

Form itself is emptiness;
emptiness itself is form.¹

I Introduction

Before, when there was no trace of man on earth, Tai Bai decided to create mankind. He used clay, just as we make pottery or porcelain, and after having molded it into a human figure, he put it into the kiln. The first figure was fired for too long, and was badly burnt: it was black! This was not so good, and Tai Bai threw it away, using all his strength, and throwing it a long way. He threw it to Africa; hence afterwards everyone in Africa was black. As a result of this first failure, the second figure was fired more carefully. It was allowed to bake only for a little while and then taken out of the kiln. Look: it was too white! This wasn't very good either, and Tai Bai again threw it away. This time, he did not throw it so far. He threw it to Europe, and hence afterwards everyone in Europe was white. Experience now allowed the third one to be baked to perfection: not for too long a time, and not for too short a time. Pretty good! Neither black nor white, but all yellow. Tai Bai was very satisfied, and put the figure down on the ground. Hence afterwards everyone in Asia was yellow.²

Frank Dikötter cites this passage in his 1992 book *The Discourse of Race in Modern China*.³ When did this legend of the Hakka in Taiwan come into being? Dikötter does not give any further information. In the field of racial studies there have been two radically different views. The first view considers the human race as a knowledge system gradually shaped after the eighteenth century; whereas the second view maintains that race is a universal phenomenon in human societies. Dikötter holds the second view. The way Dikötter discusses racial anecdotes collected from Chinese classical books side by side with modern racial knowledge, the two aspects forming one common linear historical order, is methodologically debatable. In the words of Gotelind Müller-Saini, Dikötter fails to differentiate Chinese "cultural ethnocentrism" (*wenbua zhongzu zhongxin zhuyi* 文化種族中心主義) from modern "racial ethnocentrism" (*renzong zhongzu zhongxin zhuyi* 人種種族中心主義).⁴

In addition, Dikötter uses the sources rather arbitrarily, with some important misinterpretations.⁵ For example, he quotes the following statement from Xu Jiyu's 徐繼畲 (1795–1873) *Yinghuan zbilüe* 瀛寰志略 (A Brief Survey of the Maritime Circuit, first published 1849):

1 *The Heart Sutra (Xinjing* 心經): 色即是空, 空即是色。

2 *Taiwan keji su wenxue*, 149–150: 從前, 地球上沒有人類, 太白仙君決定創造人類。他先用粘土捏出人形, 然後將其放在窯內燒烤。因為烤得時間長, 第一個烤焦了, 太白仙君就把它扔到了非洲, 這就是非洲人的起源。第二次太白仙君很小心, 但烤得時間太短, 火候不到, 太白就將其扔到了歐洲, 這就是白人的起源。第三次, 太白仙君吸取此前的教訓, 時間和火候都掌握得很好, 烤出來的人既不黑, 也不白, 太白仙君很滿意, 就將其放在地上, 這是亞洲黃種人的起源。

3 Dikötter 1992, quoted on the verso of the title page.

4 Müller-Saini 2010.

The hair and eyes of some [foreigners] gradually turn black when they come to China and stay for a long time. The features of such men and women half-resemble the Chinese.⁶

Dikötter then comments:

It was perhaps reassuring to know that residence in the Celestial Empire could half-humanize the foreigner [which means “the barbarian” here – S. J.].⁷

As a matter of fact, these sentences in the original text are preceded by “someone said” (*huoyun*). This means that Xu was not completely convinced that the color of people’s skin, hair, and eyes would change with a changing environment. Furthermore, Xu Jiyu had praised the Europeans before the sentences quoted above:

Their temperament is cautious and meticulous. They are good at using their minds and making instruments. Their technology dealing with metal and wood is incredibly exquisite, especially in taking advantage of water and fire.⁸

Yinghuan zhilue was compiled by Xu based on the geographical sources provided by an American missionary. In my view, except for Xu’s explanation of natural and human phenomena with the theories of Yin/Yang and the Five Elements, his book, in comparison with *Haiguo tuzhi* 海國圖志 (Illustrated Gazetteer of the Countries Overseas) by his contemporary Wei Yuan 魏源 (1794–1857), represents the more standard geographical knowledge of the time, which was derived from the West.⁹

The problem in Dikötter’s work shows that researchers tend to, consciously or unconsciously, impose their preconceptions on history when studying the concept of “race” in modern China, which results in creating an “ahistorical” discourse of race. To reveal racism as a construct, researchers concern themselves less with the concept of race *per se* than with the political connotations attached to the concept.¹⁰ Human race is examined in this paper as a sort of “modern knowledge.”

Sakamoto Hiroko 坂元ひろ子, who holds a positive view of Dikötter’s work, thinks that the concept of “race” in modern China has fused traditional Chinese racial knowledge with the racial knowledge of the West.¹¹ Exactly how did this “fusion” take place? Sakamoto does not offer any answers. Ishikawa Yoshihiro 石川禎浩 notices the connections between Japan and the acquisition of racial knowledge by the reformists and revolutionaries in the late Qing Dynasty. He specifically investigates the Japanese influence on Liang Qichao 梁啟超.¹² “Ren fen wulei shuo” 人分五類說 (The Five-Race Theory), published in *Gezhi huibian* 格致匯編 (Chinese Scientific Magazine) in 1892, has been considered the moment when racial classification was introduced into China. Zhang Xiaochuan 張曉川,

- 5 See Sun Longji 2004 criticizing Dikötter 1992 and Dikötter’s response. Sun’s criticism seems not to be completely based on Dikötter’s text, and many parts of it are therefore unconvincing.
- 6 Dikötter 1992, 49. *Yinghuan zhilue*, 113: 居中土久，則須發與睛漸變黑。其男女面貌，亦有半似中土者。
- 7 Dikötter 1992, 49.
- 8 *Yinghuan zhilue*, 112: 其人性情縝密，善於運思，長於制器、金木之工，精巧不可思議，運用水火尤為奇妙。
- 9 This book starts by describing the world as consisting of Asia, Europe, Africa, and America. *Yinghuan zhilue*, 4–5, states: (阿非利加) 其地廣莫，約得亞細亞之半，迤北有回部，餘皆黑夷。天時炎酷，土脈粗頑，人類混沌，在四土中為最劣。“The vast land of Africa is about half size of that of Asia. Towards the northern part of it there are Muslim tribes. The others are all black barbarians. The weather is extremely hot and the land is hard to cultivate. The people there are ignorant. They are the least civilized among the peoples on the four continents.”
- 10 Sakamoto Hiroko 1995; Zarrow 2006.
- 11 Sakamoto Hiroko 2005, 191.
- 12 Ishikawa Yoshihiro 2001. See also Ishikawa Yoshihiro 2002.

however, argues that the first issues of *Gezhi huibian* had already published similar articles as early as 1876 and that the knowledge of racial classification had already entered the Chinese-speaking world by 1848.¹³

Gotelind Müller-Saini points out in the above-mentioned paper that not a single researcher had looked into the exact content of the "five-race theory," even though it was frequently cited. Müller-Saini also raises an important question, namely: if the Europeans of the nineteenth century accepted themselves as the Caucasian race, then how did the Chinese, who had considered themselves "white," come to accept being categorized into "the yellow race?" In his newly published work, Michael Keevak, on the other hand, examines the problem of how Westerners created "the yellow race" from a "scientific" perspective.¹⁴ In view of these few discussions about the beginnings of racial knowledge, we see that the examination of the concept of "race" in modern China raises not merely the problem of how China accepted Western knowledge of race, but also the issue of Japanese influence. In order to throw light on the processes that brought this concept into being, it is necessary to carry out a translingual and cross-cultural study.¹⁵

It is a well-known fact that the concept of "race" emerged in the seventeenth century as a knowledge system classifying the human body. Its appearance was accompanied by the increasing number of encounters that Europeans had with non-European regions. Based on his traveling experiences in North Africa and India, the French physician and traveller François Bernier (1625–1688) developed a racial classification system in his "Nouvelle division de la terre, par les différentes espèces ou races d'hommes qui l'habitent." He categorized human groups into four races or species.¹⁶ In the eighteenth century, the Swedish naturalist and biologist Carolus Linnaeus (1707–1778) also divided human beings into four groups: *Europaeus albesc*, *Americanus rubesc*, *Asiaticus fuscus*, and *Africanus nigr*, and endowed them with different characteristics.¹⁷ Georges-Louis Leclerc de Buffon (1707–1788), a French naturalist, mathematician, and botanist who seemed to have accepted Linnaeus's racial classification, emphasized non-hereditary, environmental influences on race such as climate, food, soil, and landscape.¹⁸ The predominantly influential theory in later racial studies and anthropology, however, was neither Linnaeus' nor Buffon's, nor any other categorizations of mankind. It was the "five-race theory" developed by Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752–1840).

Blumenbach handed in his dissertation *De Generis humani varietate nativa* to the University of Göttingen in 1775 and obtained his professorship with it. This dissertation went through constant revisions and was published in three different versions. By the end of these revisions, Blumenbach had elaborated his "five-race theory." In the first version of 1776, Blumenbach follows Carolus Linnaeus's four-race theory, but points out the unreliability of the classification based on a limited number of human bone specimens. He affirms Buffon's theory of environmental influences, but warns that this theory may lead to a static idea of human races, one that fails to explain the change of skin colors.¹⁹ In the revised version of 1781, Blumenbach adds the category of the Malayan race because new human bone specimens had been procured.²⁰ With this, the "five-race theory" came into being. Blumenbach revised the whole

13 Zhang Xiaochuan 2009, 15–27.

14 Keevak 2011, 57–69.

15 On my research on the issues of race and nation, see Sun 2006, 2010a, 2010b, 2011.

16 Bernier 1684. See Bernasconi 2001, 148–155.

17 Keevak 2011, 49.

18 Keevak 2011, 59.

19 Blumenbach 1776, 129–137.

20 Blumenbach 1776, 319–322.

book for the third version of 1795. He found that the human bone specimens he had used as evidence contained deformities caused by illness, which should be excluded from the classification. On top of skin color, which was then a popular categorizing criterion in Europe, Blumenbach added the measurements of the body and the skull (the height of the forehead, the size and angle of the jaw bone, the order of teeth, eye sockets, nose bones, etc.).²¹ According to this text, the five human races are:

| | | | |
|------------|------------------|---|------------------------------|
| Caucasia | (colore albo) | — | the Caucasian or white race |
| Mongolica | (colore glivo) | — | the Mongolian or yellow race |
| Malaica | (colore fusco) | — | the Malayan or brown race |
| Aethiopica | (colore cuprino) | — | the Ethiopian or black race |
| Americana | (colore badio) | — | the American or red race |

The term “Caucasia” was invented by Blumenbach, and referred to peoples inhabiting Europe, North Africa, West Asia, etc. The Indians were included, whereas the Jews were excluded. As Nell Irvin Painter points out, this certainly involved linguistic and political considerations.²² Blumenbach did not insist on classifying mankind into five races, nor did he uphold the view of unchanged white skin color. It was, however, precisely these two points that became the indicators of Blumenbach’s racial theory, which, via the knowledge transmission route of Great Britain, spread to the other end of the Eurasian continent: China and Japan.

2 Westerners in China and the “Five-Race Theory”

How did Blumenbach’s theory enter China? Before we examine this problem, let us first examine the translation of the term “race” into Chinese. In *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language / Hua-Ying zidian* 華英字典, compiled by the British missionary Robert Morrison (chin. Malixun 馬禮遜, 1782–1834, and published from 1815 to 1823 in Macao), there was not yet a translation for “race.”²³ Twenty years later, however, the term began to appear in the English-Chinese dictionaries compiled by other missionaries.

An English and Chinese Dictionary, in the Court Dialect / Yinghua yunfu lijie 英華韻府歷階, compiled by Samuel Wells Williams (chin. Wei Sanwei 衛三畏, 1812–1884, and published 1844 in Macao): race 種類.²⁴

English and Chinese Dictionary / Ying-Han zidian 英漢字典, compiled by Walter Henry Medhurst (chin. Maidusi 麥都思, 1796–1857, and published from 1847 to 1848 in Shanghai): offspring, 孽種, 苗裔; the human race 人類.²⁵

English and Chinese Dictionary, with the Punti and Mandarin Pronunciation / Ying-Hua zidian 英華字典, compiled by Wilhelm Lobscheid (chin. Luocunde 羅存德, 1822–1893, and published from 1866 to 1869 in Hong Kong): 類、種; the human race, 人類; the black race 黑種; a mixed race 雜種; a race of giants 一種英雄; to exterminate the race 殄滅種類.²⁶

21 Ibid., 289–295.

22 Painter 2010, 81.

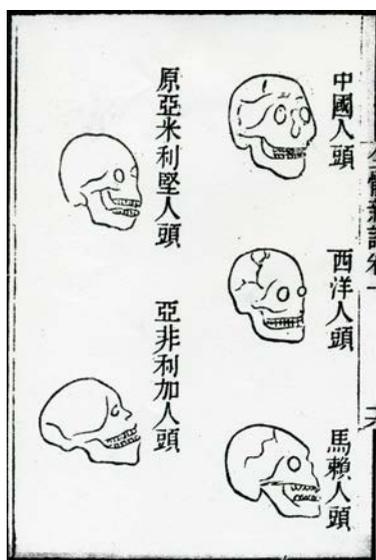
23 Morrison 1815–1823.

24 Williams 1844, 228.

25 Medhurst 1848, 1039.

In the Chinese language, *zhong* 種, *lei* 類, and *zhonglei* 種類, are categories differentiated on the basis of characteristics of things and human groups. The three dictionaries properly convey the meaning of "race" by translating it into *zhong* or *zhonglei*. Williams' *An English and Chinese Dictionary* contains the earliest known Chinese translation of "race," which means that racial knowledge had entered the Chinese-speaking world before 1844. In his paper, Zhang Xiaochuan lists the racial classification narratives by Westerners in China, but he does not analyze the differences among the texts. In what follows I shall present my analysis of the introduction of the "five-race theory" by these Westerners.

Western racial knowledge was introduced into China as "science." In his anatomic work *Quantixinlun* 全體新論 (New Theories on the Human Body, published 1851), the first of its kind in Chinese language, Benjamin Hobson (chin. Hexin 合信, 1816–1873) twice mentions racial classification when explaining human anatomy in Western medicine. One example found its way into the first volume. Several pictures of human bones follow the theoretical introduction. One of these pictures shows the skulls of "five human races" (*wu zhong ren* 五種人, see below).²⁷



Among the five skulls, the "Westerner's skull" (*xiyang rentou* 西洋人頭) looks like that of the beautiful Georgian girl admired by Blumenbach, whom he considered to be typical of the Caucasian race. Hobson, however, did not consider this "Westerner's skull" to be that of the Caucasian race. Instead, he believed that mankind was the creation of God:

The Creator made human beings. He made a person from earth and named him Adam. He took a rib from Adam and attached flesh to it. It became a woman. They were endowed with spirit and the ability to reproduce. God made them consummate and they became the ancestors of mankind.²⁸

26 Lobscheid 1866–1869, 1419.

27 Hobson 1816–1873, 1.16.

A comparison with the human bones of three thousand years ago shows that external human appearances changed constantly. Human bones, on the other hand, were the only thing that remained basically unaltered:

The faces of human beings are different from each other, but human bones surely do not alter.²⁹

Given the unchanging nature of human skulls, Hobson wrote:

There are four continents in the world and five classes of mankind. The Europeans have long round faces, fair skin, high noses, red cheeks, and various hair colors. The Asians have straight black beards and hair, high cheeks, flat noses, red faces, and long slanted eyes. The Africans have pitch-black skin, woolly hair, thick and narrow skulls, thick lips, wide mouths, straight noses, and protruding jaws. The American natives have copper-colored skin, hard, black, and sparse hair, wide foreheads, and deep-set eyes. The Malayans have brown skin and thick hair.³⁰

Here the physical features of the Europeans, the Asians, the Africans, the Americans, and the Malayans are described. That the Asians have “red faces” (*chise* 赤色) was perhaps Hobson’s own observation. Hobson described physical differences of human beings from a medical perspective. He clearly denied any necessary connections between appearance and intelligence:

Human appearances can be so different. As to the functions of organs and the circulation of blood, however, there are not so many differences. Alas! Who has the power to create human being like this? How can one be given life by the Creator without thinking about Him.³¹

Slightly earlier than Hobson, who practiced medicine in Hong Kong, the Macau-born Portuguese Marques José Martinho (chin. Ma Jishi 瑪吉士, 1810–1867) introduced in his *Xin shi dili beikao quanshu* 新釋地理備考全書 (first published 1847) the “five-race theory” from the geographical perspective.³² According to him, human knowledge about animals, plants, and mankind was limited in the past, as it merely covered Europe, Asia, and Africa. Christopher Columbus’ “discovery of the new territory” in 1492 brought America into the picture. Later, Oceania was also included. From then on, the Earth has been divided into five continents.

