

Linda Burnett Anderson, University of Uppsala, and Bruce Buchan, Griffith University

In 2020 the two skulls of Nonosabasut and Demasduit were repatriated to members of the Beothuk nation, for reburial in Canada. That repatriation campaign highlights the long history and bitter legacy of ideas of race developed in Scotland well before these two skulls were stolen in the 1820s. We examine this history of teaching and colonial travel, and the collection of scientific trophies for the display of race in our forthcoming book: *Teaching Race and Colonising Humanity: Scotland's Enlightenment Across the World c. 1770-1820*. Ours is a study of the intellectual context that gave rise to race within Scotland's Enlightenment 'science of man'. Edinburgh's School of Medicine played a vital part in that history by training generations of medical students to perceive and to collect race in Britain's far-flung colonies. In this paper we argue that the Scottish Enlightenment's colonial history of race, requires a literal remembering. Not just the re-membering of the bits of bodies taken, traded, and taught by repatriating and reuniting them with their own people and places, but re-membering the bodies of knowledge that wove colonial violence into the fabric Scotland's 'science of man' at Enlightenment's end.

Linda Andersson Burnett is an Associate Professor in the History of Science and Ideas at the University of Uppsala, Sweden. Bruce Buchan is a Professor of History in the School of Humanities, Languages and Social Sciences at Griffith University in Brisbane, Australia. Their forthcoming book is entitled Teaching Race and Colonising Humanity: Scotland's Enlightenment Across the World c. 1770-1820.

Sir William Turner: Anatomist, Mentor, Race scientist

Rebecca Martin, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, University College London and Royal Museums Greenwich

Sir William Turner gained many accolades during the course of his life, not least the principalship of Edinburgh University, held from 1903 to 1917. He was also president of the Anatomical Society of Great Britain and Ireland, the General Medical Council, and the British Association. He was an influential man, often hailed for his work in neurosurgery.

However, Turner's work on the human brain and skull cannot be disconnected from his equally prolific work on the topic of race science. During his tenure as Chair of Anatomy at Edinburgh, Turner added thousands of ancestral remains to the collection of the Anatomical Museum in Teviot Place. He actively pursued a course of research into racial anatomical difference, regularly discussing this with colleagues and presenting his findings at society meetings. He also included race science ideas within his classroom teachings on anatomy.

This paper will draw together work from my PhD, on the presence of race science research within nineteenth century anatomical teaching, with my recent Caird Fellowship project at the National Maritime Museum, focussed on materials surrounding the two human crania reports of the HMS Challenger expedition, authored by Turner. In so doing, I will present Turner's role in the spread of race science within British anatomy and its classrooms.



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Dr Rebecca (Becky) Martin is an historian working on the history of colonial medical education, anatomical models, and race science. As well as co-editing the textbook Women in the History of Science, she has also co-authored the London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine's Colonial History Report and researched the systematisation of healthcare in late-colonial Nigeria. She recently held a Caird Fellowship at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, exploring the colonial history of the HMS Challenger expedition.

Sourcing Skulls and Skeletons: Race, Anthropometry, Medicine, and Empire c.1890s-1930s

Mobeen Hussain, Trinity College Dublin and University of Oxford

Race science and phrenology was consolidated in new ways across scientific and medical institutions in the late nineteenth century with the mass circulation, trade, and acquisition of human remains. This paper traces the activities of colonial administrators, surveyors, and medics who acquired human remains for universities and museum collections by centring Trinity College Dublin's anthropometric collection. The Dublin Anthropometric Laboratory, as it was then widely known, was set up in 1891 under anatomist Daniel John Cunningham (1850–1909). Scottish-born Cunningham studied medicine at Edinburgh University and worked in Dublin at the Royal College of Surgeons Ireland then as Professor of Anatomy at Trinity College Dublin until 1903, before ending his career as Professor of Anatomy at his alma mater. The paper starts by considering how anatomists developed global institutional networks to source human remains by delving into how Cunningham utilised his Edinburgh connections. The paper then turns to specific acquisition practices including appropriating remains from jails and hospitals, on the surveying 'field', by confiscating 'skull trophies', and grave robbing. The paper also considers how such collecting and ensuing labelling practices involved establishing and reifying racial hierarchies between crania within and across colonial territories including South Africa, Nigeria, and India.

