

## Cold open

Jo: So, remember how we did that really cool [teaching roundtable on the podcast](#) last spring, where we talked about decolonizing teaching in anthropology?

Erik/Jim: Ya, uh huh etc

[wayback machine clip of that episode]

Jo: So as a reminder, by “decolonizing,” our guests meant thinking about how to disrupt traditional power dynamics in the classroom, but they also meant teaching with the perspectives of people who have been historically marginalized. That conversation got me thinking about a book I came across a couple of years ago by a 19th century Haitian anthropologist named Anténor Firmin -- a book called *The Equality of the Human Races*.

Erik: That title sounds suspiciously like the 1850s blockbuster *The Inequality of the Human Races* by Arthur de Gobineau! We mentioned Gobineau a little bit [in the first installment of our miniseries on race and intelligence](#).

Jo: No coincidence! This book is a response to de Gobineau’s work -- actually it’s really a response to the work of a whole lot of other people, but he borrows the title from de Gobineau because all the people he was really arguing against were still alive and ...

Jim: Sounds complicated.

Jo: It is! So we should do an episode about it!

**INTRO** -- *I’m Jo, I’m Jim, I’m Erik, and this is Speaking of Race.*

Jo: Anténor Firmin’s *The Equality of the Human Races* has gained some popularity in recent years, even though it was published in 1885.

Jim: I really don’t think I heard about it before. Not even from contemporaneous scholars. W.E.B. Dubois, for instance, doesn’t make any reference to it, even though he’s writing about issues of race and science in the late 19th and early 20th century.

Erik: It’s kind of mysterious, right? I mean, you’d think that an anthropologist arguing for racial equality would have made it onto someone’s radar screen at the turn of the 20th century!

Jo: Haiti has been in the news a lot recently for some pretty bad things: the presidential assassination and then the massive earthquake and tropical storm Grace. Today, let’s give some good news about Haiti. Let’s talk about not only what Anténor Firmin said in his book, but why it didn’t become a major text for early 20th century anthropologists.

Erik: And how we've heard of it now in the 21st century when other major scholars didn't mention it in the 20th.

Jo: I can answer that last part quickly. American anthropologist Carolyn Fleuhr-Lobban (who was teaching in the US at the time), found out about Firmin when a Haitian international student took her course on race in anthropology and brought him up. She collaborated with Haitian literature professor Asselin Charles to translate [\*Equality of the Human Races\*](#) into English --

Erik: -- so it hadn't even been translated for over 100 years?

Jo: Right. It was published for the first time in the US in 2000.

Jim: So, why do we want to bring up a book written over a century ago that wasn't translated into English and was largely unknown for most of that time?

Jo: When I first read it, it struck me how closely it addressed pretty much all of the big historical race ideas we teach and talk about on this podcast. I felt like it really deserved its own treatment. So the time is ripe to do an episode that will hopefully help folks become more aware of this incredible thinker who's been marginalized for way too long.

Erik. Sounds good. But maybe before we get to the book, you can tell us about the author.

Jo: Sure. Joseph Auguste Anténor Firmin--better known just as Anténor Firmin--was born 1850 in Cap Haïtien (N Haiti, the former capital of the French colony) to a working class family. He studied accounting and law, he became a lawyer and also taught Greek and Latin starting at the age of 17. He also published a liberal party pamphlet that eventually became a very important newspaper. After helping lead a militia defending his town against a bunch of rebels, he got into politics and made an unsuccessful bid for Parliament in 1879, then later refused to take up a ministerial post under the newly elected president Salomon, with whom he disagreed. He was basically exiled from Haiti and ended up in Paris, where he served as a diplomat. That's where he met Louis-Joseph Janvier and Jean-Baptiste Dehoux, two other Haitian intellectuals who were in Paris studying medicine. He was elected to the *Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*--sponsored, in part, by Janvier and Dehoux--in 1884.

Erik: Woah.

Jo: What?

Erik: Well, I just think it's worth noting that Firmin is a Black Haitian joining the Anthropology Society set up by Paul Broca in 1859 as a breakaway society from the *Société de Biologie*. Broca founded the Anthropology society specifically because he wanted to emphasize the unbridgeable differences between human races and the superiority of Europeans (Wartelle 2004).