[On these five continents] tens of thousands of peoples can be classified into five races according to their skin colors: some are white, some are purple, some are yellow, some are dark, and some are black.³³

Here the classification of the skin colors of various races is slightly different from that of Blumenbach. In Martinho’s view, the white race inhabited the “East” and the “West,” namely, Europe and Asia, whereas Blumenbach held that there were only white people living in the western part of Asia. Furthermore,

28 Hobson 1816–1873, 10.14 (“Zaohua lun” 造化論): 原始造化, 撮土為人, 命曰亞當。取亞當一肋, 附之以肉, 又成一女, 賦之以明靈之性, 予之以生育之權, 使相配合, 是為人類之祖。

29 Hobson 1816–1873, 10.15: 人面各有不同, 人骨固無不同也。

30 He Xin, “Zaohua lun,” *Quanti xinlun*, 10.15: 天下分為四洲, 人分五等。歐羅巴洲人, 面長圓, 皮色白, 鼻高頰紅, 發有數色。亞細亞洲人, 須發黑直, 額凸鼻扁, 面色赤, 眼長斜。亞非利加洲人, 皮黑如漆, 發卷如羊毛, 頭骨厚窄, 唇大口闊, 鼻準聳, 下頰凸。米利加洲土人, 皮膚紅銅色, 發黑硬而疏, 額闊, 眼窩深。嗎喇海洲人, 皮棕色, 發黑密。

31 He Xin, “Zaohua lun,” *Quanti xinlun*, 10.15–16: 人之外貌如此不同, 致若臍臍功用, 眾血運行, 無少差異。吁伊誰之力歟? 奈何受造蒙恩者而竟末之思也。

32 Martinho 1847, 2f.

33 Martinho 1847, 2b: 千億之眾, 分為五種, 或白, 或紫, 或黃, 或青, 或黑, 有五色之分。

Martinho's conception of the "East," or Asia, included the Chinese and the Japanese within the white race. Martinho classified the Indians (considered white by Blumenbach) and the Malaysians (the "southern" people of Asia, considered brown by Blumenbach) together with the red Americans ("the people of the South"). This, perhaps like Hobson's idea of "red" Asians, was Martinho's own speculation. Although Martinho introduced the "five-race theory" in his work, he himself had only a vague understanding of it, and his description of it is rather confusing.

What is of interest here is that Martinho's description of the Chinese and the Japanese as white is similar to the observations that Westerners in East Asia had been making since the sixteenth century.³⁴ The Jesuit missionary St. Francois Xavier (1506–1552) described the Japanese as "rather faire-skinned and particular about etiquette."³⁵ Alessandro Valignano (chin. Fanli'an 範禮安, 1538–1606) considered the Chinese and the Japanese as "white nations" (*gente Bianca*).³⁶ Matteo Ricci (chin. Li Madou 利瑪竇, 1552–1610) wrote the following in his memoir:

The Chinese have white skin, except for those of the southern provinces, who, due to their living in or near the tropical regions, have dark skin.³⁷

The "whiteness" mentioned by Jesuit missionaries merely referred to an external, visible physical feature, one that was not endowed with any particular cultural or political connotations. Similarly, Martinho held that differences among peoples were not determined by heredity, but rather by acquired learning and training. In Martinho's view, human beings could be divided into three classes:

The lower-class people cannot read and do not recite classical books. They do not understand writings and have no idea of knowledge. The only things they learn and do are fishing and hunting.³⁸

The middle-class people learn to read and write. They also set up laws. They came from the lower-class people, and they founded the country. Their experiences and mental capacities, however, are still insufficient and lack order.³⁹

The higher-class people work hard to obtain knowledge and develop their talents. They practice six arts and make use of them. They cultivate *Dao* for themselves and set up moral standards. When the doctrines are established, how can authoritative texts, law, and moral standards not be in order?⁴⁰

Martinho's book was published in 1847, around the same time as Xu Jiyu's *Yinghuan zhibue* (1844). By comparing the two books we may come to the following conclusion: although Martinho's description

34 Keevak 2011, 23–34.

35 Leupp 1994, 342.

36 Ross 1994, 42.

37 D'Elia 1942–1949, vol.1, 88: "La gente della Cina bianca, eccetto alcuni delle provincie austreali, che per partecipare e stare vicine alla zona torrida, sono alcuni di colore fosco." There is a passage describing skin color in Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza's book *History of the Great and Mighty Kingdom of China and the Situation Thereof* (He 1998, 7): "Those who were born in Guangzhou or along the same coastline have brown skin, like the people in Fez or Barbary, because the whole region is located on the same line of latitude as Barbary. The people of inland provinces are sometimes white. Some are paler than others, because they live closer to the cold areas. Some look like Spanish people, whereas some are yellower, like Germans, reddish yellow."

38 Martinho 1847, 3a: 夫下者，則字莫識書莫誦，筆墨學問全弗透達，所習所務止有漁獵而已矣。

39 Martinho 1847, 3b: 夫中者，既習文字，復定法制，遂出於下等，始立國家，而其見聞仍為淺圓，更無次序也。

40 Martinho 1847, 3b: 夫上者，則攻習學問，培養其才，操練六藝，加利其用，修道立德，義理以成，經典法度靡不以序。

was somewhat confusing, he introduced the “five-race theory” almost in its entirety. Although Xu Jiyu had contact with Western geographical knowledge, he was not interested in racial narratives. As a result, the description of “the barbarians” from classical Chinese books still found its way into Xu’s book. Wei Yuan’s *Haiguo tuzhi* has a similar narrative.

In March 1855, the Hong Kong-based magazine *Xia'er guanzhen* 遐邇貫珍 (Chinese Serial) published an article entitled “Renlei wuzhong xiaolun” 人類五種小論 (A Brief Discussion of Five Human Races). This article offers a general discussion of the peoples of Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and those on the islands of the South Sea. According to this article, the human body and human nature were originally the same, but appearance and skin color would alter according to changes in environment.

Thus knowledgeable scholars in the West examined races and peoples. They put the similar ones into the same group and created divisions between the different ones. For that reason there arose the “five-race theory”: the white, the yellow, the black, the dark, and the copper-colored.⁴¹

This article introduces the “five-race theory” accurately and in detail, with no intention of emphasizing the superiority of the white race. The “Xu Dili Cuoyao” 續地理撮要 (A Brief Introduction to Geography), published by *Xia'er guanzhen* in September 1855, mentions a possible reason for this:

[The human races on the five continents] are classified into five colors: white, yellow, black, dark, and copper-colored, but they are in essence the brothers of the same family of God.⁴²

In 1858, the Shanghai-based *Liuhe cong'an* 六合叢談 (Shanghai Serial) edited by Alexander Wylie (chin. Welie Yali 偉烈亞力, 1815–1887) contained the article “Dili: Dong zhi er wu fenjie” 地理—動植二物分界 (Geography: the Classification of Plants and Animals) by William Muirhead (Mu Weilian 慕維廉, 1822–1900), a British missionary. Though not as detailed in content as that of “A Brief Discussion of Five Human Races,” this article was the first to use Blumenbachian terminology to describe human races:

Recently geologists have classified mankind into five races: the first is the Caucasian race, which includes Turks, Arabs, Persians, several tribes in the western regions (*xiyu*), Afghans, Indians in Asia, Egyptians and Abyssinians in Africa, and all the Europeans; the second is the Mongolian race, which inhabits Middle Asia and West Asia, China, Japan, Burma, Vietnam, Thailand, and Nhật Nam. Some say that the Eskimos also belong to the Mongolian race. The third is the American race, which refers to the native peoples in North and South America. The fourth is the Ethiopian race, which includes the peoples in all of Africa except for Egypt, Abyssinia, and several small countries in North Africa. The fifth is the Malayan race, which includes all the peoples living on the Malayan land and the islands in the South Sea.⁴³

The Caucasian race, the Mongolian race, the American race, the Ethiopian race, and the Malayan race correspond respectively to the white, yellow, red, black, and brown races. Muirhead did not, however,

41 *Xia'er guanzhen* 1855.3, 7–8: 是故西方博士，詳察人民，以其同者合之，不同者分之，因分為白、黃、黑、玄、銅五種人之說。

42 *Xia'er guanzhen* 1855.9, 8: [五大洲人類] 分白、黃、黑、玄、銅五種，而實皆為上帝一家之弟兄。

43 Muirhead 1858, 6 (755): 近時地理家分人為五大類：一高加索類，在亞細亞者，為土耳其、亞喇伯、波斯、西域數部、阿富汗、印度，在阿非利加者，為埃及、阿比西尼，而歐羅巴則統洲皆是也；二蒙古類，散居中亞西亞、中華、日本、緬甸、安南、暹羅、日南，或云厄斯几毛亦蒙古類也；三阿墨利加類，南北兩阿墨利加之土民是也；四古實類，居阿非利加，除埃及、阿比西尼及北邊諸小國之外，皆是也；五無來由類，統無來由地及南海群島，皆是也。

seem to be interested in skin color. Like the author of "A Brief Discussion of Five Human Races," Muirhead had reservations about racial classification. He writes the following:

Mankind has one common ancestor. Scientists divide people into several races according to their temperaments and appearances. Geographers investigate their languages and ways of behavior and then classify each race into several racial subdivisions. These racial subdivisions can be divided into ethnic groups, which are further divided into several tribes. The tribes can be divided into several clans. When a people moves to a new place, both their language and appearance will change after several generations. There are thus no good reasons to categorize people according to these criteria.⁴⁴

Thus for Muirhead, human beings change with the environment in which they live. There are "no good reasons" to classify them according to their languages and appearances. On the other hand, Muirhead also wrote the following:

Many people are convinced by this theory. Some say that some races will decline and disappear in no time. That they should give their lands to wise clans follows the natural rule of growth and disappearance.⁴⁵

In his article, Muirhead explains that geologists divided mankind into *lei* 類, "races," *zhipai* 支派, "racial subdivisions," *zhong* 種, "ethnic groups," *buluo* 部落, "tribes," and *zu* 族, "clans," and he claims that *mou yi lei* 某一類, "a certain race," of the five may be eliminated by *mou yi zu* 某一族, "a certain clan." Is this meant to imply that the Europeans (a clan) of the Caucasian race would conquer other races? Here, Muirhead touches, in quite an ambiguous manner, on the problems of racial hierarchy and racial competition.

The "five-race theory" was therefore introduced into the Chinese-speaking world between the 1840s and the 1850s as anatomical and geographical knowledge. The people who introduced this theory, whether they were missionaries or not, did not emphasize racial hierarchy. Some even expressed doubts about categorizing human groups according to skin color. In the 1870s, with the unfolding of the Self-Strengthening Movement (*yangwu yundong* 洋務運動) of the Qing Dynasty, Westerners in China started to translate and introduce Western scientific knowledge on a large scale. In 1876, the Englishman John Fryer (Fulanya 傅蘭雅, 1839–1928) founded the first scientific magazine in late Qing China: *Gezhi huibian* 格致匯編 (The Chinese Scientific Magazine).

A paragraph in the section "Gezhi lüelun" 格致略論 (A Scientific Discussion) of the 1876 Winter issue of Fryer's magazine headed "Lun renlei xingqing yu yuanliu" 論人類性情與源流 (On Human Temperaments and Origins), which was published with the above picture introduces the "five-race theory":

44 Muirhead 1858, 5f (754f): 人本於一祖，而格致家察其性情形狀，分為數類，地理家又考其言語及行事，分各類為若干支派，又分若干支派為若干種，分各種為若干部落，分若干部落為若干族。然凡人移居異地，數世後則言語形狀俱變，故據此分類，無是理也。

45 Muirhead 1858, 6 (755): 此說人多信之，或云其中或有類，無幾時當衰滅，以其地讓智慧之族，乃天地萬物消長之理也。



Among animated beings, mankind ranks the highest. In comparison with other animated beings, mankind possesses a particularly high degree of intelligence. Thus mankind is the most intelligent of all living things. In addition to intelligence, he also has the heart to tell right from wrong, to distinguish between good and evil. Furthermore, he can talk, work, and investigate the reason of things. Thus he is named exclusively as a human being. Human beings in different countries, however, do vary. Generally speaking, they can be classified into five races: the first is the Caucasian race, illustrated by the first portrait. The people of this race have white skin, a handsome body shape, and thick beards and whiskers. They have a good degree of intelligence. They are strong and industrious. The people of this race live in Europe and the western part of Asia, as well as in the northern part of Africa, America, and Australia (lit. Melbourne). The second is the Mongolian race, illustrated in the second portrait. The people of this race have dark, reddish-brown skin, and sparse beards and whiskers. Their intelligence, temperament, and physical strength are slightly inferior to the Caucasian race. They dwell in places such as China, Mongolia, Tibet, Korea, and Japan. The third is the Malayan race, illustrated in the third portrait. The Malayan people have brown skin and thick black hair. Their knowledge, temperament, and physical strength are inferior to both of the first two races. They inhabit areas such as the Malay Peninsula, Vietnam, Thailand, and Jakarta. The fourth is the black barbarian race (*bei fan lei*), illustrated by the fourth portrait. They have coarse black skin, and a dark complexion. They do not have much intelligence. Their hair is short, black, and curly, like fleece. Most of them dwell in Africa. Many of them were brought to America by Westerners. The fifth is the red barbarian race (*hong fan lei*), illustrated by the fifth portrait. They are the indigenous people of America. Their skin color is like that of copper. They have no settled dwellings and take up occupations such as hunting. Customarily they have no literature or education.⁴⁶

This passage not only introduces the physical features of different “races,” but also sets up a racial hierarchy: (1) the Caucasian race: white skin, strong and handsome bodies, a large degree of intelligence, and an industrious temperament; (2) the Mongolian race: reddish-brown skin, with intelligence, temperament, and physical strength slightly inferior to those of the Caucasian race; (3) the Malayan race:

brown skin, with intelligence, temperament, and physical strength inferior to those of the first two races. (4) the black barbarian race: black skin and little intelligence; (5) the red barbarian race: copper-colored skin, customarily with no literature or education. The portion of text preceding this passage discusses plants and animals. The portion of text following it talks about the bodies and temperaments of human beings. The article further states:

The Caucasian race is keen on studying scientific things and pursuing various forms of knowledge. Each generation makes more progress than the previous one. The other four races have not pursued knowledge or studied science for a long time. Therefore they have made little progress.⁴⁷

These comments state that the other four races made little progress because they "have not pursued knowledge or studied science for a long time," a point somewhat inconsistent with the preceding comments such as "little intelligence" (the black barbarian race) and "no literature or education" (the red barbarian race). In the 1876 Spring issue of *Gezhi huibian* the author/translator of the text announces under the heading "Lun wanwu zhi kuangguang" 論萬物之寬廣 (On Broadening the Ten Thousand Things):

[The paragraph] was translated from Chambers's Educational Course published in Britain. This book has 300 sections altogether, which will be published section by section in each issue.⁴⁸

The article presented above thus was supposed to be translated from the *Introduction to the Sciences* of the series Chambers's Educational Course. Then what does the original text look like?