Dr Mobeen Hussain is an historian of the British Empire with expertise in race, gender, medicine and corporeal consumption in South Asia. She undertook PhD in History at the University of Cambridge before working as a postdoctoral research fellow on Trinity College Dublin's Colonial Legacies project. She is currently a visiting fellow at Trinity College Dublin and Junior Research Fellow at University College, Oxford working on her first book on race, gender, and skin-lightening in colonial India.

PANEL 4

Deracialising Health: William Ferguson's Colonial Reports from Sierra Leone during the 1820s

Matthew Daniel Eddy, Durham University

In 1825 a Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry sent a list of twenty-three environmental health queries to the medical officers of the British West African colony of Sierra Leone. The commission had been founded to compare the physical and mental capabilities of the 'Africans and Europeans' because proslavery politicians claimed that the colony's freed slaves were not fit for self-governance. The tricky task of collecting and analysing the categories of the different European and African data sets was given to William Fergusson, the colony's thirty-year old Edinburgh-educated surgeon of African descent. After a year of travelling to remote villages and scouring the manuscript records of the colony's archives, Fergusson produced a report that

offered mortality tables, topographic facts and epidemiological observations. This paper analyses how Fergusson used the report to implicitly 'deracialise' the health data the commission had asked him to sort into European and African categories. It reveals how he skilfully interpreted the data of his report to remind the commissioners that the bodily and mental constitutions of Africans and Europeans were effectively the same, and that the enlightened infrastructure the Free African population had implemented in the colony placed them on a firm path towards self-government.

Mathew Daniel Eddy is a cultural and intellectual historian of modern Europe and the Atlantic world. He has held professorial appointments at Durham University, Caltech and Uppsala University and is currently Durham University's Chair and Professor in the History and Philosophy of Science and the Co-Director of the Institute for Medieval and Early Modern Studies.



Foregrounding the Scientist of Colour: ‘Science’ and ‘race’ as Anticolonial Tools in the Works of James ‘Africanus’ Beale Horton, Theophilus Scholes and Cedric Dover

Daisy Chamberlain, Royal Museums Greenwich

From the 1980s, historians of science in the colonial world took up the poststructuralist insights of Michel Foucault and Edward Said to present science not as a reflection of any objective reality, but as a tool for constructing the world and its inhabitants in ways that enabled structures of domination and exploitation. Student activists at the University of Edinburgh (UoE) have emphasized their institution’s own contribution to these systems, noting how the Enlightenment philosophy that supposedly emanated from the University was also entangled with histories of racism, slavery, and colonialism. Seeking to disempower these systems of thought, poststructuralist historians and student activists alike have emphasized the constructedness of both ‘science’ and ‘race’.

UoE has indeed been a prominent site for the creation and dissemination of racist pseudo-scientific thought, which has historically been used to uphold systems of exploitation and oppression including colonialism and enslavement. This paper includes anatomy and eugenics as two such examples. However, I also argue that to present concepts of ‘science’ and ‘race’ solely as the socially-constructed ‘tools of empire’ is to risk setting up a racializing discourse of science in which all scientific thinkers are imagined to be white, and all the victims of their racial animus as Black or brown. It is also to forget the historic appeal of the concepts and materialities of both ‘science’ and ‘race’ to several Black and brown scientists, many with direct links to UoE, who called upon both in their anticolonial and anti-racist work.

Foregrounding scientists of colour such as James ‘Africanus’ Beale Horton, Theophilus Scholes, and Cedric Dover, all of whom had been students at UoE, this paper seeks to unearth the long history of resistance to racist pseudo-science that emanated from the University.