Jim: And that was really part of a trend. In Britain, France, the US, and elsewhere, surgeons and anatomists, like Broca -- who was best known for discovering what is still today called the "Broca's area"--the part of the brain that plays a role in speech production -- set up anthropology societies to study the physical features of humans and promote *polygenism* against the already existing ethnographic societies who studied linguistics, religion, and other cultural aspects of human existence--and were usually *monogenists*.

Jo: Ah! So in 1884, Firmin was walking into both the [monogenism-polygenism debate](#) and the origin of the separation between biological and cultural anthropology!

Erik: Yeah, so I'm surprised Firmin would want to be there and that they would let him in!

Jo: So how did Broca get from brain anatomist to polygenist, and probably racist anthropologist?

Erik: The story is actually kind of interesting. Given his interest in anatomy and all, he was part of the *Société de Biologie* in the mid-19th century, where there were debates ongoing about how a species might be defined. Broca presented a creature called a "leporid"--a cross between a rabbit and a hare, which was fertile--to argue that the species definition predicated on the inability to produce fertile offspring was wrong. He ALSO argued at the time that the leporid was evidence supporting polygenism--the separateness of human races into distinct species--because if a hare and a rabbit could produce fertile offspring but be different species, then he thought that was what was happening with interracial offspring of ostensible different human species.

Jo: I bet the *Société de Biologie* loved that.

Erik: Actually, they didn't. The notion of the fixity of species or type had been under attack in France for a whole century since Buffon argued with Linnaeus--long, long before Darwin wrote about the non-fixity of species explicitly in *Origin of Species* in 1859. Broca's *Société d'Anthropologie de Paris* had the explicit purpose of debating fixity of type with *humans*. The thing was, Jean Louis Armand de Quatrefages, one of Darwin's correspondents and a chief proponent of monogenism in France, joined Broca's *Société d'Anthropologie* shortly after its founding. This meant that the heart of the French debate about monogenism and polygenism actually took place in the *Société*.

Jim: And because the French had been really central to early race science with scholars like Bernier and Cuvier (who we haven't mentioned in the podcast, but who is known as the founding father of paleontology), and Buffon who we contrasted with Linnaeus in an earlier episode, then, of course, Broca himself, everyone looked to what happened in Paris.

Jo: So a lot of pressure on Firmin!

Jim: And, probably to make it even worse, Broca's star student, Paul Topinard, who we mentioned in our episode on [Thug Heads](#), took over as secretary general when Broca died and

wielded a lot of influence. The same year Firmin's book came out, 1885, Topinard published a book called *Éléments d'anthropologie général-or*, in English, *Elements of General Anthropology* (though it's often just translated into English as the one-word title "Anthropology").

Erik: Given what Topinard's *Anthropology* says, I can't imagine Firmin felt very comfortable in those meetings.

Jo: Give some examples.

Erik: Unsurprisingly for a book in 1885, perhaps, Topinard's textbook is shot through with the background superiority of whites and inferiority of Blacks. There's a ton about skull measurements, of course. Here's a representative quote: "...The negro, in other words, has, *cæteris paribus*, the cerebral cranium less developed than the white" (270). And he even retains the fear of race mixing that we've seen earlier in the nineteenth century, using pejorative terms like "mongrel" that other scholars had dropped from scholarly work.

Jim: Yeah, even though people like to think that somehow after legalized slavery had ended across the globe, and Darwin's ideas gained prominence, racism magically left science. In most ways, pretty much all the social and biological sciences were still governed by racist ideas, as we will discuss in our soon to be recorded 3000-part series on the 19th century.

Jo: HA! So, Firmin and his colleagues Janvier and Dehoux found themselves part of the *Société*, where they sat through HOURS of discussion about the ostensible inferiority of their race. Firmin only took the floor twice during his multi-year membership (both times well after the publication of the book we're going to talk about today), and both times, he was rebuffed.

Erik: Jo, how on earth did Firmin and his Haitian colleagues tolerate the disdain to which I'm sure they were subjected in those meetings?

Jo: Firmin writes about that very thing in his opening to the 1885 *Equality of Human Races*. He may have been enraged inside, but he didn't feel able to object for fear of being kicked out of the *Société*.

Erik: That seems like the rational response.