Man has been described in the preceding section as forming a special order in the range of animated beings. He is distinguished from all others by a great superiority in intelligence, and by his possessing a moral nature. He is not, however, in every country the same creature. Europe, the western part of Asia, and the north of Africa, have been possessed, since the dawn of authentic history, by a white-skinned race, the highest in intelligence, and the most elegant in form, named the Caucasian variety, as being supposed to have originated among the mountains of Caucasus, between the Black and Caspian Seas. The remainder of Asia has been at the same time occupied by an olive-coloured race, of less intelligence and vigour of character, named the Mongolian variety, from Mongolia, a country to the north of China. A third race, of black skin, coarse features, and small intelligence, have inhabited the greater part of Africa; they are denominated the Negro or Ethiopian variety. In America, when it was discovered nearly four hundred years ago, a fourth race of a copper colour, and of great intelligence, was found in a generally barbarous condition.

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- 46 *Gezhi huibian*, Fall 1876, 275: 動物門中，人為最貴，較諸他物，識見尤高，故曰人為萬物之靈也。且於見識之外，另具是非之心，有辨善惡之性，兼能言語工作，考求事理，故特別之曰人。但各國之人有不同處，約略言之，可分五類：一為高加索類，如第一圖，其人皮膚色白，形體俏麗，須髯盛而識見廣，身軀壯而性情勤，居於歐羅巴及亞細亞西偏，並阿非利加北鄙與亞美利加及新金山等處。二為蒙古類，如第二圖，其人膚諸發黑，須髯稀疏，識見性情與身體之強壯，視高加索類為略次，居於中國、蒙古、西藏、高麗、日本等處。三為馬來類，如第三圖，其人皮膚褐色，發黑而粗，知識性情與身體之強壯，視前兩類為又次，居於馬來與越南、暹羅、加拉巴等處。四為黑番類，如第四圖，其人皮膚黑色，面目粗獷，見識甚淺，毛發黑而短而拳，若羔皮，大半居於阿非利加，又為西人帶至亞美利加者甚多。五為紅番類，如第五圖，即亞美利加之土著，其人皮色如銅，居無定處，以游獵等為業，俗無文教。此類為古人所未知者，略四百年前查得亞美利加之後，方知有此類人也。近來大半遊諸境外，任其猖獗，而所餘者亦蠻慙梗化，無法以教之。此五類人乃總言之也，若細分之，其類尚多。
- 47 *Gezhi huibian*, 275: 高加索類之人，最講究格致之事與各種學問，每易一代，則較前代更有進益。其餘四類，學問與格致之事，久不追究，而進益之處亦少。
- 48 *Gezhi huibian*, Spring 1876, 5: 自英國《幼學格致》中譯出，此書共有三百款，以後於每卷陸續印之。

The white-skinned variety are remarkable for their cultivation of letters and science, and as the only race amongst which any considerable progress is made in intelligence from age to age.⁴⁹

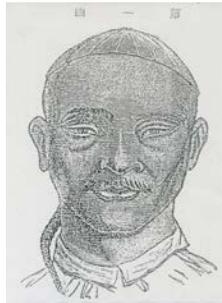
A comparison between the Chinese version and the English version shows that the translator added contents such as place names, country names, and physical features, etc. The most conspicuous change is the addition of “the Malayan race,” which did not appear in the original text. By doing so, the translator changed the original text’s “four-race theory” into the “five-race theory.” Therefore, the translator must have consulted other sources (I shall later show that the Japanese translation was a more faithful version) in addition to the “Introduction to the Sciences.” Indeed, in the Chinese text, a paragraph followed the description of the natives in America – the red barbarian race:

This race was not known to our ancestors. Only when America was discovered about four hundred years ago did this race come to our knowledge. Recently most of them have scattered outside borders and run rampant. The rest of them are also barbarous, stupid, and too stubborn to be educated and civilized.⁵⁰

This passage was also added by the translator. Sixteen years later the same passage appeared in the article “Ren fen wu lei shuo” 人分五類說 (The Five-Race Theory) published in *Gezhi huibian* (1892).⁵¹ From this we may extrapolate that the translator and the author of these two articles may have been the same person, possibly William Muirhead. On the other hand, these two articles have radically different styles. If the former is a selective, liberal translation, then the latter is a rewriting that targets Chinese readers.

First, the author of “The Five-Race Theory” consciously changed the order of the five races. To be more precise, the order of the Caucasian race (white) and the Mongolian race (yellow) were changed. The portrait of the Mongolian race was also changed, and is different from the description of the earlier texts, which included the skull. It was now a sketch of a Manchu man. Secondly, the description of the yellow race and the white race emphasizes cultural differences rather than natural, physical ones. What is intriguing is that this text, which contains no prejudice against the yellow race / the Chinese, has often been interpreted by researchers as an example of racial discrimination. Let us take a closer look at this now.

The Mongolians, or the yellow race, are illustrated in the first picture:



49 *Introduction to the Sciences*, 1871, 105, paras. 249 and 250. It should be noted that this book had several versions. For example, the race narrative in its 1837 version (81–84) is completely different from that of the 1876 version. The passage cited here (1871) is similar to the Japanese version (1896) mentioned later. The author of “Lun renlei xingqing yu yuanliu” may have consulted other versions of the book.

50 “Lun renlei xingqing yu yuanliu,” *Gezhi huibian*, Winter 1876, 275: 此類為古人所未知者，略四百年前查得亞美利加之後，方知有此類人也。近來大半進諸境外，任其猖獗，而所餘者亦蠻戇梗化，無法以教之。

51 *Gezhi huibian*, Fall 1892, 227–230.

After introducing the physical features of the yellow race, the article goes on to state the following:

With gentle temperament and keen intelligence, they have a long history of education and customarily respect culture. They tend to obey the rules and cling to old opinions. They rarely invent new things or display curiosity, or perform original tricks. They are smart and quick to learn. When they see the new and beneficial methods of others, they invariably copy them. Thus all sorts of literature flourish among this type of people. They spare no efforts to achieve the finest techniques. They are proficient in literature and education. They have been the most intelligent people since ancient times. Their three bonds in terms of relations are between ruler and subject, father and son, and husband and wife; their five constant virtues and other ethics also rank the highest among all countries. Their ability to tell good from evil and right from wrong is not very sharp. Their physical weakness and accumulated [bad] habits have not been removed quickly enough. These comments apply generally to the common people among them. Not all of them are like this.⁵²

In contrast to Chinese culture, which held literature in high esteem, ancient Mongolians and Manchus had military cultures:

They are by nature strong and unyielding. Military matters are commonly practiced. From the east to the west, they have repeatedly achieved military victories and greatly expanded their territories. Due to their lack of perseverance, they did not keep the territories they occupied for very long.⁵³

The Caucasians, also known as the white race, are illustrated in the second picture:



After an introduction of the physical features of the white people in Europe, the article describes their cultural characteristics, as opposed to those of the yellow race:

They have round heads and high cheeks. They are tall and strong with agile limbs. They are active by temperament and deliberate in thought. They are quick and firm about telling good from evil, right from wrong. They like new and curious things. They often come up with original ideas and compete with each other. They do not like to follow old patterns. They are good at thinking and skillful in making instruments. Their ability to shape metal and wood shows unparalleled genius. The ways they use water and fire are utterly brilliant. The boats and vehicles invented by them are excellent. They

52 *Gezhi huibian*, 228: 心性沉靜，才智靈敏，教化古遠，習尚文明，喜守成規，拘泥舊見，不甚翻新立奇，別裁花樣，惟性敏易學，見人新益之法，每每依樣葫蘆，故各種文學極易興於此類人中，技藝精緻，不殫辛勞，文教暢明，古為靈敏之最，綱常倫理亦為諸國之冠。惟好惡之性，是非之心，尚未十分精警。文弱之態，積習之氣，猶未遑加開通。此就大概常人而言，非盡皆如是也。

53 *Gezhi huibian*, 228: 秉性剛強，習尚武事，由東而西，屢著戰功，大拓疆域，以人無恆心未能久守所據之地。

have incredible talent and extraordinary intelligence. They spare no effort to teach and study literature, politics, and physics. Their scientific knowledge progresses with each generation. They take up the occupations of commerce and trade. Thus they are good at calculating capital and interest.⁵⁴

The Africans, also known as the black race, are illustrated in the third picture:



The description of the black people here includes their supposed “coarse and ugly appearance” (面目粗陋), and the observation that they are “stupid and ignorant by nature and narrow in their horizons” (性情蠢昧，識見淺隘). Therefore they were sold as slaves to America, “not unlike cattle and horses” (不啻牛馬). The people of the southern part of Africa have slightly different appearances, as illustrated in the fourth picture; the native people in America, also known as the red race, are illustrated in the fifth picture:



The natives of America have reddish-brown skin.

They are of medium stature, strong and wild. They are very ferocious and vigorous. It is difficult to civilize them with literature and education. They like hunting and raw food. They do not have settled dwellings.⁵⁵

The next part of the text narrates the history of American Indians, and how they were driven out of their lands.

54 *Gezhi huibian*, 228: 頂圓額高，身軀高壯，肢體勤敏，性情活潑，心思縝密，好惡分明，是非果斷。喜新好奇，時欲別出新裁，競異門巧，不肯襲人舊套。善於運思，精於制器，金木之工，巧慧絕倫。運用水火，備極奇妙，造作舟車，更為精良。才能既高，敏慧超群，文學、政治、物理靡弗盡心講習，格致技藝，代有進益，貿易通商，善權子母。

55 *Gezhi huibian*, 229: 體段中等，甚壯而野，孔武有力，文教最難化之。喜游獵生食，居無定處。

The Malayan race, also known as the brown race, is illustrated in the sixth picture:



The Malays have yellow or dark brown skin.

They cannot tell good from evil and have bigoted views about what they like and what they dislike. [...] They do not have much literature or intelligence. They have quite a bit of talent, but they are volatile. They like new and curious things.⁵⁶

A comparison shows that the five races are given descriptions of different length even though the article is entitled "The Five-Race Theory." The black, red, and brown races are relegated to a secondary status. The descriptions of them are full of derogatory words. In the comparison between the yellow race and the white race, the (yellow) Mongolian race represents the past, while the (white) Caucasian race represents the future. The former is introspective and conservative, while the latter is open-minded and active. The purpose of this comparison, according to the author, is to urge the Chinese to learn from the West:

All these races belong to mankind, which means they belong to one kind and cannot be neatly classified. There are also Mongolians with round and wide foreheads who are extremely intelligent. Not all Caucasians have a handsome appearance and extraordinary intelligence. As long as a race is willing to improve itself, which race is not mankind? If a race has no drive to make progress, then this race is doomed to become non-mankind.⁵⁷

From the 1840s to the early 1890s, the racial theories introduced by Westerners to China were not limited to Blumenbach's theory of five human races. Three-race or four-race theories were also in circulation. However, they attracted little attention from the intellectuals of the late Qing Dynasty, even though these texts were written in Chinese – to say nothing of those written in European languages. This situation, however, would change in 1895, after the First Sino-Japanese War.

56 *Gezhi huibian*, 229: 善惡不明，好惡偏執。[...] 文學不多，才干頗有，變動無常，喜新好奇。

57 *Gezhi huibian*, 229: 人之為人，總屬一類，不能截分，蒙古人未嘗無圓額廣額，聰明絕世者，高加索人亦非盡貌揚美，穎悟超群者。人肯上進，何類非人；人甘暴棄，人亦非人。

III The Dissemination of the “Five-Race Theory” in Japan

Japan had been under the influence of Chinese culture for a long time. From the seventeenth century on there emerged in Japan a trend of seeking the authenticity of Japaneseness, which was represented by “national learning,” (*kokugaku* 国学). At the same time, even under the “closed country” (*sakoku* 鎖国) of the Tokugawa shogunate, the new ideas of “Dutch learning” (*rangaku* 蘭学) from Nagasaki and the knowledge of “Western learning” (*seigaku* 西学) transmitted by Protestant missionaries in the nineteenth century enabled some intellectuals to sense the changes in the world. Thirty years before the Meiji Restoration, Watanabe Kazan 渡辺崋山 (1793–1841), a Taharahan hanshi, advocated Western learning. In his essay “Gaikoku jijosho” 外国事情書, he stated that

The barbarians of ancient times belonged to the old times, while the barbarians of today belong to today. The barbarians of today should not be treated in the same way as those of ancient times.⁵⁸

Watanabe’s statements thus acknowledge the power of Westerners. In his article, Watanabe cites extensively from geographical books written in Chinese, the works of Jesuit missionaries, and the works of Dutch learning. Dr. (Robert) Morrison’s *A Dictionary of Chinese Language* is one example. In “Shin ki ron” 慎機論 (A Timely Warning, 1838), Watanabe discusses Europe, America, Africa, Australia, and Asia. He asserts:

Although political environments, customs, and peoples vary [in European countries,] they are generally governed through the rule of law according to the temperament of the peoples (性質沈忍) [...].⁵⁹

Then he continues:

Mankind can be classified into four races, the Tartar (タルタリ), the Ethiopian (エチヲヒヤ), the Mongolian (モンゴル), and the Caucasian (カウカス). Linnaeus (リヒウス) divides mankind into seven races and believes that the Tartar and the Caucasian are the best among all races. The Westerners belong to the Caucasian race and our people belong to the Tartar.⁶⁰

“The Caucasian race” is a Blumenbachian term, which suggests that Watanabe had indirect contact with the “five-race theory.” Watanabe’s understanding of the theory, however, seems very confusing. His idea of four races is different from the usual classification. He claimed that Linnaeus advocated a seven-race classification, but precisely which seven races were they? No explanation was provided. Linnaeus, on the other hand, held to a four-race theory.⁶¹ Furthermore, Watanabe categorized the Tartar and the Mongolian into different races, which paralleled the Caucasian race. Did this classification derive from a

58 Satō Shōsuke *et al.* 1971, 19: 古之夷狄ハ古ノ夷狄、今之夷狄ハ今ノ夷狄ニテ、古之夷狄ヲ以テ、今之夷狄ハ難制奉存候。

59 *Ibid.*, 69: 夫西洋の各国、政度の汚隆、風俗の美劣、人物の賢否、一ならずといへども、大抵性質沈忍なるを以て、一國法を以て治むといへども、[...]。

60 *Ibid.*, 69: 按に、一地球の中、人質四種に分り。一はタルタリ種、エチヲヒヤ種、モンゴル種、カウカス種也。又リヒウスといふ人は、七種に分てども、推するに、諸種中、タルタリ・カウカスを最とす。西洋はカウカス種、我國は即ちタルタリ種に属せり。

61 *Ibid.*, 69. Ishikawa Yoshihiro (2001, 27) thinks this name refers to the Swedish anatomist and anthropologist Anders Retzius (1796–1860). I agree with the editor of *Nihon shisō taikereitsu* 55. From the pronunciation, this name should be the transliteration of “Linnaeus.” Watanabe Kazan’s idea of race is rather confusing. In “Gaigkku jijosho”, the Westerner is categorized into the Ethiopian race, which should in fact be “the Caucasian race” (Satō Shōsuke *et al.* 1971, 18f).

mistranslation of "Dutch learning" scholars or from Watanabe's own misunderstanding? Watanabe believed that human civilization moved from the East to the West and from the South to the North. He was convinced that the Tartar race was not inferior to the Caucasian race.