Daisy Chamberlain is Assistant Curator: History of Science at Royal Museums Greenwich. She graduated with an undergraduate degree in History from the University of Edinburgh in 2020. During her time at Edinburgh, she was a member of Uncover.Ed, a collaborative, decolonial, student-led research group, which investigated the University’s historic links to colonialism and enslavement. Whilst embarking on her Masters in History at SOAS, she was commissioned by the University of Edinburgh’s Anatomical Museum to conduct provenance research into their collection of c.200 African skulls, most of which were removed from the continent in the nineteenth century. Her Masters dissertation expanded upon this research. She is interested in uncovering the colonial contexts of museum collections, and investigating how collections can be used to tell hidden histories.

PANEL 5

Scottish-trained Doctors, Race and Leprosy Debates in Late 19th and Early 20th-Century Cape Colony and Britain

Tarquin Holmes, Independent scholar [ONLINE]

The late 19th century saw extensive debate in western medicine as to the causes of leprosy and whether it was a contagious or constitutional disease. As leprosy, outside of Norway and a few other isolated pockets, had largely disappeared from Europe by this time, much of the focus of this debate centred on cases European doctors encountered in colonial contexts. This piece will concentrate on debates surrounding leprosy in Cape Colony in this period, which were

marked by rising concern that the disease was spreading and increasing in incidence, and by a highly racialised discourse that blamed the ‘bad habits’ of Africans and other non-white minorities for helping spread it, with suggestions also that some racial groups were inherently more susceptible to the disease. No medical school was established at the Cape until after the 1910 Union of South Africa, and beforehand an outsized proportion of doctors practicing in the colony were Scottish-trained, particularly at Edinburgh, but also Glasgow and Aberdeen. This paper will show how these Scottish university links were central to the transmission of knowledge and claims about leprosy and its relation with race between the Cape and Britain. It will explore discussions of leprosy in the MD theses, publications and public testimony of Scottish-trained Cape doctors such as Alexander Abercrombie, Johannes Meiring Beck, Samuel Impey and William Anderson Soga. It will further show how debates about leprosy in Cape Colony and the wider British empire were embedded in broader narratives surrounding medical isolation and racial segregation.

Tarquin Holmes is an historian and philosopher of the life and medical sciences. He completed his Philosophy PhD at Exeter in 2016, on the subject of the ‘wild type’ concept in classical genetics. Between 2018 and 2021, he carried out postdoctoral research at LSE supporting Carrie Friese’s project on the role of care in animal science, focusing on the 1875 Royal Commission on Vivisection. He was recently granted a Glasgow Medical Humanities Network Early Career Foundation Award for the project ‘Iatric Networks: Circulations of Medical Personnel, Bacteriological Knowledge and Racial Politics between Scottish Universities and South Africa, 1865-1914’.

Glimpses of the Ages: Theophilus Scholes and Imperialist Racism

Lea Mattia, Independent scholar

Theophilus Scholes predicted the large-scale political consequences of 1800s race discourses at the University of Edinburgh. Through his writing, this paper states that the ideology of eugenics partially originated in this University’s Medical School. Scholes studied medicine at the Edinburgh Medical School in the 1880s. In *Glimpses of the Ages* (1905), he detailed his theory of human evolution through a scientific, historical and political lens. Scholes elaborated on work by David Hume, Robert Knox and Charles Darwin - among others. Much like Darwin, Scholes formulated a theory of monogenism.³ However, Scholes critiqued Darwin’s political mistakes, asserting that, while pursuing truth ‘because of [his] love for truth’, Darwin fell into a common error of the time.⁴ Scholes’ theory systematically critiqued the work of his predecessors to set up a historicised theory of evolution that included a thorough analysis of race and science. He argued for a critical history of science to resist political weaponisation of biological theories. Scholes’ work remains relevant to all schools, including and especially the Medical School. Theophilus Scholes’ largely unknown legacy is fundamental for a recalibration of our views on the relation between the University of Edinburgh and imperialist racism

Lea Mattia was part of the UncoverED project at the University of Edinburgh and graduated with a BA in Social Anthropology from the same institution in 2019. Mattia joined UncoverED in 2018

³ Theophilus Edwards Samuel Scholes, *Glimpses of the Ages* (London: John Long, 1905), 166.