Jo: You can feel it as the motivation for his book. In the front matter, he states that he wrote it as a rebuttal to the racial science to which he was exposed in the *Société*, and he published it just a year after he was elected to the group. So, even though it has a title that references long-dead Count Gobineau, Firmin's *Equality of Human Races* is really a direct response to the most respected French scientists at the time: Broca, Topinard, and other French anthropologists in the *Société*.

Jim: So how does he go about this?

## KEY ARGUMENTS OF THE BOOK

Jo: Actually, the way he approaches this is remarkably close to how I've seen you teach about race, Jim. If you're going to attack famous French scientists, you have to use other even more famous French scientists. Firmin adopts "positivism," following French statistician and philosopher Auguste Comte. By which Firmin means that he dispassionately reviews the evidence on various sides of the race debate and makes a judgment based on what that evidence shows.

Erik: Ha! Which is exactly what Topinard and every other anthropologist said that they were doing, too. All these scientists claiming objectivity.

Jo: He starts off, like many of these big 'survey of a huge topic' books at this time do, with an examination of the approaches polygenists have taken so far to try to figure out what the races are and how many of them there should be. This analysis occupies most of chapters 2 and 5, and to some extent 7.

Erik: This sounds like what Darwin did in *Descent of Man*.

Jo: And, like Darwin, Firmin draws out all the contradictions between the polygenists not only on how many races there are, but how we even should define race in humans. He goes through some of the heavy-hitters we've talked about before on this podcast: Linnaeus, Morton, Blumenbach -- but then some of the French figures who would have been important to other anthropologists in Paris: D'Omalius d'Halloy, Louis Figuier, Cuvier, De Quatrefages, Fourens, Hollard, Lacepede, Virey, and Saint-Vincent.

Erik: Yeah, much bigger list than Darwin's.

Jo: Firmin shows pretty quickly that these well-respected guys are all over the map in terms of their methods and outcomes of classification. He even condemns these as "fanciful and arbitrary designations that say nothing about the natural particularities of the races" (Firmin 2000: 116).

Jim: He's right, of course. Even when they go multifactorial, their racial categories don't work -- let alone when they're only looking at one factor, like cranial capacity.

Jo: Ah, and this is where Firmin attacks Broca directly. The use of shot or seed to fill up skulls --

Jim: -- [Morton's infamous "method" in his \*Crania Americana\* like we talked about last year](#) --

Jo: Right -- which was also used by Broca in France. So he presents the data from Morton, and then Broca's data, too, but shows how even their own data don't support their conclusions of racial hierarchy. The fact that Morton and Broca said that their data *did*, says Firmin, reveals

what these supposedly objective scientists really were after. In Broca's case, he already regarded Black people as inferior before doing any of the measurements. And in Morton's case... Erik ... can you read this quote ...?

Erik: "As for the chart based on the averages calculated by Morton, we know what to think of it. The mindset with which American scientists, except for some rare individuals, approached anthropology makes all their statements suspect. For them anthropology was only a means to justify slavery" (96).

Jim: Wheeeeeewww, that is a SICK BURN. And accurate!

Jo: Firmin is taking on SERIOUSLY famous scientists in the 19th century. This would be like, I dunno, some upstart physicist from the back of beyond raking Stephen Hawking or Neil Degrasse Tyson across the coals for being more motivated by their prejudices than science. In the rest of the book, Firmin systematically goes through all the physical evidence in favor of racial distinctions and shows why they are, in some cases, just complete fictions. The so-called 'blinking membrane' of the eye, for instance.

Erik: Oh yeah, that old belief that, because they were closer to non-human animals, people of African descent had an extra eye membrane...?

Jim: Anatomical apocrypha.

Jo: But eminent anatomist Broca had repeated that myth. And other French anthropologists had repeated perhaps the worst myth of all, Black people's supposed insensitivity to pain.

Erik: Ugh. Still repeated in medical courses to this day.

Jo: Firmin points out in 1885(!) that this question around pain tolerance had never been measured, except with observations of slave whippings.

Erik: Double ugh. I guess I hadn't really considered that one of the origins of the "Black bodies don't feel pain the same way" myth could be whippings of slaves.

Jo: Firmin's take down of it is wonderful. Because whipping showed "a manifestation of courage on the part of individuals who would proudly and stoically suffer in silence rather than pass for a coward" (63), they could not be a testimony to the *lack* of pain but to the *excess* of mental fortitude of Blacks -- potentially superior to the mental fortitude of whites wielding the whip. So, yet another silly piece of evidence for polygenism and racial hierarchies knocked down. He also points out that there is no evidence that mixed-race unions produce children who are any less capable or fertile than their parents.