Thirty years after Watanabe's interpretation of the "five-race theory," in 1868, the Meiji Restoration brought Japanese history into a new era. Modern racial studies, as a part of the Enlightenment discourse, attracted the attention of Japanese Enlightenment scholars. Various translations and edited translations mushroomed.

In 1869, a translation by Obata Tokujirō 小幡篤次郎 (1842–1905) of the *Introduction to the Sciences* by W. & R. Chambers into Japanese was published as *Hakubutsu shinpen hoi* 博物新編補遺, seven years earlier than its Chinese counterpart "Gezhi lüelun" 格致略論.⁶² The chapter "Theories of Races: an Outline of Study" (Jinshu ron oyobi kōkan 人種論及綱鑑) in the second volume roughly corresponds to "Lun renlei xingqing yu yuanliu" (On Human Temperaments and Origins) of the "Gezhi lüelun". Its content is rather clear:

Among all animated beings, mankind is a special kind. As far as intelligence and benevolence are concerned, mankind is vastly superior to other beings. But the peoples of the world do not stem from the same origin. Since the beginning of history, the white race has lived in Europe, West Asia, and North Africa. They are known as the Caucasian race. Originating from the Caucasus Mountains between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea, this race is particularly intelligent and elegant-looking. Slightly yellow in skin color, the mixed Mongolian race is scattered across the continent of Asia. This race is slightly inferior to the first one in terms of intelligence and appearance. The third is the mixed black race, which covers the greater part of Africa. Their skin is black and their appearance is coarse and wild. The native peoples of America are the fourth race (if the Malayan race were added here, then there would be five races). Before Christopher Columbus discovered America four hundred years ago, this race occupied the whole continent. Their skin color is like that of copper. They are stupid and slow by nature. Their customs are violent.⁶³

Compared with the Chinese translation in *Gezhi huibian* mentioned above, the Japanese version is a rather faithful one. It has only added things such as "the Malayan race" and "Christopher Columbus." The terminology in the Japanese translation is similar to that of the geography books written by missionaries in China. Thus we may say that the Japanese translation was influenced by the Chinese version translated by missionaries. In 1877, Matsumura Seiichirō 松村精一郎 wrote the following in the "Guide to the reader" (*hanrei* 凡例) of his book *Bankoku chisbi kaitei* 万国地誌階梯 (International Geography Revised):

The Chinese characters for names, places, and objects in this book are based either on *Yinghuan zbilue*, *Diqiu shuolue* (A Brief Introduction to the Earth) or on *Dili quanzhi* (Universal Geography), or they

62 On the Japanese translation of Chambers' *Introduction to the Sciences*, see Matsunaga 2005.

63 Obata Tokujirō 1869, vol. 2, 10–12: 人ハ動物中ノ特種ニシテ聰明ト良善トヲ以テ万物ノ上ニ擢拔ス然レモ天下ノ民皆同一種ナラス世ニ正史アリテ以来白哲ノ人全歐羅巴、亞細亞ノ西方及亞非利加ノ北地ニ居リ之ヲ「コーカシヤ」種トス蓋シ黒海ト裏海トノ間ニ在ル「コーカシユス」山中ヲ此種始誕ノ地トスレハナリ此種ハ特ニ聰明ニシテ容貌文雅ナリ又「モンゴリヤ」雜種アリ皮色微黃亞細亞ノ余壤ニ居ル此種ハ聰明神氣稍弟(第)一種ニ及ハス第三種ヲ「子グロ」雜種ト云フ膚色漆黒ニシテ容貌野鄙ナリ亞非利加強半ノ人民是ナリ第四種ヲ亞米利加土人種トス(マーレー人種ヲ加ヘ五種トスルアリ)此種ノ人四百年前闖龍(コロンビス)氏始テ此州土ヲ発見シタル時マテハ全ク州土ニ授レリ膚色銅ノ如ク其ノ性魯ナリ其風俗凶暴ナリ。

adopt the accepted terms. If there are no ready-made Chinese characters for the terms, then the translation in our Japanese characters (*Kokuji*) is provided, which is marked out by parentheses.⁶⁴

Diqiu shuolue was written by Richard Quarteman Way (chin. Wei Lizhe 禔理哲, 1819–1895), an American who published the book with Huahua shengjing shufang 華花聖經書房 (The Chinese and American Holy Classic Book Establishment) in Ningbo in 1856.⁶⁵ Although this book does not discuss human races, the terms for the five continents appear in it. *Dili quanzhi* refers to the work by William Muirhead, which was published between 1853 and 1854 in Shanghai. Its fifth chapter mentions the “five-race theory,” and specifically: the Caucasian, Mongolian, Malayan, black, and American races. These two books, together with *Yinghuan zhilue*, ended up being the models for geography book translation in the early Meiji Era.

In view of their influence and narrative patterns, the works translated and edited by Fukuzawa Yukichi 福澤諭吉 (1835–1901) are worth mentioning. A picture of the five human races is included in his *Seiyō jijō* 西洋事情 (Conditions in the West, 1866), which was written before the Meiji Era.⁶⁶ From the caption, we can see that Fukuzawa still understood “race” in terms of the universalizing Confucian discourse: “the whole world belongs to one family, all five races are brothers.”



Seiyō jijō, 西洋事情(1866) *Chie no wa* 智慧の環 (1870)

64 Matsumura Seiichirō 1886: 書中載スル所ノ地名物名等其漢字ヲ填ムルモノハ一ニ瀛寰志略、地球說略、地理全志等ニ據リ或ハ世人ノ慣スルモノニ從フ其漢字ヲ用キズ國字ヲ以テ原語ヲ書スルモノハ施コスニ〇ヲ括弧ヲ以テセリ。

65 The book was first published as *Diqiu tushuo* 地球圖說 in 1848. This title was changed into *Diqiu shuolue* when the book was reprinted in 1856.

66 Fukuzawa Yukichi 1866.

After the Meiji Restoration, Fukuzawa followed the changing spirit of the time and published the book *Sekai kuni zukushi* 世界國盡 (Countries of the World, 1869). This book consists of five main volumes and one appendix volume. In the first volume, "Shijie renmin zhi shi" 世界人民之事 (Issues of the Peoples of the World), Fukuzawa adopts Blumenbach's "five-race theory" by stating:

The European race has white skin and its population is 420 million; the Asian race has yellow skin and its population amounts to 460 million; those who live in the mountains of America have red skin and their population numbers around 10 million; the African race has black skin and numbers around 70 million; those who live on the islands of Oceania have brown skin, and their population is around 40 million.⁶⁷

In the appendix, "Human Geography," he reiterates the point:

The human races in the world can be divided into five categories. Their appearance and intelligence are different. The lives and customs of different countries also vary.⁶⁸

But according to the degree of their civilizations, mankind can be divided into four – not five – racial categories, which are outlined below.

- (1) The barbarian: These peoples are ignorant and uncivilized. They are the lowest peoples, and are no different from animals (birds and beasts). African natives are barbarians. They survive by hunting. Sometimes they eat worms, and sometimes they pick wild fruits and roots. They do not have benevolence in their hearts. They strive against each other and turn into cannibals in extreme cases. They have neither settled dwellings nor agriculture. They are scantily and primitively clothed. Most of them are nearly naked. They do not have much intelligence and do not read or write. They do not have any idea of law or etiquette.
- (2) The semi-barbarian: These peoples have advanced far beyond primitiveness and ignorance. The Tartars in the north of China and the native peoples of North Africa are examples. They are nomads who follow water sources and grass. They eat the meat of cattle and sheep, and drink their milk, too. They occasionally cultivate and eat the five grains. Although they have written languages, few of them are literate.
- (3) The semi-civilized: These peoples are uncivilized or half-civilized. They are vastly superior to the barbarians. They have developed agriculture, and have sufficient supplies of food. Their arts flourish. They seek after delicate (yet useless) products. Many of them are interested in studying literature and pursuing knowledge. These peoples, however, envy and despise the peoples of other countries. They often despise women and bully the weak. "Countries such as China, Turkey, and Persia can be called semi-civilized peoples."
- (4) The civilized: These peoples emphasize etiquette and respect truths. They are mild in temperament and generally honest. They make constant progress in all of their trades. Their knowledge increases all the time. They work hard to develop agriculture and carry out projects. All their technologies progress rapidly. The peoples there are well housed and enjoy their work. They are blessed by Heaven. Countries such as the United States of America, Great Britain,

67 Fukuzawa Yukichi 1869a, 2: 歐羅巴の人種は色白し其数四億二千万人。亞細亞の人種は色少しく黄なり其数四億六千万人。亞米利加の山に住へる人種は色赤し其数一千万人。阿非利加の人種は色黒し其数七千万人。太平洋洲に住へる島人は茶色なり其数四千万人。

68 Fukuzawa Yukichi 1869a, vol. 1, 1: 世界中の人種を五に分ちその容貌知愚同じからざればその国々の風俗生産の道も亦一様ならず。

France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Belgium have already reached the level of the civilized.⁶⁹

Sekai kuni zukushi had been reprinted repeatedly. The book sold as many as another famous enlightenment work by the same author, *Gakumon no susume* 学問のすすめ (An Encouragement to Learning, 1872), which contained a similar description of human races.⁷⁰ Since “civilization” was the most popular discourse in the early Meiji Era, naturally lay in it. Fukuzawa Yukichi, who had a good understanding of this, simultaneously published a simplified version of *Sekai kuni zukushi* and a portable *Shōchū bankoku ichiran* 掌中萬國一覽 (Pocket Almanac of the World).⁷¹ The constant reprinting of these books brought Fukuzawa a handsome income. The most interesting thing, however, is the “absence” of the Japanese from the detailed explanations of all human races. Fukuzawa neither categorizes the Japanese as a race nor locates the Japanese people in the four-degree scale of civilization. In the “Guide to the reader” of *Sekai kuni zukushi*, Fukuzawa claims that this book is a translation of English and American works “without any added views of the author himself.”⁷² There is no way to determine all the reference books used by Fukuzawa. As far as the geography textbook by Samuel Augustus Mitchell, *A System of Modern Geography* is concerned, Fukuzawa’s claim is not true. He asserts:

Countries such as China, Turkey, and Persia may be called the semi-civilized peoples.⁷³

In Mitchell’s book, however, we find the following:

What nations does the Asiatic or Yellow race include? All the nations of Eastern Asian (Except the Malays and Malacca).⁷⁴

Therefore, both the Japanese and the Chinese are identified as “semi-civilized” in Mitchell’s book.

Since the Japanese race is “absent,” the image in the frequently attached pictures of the “five human races” has to be that of the Chinese. The picture of the five human races attached to *Seiyō jijō* is also used in *Eiri Chie no wa* 繪入智慧の環 (Illustrated Ring of Wisdom), which was edited by Furukawa Masao 古川正雄 (1837–1877). The representative of the Asian race in the picture is a portrait of a man of the Qing Dynasty wearing a small cap and a queue (see the picture above, right).⁷⁵ In *Zōtei wayaku chiri zenshi* 増訂和譯地理全誌, Abe Hirokuni’s 阿部弘國 translation of William Muirhead’s *Dili quanzhi* into the Japanese published 1874, the passages describing human races are omitted. The picture attached contains nine human races, in which “the Chinese race” immediately follows “the European race.”⁷⁶

69 Ibid, Index, 15–17.

70 Fukuzawa Yukichi 1872.

71 Fukuzawa Yukichi 1869b.

72 Fukuzawa Yukichi 1869a, “Guide to the Reader,” 5: 私の作意は毫も交へず。

73 Ibid, Index, 15: 支那土留古邊留社等の諸国はなかば開けたるものといふべし。

74 Mitchell 1869, 41, Question 301. Mitchell wrote several geography textbooks. The descriptions of races are not always the same in them. For example (Mitchell 1845, 22–23), he claims: “The Yellow are Chinese.” Although it is impossible to find out which textbook(s) Fukuzawa had read, it is safe to say that Fukuzawa should have known that the Japanese was included in the yellow race.

75 Furukawa Masao 1870–1872, vol. 2.1.

76 Abe Hirokuni 1874, 5.



Different from Fukuzawa Yukichi's *Sekai kunizukushi*, the *Yochi shiryaku* 輿地誌略 (A Survey of the World), authorized as the geography textbook by the Ministry of Education and translated and edited by Uchida Masao 内田正雄, represents another narrative pattern. This book explains in detail the physical features and geographical dissemination of the "five human races." It, however, does not include a differentiation between so-called civilized and barbarian peoples. The Chinese characters used to describe human races are the following: 莫古種 (the yellow race), 高加索 (the white race), 以日阿伯啞 (the black race), 巫來由種 (the brown race), and 亞米理加種 (the copper-colored race).⁷⁷ These terms served as references for later writings on the five human races.

While the "five-race theory" started to spread in the early Meiji Era, the "three-race theory" was also widespread. *Chikyū sanbutsu zasshi* 地球産物雜誌 by Horikawa Kensai 堀川建齋 published 1872 claims to be a translation of a French geography book. The book classifies human races into the Caucasian race, the Mongolian race, and the black race. These races are then further subdivided, and the Malayan race is one of these subdivisions.⁷⁸ The "three-race theory" originated from the French anatomist and paleontologist Georges Cuvier (1769–1832). In *Tableau élémentaire de l'histoire naturelle des animaux* published 1798, Cuvier tended to accept the "five-race theory" and explained the reasons for dividing mankind into five categories following the Blumenbachian method.⁷⁹ He later, in *L'introduction, les mammifères et les oiseaux* published 1817, proposed his own "three-race theory: *la blanche, ou caucasique, la jaune, ou mongolique, et la nègre, ou éthiopique.*"⁸⁰ Compared with the "five-race theory," Cuvier's theory was much less influential.