⁴ Scholes, *Glimpses of the Ages*, xvi-xvii.



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as an archival researcher. After the end of employment in 2019, and a brief hiatus from the project until 2020, Mattia was asked to re-join the team as a coordinator. As one of the coordinators, Mattia's duty was to train new members; liaise with external organisations; write papers for conferences (such as the Project Myopia conference of 2021); act as consultant for the National Museum of Scotland and the Edinburgh University Anatomical Museum on relevant projects; and more. Mattia's independent research focuses on race and science at the University of Edinburgh through the work of alumnus Theophilus Scholes. Mattia has previously written about Theophilus Scholes in a paper titled 'Race, Science and the University of Edinburgh' for the special issue, 'Race in Retrospective', in collaboration with RACE.ED and the Retrospect Journal in June 2021.

The Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society in the Levant: a Battle for Bodies and Souls

Dana Nabulsi, Harvard University

The 19th century was a period of major transformation and competition among the Ottoman state, missionaries and colonial powers, to influence the local population, with medical institutions and practitioners playing a crucial role in this battle for power. The Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society (EMMS) was one of the earliest successful medical missions in the region, established in 1863 by Kaloost Vartan, an Armenian born in Istanbul who studied medicine and was trained as a missionary in Edinburgh. Edinburgh Medical School graduates included several notable physicians from the Ottoman Empire, who went on to participate in British and American medical missions, including one of the founding faculty of the Syrian Protestant College (SPC) medical school in Beirut, John Wortabet. This paper is meant to elucidate the activities of the Edinburgh Medical School graduates in the Levant, in missions such as the EMMS and beyond, providing insight into their networks within and across the region, with other missionaries and native population, their role in knowledge production and exchange, and the influence that their medical authority and practice had on the emerging healthcare systems and population health.

Dana Nabulsi is a PhD Student in Harvard's Joint Program in History and Middle Eastern Studies, with a secondary field in Women, Gender and Sexuality. Her research interest is in medical knowledge production and transmission in the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire, with a focus on the relationship between medical institutions, colonialism, empire, migration and gender. Prior to her PhD, she received her MD and MA in history from the American University of Beirut, and worked as a researcher in Global health, with a focus on marginalized migrant and refugee women, and sexual and reproductive rights.

PANEL 6

Colonizing Chinese Medical Language: Edinburgh Physicians' Translation Project of Western Medical Terms in Early 20th Century China

Meng Zhang, University of Manchester

This presentation critically explores the translation of Western medical terms into Chinese in the early 20th century, with a focus on the influential role played by Edinburgh medical missionaries represented by Drs. P. B. Cousland and Percy L. McAll. Investigating their approaches to crafting new Chinese characters and assigning meanings, this study argues that the unprecedented linguistic project was motivated by defiance against medical Latin in Britain

and an imperialistic mentality, asserting that missionaries possessed a superior understanding of the Chinese language compared to the local populace. Additionally, the presentation will show that Chinese medical elites effectively resisted Edinburgh's endeavours to impose linguistic constructs, ultimately forging a new language tradition rooted in another foreign Language: Japanese creations of Kanji. The analysis sheds light on the linguistic imperialism that shaped their Edinburgh medical missionaries' translation strategies while highlighting the strong resistance from the Chinese medical academia.

Meng Zhang is a Wellcome Trust Research Fellow specializing in the history of medicine at the Centre for the History of Science, Technology, and Medicine, University of Manchester. He earned his doctoral degree from the Department of History, Peking University, China, in 2018. Currently, Zhang is working on a research project funded by the Wellcome Trust titled 'The Rise of Mask-Wearing in Republican China: Colonialism, Epidemics, and Issues of Governance (1912-1949)'.