Jim: Another old cliché of the scientific racists.

Jo: And, if all that knocking down of bad assumptions wasn't enough, Firmin actually tells the story of how Broca's *Societe d'Anthropologie* came into being, and he particularly calls Broca to the mat for his failure to account for climatological influences on skin color--

Jim: --something we just talked about [in the last episode](#). So it's clear that Firmin argued hard to try to dismantle the mythological and pseudo-scientific bases of racism, so it's too bad his *Equality of the Human Races* was a case of a tree falling in the forest with no one to hear. Otherwise, his book could have been a nice stepping stone for Franz Boas and WEB DuBois when they successfully began to untangle race and culture just a few years later.

Jo: Well, its publication was announced (as was the custom) in the Société, and Firmin presented them a signed copy. But, based on the publications of the proceedings of the society, it doesn't appear that anyone paid it any attention: it was never mentioned again. It was also never translated into English or German, so it was pretty much ignored by Anglophone scholars in Western Europe and the US. Though Firmin was an internationally known figure by the time of his death in 1911, his obituary in the *NYT* described him as a learned man but did not mention the book. It stayed pretty much unknown outside Haiti until Fleuhr-Lobban and Charles translated and published it in 2000.

Erik: So let's talk about why that is. I admit, it's even more surprising to me given Firmin's relationship to Frederick Douglass -- a household name!

Jo: So in order to understand why *Equality of the Human Races* never made it onto the shelves of Franz Boas and those who worked against the legacy of polygenism in anthropology, we have to talk about the history of Haiti at the turn of the 20th century.

Erik: History?! (Hold my beer!)

Jo: Firmin returned to Haiti in the late 1880s. And Haitians *really* read this book. It made a HUGE impact. It launched Firmin into a high-powered political career that would define the rest of his life.

Jim: Yeah—something similar happened to me after my academic publications.

Jo: Wait, what?!?

Erik: I guess that would explain why you fly into every episode on a helicopter surrounded by bodyguards.

Jo: So, after a contested election in 1888, Firmin became Haiti's Minister of Finance and Foreign Affairs under the government led by new President General Florvil Hyppolite. And that is where Frederick Douglass comes in, right, Erik?

Erik: Right. We talk a lot about Douglass's work for emancipation. But as is the case with so much of American history, once Reconstruction is over, the focus moves away from the plight of African Americans and toward industrialization and New York and Chicago and immigration from Europe. So the voices in power bury Douglass's work as well.

Jim: And I don't think we talk about Haiti in the 1880s and 1890s at all.

Jo: Yes, the American and European bias in both History and Anthropology....  
So how does Frederick Douglass get to Haiti?

Erik: President Benjamin Harrison -- who ostensibly wanted to continue the policies during Reconstruction of increased representation for African Americans -- appointed Frederick Douglass to be Minister Resident to Haiti (the title Ambassador would not be used by the U.S. until 1893) in 1890. Douglass had been friends with Ebenezer Bassett, the first African American diplomat to Haiti after the Civil War. And after Hyppolite took over, Secretary of State James Blaine wanted someone who he thought would be respected in Haiti to help broker a deal with the US.

Jo: So Douglass was their man...

Erik: For a time....

Jo: -- that sounds like you're about to do the historian's big reveal thing --

Jim: And how does Firmin fit in here?

Erik: Secretary Blaine wanted Douglass to get permission to use the port of Môle-Saint-Nicolas in northwest Haiti as a refueling station for the US Navy. This was especially important because work was going on in both Nicaragua and Panama to make a canal to the Pacific. The US wanted control of the Caribbean approach to that canal. And as Minister of Foreign Affairs, Douglass was supposed to negotiate with Firmin to get that naval base in Haiti.

Jim: And how did it go?

Erik: It was a cluster----.

Jim: I mean, these were two really prominent figures, so what went wrong?

Jo: Erik is about to say "it's complicated."

Erik: How did you know?

Jo: It's a historical event and that's the favorite phrase of historians, so...