77 Uchida Masao 1870, vol. 1, 27–28.

78 Horikawa Kensai 1872, 1–4.

79 Cuvier 1798, 71–75.

80 Cuvier 1817, vol. 1, 94.

Blumenbachian terminology is not found in the books written by Fukuzawa Yukichi and Uchida Masao. *Chigaku kotohajime* 地學事始 (Basic Geography) appeared in 1870, translated and edited by Mastuyama Tōan 松山棟庵, who claims that the book was translated from American books of geography and history. This book contains the following categorization: the Caucasian race (white), the Mongolian race (yellow), the curly-haired race (black), the American race (red), and the Malayan race (brown). The Mongolian race includes the Chinese and the Tartars, but not the Japanese. The picture illustrating human races in this book is the very same one found in *Chie no wa* by Furukawa Masao.⁸¹ Fukumauchi Motoi's 深間内基 1874 *Yochi shōgaku* 輿地小學 (Geography for Elementary Schools) – which is a geography teaching manual for elementary school pupils based on the English geography works of William Huse, Ogustin Michel, and Gold Smith – employs Blumenbachian terminology to describe the five human races:

- (1) The Caucasian race or the white race, which was also known as the European race:
Their bone structure is the most proper and their appearance is the most beautiful. They are the most progressive and talented of all races. They will achieve the peak of civilization before any other races.⁸²
- (2) The Mongolian race or the yellow race (most of the Japanese and the Chinese belong to this race):
They are enduring by nature and diligent at learning. They will rise to the domain of the civilized.⁸³
- (3) The Ethiopian race or the black race:
They are customarily lazy and have not yet reached civilized status.⁸⁴
- (4) The Malayan race or the brown race:
They are fierce and often harbor the thoughts of revenge. They are far from civilized.⁸⁵
- (5) The American race or the red race:
They are vengeful, aggressive, and belligerent.⁸⁶

Immediately following this description, the book gives an account of the characteristics of the races in the framework of a four-tier racial hierarchy: the barbarian (the lowest), the uncivilized (slightly better than the barbarian), the semi-civilized, and the civilized. The United States, Great Britain, France, and Germany were believed to be the most civilized countries.⁸⁷

There are many similar examples. Ishiguro Atsushi's 石黒厚 1874 *Yochi sinpen* 輿地新編 (New Geography) divides human races into three hierarchical categories: “the civilized race,” “the

81 Mastuyama Tōan, vol 1, 5–6.

82 Fukumauchi Motoi 1874, vol. 1, 16: 高加索種或ハ白哲人ト云フ身体長大ニシテ肌膚卵白ノ色 [...] 骨相最モ正シク容貌極メテ美ナリ凡ソ人種中最モ良改善善シ且ツ才幹他ニ秀テ文明ノ極域ニ昇進ス可キ人種ナリ。

83 Fukumauchi Motoi 1874, vol. 1, 16–17: 蒙古種或ハ黄色人種トフ身体大ナラズ [...] 天稟ノ性堪耐ノカアツテ且ツ勉強ノ氣象ヲ有シ文明ノ域ニ昇進スベキ人種ナリ。

84 Ibid, 17: 以日阿伯亞種或ハ黑人種ト云フ [...] 身体ハ一般ニ強健ナリト雖ドモ怠惰ノ習性ニシテ嘗テ開化ニ進歩スルヲナシ。

85 Ibid, 17–18: 巫來由種或ハ褐色人ト唱フ [...] 性質剛烈ニシテ復讐ノ念ヲ忘れズ又開化ニ赴ク極メテ少シナリ”。

86 Ibid, 18: 亞米利加種或ハ赤色人ト云フ [...] 其性復讐ノ心深ク常ニ戦闘ヲ好ム。

87 Ibid, 19–22.

semi-civilized race," and "the uncivilized race." Rather exceptionally, Atsusi locates the Japanese and the Chinese between the civilized and the uncivilized.⁸⁸ The *Shogaku chirisho* 初學地理書 (Elementary School Geography) published 1876, edited by the Chiba Normal School 千葉師範學校, names the earth's five human races: the yellow race (Mongolian), the white race (Caucasian), the black race (African), the red race (American), and the brown race (Malayan).

Among these five races, the most civilized is the white race and the second most civilized is the yellow race.⁸⁹

From the survey above we may conclude the following: first, the "five-race theory" had been disseminated extensively since the early Meiji Era; second, the classifying criteria were based on visible physical features such as skin color and bone structure; third, the physical differences went hand-in-hand with connotations of civilization or barbarism. The "five-race theory" was translated from books written in Great Britain and the United States, and had nothing to do with Blumenbach's work in Prussia/Germany.

In the history of modern Japanese textbooks, the tenth year of the Meiji Era (1877) is of great importance, for this was when the Ministry of Education introduced its textbook censoring system. From then on all textbooks had to be "inspected" by the Ministry of Education. As a result, the will of the state was imposed on the writing of textbooks. In 1894, Ōda Hoichirō's 太田保一郎 *Chūtō shin chiri* 中等新地理 (New Geography for Middle School) was sent to the Ministry of Education for "inspection" after its publication by Yao shoten 八尾書店 in Tokyo. The author was an assistant professor of geography at Gakushuin High School, and this book was intended for the use of "ordinary middle school" students. A censor in the Ministry commented in red ink: "Not approved." The reasons given were: "The writing style is vague, unsuitable for a textbook. There are many mistakes." A look at the whole book, however, shows no significant problems except for the narrative of human races, which was different from that in other textbooks. Like the above-mentioned *Chikyū sanbutsu zashi* by Horikawa Kensai, this book adopts the "three-race theory" of Georges Cuvier: there are white, yellow, and black races. But Hoichirō does integrate the "five-race theory" into this book, in a way, by asserting that

The brown Malayan race and the copper-colored Americans all belong to the yellow race.⁹⁰

As far as I know, the textbooks that passed the Ministry of Education's inspection all adopt the "five-race theory." In his book published 1897, *Shōgaku kōju hakubutsudan* 小學口授博物談, Sugawa Katahisa 須川賢久 lists the following five races, in addition to attaching a picture of them (see below):

the Mongolian race (yellow), the Caucasian race (white), the Malayan race (brown), the Ethiopian race (black), and the American race (copper-colored).⁹¹

88 Ishiguro Atsushi 1874, 11–12.

89 Chiba shihan gakō 1876, no page number: 此五人種ノ中、最モ開化ニ進ミタルハ白人種ニシテ、是ニ次クベキモノハ黄人種ナリ。

90 Ōda Hoichirō 1884, 118–119: 棕色人ナル馬來人ト銅色人ナル亞米利加土人トハ、之ヲ黄種トニ入ル。

91 Sugawa Katahisa 1879, 9–10: 第一ヲ蒙古種ト云フ肌色ハ黄ナレハ黄人ト云フ、「第二ヲ高加索種ト云フ肌色ハ白キガ故ニ白人ト云フ」、「第三ヲ巫來由種ト云フ肌ハ茶褐色ヲ帶レバ白人ノ稱アリ」、「第四ヲ以日阿伯種ト

Similarly, in *Shōgaku yochi shiryaku* 小學與地誌略 (A Survey of the World for Elementary School), translated and edited by Mitsuhashi Atsushi 三橋淳 and published 1883, we read the following:

Mankind can be classified into five different races, namely, the Mongolian race (yellow), the Caucasian race (white), the Ethiopian race (black), the Malayan race (the Malays, brown), and the American race (copper-colored).⁹²

The ninth lesson in Okamura Masutarō's 岡村増太郎 *Shinsen chishi* 新撰地誌 (New Geography, published 1886) discusses the Caucasian, Mongolian, American, African, and Malayan races.⁹³ As far as the writing of human races is concerned, the approved textbooks are slightly different from one another only in the ordering of the races and in how the Chinese characters appear.



Ranking human races according to the degree of their “civilization,” a trend initiated by Fukuzawa’s *Sekai kunizukushi*, came to represent the mainstream narrative of the textbooks at the time. According to Yamada Yukumoto’s 山田行元 *Shinsen chirishōshi* 新撰地理小誌,

Europe is located to the west of Asia. It is where the Caucasian white race lives. Though the area of that land is small, the peoples there are full of intelligence and are skillful with technology. They

云フ肌色黒ケレバ黒人ト呼フ」、「第五ヲ亞米利加種ト云フ肌色ノ赤キ、銅ノ如シ故ニ銅色人トモ云ヘ」。

92 Mitsuhashi Atsushi 1883, vol. 1, 7: 世界ノ人類ハ之ヲ大別シテ五種トス即其一蒙古種、其二高加索種、其三以日阿伯種、其四亞由種、其五亞米利加種ニシテ其總計十四億以上ナリト云フ。

93 Okamura Masutarō 1886, vol. 3, 11.

live in grand mansions, wear light and warm clothes, and eat delicious food. It can be called the paradise of today's world.⁹⁴

The ninth chapter of Takahashi Kumataro's 高橋熊太郎 *Futsu shōgaku chirisho* 普通小学地理書 (Geography for Elementary School) published 1886 contains the following description:

Among all human races, the European race is the most knowledgeable. They learn and practice agriculture, industry, and commerce. They are civilized in every respect. Thus this race ranks the highest among the five races. The African race is stupid and ignorant. They are not engaged in any profession and are used to being lazy. They can be called barbarians and rank the lowest among the five races.⁹⁵

And in his *Bankoku chiri shōgaku* 萬國地理小學 published 1887, Mackawa Ichirō 前川一郎, writes:

The yellow race, also known as the Mongolian race, lives in Asia and is the forefather of the world's civilization. The white race, also known as the Caucasian race, is scattered across Europe and America. They are the best of all human races. [...] The other three races are the lowest.⁹⁶

In the revised version published 1889 of *Shōgaku bankoku chishi* 小學萬國地誌 (World Geography for Elementary School, 1889), Okasawara Toshitaka 小笠原利孝 writes:

Among the five races, the Mongolian and the Caucasian races have reached the rank of the civilized. The African race and the other two have not transcended the barbarian state. [...] The semi-civilized people are arrogant and indulge themselves in fabricated myths. They lack both intelligence and knowledge. Their instruments are rough. The ruler has absolute authority and suppresses his subjects arbitrarily. Most of the Mongolian race belong to this type.⁹⁷

According to this work, the Japanese are apparently in fact the people of the Mongolian race, which entered the civilized state together with the Caucasian race.

The narrative pattern of classifying mankind into five races and locating them at different levels of "civilization" does not change until the end of the 1890s. This pattern often appeared in school examinations, and is therefore found in all sorts of reference books, including the following:

Iwasaki Tetsujō's 岩崎鉄次郎 *Juken hiki chibungaku montō* 受験必携地文學問答 (Questions and Answers for Geography Tests) published 1890 contains the following divisions:

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- 94 Yamada Yukumoto 1879, 6: 歐羅巴ハ亞細亞の西に在り。高加索と称ふる白人種の住居する所あり。土地最小あれども。人民多くは智識に富み。工芸に巧ふし。壯麗の家屋に住ミ。輕暖の衣服を著け。鮮美の食物を食ふ。これを当今世界中の楽土と称ふべし。
- 95 Takahashi Kumataro 1886, vol. 1, 18: 此人種中歐羅巴人種ハ最知識ニ富ミ、農工商ノ業ヲ勉強シテ、諸事開化セリ、故ニ五人種中最上等ニ位ス。又亞弗利加人種ハ愚昧ニシテ職業ヲ勉ズ、常ニ怠惰ナルヲ以テ、野蠻ノ称アリテ、五人種中ノ最下等ノモノナリ。
- 96 Mackawa Ichirō 1887, vol. 1, 10: 黄色人種ハ蒙古人種ト称ス、亞細亞ニ住シ、世界開化ノ史祖タリ。白色人種ハ高加索種ト称ス、歐羅巴、亞米利加ニ住シ、人類ノ尤モ優秀ナルモノナリ。 [...] (其余三人種) 人類中ノ尤モ劣等ナルモノトス。
- 97 Okasawara Toshitaka 1889, vol. 1, 20 and 22: 五人種中蒙古、高加索ノ二人種ハ文明開化ノ域ニ至リタルモノ多シト雖、亞弗利加以下三人種ハ、皆未開野蠻ノ域ヲ脱セズ、五人種中ノ劣等ナルモノナリ。 [...] 半開ノ民。尊大ニシテ虚誕ノ迷説ニ惑溺シ、智識乏シク、器械粗ク、君主専ラ威權ヲ握リ、擅ニ万民ヲ制抑セリ蒙古人種ハ多く此類ニ屬ス。

the Caucasian race (white), the Mongolian race (yellow), the Ethiopian race (black), the Malayan race (brown), and the American race (copper-colored).⁹⁸

Watanabe Matsushige's 渡辺松茂 *Shiken tōan bankoku shōchishi* 試験答案萬國小地誌 (Answers to World Geography Tests) published 1891 divides the races up as follows:

the Caucasian race (white), the Mongolian race (yellow), the Malayan race (brown), the Ethiopian race (black), the American race (copper-colored).⁹⁹

Taniguchi Masanori's 谷口政徳 *Juken ōyō bankoku shōchishi* 受験應用萬國小地誌 (A Practical Book for World Geography Tests) published 1891 contains the following divisions:

the Caucasian race (white), the Mongolian race (yellow), the Malayan race (brown), the African race (black), the American race (copper-colored).¹⁰⁰

Yoshimi Keirin's 吉見經倫 *Juken ōyō bankoku chiri montō* 受験應用萬國地理問答 (A Practical Book of Questions and Answers for World Geography Tests) published 1892 divides the races in the following manner:

the Caucasian race (white), the Mongolian race (yellow), the Malayan race (brown), the Ethiopian race (black), the American race (copper-colored).¹⁰¹

Nakamura Masanao 中村正直 asserts in his preface in Chinese for the revised edition of Matsumura Seiichirō's book *Bankoku chishi kaitei* published 1886:

The urgent task for children's education today lies in their learning about the conditions of the world. If this is achieved, then the purpose of education can move gradually to broadening their horizons and enlightening their minds.¹⁰²

We can therefore say that the "five-race theory" had become general knowledge within Japanese society after nearly thirty years of dissemination.

In the early twentieth century, the content concerning human races abruptly decreases in Japanese geography textbooks, and the predominant narrative style also changes drastically. Some of these books even omit any discussion of race.¹⁰³ The reason for this is that an order was issued by the Ministry of Education (Monbushō 文部省) in February 1902, requiring that geography be taught according to the order of continents and countries and that "the position of Japan in the world" and "the regions more closely related to our country" be given priority.¹⁰⁴ At the same time,

98 Iwasaki Tetsujiō 1890, 54–55: 「高加索種ハ又之ヲ白哲人種ト云フ」、「蒙古人種ハ又之ヲ黄色人種ト云ヒ」、「以日阿比亞人種ハ又之ヲ黑色人種ト云ヒ」、「馬來人種ハ又之ヲ褐色人種ト云ヒ」、「亞米利加人種ハ又之ヲ銅色人種ト云ヒ」。

99 Watanabe Kazan 1891, 5–6: 「高加索種即チ白人種」、「蒙古人種即チ黄色人種」、「馬來人種即チ褐色人種」、「以斯於伯亞人種即チ黑色人種」、「亞美利加人種即チ銅色人種」。

100 Taniguchi Masanori 1891, 2–4: 「高加索人種又白人種ト名ク肌膚色クシテ淡紅ヲ帶ビ」、「蒙古人種又黄色人種ト稱ス肌膚黄色ヲ帶ビ」、「馬來由人種是ハ褐色トモ稱ス」、「亞弗利加種是ハ黑色人種トモ稱ス」、「亞米利加人種是レハ銅色人種トモ稱ス」。

101 Yoshimi Keirin 1892, 3: 「高加索人種 (即白人種)、蒙古人種 (黄色人種)、馬來人種 (褐色人種)、以斯於伯亞人種 (黑色人種)、亞米利加人種 (銅色人種)」。

102 Nakamura Masanao 1886: 今日教童蒙之急務, 在於使其悉知海外事情形勢, 以漸進於開通其耳目, 啟發其心智而已。

103 See, e.g., Shiga Shigetaka 1904.

104 Monbushō 1902, 47–55.

this order itself reflects changes in textbook compilation. The racial narrative in textbooks was altered after the first Sino-Japanese war (1894–1895).

Shōgaku gaikoku chishi 小學外國地誌 (World Geography for Elementary School), published by the well-known Kinkōdō 金港堂 in 1899, claims:

The peoples of the world can be divided hierarchically into four groups: the barbarian peoples, the uncivilized peoples, the semi-civilized peoples, and the civilized peoples. [...] [The civilized peoples] respect etiquette, and specialize in science and technology. Their agriculture, industry, and commerce flourish. They have developed transportation systems and extensive trade relations.