Dr. Andrew Milroy Fleming and the establishment of biomedical services in colonial Zimbabwe, 1897-1931

Clement Masakure, University of the Free State

Dr. Andrew Milroy Fleming (1871-1953) arrived in Salisbury in October 1894. A son of Rev. John Fleming, a Free Church minister in Edinburgh, he graduated in medicine from the University of Edinburgh. He worked briefly at Robert Phillips Tuberculosis Clinic at Victoria Hospital before relocating to Kimberly, South Africa. Enticed to Southern Rhodesia by Dr. Leander Jameson, he was appointed the Medical Director of the colony in 1897 and would occupy the position till his retirement in 1931. In this paper, I put under the microscope the vision, fortunes, and legacies of this Edinburgh alumni regarding biomedical services in colonial Zimbabwe from 1897 to 1931. Informed by the colonial encounter paradigm, I explore the complex and contested nature in providing biomedical services in a colony located at the fringes and outpost of the British Empire. By privileging Fleming's years as the Medical Director and examining the contestations and negotiations over the establishment of medical services, a different understanding of colonial medicine is possible: one that moves away from a Eurocentric and triumphalist approach that privileges the coloniser's dominance to one that appreciates the colonised's responses to the introduction of biomedical services in newly established colonies.

Clement Masakure teaches History at the University of the Free State, South Africa. His research interests are on the histories of hospitals and their workers, histories of diseases, health and healing, and humanitarian work in southern Africa. His first monograph: African nurses and everyday work in twentieth-century Zimbabwe, was published in 2020 by the Manchester University Press. He has also published on themes related to his research area and other themes on southern African history in African Studies Quarterly, Historia, South African Historical Journal, amongst others.



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PANEL 7

Women Medical Students and Anatomy Training: Insights from the Early Cohorts in the Edinburgh Extra-Mural School, 1886-1914

Roger Jeffery, University of Edinburgh

Women were finally fully admitted to medical courses in the University in 1916, on the death of Sir William Turner, previously Professor of Anatomy (1864-1903) and Principal of the University at the time. Turner was vigorously opposed to joint anatomy classes for women and men and had been an opponent of women's medical education in the 1860s and 1870s, and afterwards. As a result, women's medical education was mostly provided through the Extra-Mural School. Who were these lecturers and what evidence is there for their views on the racial classifications espoused by Turner? What impact did these anatomists have on women students? For women who qualified before 1914, work in medical missions in India and to a lesser extent in China and Africa was a major source of employment. The case of Margaret Ida Balfour, first head of the Women's Medical Service in India, 1916-24, provides a prominent example. Why did they go, and what kinds of understanding of race and empire underpinned their decisions? In this paper, I will use my research on the women who were trained in Edinburgh and qualified between 1886 and 1914 to approach some answers to these questions.

Roger Jeffery was Professor of Sociology of South Asia at the University of Edinburgh from 1997 to 2020. Starting in 1970 he carried out sociological research on public health and health policy, especially maternal and reproductive health, and on secondary education in Pakistan and India. He lived for extended periods of time in villages and in a small town 160 kms north-east of Delhi. He was a co-founder of the University's Centre for South Asian Studies and of its Edinburgh India Institute; he is also a Trustee of the Edinburgh Indian Association. Since 2015 he has been researching the 'footprint' of South Asia in Edinburgh. He edited India in Edinburgh, published in Delhi and London in 2019; a further volume Perspectives on India: Edinburgh's Colonial and Contemporary Views is in press.

West Africans at the Edinburgh Medical School

Ola Uduku, University of Liverpool [ONLINE].

In West Africa, 'Western medicine' has historically been synonymous with missionary involvement in much of the region from the late 19th century. Both Protestant and Catholic missions built churches schools, dispensaries and later on hospitals across Western Africa. The healing power of Western medicine which came with Christianity undoubtedly hastened religious conversion, a demand for western education, with this aspirations in many communities for the training of the most able to become doctors.

Scottish missionary activity in regions such as South Eastern Nigeria and coastal Ghana was particularly marked with the Presbyterian mission being well-established, in coastal and inland regions by the early 20th century. The west African tropical climate, and associated diseases, ensured this would never be a settler region, therefore locally trained doctors and other professionals were more easily established in West Africa.