Erik: Yeah, it is! So right around the same time, in 1888-1890, the US had just had a disastrous fight with Germany over the Samoan Islands -- a hurricane wiped out nearly all of the American ships there in March 1889. And, simultaneously, the unrest in Haiti in the late 1880s led to German financiers moving into Port-au-Prince. The US wanted to flex its muscle against Germany in the Caribbean.

Jim: Technically that was a cyclone that hit Apia Harbor in Samoa, and all six ships belonging to the US and Germany were sunk—only a British corvette escaped. Robert Louis Stevenson wrote about this incident in 1892. But, like an anthropologist protecting his cultural turf, I'm going on too long about Samoa. The main point is that the US wanted a naval base in Haiti, like it had in Samoa. And Douglass was sent in to soften up Firmin.

Erik: It gets even worse.

Jim: Oh boy.

Erik: For reasons that probably are just straight up bigotry, Secretary of State Blaine *also* sent US Navy Rear-Admiral Bancroft Gherardi to Haiti without consulting Douglass. Gherardi argued that Haitian President Hyppolite *owed* Môle-Saint-Nicolas to the US, and that Haiti also had to deny port access to Germany or any other European power until the US gave permission. Firmin was insulted. And if this wasn't bad enough there was a backroom deal in New York for a steamship company with direct ties to both Rear-Admiral Gherardi and Secretary Blaine to run a shipping line from New York to Haiti and to make Haiti pay for it. Firmin totally balked at this and refused to even speak to any representative from the US other than Douglass. So, Gherardi moved the so-called "White Squadron" of 100 guns and 2,000 men into Port-au-Prince to force Haiti to pay the Clyde Steamboat Company a small fortune and to give up land to the US Navy for a base. Literally at gunpoint, Douglass and Firmin together strung out the negotiations for almost two years. Both men were disgusted, though not surprised, with the corruption of the US government. Eventually, Douglass resigned. But Firmin held out, denying any deal with the US.

Jo: That's a hell of a story.

Erik: Here's a sad coda to it. Two years later, at the famous World's Fair in Chicago in 1893, the USA refused to appoint a single Black American commissioner or representative. To publicize this open discrimination, Douglass joined the journalist Ida B. Wells to publish *The Reason Why the Colored American is Not in the World's Columbian Exposition*. And then Douglass was appointed as a representative, not for the United States but ... wait for it ... for Haiti.

Jo: Huh. So, as representative for Haiti -- even though he wasn't Haitian -- did Douglass bring up Firmin or *Equality of the Human Races*?

Erik: Not directly, though Douglass certainly praised "learned men of Haiti." Instead, Douglass repeated something that Firmin also referenced in his later writings: that as the "Black Republic," white Americans and Europeans used Haiti as a convenient exemplar for all these

scientific debates about race. If Haiti could become prosperous, it would signal that there was no hierarchy of races.

Jo: And maybe that could have happened, had Haiti been treated the same as other countries.

Erik: Right. And Douglass blamed those educated Haitians that had been influenced by European money for the near-constant state of revolution in Haiti. But he also blamed white Americans for seeing Haiti as a “shithole country” that they could just take over.<sup>1</sup>

Jim: I believe that’s “shit-house.” “Shit-house countries.”<sup>2</sup>

Jo: Oh ya, that was when Tom Cotton and David Perdue said they thought trump had said “shithouse” instead of “shithole,” right? Like that was supposed to make the comment any better. ANNNYWAYYYY, to take Trump’s words again, “Frederick Douglass is an example of somebody who’s done an amazing job and is being recognized more and more, I notice.” But unfortunately, his fears at the World’s Fair were spot-on. As Foreign Minister, Firmin attempted to modernize the country until President Hyppolite died, and Firmin was sent to England. Hyppolite’s successor eventually resigned, and in the ensuing presidential campaigns -- in which Firmin himself ran for President -- Germany sent warships to Port-au-Prince in support of another candidate favorable to their interests. Firmin found himself exiled on St. Thomas. From there, Firmin wrote in support of pan-Caribbeanism to resist the US and European powers and wrote a history of the US for Haitians, making a special appeal to President Teddy Roosevelt to help Haiti the way that President Harrison once did, instead of just seeing the “Black Republic” as a stepping stone to greater American dominance in the hemisphere. This book is the one Firmin’s obituary mentions instead of *Equality of the Human Races*.

Erik: So he did a lot in his life.