They seek a happy life and are the most exalted among all races. Our people are such a people.¹⁰⁵

Thus Japan had reached the “civilized” status. *Gaikoku chiri kyōkasho* 外國地理教科書 (World Geography Textbook), published in 1889 by Sanseidō 三省堂, first briefly introduces the physical features of the black, yellow (Mongolian), and white (Caucasian) races before going on to note the following:

The classification of mankind into three categories is the theory of Cuvier, a Frenchman; but for Blumenbach, a German, what Cuvier calls the black race is in fact three races: the American race (copper-colored), the black race, and the Malayan race (brown). As a result, mankind is divided into five races by Blumenbach.¹⁰⁶

The narrative in this textbook seems rather confusing, as if Cuvier’s “three-race theory” had appeared before Blumenbach’s “five-race theory.” The target readers of this textbook were middle school students, yet the book not only contains the English terms for different races, but also, rather exceptionally, lists Blumenbach’s name in its original form.

Nakamura Masanao once criticized the textbook compilers in the Meiji Era for “irresponsible plagiarism for the purpose of seeking profit.” Since the publication of Fukuzawa Yukichi’s books, the more decent geography textbooks translated selections from foreign language books, whereas the less decent ones “plagiarized” other Japanese textbooks. As a result, many textbooks copied one another. In his 1902 *Chūtō kyōiku gaikoku chiri kyōkasho* 中等教育外國地理教科書 (World Geography Textbook for Middle School) Ihara Gi 井原儀 imitates Sanseidō by mentioning the name of Blumenbach in a brief introduction of human races.¹⁰⁷

Another author, Hayami Junichi 早見純一, was a specialist in English. His 1902 *Chūtō chiri kyōkasho* 中等地理教科書 (Geography Textbook for Middle School) mentions the Mongolian, Caucasian, African, Malayan, and American races. In contrast to Sanseidō’s *Gaikoku chiri kyōkasho* (World Geography Textbook), he inserts the following sentences in fine print:

105 Kinkōdō 1899, 15–17: 礼儀ヲ尚ビ [...] 學術技芸ニ精シク、農工商ノ業盛ニシテ、交通貿易ノ道大イニ開ケ、人類中最高等ニ位シ、快樂ナル生活ヲ営メリ、我が国民ノ如キ即チ是ナリ。

106 Sanseidō 1899, 8: 人類三大種の類別ハ佛人キュヴィ (Cuvier) の説なれども、獨人ブルーメンバッハ (Blumenbach) は、更に黒人種を分かちて、亞米利加人種 (銅色人種) 黒色人種及び馬來人種 (褐色人種) となし世界の人類を五種に類別セリ。

107 Ihara Gi 1902, 8.

In addition, Cuvier, a Frenchman, categorized mankind into the white, yellow, and black races. The white race refers to the Caucasian race, and the yellow race refers to the Mongolian race. The black race includes the African, Malayan, and American races.¹⁰⁸

Setting aside the problem of plagiarism, the way these textbooks downplay Blumenbach's theory and juxtapose it with the "three-race theory" indicates that the seemingly unshakably prominent position of Blumenbach's theory started to waver after thirty years of dissemination in Meiji Japan. Around this time, however, the "five-race theory" was introduced into China via Japan.

IV The Dissemination of the "Five-Race Theory" in the Late Qing Dynasty and Early Republican China

The First Sino-Japanese war (1894–1895) shocked Chinese intellectuals. With their notions of "keeping the race" (*baozhong*) and "protecting Confucianism" (*baojiao*), Chinese reformists frequently raised the issue of race in their discourses.

In March 1895, Yan Fu 嚴復 (1854–1921) wrote the following in his article "Yuan qiang" 原強 (On Strength), which was published in the Tianjin-based newspaper *Zhi Bao* 直報.

There are four major races in the world. They are the yellow, the white, the brown, and the black.¹⁰⁹

Yan Fu seemed to advocate the "four-race theory," which, however, did not diminish his sense of superiority derived from cultural ethnocentrism:

The Manchu people, the Mongolian people, and the Han people are all the yellow race. From this we can see that the Chinese have always been ruled by one race since time immemorial. They have never fallen into the hands of other races different from themselves.¹¹⁰

So China had never been ruled by other races. In the racial hierarchy, "yellow" did not mean the semi-civilized or the semi-barbarian. In August 1896, Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873–1929) wrote in "Bianfa tongyi" 變法通議 (A Discussion on Reform), which was serialized in the newspaper *Shiwu bao* 時務報 (1896–1898):

For thousands of years the Mongolian race and the descendants of Muslims have regarded plunder as achievement and slaughter as fun. They ravaged great countries again and again and almost became the most powerful peoples in the whole world. In the past several hundred years, the European peoples, i. e., the Caucasian race, have wiped out countries with their [technologically advanced] instruments and expanded their territories through commerce. Ninety percent of the world has been subjected to their rule. This is because their intelligence is high.¹¹¹

108 Hayami Junichi 1902, 12–14: 又佛人キュヴィ (Cuvier) は之を區別して、白人種 (White race)、黄人種 (Yellow race) 黑人種 (Black race) の三とせり。白人種は高加索種、黄人種は蒙古種にして、黑人種には亞弗利加、馬來、亞米利加の三人種を包含せしめたり。

109 Yan Fu 1895, 10: 蓋天下之大種四：黃、白、赭、黑是也。

110 Yan Fu 1895, 10: 今之滿、蒙、漢人，皆黃種也。由是言之，則中國者，遠古以還，固一種之所君，而未嘗或淪於非類，區以別之。

111 Liang Qichao 梁啟超, "Lun Xuexiao yi" 論學校一, *Shiwu bao* 時務報, vol. 5, 2: 數千年來，蒙古之種，回回之裔，以虜掠為功，以屠殺為樂，屢蹂名國，幾一寰宇，力之強也。近百年間，歐羅巴之眾，高加索之族，籍制器以滅國，借通商以辟地，於是全球十九，歸其統轄，智之強也。

Thus the reason behind the rise and decline of races has undergone a fundamental change: from "force" to "intelligence." Like Yan Fu, Liang also interpreted modern European racial discourse in terms of Chinese history. Different from the Enlightenment scholars of Meiji Japan, these two Chinese Enlightenment scholars were less interested in racial theories *per se* and more interested in the historical and political problems related to racial narrative.

The only scholar around 1898 who truly focused on the issue of race was Tang Caichang 唐才常 (1867–1900). Tang's article "Geguo zhonglei kao" 各國人種類考 (An Examination of Races in All Countries) was serialized in the newspaper *Xiangxue xinbao* 湘學新報. In this article, Tang not only informs the reader of his sources, but also freely expresses his own opinions. Tang writes the following:

According to *Wanguo shiji* (World History), Asia is where mankind originated. The peoples on other continents are emigrants from Asia. The population of Asia is around 500 million, and there are, generally speaking, three races there: the Mongolian race, the Caucasian race, and the Malayan race. Here, *yaxiya* refers to the continent of Asia, not the province of Asia in Babylon where the Jews resided, as is often meant by Westerners. Mankind first appeared in China. Undoubtedly, peoples of other countries had migrated from China. There is no evidence to show that Shem, the son of Noah, lived in Asia, as Westerners state.¹¹²

Bankoku shiki [chin. *Wanguo shiji*] 萬國史記 was a history textbook written in Chinese by Okamoto Kansuke 岡本監輔 (1839–1904), and had been repeatedly reprinted since it entered China from Japan. The passage quoted above touches upon three major issues concerning race. The first issue is that of the origin of man. In his work, Tang rejects both the biblical theory and the theory that the Chinese originated from the West. Instead, he is convinced that China was the birthplace of human civilization.

The second issue is that of racial classification. Terms such as the Mongolian race, the Caucasian race, and the Malayan race are all from Blumenbach. Given that other parts of the article also talk about the black race and the red race, it is safe to say that Tang Caichang knew about the "five-race theory."

Around this time, the racial knowledge introduced by missionaries started to attract attention. For example, the Macau-based newspaper *Zhixin bao* 知新報 published an article titled "Ruo wei liu ji zhi yi shuo" 弱為六極之一說 by the Cantonese author Li Zujian 黎祖健, in March 1898, wherein we read the following:

Since the Earth is divided into five continents, mankind can also be classified into five races. They are the Mongolian race of China, the Caucasian race, the African race, the Malayan race, and the American race. Classified according to skin color, they are known as the yellow race, the white race, the black race, the brown race, and the red race.¹¹³

112 Tang Caichang 1897, 2119–2120: 《萬國史記》：亞細亞為人類初生之地，他洲人民皆自此轉徙。閩洲人口約五億，人類大致三種：曰蒙古種，曰高加索種，曰馬來細亞種。此指亞細亞洲言，非西人所說巴比倫、猶太之亞細亞。蓋人類之生，中國最早，他國皆由中國轉徙，毫無可疑。若西人謂挪亞之子閃居亞細亞大洲，特自夸其種類之繁衍耳。This passage must have been quoted from Okamoto Kansuke's *Bankoku shiki* by but with some variations. The original (Okamoto Kansuke 1878, vol. 1, 2) reads: 亞細亞為人類初生之地，他洲人民皆自此轉徙，閩洲人口約五億，人類大別三種，曰蒙古種，曰甲加索種，曰馬來細亞種。

113 *Zhixin bao* 47 (1898), 2: 夫大地既劃為五洲，而人類亦界以五種焉，曰中國蒙古人，曰高加索人，曰阿非利加

The translation of racial terminology here is entirely the same as that in “Ren fen wu lei shuo,” published 1892 in *Gezhi buibian*, so Li Zujian may very well have read “Ren fen wu lei shuo.”

The third issue is that of racial hierarchy. Tang Caichang places the yellow race and the white race on one level and the other races on another level. Like Yan Fu, Tang mentions “the Malayan race,” but except for the visible physical differences, there is almost no information about this race’s history. It is possible that for these authors the Malayan race does not serve any kind of “alerting” function in comparison with the black race in Africa and the red race in America, both of which had been conquered by other races. Tang writes:

The yellow and white races are intelligent; the red and black races are stupid. The yellow and white races are masters; the red and black races are slaves. The yellow and white races gather together; the red and black races scatter themselves.¹¹⁴

The yellow race and the white race, however, are not equals. Although Tang holds that China was the birthplace of human civilization, the superiority of the Chinese/yellow race lies in “the past,” not “the present.” He thus admits the superiority of the white/Caucasian race. This point is made more clearly in his advocating for interracial marriage between the yellow and white races. In his theory of interracial marriage, Tang argues that

[interracial marriage is necessary for] establishing the heavenly kingdom, homogenizing the religions into one, and advancing peace.¹¹⁵

In his list of ten reasons for interracial marriage, the sixth betrays the origin of his thoughts:

The Japanese fear the strength of the European race and worry about the weakness of the Asian race. Therefore interracial marriage between common people and the Europeans is not forbidden.¹¹⁶

It is rather clear from this that Tang was aware of Takahashi Yoshio’s 高橋義雄 (1861–1937) notion in *Nihon jinshu gairyōron* 日本人種改良論 published 1884 of turning the Japanese white through interracial marriage between the yellow and white races (Yoshio was a student of Fukuzawa Yukichi). The difference lies in the fact that Tang’s theory advocates the strengthening of the yellow race through interracial marriage, not the yellow race’s transformation into the white race. Tang writes the following:

If interracial marriages between the yellow and white races are able to take place soon, then I believe that we will only need to wait a short time before the yellow race becomes strong.¹¹⁷

Interracial marriage is not only necessary for the evolution of mankind, but is also in alignment with the Confucian ideal of the Great Harmony of mankind:

Therefore interracial marriage is the beginning of racial evolution, which also expresses the profound purposes of the Confucian Great Harmony.¹¹⁸

人，曰馬來人，曰亞美利加土人，以膚色辨之，則所號為白人、黃人、黑人、棕人、紅人是也。

114 Tang Caichang 1897, 2116: 黃白智，紅黑愚。黃白主，紅黑奴。黃白群，紅黑散。

115 Ibid. 2116: [通種] 立天國、同宗教、進太平。

116 Tang Caichang *ji*, 101: 日本憚歐種之強，閔亞種之弱，乃下令民間與歐仁婚姻者不禁。

117 吾故謂能速通黃白之種，則黃人之強也可立待也。

After the Hundred Days' Reform (1898) and the Boxer Rebellion (1898–1901), racial narratives came to be associated with the ethnic problems of the Manchu and Han peoples, and more specifically with the following questions: Are the Manchu and the Han one people, or are they two completely different ethnic groups? The advocates of the former theory were the reformists, whereas those advocating the latter became anti-Manchu revolutionaries. Among the three issues treated in Tang Caichang's article, the origin of man and racial hierarchy attracted general interest, whereas racial classification was not of much concern. In the writings of anti-Manchu revolutionaries, the five races were perfunctorily mentioned. Their true interest, however, lay in three races: the yellow, the white, and the black, because those races represented the circumstances of China at the time: the white race was the strong one, and the black was the weak, while the yellow race was located between these two poles. An article published 1903 in the Shanghai-based newspaper *Waijiao bao* 外交報 states the following:

The inhabitants of the world are classified into three races: the Mongolian race, the Caucasian race, and the Negro race. the Mongolian race lives in Asia, and in South and North America; the Caucasian race inhabits the continent of Europe; and the Negro race is found in Africa. The Caucasian race is the strongest of the three.¹¹⁹

Yan Fu, who advocated the four-race theory, seems to have changed his views. In 1905, Yan Fu mentions the racial classification of Caucasian, Mongolian, and Negro in his *Mule mingxue* 穆勒名學 (Mill's Logic),¹²⁰ a translation of John Stuart Mill's (1806–1873) *A System of Logic*. In 1906, Yan Fu introduces the latest racial classification in his edited book *Zhengzhi jiangyi* 政治講義 (Teaching Materials for Political Science):

There are many different ways to classify mankind. Researchers of racial studies classify mankind according to appearance. For example, Blumenbach's theory is based on skin color, Rutzius's on the shape of skulls. Nowadays mankind can also be classified in terms of their hair. For example, it is said that the cross-section of Westerners' hair is oval that of the black people looks like a small kidney bean, whereas the cross-section of Chinese hair is round. The most reliable criterion is none other than language. If we take language as the classifying criterion, then the Chinese language, when traced back to its ancient pronunciation, has much overlap with Western languages.¹²¹

118 Takahashi Yoshio 1884, 102–103: 故夫通種者，進種之權輿也；進種者，孔孟大同之微旨（旨）也。In his *Datongshu* 大同書, Kang Youwei 康有為 (1858–1927) holds that the white race is the best of the four races (the white, yellow, black, and brown). In the next one hundred years, if the yellow and white races marry each other, then “the yellow people will all become white” (黃人己盡為白人矣). In contrast, the black race is “separated from the white race and it is therefore difficult for them to marry one another” (與白人遠絕，真難為合者也). If the brown race marries the yellow one, “then it will not be difficult for them to advance further to become white” (則再變為白人不難矣). See *Kang Youwei quanji*, vol. 7, 43.