The challenges of early African doctors in getting trained abroad then getting employed on their return was real. The medical missionary societies often remained in control of missionary hospitals which their European congregations had built and help fund. As government-built and

run hospitals came into being they also had a hierarchy of seniority with European doctors in control. African doctors in the 'Africanisation' programmes not commencing until close to African nationhood or independence from the late 1950s to 1960s

This paper explores the lives of three West African doctors who were trained at the University of Edinburgh medical school in the 1950s. This was also a time when the medical missionary programme was well established and training European-British doctors for health 'mission' activities in Africa. How did these 'African' students deal with life in Edinburgh including funding their studies and with local views on non-white medical students in wards. How did these students interact with other groups such as the medical missionaries in training? How did their lives work out after medical education in Edinburgh? Finally, how can we read their training experiences in Edinburgh's post-war setting from today's the post-colonial lens.

Ola Uduku's research specialisms are in modern architecture in West Africa, the history of educational architecture in Africa, and contemporary issues related to social infrastructure provision for minority communities in the 'West' and 'South'. She is an advocate of equity in all its forms in the workplace, particularly in the Architectural profession. She promotes the Documentation and Recording of Modernist Buildings and Landscapes, (Docomomo) Africa, and was President of the African Studies Association UK between 2020 and 2022. She is currently researching hospitals and healthcare architecture in Africa.

The Edinburgh Indian Association, Anti-colonial Cosmopolitanism, and the Politics of Accommodation in Scotland's capital, 1883-1964

Henry Dee, University of Glasgow

From the start of the 20th century, hundreds of South Asian students arrived each year in Edinburgh, many enrolling at the medical school. Although a small, middle-class, transient body, they constituted one of the largest groups of South Asians in Scotland; came together in one of the country's most militant student organisations, the Edinburgh Indian Association (EIA); and provide a crucial insight into the social history of Edinburgh as an imperial space. With a dedicated membership, considerable funds, and a clubhouse at 11 George Square, the EIA organised important debates, socials and protests between its formation in 1883 and eventual collapse in 1964. Acting as a fulcrum of local anti-colonial politics, the EIA protested racist restrictions in university halls, housing and cafés, and focused considerable energy on the issue of accommodation – both in terms of the 'digs' where students stayed, and the broader social attitudes of the Scots they encountered. As tensions around class, race and sex in Scotland heightened from the interwar period onwards, the EIA helped re-fashion what it meant to be cosmopolitan in Scotland, from an elitist, male, pro-imperial middle-class egalitarianism to a more inclusive worldliness that encompassed women and workers, free from colonial hierarchies and prejudices

Henry Dee is a postdoctoral research fellow at the University of Glasgow. As a PhD student at Edinburgh between 2015 and 2020, he worked on UncoverED, a student-led project investigating the history of African, Asian and Caribbean students at Edinburgh and the entangled politics of race, education and empire.



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Race, Gender and Medical Practice in Early Colonial West Africa

Zachary Kingdon, National Museums Scotland

Official early colonial medical policies and practices in West Africa were often largely aimed at preserving European lives, while African medical practices were either ridiculed, or targeted for extraction. Edinburgh medical school alumni serving in the colonies were no exception in enacting racial and gender biases in relation to the pay and prospects of West African staff in colonial medical facilities and to the treatment of West African patients.

Given the lack of access and a legitimate fear of treatment under early colonial medical regimes, most West Africans continued to seek medical treatments from West African specialists, whose practices were rooted in African knowledge systems. However, West African medical culture was not static, although its change under colonialism has largely remained unexamined. Based on fieldwork, as well as archival and museum sources, this paper considers how West African medical culture changed, especially in response to the racial and gender biases inherent in early colonial policy and practice. It will demonstrate that African medicine travelled vast distances along West African coasts and rivers, facilitated by colonial transport systems, and that transfers of medical materials and practices marked dynamic cultural intersections between different ethnic communities and knowledge systems in early colonial West Africa.