Jo: Yeah, after another attempt at the presidency, which resulted in a second exile, Firmin meditated on the questions that had been percolating when he served as minister: How should Haiti engage with the balance of power that lay so clearly with the US, without losing its own sovereignty? In that work, he made a prescient statement. Erik--a quote!

Erik: “After my death, one of two things will happen: either Haiti will fall under foreign control, or it will resolutely adopt the principles in the name of which it has always struggled and fought.” Sadly, it seems like the first one turned out to be true....

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<sup>1</sup> Actual words spoken by the former American president in 2018:  
<https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/white-house/trump-referred-haiti-african-countries-shithole-nations-n836946>

<sup>2</sup> Actual false-statement defense of said president by actual member of Congress:  
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/right-turn/wp/2018/01/16/sens-cotton-and-perdue-are-outed-for-lying-on-trumps-behalf/>

Jo: Exactly. In the midst of more political turmoil just after Firmin's death, the US invaded Haiti in 1915 under President Wilson, in many senses recolonizing it all over again, and stayed till 1934.

Jim: Given Wilson's reputation as a stone-cold bigot, I figured it would be his administration that finally just forced its way into Haiti.

Erik: As was so often the case, US corporations lobbied to have their interests protected, like the Germans had done in Firmin's time. The US military actually confiscated Haiti's gold reserves and took them to Wall Street! Sadly, the US occupation of Haiti was as brutal as you might imagine: rebellions, uprisings, forced labor on coffee plantations, lynchings, assassinations, executions...

Jo: Ya. The US installed their own Haitian presidents, enacted martial law, and basically ran Haiti's government, much like they did in the Philippines, Hawaii, Guam, Puerto Rico, Samoa...

Jim: --Yeah, it's a long list.

Jo: The human rights abuses were flagrant and extensive, resulting in the death of up to 15,000 Haitians during the entire occupation (Jean-Phillipe 2008), though some would dispute that rather high estimate. Americans even instituted Jim Crow laws in parallel with those in the US at the time. And when the military elite took over Haiti's government after the US finally left, they assumed dictatorial-type rule that has continued to foment poverty, political instability and unrest into the present.

Erik: Here's a little anecdote about how corrupt the 20-year long US occupation of Haiti was. In January 1917, Franklin Delano Roosevelt--Assistant Secretary of the Navy, just like his more famous cousin, Teddy had been before the American War in Cuba--traveled to Haiti to "inspect the marines" stationed there. But he was really there to set up a commercial plantation along with John McIlhenny, the highest ranking U.S. civilian official in Haiti, and Major Henry L. Roosevelt, another cousin who was one of the marines stationed in Haiti. FDR spent his visit looking for potential sites for the plantation, in anticipation of the new constitution that would legalize foreign land ownership.

Jo: He actually wrote that constitution!

Erik: FDR bragged that he did, but really it was written by the Wilson administration for maximum white control over Haiti even before FDR got there. Still, the Roosevelt fingerprint on Haiti is pretty huge. Major Henry Roosevelt would eventually become Assistant Secretary of the Navy himself once FDR was president and, you guessed it, was in charge of the Haitian occupation until 1934 (Schmidt 1995: 108-111).

Jo: So, Firmin himself--politician, anthropologist, lawyer--not only predicted this outcome but even played a role in some of its earlier stages. And despite spending his life fighting for racial equality and Haitian sovereignty, that was not to be the case.

Jim: We see some of that continuing to this day with the recent assassination of Haitian President Jovenel Moïse by Colombian mercenaries, aided by Haitian-American interpreters from Florida. And the governmental transition in the wake of the assassination is being overseen by a "Core Group" from Germany, Brazil, Canada, Spain, the United States, France, and the European Union (Reuters 8/14/21). None of these "white" polities would be subjected to this kind of exterior management.

Erik: So is it fair to say that ignoring Firmin in anthropology is part of this larger pattern of seeing Haiti as a sad place just in need of redemption by colonial powers?

Jo: Yes, sweeping Firmin aside was part of the spirit that led to the occupation and marginalization of Haiti followed by blaming its status as a "Black nation" for its failures even though those were externally imposed. I think Firmin's work is so inspiring because it was produced under conditions where he was marginalized and yet the science holds up, even his predictions hold up into the present. So for many reasons, political, social justice, decolonizing, and scholarship, he's still worth reading.

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