119 “Lun Zhongguo ren dui shijie zhi zeren” 論中國人對於世界之責任, *Waijiao bao*, no. 65 (December 13, 1903): 其居民分為三種，曰多雷利亞種，曰高加索種，曰尼格羅種。多雷利亞種居亞細亞洲、南北美洲，高加索種居歐羅巴洲，尼格羅種居亞非利加洲。三種之中，以高加索種為最強。

120 Yan Fu 1905, 117.

121 Yan Fu 1906, 1246: 夫人類之為分，眾矣。治民種之學者，其分法本之外形為多。如，卜魯門拔 (Blumenbach) 以色，列支孺斯 (Rutzius) 以顛，而今有人，又分之以發，如雲將西人之發橫斷，以割面為橢圓。黑人色之發，其割面如腰子小豆。中國人之發，其割面成正圓形是已。而最靠得住者，莫如言語。蓋若必用言語，則支那之語，求諸古音，其與西語同者，正復不少。

To say that Blumenbach differentiated races according to skin color is not completely correct. Yan Fu, on the other hand, was among the few Chinese who mentioned the name “Blumenbach” and who saw that the notion of “race” was dependent on different classifying criteria. Yan Fu later stated the following:

If language can be regarded as a classifying criterion, then how do we know that the yellow race in the East and the white race in the West are not of the same origin?¹²²

He seems to have read the works of Joseph Edkins, a missionary who advocated the theory of a common origin of man and who tried to prove the similarity between the Chinese language and the Hebrew language.¹²³

Although the “five-race theory” was rarely mentioned by intellectuals in the late Qing Dynasty, it often found its way into textbooks spreading general knowledge. This is closely related to political reforms taking place within the Qing government at the time.

After the Qing government announced its reforms (*xinzheng* 新政) in 1901, the demand for textbooks of the newly founded modern elementary and middle schools in every province soared. Between 1902 and 1903 the Qing government issued the Authorized School Regulations (*Qinding xuetao zhangcheng* 欽定學堂章程) and the Presented School Regulations (*Zouding xuetao zhangcheng* 奏訂學堂章程). In 1904, more detailed provisions concerning educational goals and the contents of teaching subjects were issued in a series of official regulations.

For example, the requirement of geography teaching in the Presented Lower Elementary School Regulations (*Zouding chudeng xiaoxuetao zhangcheng* 奏訂初等小學堂章程) was as follows:

The main purpose is that the pupils obtain a general idea of the territories of China and the five continents so that they develop patriotism while at the same time discarding parochial prejudices.¹²⁴

The Presented Higher Elementary School Regulations (*Zouding gaodeng xiaoxuetao zhangcheng* 奏訂高等小學堂章程) set the goals of geography classes as follows:

The main purposes are: for the pupils get to know about the Earth and its inhabitants. They should obtain a general idea of the territories of China so that they develop patriotism. They should also understand geographical and geological terms and their uses: the differences between various oceans, the five continents, the five climate zones, as well as the major points of racial competition and the conditions of different countries.¹²⁵

In his *Mengxue dili jiaokeshu* 蒙學地理教科書 (Geography Textbook for Elementary School) published 1906, Huang Ying 黃英 (1899–1934) holds that the purpose of conveying knowledge lies in enlightening the mind. In his *Zhongguo dili xin jiaoke jiaoshoufa* 中國地理新教科教授法 (Teaching Methods of the New Subject of Chinese Geography) Guan Qi 管圻 emphasizes that

122 果使語言可凭，安見東黃西白不出同源？

123 Edkins 1871–1872.

124 Qu Xingui and Tang Liangyan 2007, 305: 其要義在使知今日中國疆域之大略，五洲之簡圖，以養成其愛國之心，兼破其鄉曲僻陋之見。

125 Qu Xingui and Tang Liangyan 2007, 319: 其要義在使知地球表面及人類生計之情狀，並知曉中國疆域之大概，養成愛國奮發之心；更宜發明地文、地質之名類功用，大洋五洲五帶之區別，人種競爭與國家形勢利害之要端。

Geography in elementary school must teach the pupils the major issues of our own nation so that they will understand the living circumstances of the people and thereby develop a patriotic spirit.¹²⁶

Textbooks in the late Qing Dynasty were basically adapted from Japanese textbooks, but as far as geography was concerned, Chinese textbooks laid greater emphasis on "racial competition," whereas Japanese textbooks stressed "civilization."

Qian Chengju 錢承駒 states bluntly in his *Mengxue diwen jiaokeshu* 蒙學地文教科書 (Geography Textbook for Elementary School) published 1904:

Our people is the yellow race. The glory of the Han nation's two-thousand-year civilization has nowadays been eclipsed by the white race. As the people of this nation, how on earth can we expunge this disgrace so that we do not fail to live up the beautiful landscape of the Asian continent?¹²⁷

In terms of racial hierarchy, Japanese textbooks sometimes put the white race before the yellow race, and sometimes the other way round. In Chinese textbooks, however, the yellow race usually precedes the white race. In his *Mengxue diwen jiaokeshu*, Qian Chengju writes:

Among animated beings mankind is the best. There are five human races: the first is yellow race, the second is the white race, the third is the red race, the fourth is the brown race, and the fifth is the black race. [...]. The black race is the lowest, and they live in Africa and in tribes near the Equator. They are the so-called black slaves.¹²⁸

Furthermore, these Chinese textbooks seldom hold the white race in high esteem. On the contrary, it is the yellow race that is often eulogized. In Tao Junxuan's 陶濬宣 "Song of Geography" ("Di xue ge" 地學歌) we read the following:

The center of the lands in all directions is yellow. The yellow race is superior to the white race. The red, brown, and black races are ignorant masses. [...] Asia is where civilization originated.¹²⁹

Thus although Chinese textbooks were adapted from Japanese ones, they seldom introduce the "five-race theory" in its entirety. The (*Xuebu shengding*) *Zuixin dili jiaokeshu* (學部審定) 最新地理教科書 (The Latest Geography Textbook Approved by the Ministry of Education) by Xie Honglai 謝洪賚 (1873–1916) and Zhang Yuanji 張元濟 published 1905 is an exception. In this textbook we find:

The population of the entire world amounts to 1500 million, and these people can be classified into five races. The yellow race is also known as the Mongolian race. They have yellow skin, flat features, and straight hair. They live in the east and the north of Asia. This race's population is around 600 million. The white race is also known as the Caucasian race. They have white skin, green eyes, broad foreheads, and high noses. Their hair is brown. They inhabit Europe as well as southwest Asia. Many of them emigrated to America, Australia, and the coastal areas of Africa. Their population is about the same as that of the yellow race. The brown race is also called the Malayan race. Their appearance is

126 Guan Qi 1906, 1: 凡教小學校地理，須授以本國國勢之大要，使之理會關於人民生活之狀態，且以養成其愛國之精神。

127 Qian 1903, 30: 我國民，黃色人種也。二千年來漢族文明，焜耀大地，今幾為白人所掩並焉。為國民者，果何以洗雪斯恥，以無負亞洲大陸地文之發達乎。

128 Qian 1903, 29: 動物類中之最佔優等者曰人，人種有五，一黃色人種，二白色人種，三紅色人種，四棕色人種，五黑色人種，[...]，黑種最下，生於斐洲及繞赤道諸部，所謂黑奴是也。

129 Tao 1902, vol. 2, 7: 五方之土中央黃，黃種貴于白，赤棕黑蚩蚩氓，[...]，亞洲本為文明祖。

similar to that of the yellow race, but their skin color is swarthy. They live on the islands of the South Sea, with a population of around 50 million. The red race is also known as the Indian race. They have deep-set eyes and sparse hair. Their skin looks copper in color. They are the natives of America, with a population of 15 million. The black race is also known as the Negro race. They have thick lips and withdrawn noses. Their skin color is as black as ink. They are the natives of Africa, with a population of 200 million.¹³⁰

The term “the Caucasian race” seldom appears in late Qing textbooks, for example Xie Honglai’s *Yingbuan quanzhi* 瀛寰全誌 approved by the Minister of Education,¹³¹ whereas the term “the Negro race” (*neigeluo zhong* 內革羅種) is not found in Japanese textbooks. Following the passage quoted, human races are related to the ideas of the barbarian, the semi-civilized, and the civilized in the lesson on “Culture”:

Nowadays only the white race is in constant proximity to the civilized state, whereas the yellow race still remains on the list of the semi-civilized. And the black, the brown, and the red races are mostly no more than barbarians.¹³²

The so-called “civilized people” (*wenming zhi min* 文明之民) refers to those who have

highly developed industry, commerce, and technology, broad wisdom and profound knowledge, a respect for virtues and courtesy, a friendly nature, and a strong state.¹³³

In the section on Europe of the part “Waiguo dili 外國地理 (World Geography)” of his textbook Xie Honglai further classifies the white race into the Latin, the Teutonic, and the Slavic. According to him,

These three peoples migrated onto other continents. Due to the fact that they are superior to other races in talent and technology, they hold power wherever they go. They customarily have self-respect and are not confined by trivial things. They are generally educated and by nature honest and sincere. [...]. Since their lands are fertile and their peoples are intelligent, their agriculture is highly developed, and their industry booms. They navigate across the whole world, covering it with their commerce.¹³⁴

If the passage quoted earlier in this paragraph was based on Japanese geography textbooks of the nineteenth century, then this last quote must have taken Japanese geography textbooks of the twentieth century as its reference point.

Different from Xie Honglai’s *Xuebu shengding zuixin dili jiaokeshu*, Huang Shiji’s 黃世基 *Chudeng xiaoxue diwen jiaokeshu* 初等小學地文教科書 (Geography Textbook for Elementary

130 Xie Honglai and Zhang Yuanji 1905, vol 3, 6: 全球人數，共約十五萬萬，可分為五大種。一曰黃種，亦名蒙古利亞種，膚色黃，面平鼻低，發黑而直，居亞洲之東部北部，數約六萬萬餘。一曰白種，亦名高加索種，膚白眼碧，廣額隆鼻，毛發褐色，居歐洲及亞洲西南部，而移殖美洲、澳洲、及非洲海濱者亦多。人數略同黃種。一曰棕種，亦名馬來種，其貌與黃種略通，而膚色黝黑，居南洋諸島，數約五千萬。一曰紅種，亦名印第安種，目深發疏，膚現銅色。美洲之土人也。數隻一千五百萬。一曰黑種，亦名內革羅種，厚唇縮鼻，膚黑如墨。非洲之土人也。數約二萬萬。

131 Xie Honglai 1906, 26, 30–31.

132 今惟白種人日近文明，而黃種人則猶有滯居半化之列者。若夫黑棕紅三種，則大都野蠻而已。

133 Xie Honglai and Zhang Yuanji 1905, vol 3, 7: 工商記憶，窮極精巧，智慧發達，學術深遠。尊德義而貴禮讓，人民又暗，國家鞏固。

134 Xie and Zhang 1905, vol 4, 2–3: 三族之民，播遷各洲，以其才藝高出他族，故所至握其大權。民俗知恥自重，不拘拘小節。教育普及，風俗敦厚。[...]。土地既沃，民多智巧，故農業繁興，工藝競起，而航業商務，遍及地球。

School) imitates Japanese geography textbooks with regards to its title, but its content is similar to that of the geography books written by missionaries in nineteenth-century China. In the fourth lesson, "Human Race" (*renzhong* 人種), we read:

Mankind is the most intelligent of all animated beings, but the temperaments and appearances of different peoples vary due to their different dwelling places. Those who live in tropical climates enjoy a rich variety of produce. Their needs for clothing and food can be effortlessly satisfied. Thus most of them are slow and lazy. Those who live in cold climates must make great efforts all their lives in order to survive. Thus most of them are stupid and rude. Only the climate of the temperate zone is mild, and the produce there is usually sufficient. Thus it is the best place to reproduce and develop. The human races of the world can be generally classified into five categories. The first is the Mongolian race, namely, the yellow race. The second is the Caucasian race, namely, the white race. The third is the Negro race, namely, the black race. The fourth is the Malayan race, namely, the brown race. The fifth is the American race, namely, the copper-colored race.¹³⁵

Here, the physical and intellectual differences are determined by natural environment. There is a picture of the five human races attached to this book (see below). The portrait of the Mongolian race in this picture appears to be that of a Han man without the queue.

135 Huang Shiji 1906, 34–35: 人亦動物而最靈者也。然性情狀貌，因所居而異。居熱帶者，物產豐饒，衣食易足，故性多昏惰。居寒帶者，資生甚難，終身拮据，故性多愚魯。惟溫帶氣候溫和，物產均足，最適於蕃息發達。全球人種，大別之有無。一蒙古種，即黃色人。二高加索種，即白色人。三內格羅種，即黑色人。四馬來種，即棕色人。五亞美利加種，即銅色人。

Wang Bangshu's 王邦樞 *Chudeng zhongguo dili jiaokeshu* 初等中國地理教科書 (Textbook of the Geography of China for Elementary School) uses the same picture (see above) with similar diction. In the twelfth lesson, "Racial Differences" (*zhongzu zhi bie* 種族之別), we read:

The human races on the five continents can be classified into many groups, but generally speaking there are five human races. Those who live in the northeast and the north of Asia are the Mongolian race. Those who inhabit Europe and southwest Asia belong to the Caucasian race. The Malayan race lives in Oceania and on the islands of the South Sea. The natives of America are called the Indian race. The natives of Africa are known as the Negro race. The yellow race generally lives in the temperate zone. Those who live in colder climates are white-skinned people, and the black race is found in tropical climates.¹³⁶

In their emphasis on "racial competition," many textbooks cite the Miao or other ethnic groups as negative examples.¹³⁷ The *Zuixin gaodeng xiaoxue dili jiaokeshu* 最新高等小學地理教科書 (The Latest Textbook of Geography for Higher Elementary School), edited by Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868–1940), is an exception. The book's fifteenth lesson, "Human Races," asserts the following:

The people of our country belong to the yellow race, which can be further classified into six categories. [These are the Han, the Mongolian, the Tungusic, the Turkish, the Tibetan, and the Miao. ...] [...] The Caucasian race lives in the Northwest of Xinjiang. The Malayan race lives on the Qiongzhou Island in the South Sea.¹³⁸

Thus the yellow Chinese are a mixed nation consisting of the Mongolian race, the Caucasian race, and the Malayan race.

The "three-race theory" also appears in textbooks of the time, but not very often. Yu Jian 余謩 writes in *Dili lueshuo* 地理略說 (A Brief Introduction to Geography):

Mankind is not the same. Modern scholars all claim that the peoples originated from one ancestor and became different due to different climates in their dwelling places, which resulted in different races. The differentiating criteria can be their hair, their skulls, or skin color. As far as hair is concerned, there are three major categories, which can be subdivided into many others.¹³⁹

"Straight hair" belongs to the colored race, "whose intelligence is greater than the woolly-haired race"; "the curly-haired race" has mostly white skin, and is therefore known as the white race. "The intelligence of most people of this race is superior to that of other races." "The Caucasian race is the most intelligent group within the curly-haired race." "The woolly-haired race" has light brown or black skin. "This race has poor intelligence. Nobody from this race can add glory to history."¹⁴⁰ The book is filled with prejudices against black people.