Zachary Kingdon is Senior Curator, African Collections at National Museums Scotland. He previously served as Curator of African Collections at National Museums Liverpool. His doctoral research, submitted at the University of East Anglia, was conducted among Makonde sculptors in Tanzania and was subsequently published as A Host of Devils: The History and Context of the Making of Makonde Spirit Sculpture (Routledge 2002). In 2009 he was granted a Leverhulme Research Fellowship to conduct research in West Africa for his latest book: Ethnographic Collecting and African Agency in Early Colonial West Africa: A Study of Trans-Imperial Cultural Flows (Bloomsbury Academic, 2019).

'Our Tradition is Very Modern': Re-membering African-Scottish Scientific Exchanges (1850 – 1900) through Transepistemic Innovation

Diran Soumouni, University of Witwatersrand [ONLINE]

The apparently paradoxical quote in the title of this talk is attributed to some West African artists who attempted to interpret a concept from their mother tongue for English-speaking interlocutors. Ironically, it also offers a rebuttal to the misleading trope about a bifurcation between African 'traditional' knowledge and 'modern' sciences that often minimises Africa's contribution to contemporary science, technology and innovation. For instance, in addition to the historical record, more recent responses to the COVID-19 pandemic simultaneously featured the decipherment of two major strains of the SARS-CoV-2 virus (in South Africa), and inclusive pharmaceutical innovation by a variety of knowledge holders. All these efforts constitute domestically directed or 'endogenous' innovation. Using biomedical innovation as an exemplar, I investigate the manner in which fruitful attempts to reconcile a plurality of epistemological paradigms and 'grammars of science' were made by medical scientists travelling between Scotland and Africa in the latter half of the 19th century. In that respect, I

examine some of the textual evidence of that period produced by West and Southern African students studying medicine in Glasgow, Aberdeen and Edinburgh. I concurrently review that published by students and professionals from Scotland who documented medical practices in various parts of Africa. Lastly, joint reflections with current students and researchers in medicine (and overlapping disciplines) at The University of Edinburgh will inform the present-day implications of an analogous exercise for ‘transepistemic’ innovation, both within ‘Global Africa’ and in collaboration with other mutually intersecting societies, namely, Scotland.

Diran Soumonni teaches innovation studies at the University of the Witwatersrand in South Africa, where his research interests primarily encompass comparative science, technology and innovation systems, energy innovation, and innovation for sustainability. In addition, Soumonni is interested in the plural epistemological paradigms that underpin various innovation domains with a view to clarifying some of the conditions under which more equitable and just societal outcomes might be attained. He currently serves as a co-editor of the newly established multi-disciplinary journal, Black Histories: Dialogues. He was an IASH African Fellow (2023-2024) at Edinburgh University.

The Impact of the Edinburgh Medical School-Trained Yoruba Doctors on Traditional Healing Practices, 1880-1960

Ayodele Ige, University of Glasgow

The period between 1880 and 1960 was a notable era in the history of Yoruba healers, especially due to the impact of Yoruba medical doctors who had received training at Edinburgh Medical School and returned to work in the colonial medical service. The medical doctors, who were influenced by their Western medical training, had a crucial impact on transforming traditional Yoruba medicine. Yoruba medical doctors closely observed significant traditional medicine practitioners, noting specific practices that they deemed to be in opposition to Western medicine. Emphasising the significance of scientific verification for both Western and traditional medicine, they criticised traditional healers for engaging in practices based on cultural beliefs that they considered unscientific. Instead of completely rejecting the viewpoints of these medical doctors, the Yoruba healers integrated specific Western principles into their healing methods. By analysing oral sources, newspapers, colonial records, and other literature, I argue that the issues raised by the medical doctors had an impact on Yoruba healers, leading them to modify their practices and incorporate certain Western medical techniques into healing practices. This adaptable method not only resolved the concerns expressed by the medical doctors but also guaranteed the continued importance of Yoruba medicine in colonial Nigeria.

Ayodele Ige is a Ph.D. student at the University of Glasgow. His research primarily focuses on the co-existence and contestations of plural medical systems in African societies. He uses historical cases he studies to rationalise newly evolving patterns of interaction in the medical marketplaces.



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