136 Wang Bangshu 1906, 5–6: 五洲人種，族派甚繁，而大種凡五。居亞洲東北部及北部者，為蒙古利亞種。居歐洲及亞洲西南部者，為高加索種。居大洋洲及南洋群島者，為馬來種。美洲之土人，曰印第安種。非洲之土人，曰內羅種。大抵居溫帶者膚黃色，居寒帶者膚白色，在熱帶者膚黑色。

137 Yoshikai Masato 2008.

138 Cai Yuanpei [publishing year unknown], 9: 我國人概屬黃種，細分之有六，[漢族、蒙古族、通古斯族，土耳其族，西藏族，苗族，...]。新疆西北部，則有高加索種，南洋瓊州島，則有馬來種。

139 Yu Jian, c. 1911, 11: 人類不齊，近世學者皆謂其同出一祖，其後因所居之地氣候不同漸致改變，遂有種族之分，分之之法，或以毛發，或以頭顱，或以皮色。今就毛發，分之為三大類，每類又可析為若干支。

140 Yu Jian, c. 1911, 11f.

After the Republic of China was founded in 1912, the "five-race theory" remained the mainstream narrative of human races in textbooks. The Commercial Press brought out a new series of textbooks in the Republican era. Volume 6 of *Xin guowen* 新國文 (New Textbook of Chinese) edited by Zhuang Yu 莊俞 (1876–1940) contains a lesson entitled "The One-Origin Theory of Mankind" ("Renlei yiyuan shuo" 人類一源說). It reads as follows:

The human races in the world can generally be classified into five categories: the yellow race, the white race, the black race, the red race, the brown race. Those with the same skin color can be further divided into numerous groups due to their different customs and languages. For example, the yellow race includes the Han and the Mongolian groups; and the white race includes the Teutonic and the Latin groups.¹⁴¹

The author also says:

In today's world, the yellow race has the largest population, whereas the white race is the most powerful. Our people belong to the yellow race. The other races are in constant decline. The peoples of ancient times lived in caves and in the wilderness. They ate raw meat and drank blood. They were the people now called barbarians. After a long time had passed, animals were domesticated and raised, dwelling places were built, but those peoples who did not have any common aspirations were still stubborn and ignorant. They were those who are now called semi-civilized people. When the modern era was reached, the intelligence of the people was developed and they were enlightened. They have developed lofty ethics and a perfect political system. They are those who are now called civilized people. In today's world, it is a natural rule that civilized peoples survive, and ignorant peoples perish.¹⁴²

The narrative about the yellow race has undergone subtle changes from the Qing Dynasty to the Republican era. Replacing the term "semi-civilized" in the textbooks of the late Qing Dynasty, the fact that the yellow race has "the largest population" in this passage distinguishes it from the red, the brown, and the black races. As for whether the yellow race has already become a "civilized people," this passage remains ambivalent. What is interesting is that in the revised version of the book, the compiler writes the following passage in the section "A Brief Introduction to the Human Geography of China" ("Zhongguo renwen dili gaiyao" 中國人文地理概要):

Among the peoples in the world, the yellow race is the most populous, and our country is particularly representative of it. Our civilization started early and our learning was profound, but that learning, however, does not fit well into today's world. In recent years, everything has changed and we have progressed into a civilized people. If we are to be practical and realistic, and encourage each other to make progress, then why should we worry about not reaching the highest levels in such things as language, literature, religion, politics, and industry?¹⁴³

141 Zhuang Yu 1912a, vol. 6, 32: 世界人類之種族，大別之有五。曰黃種，曰白種，曰黑種，曰紅種，曰棕種，膚色同矣，而以民俗語言之歧異，又各別為無數種族，如黃種有漢族、蒙古族，白種之有條頓、臘丁族是也。

142 Zhuang Yu 1912b vol. 6, 17: 當今之世，黃種最繁，白種最強。我國人民，皆黃種也，余則日就衰滅矣。太古之人，穴居野處，茹毛飲血，所謂野蠻之民。越時既久，始有畜牧之業，家室之居，而民智困陋，民心渙散，所謂半開化之民。沿及近世，智慧發達，學術開通，道德高尚，政治完備，則所謂文明之民矣。今日世界之人，文明者存，愚昧者亡，乃自然之道也。

143 Zhuang Yu 1912b, vol. 4, 13: 世界人民，黃種最為繁盛，而我國尤繁盛中之代表也。開化既早，學術奧深。惟多不適於今世。近年逐事變更，已日進為文明之民矣。苟能實事求是，共勵進行，則語言、文字、宗教、政治、

So the yellow Chinese transformed themselves into a “civilized people” within a span of several years. Such lofty nationalistic sentiment is one characteristic that differentiates the textbooks of Republican China from those of the late Qing Dynasty.

The newly founded Zhonghua Book Company (Zhonghua shuju 中華書局) published in 1913 the *Xinzhonghua dili jiaokeshu* 新制中華地理教科書 (Textbook of the Geography of China for New Schools) edited by Shi Lishou 史禮綏. After an introduction to the five races in the world, the book states:

The European race is the strongest among the five races. The Asian race is the only one that is almost its equal. The other races either lack vitality or are going to disappear. Natural selection, or survival of the fittest, is the universal law of natural evolution.¹⁴⁴

The *Gaodeng xiaoxue xin guowen fanben* 高等小學新國文范本 (Model Textbook of Chinese for Higher Elementary School, 1915), edited by Cai Cheng 蔡邨 (1877–1945) and published 1915 by the Huiwentang Book Company (Huiwentang juju 會文堂書局) in Shanghai, holds that the tribe and the nation were, respectively, the first and second stages of racial evolution. It claims:

Mankind can be classified into five races: the yellow, the white, the red, the black, and the brown. The yellow and white races have evolved from the stage of the tribe to that of the nation. The peoples of the red, black, and brown races have not yet transcended their old, barbarian customs. They are scattered tribes, and there are even peoples among them who have not yet formed a tribe. Alas, the superior prevails, the inferior declines. The peoples of the red, black, and brown races are of poor quality and are being gradually eliminated.¹⁴⁵

In the five-race hierarchy, the white race serves as the positive example of the survival of the fittest, whereas the red, the black, and the brown races serve as negative examples. Only if the yellow race strives to become strong can it avoid the fate of being eliminated like the red, black, and brown races. This sort of narrative still finds its way into the textbooks of the 1920s. For example, *Xinshi guomin xuexiao guowen jiaokeshu* 新式國民學校國文教科書 (Textbook of Chinese for New Elementary School), compiled by Lu Feikui 陸費逵 (1886–1941) *et al.*, asserts:

We are the yellow race. Seeing the decline and demise of the brown, red, and black races, are we going to plan an immediate strategy to save ourselves? Or are we going to walk the same disastrous path they did?¹⁴⁶

A picture of five human races is attached to the book (see below), and in this picture the man in Chinese clothing is standing beside the white man.

實業諸端，何患不臻優美之點哉。

144 Shi Lishou 1913, vol. 7, 4: 五種中歐羅巴種最強，差足頡頏者，惟我亞細亞種，余非奄無生氣，即行將漸滅。物競天擇，優勝劣敗，天演之公例也。

145 Cai Cheng 1915, 22: 世界人種，分黃白紅黑棕色五類。黃白二種，早已由部落而成國家，紅黑棕三色人民，則未脫野蠻舊習，散為部落，甚且並部落而未成者。嗚呼！優必勝，劣必敗，紅黑棕三種，民質陋劣，已漸歸淘汰矣。

146 Lu Feikui 1916, vol. 7, 4: 吾人黃種也，鑒於棕紅黑三種之衰亡，將速籌自振之策乎？抑甘蹈其覆轍乎？

V The Concept of "Race": A Comparison

What conclusions does this examination lead us to?

As far as time is concerned, China and Japan received the "five-race theory" separately, but the routes of their receptions crossed one another. Watanabe Kazan mentioned the Blumenbachian term "the Caucasian race" in 1838, but it was Westerners in China who accurately introduced the "five-race theory." The Japanese books of geography and science translated and compiled during the Meiji Era greatly benefited from the Chinese-language works written by missionaries, and from the translation of racial terminology in *Yinghuan zhiblue*. While the "five-race theory" spread rapidly in Japan and quickly became general knowledge in the 1870s, the racial theories translated by missionaries hardly attracted any attention in China. Around the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, the "five-race theory" gradually faded out of the textbooks for Japanese elementary and middle schools. It was, however, at about this time that this theory entered the classroom of new Chinese schools. The racial knowledge in Chinese textbooks at this time came largely from Japan, with only a few exceptions. It is safe to say that the dissemination of the "five-race theory" not only involved a translating and rewriting process from the West to the East, but was also a result of intellectual interactions between China and Japan.

When Reinhart Koselleck discusses the studies of history of concepts (*Begriffsgeschichte*), he emphasizes that the simplistic cycles from word to matter or vice versa should be broken.¹⁴⁷ Missionaries in China chose *zhong, lei*, or *zhonglei* to translate "race" in order to convey the idea of differentiation in the concept of "race." Due to different political cultures in China and Japan, however, the term "race" developed different connotations in the Chinese and Japanese languages.

147 Koselleck 1985.

In the Japanese context, a comparison of the 1838 racial narrative of Watanabe Kazan with that of Fukuzawa Yukichi in 1869 shows that whereas Watanabe clings to the Confucian discourse of *yi-di* (the barbarians) and tries to integrate racial theories into this discourse system, Fukuzawa Yukichi discards Confucian discourse and formulates modern racial theories within a binary civilized/barbarian framework. Japanese Enlightenment scholars of the Meiji Era such as Fukuzawa Yukichi, however, encountered an insurmountable difficulty in accepting the “five-race theory,” namely, the emperor system of the mythical “ten-thousand-year unbroken line.” If the “five-race theory” was affirmed as science and Japan was thereby identified as a “semi-civilized” people, then did this not mean that their emperor was also a “semi-civilized” being? To avoid this dilemma in the reception of the “five-race theory,” the emperor had to be turned into a transhistorical being, similar to State Shinto, which was placed over other religions.

The formulation of “civilization / the civilized” enabled the Japanese to lift themselves above the culturally inferior position of the yellow race, but it did not erase the fact that the yellow color was still associated with the “semi-civilized and semi-barbarian” race. In 1884 Takahashi Yoshio published a book entitled *Nihon jinshu gairyōron* (On the Improvement of the Japanese Race), which focused on the issue of bringing about identification with the white race, and which shocked Japanese society. In his view, the Japanese were physically inferior to the white race. Interracial marriage with white people, which would produce children of mixed blood generation after generation, was the only way to ultimately transform the Japanese into a white people.¹⁴⁸ Takahashi Yoshio was a student of Fukuzawa Yukichi, and the latter wrote the preface for Yoshio’s book. This means that Fukuzawa, too, advocated racial improvement through interracial marriage. The flip side of the coin is differentiating the Japanese from the yellow race. In 1885 Fukuzawa published the famous “Datsu A Ron” 脫亞論 (On Leaving Asia), which openly advocated that “evil Asian friends should be left to decline” and that Japan should break off its relations with its uncivilized neighbors such as China and Korea.¹⁴⁹ In 1904 Taguchi Ukichi 田口卯吉 (1855–1905), an advocate for “civilization,” tried to prove that the Japanese did not, from a linguistic point of view, belong to the yellow race, but rather to the white race who speak Indo-Aryan languages.¹⁵⁰ The schizophrenic thoughts on race, namely, accepting the Japanese as part of the yellow race in the “five-race theory” on the one hand, and desiring to break away from the yellow race on the other hand, reflected the general situation of modern Japan.

When discussing the sources of reformist intellectuals’ racial knowledge before the Hundred Days’ Reform in 1898, Gotelind Müller-Saini questions Ishikawa Yoshihiro’s view that the article “Ren fen wu lei shuo” (The Five-Race Theory) was a faithful introduction to Blumenbach’s theory. This questioning is justified. I would like to add a further point here. Missionaries in China carefully removed the unfavorable positioning of the yellow race in racial classifications from their writings. They instead emphasized mankind’s common origin and asserted that environmental factors shaped the physical features of different races. This narrative strategy indicates their desire to cater to Chinese intellectuals. Whether they were advocating for reform or for revolution, these intellectuals drew similarly optimistic conclusions about the future from their interpretations of

148 Takahashi Yoshio 1884.

149 Fukuzawa Yukichi 1885.

150 Taguchi Ukichi 1904, 30–33.

Chinese culture and history. They believed that the Chinese nation could achieve parity with the white race through "racial competition."

In the process of receiving and disseminating the "five-race theory" in China, few people cared about the unfamiliar Blumenbachian terminology, a situation that was rather different from the one in Japan. After the failed Hundred Days' Reform, Liang Qichao published many articles on race in the Japan-based newspaper *Qing yi bao* 清議報. Within them, the word *Gaojiasuo* (Caucasian) was used only once to refer to the white race:

The Caucasian race invaded all continents outside Europe and turned the peoples there into their subjects. The only continent fortunate enough not to be fed to their greed was Asia, which was left for the yellow race.¹⁵¹

Around the same time (April 1899), Zhang Deyi 張德彝 (1847–1918), a diplomat from the Qing Dynasty, wrote in "Liu Shuqi" 六述奇, his diary during his stay in Great Britain:

Westerners classified the peoples of the world into five races according to their skin color, namely, white, yellow, red, purple, and black.¹⁵²

Zhang Deyi, who was proficient in English, transliterated the names of the five races in the following manner:

The white race as *kuokexi'an*, the yellow race as *menggouli'an*, the red race as *yindi'an*, the purple race as *pu'oulineisiyi'an* or *malai'an*, and the black race as *nigelou*.¹⁵³

Somewhere else in his diary, he also mentions Darwin's theory of evolution, which was about how "mankind is related to the monkey."¹⁵⁴ As a Manchu, Zhang Deyi seemed to sense a certain danger in the clamoring racial discourse of Han intellectuals. Politics had endowed "race" with meanings, but it had also changed its earlier connotations. In the discussion of the "five human races" by anti-Manchu revolutionaries, the concept of race was often confused with that of nation. Under most circumstances their arguments did not address racial issues, but rather served as a political weapon to differentiate the revolutionaries from the Manchus. On the other hand, since the "five-race theory" was disseminated as "scientific" knowledge in the textbooks of the late Qing Dynasty, the exact same narrative found its way into the textbooks of early Republican China.

Frank Dikötter cites the Hakka story about the origin of the world's human races at the beginning of his book to show that the Chinese "yellow" identity goes hand-in-hand with their denial of being either "black" or "white." If we consider the Hakka story in view of the reproducing process of the concept of "race" in modern China and Japan, then we find that certain terms the story uses, such as *yazhou* (Asia), *feizhou* (Africa), and *ouzhou* (Europe), did not in fact enter the common circulation of language until the twentieth century. Their equivalents in the nineteenth

151 Ou Jujia 1899: 自歐土以外，莫不為高加索族所蠶食，臣妾而奴伏之，其幸未飽虎狼之饕餮，為黃種留一塊者，獨亞洲耳。

152 Zhang Deyi 1899, vol. 10, 131: 西國以天下人之面色分五大種，曰白黃紅紫黑。

153 Ibid, vol. 9, 38–41: 白人為“闊喀西安”，黃人為“蒙勾裡安”，紅人為“印的安”，紫人為“普歐裡內斯伊安或馬來安”，黑人為“呢格婁”。

154 Ibid, vol. 10, 131.

century were *yaxiya*, *afeilijia*, and *ouluoba*.¹⁵⁵ Similarly, the terms “the black race,” “the white race,” and “the yellow race” from the story were not discussed by Chinese intellectuals until the early twentieth century. Within the many texts in both China and Japan that differentiated the yellow race from the black, brown, and red races, it is difficult to find anything about the inferiority of the white race. It would have been helpful for Dikötter to explain when and where the Taiwan Hakka discourse of race was invented, as well as whether that discourse had anything to do with Japan’s colonial rule of Taiwan.¹⁵⁶

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155 Huang Donglan 2008.

156 The newspaper *Taiwan ichinichi simpo* 臺灣日日新報 published on April 14, 1915 an article in Chinese, which was entitled “Ribennen shi baizhong” 日本人是白種. From the article’s admiring attitude toward the white race, we may extrapolate that the Hakka legend about the origin of races must have been a rather recent invention.

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