Adopting Anthropology

A study on German influences on anthropology in Japan between 1868-1913

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Introduction

"To have lived through the transition stage of modern Japan makes a man feel preternaturally old; for here he is in modern times.... and yet he can himself distinctly remember the Middle Ages." - Basil Hall Chamberlain[1]

Japan was a rapidly changing country in the late nineteenth century. Commodore Perry opened the country in 1852 and Japan needed to adjust quickly to the sudden influx of foreign western interest. Like many other nations Japan quickly came to the conclusion that without an equal military force that interest would not necessarily be positive. However, Japan's military technology was far behind compared to large western imperial nations like England and the United States. In order to catch up, the Tokugawa Shogunate started hiring western specialists, mostly military personal, to modernize Japan.[2] These foreign specialists were called; *O-yatoi Gaikokujin*, which literally means "honourable foreign menial".[3] It was however too little, too late. In 1868 the Choshu, Satsuma, Tosa and Hizen clans overthrew the Tokugawa Shogunate. They installed a new government, the Meiji government, which was meant to modernize the nation.[4] The imperial, industrialized western powers especially were a focus of Meiji attention and the administration decided that Japan should become a modern nation with a constitution, an industrialized economy and a modern army.[5] To support all these modern reforms it was decided that Japan should fully adopt the western sciences. However, Japan did not have direct access to these sciences. To remedy this situation the Meiji government decided to expand the program of hiring foreigners that the Tokugawa Shogunate had started.[6]

This thesis will focus on one of these foreign specialists, Erwin Baelz and his Japanese students. It will do so in order to answer the following question; "How did German physical anthropology influence the development of anthropology as a field of study in Meiji Japan between 1868 and 1913?" Erwin Baelz was one of the many German doctors hired by the Meiji administration to train the first generation of entirely western schooled Japanese

[1] Basil Hall Chamberlain, *Things Japanese, Being Notes on Various Subjects Connected with Japan* (Cambridge 1890) 1.
[2] John Z. Bowers, *When the Twain Meet, The Rise of Western Medicine in Japan* (Baltimore 1980) 63.
[3] Ibidem.
[4] Masayoshi Sugimoto and David L. Swain, *Science and Culture in Traditional Japan* (Tokyo 1987) 399.
[5] Andrew Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan, from Tokugawa Times to the Present* (New York 2009) 61-62.
[6] James R. Bartholomew, *The Formation of Science in Japan, Building a Research Tradition* (New Haven 1989) 64.

doctors. Under Tokugawa rule there had been European schools of medicine, which had various degrees of success, but traditional Japanese medicine still dominated the field. The Meiji government decided to change that by wholesale adopting German medicine in 1870 and subsequently hired dozens of German doctors.[7] Baelz however did not just teach medicine, he also taught anthropology, physical anthropology to be precise. For this thesis I shall be using the definition of physical anthropology as set out by Fenneke Sysling in her work *Racial Science and Human Diversity in Colonial Indonesia*.[8] Physical anthropology will thus be defined as: 'The study of biological differences and similarities between large groups of people and their origins and evolution.' The field of physical anthropology developed in the second half of the nineteenth century and reflected the positivist mindset, which heavily favoured the use of quantifiable data, that was present at the time in Europe. This quantifiable data was obtained through measuring the human body. These measurements were done while the subject was alive. The process of measuring the human body was incredibly humiliating and often quite painful for the person undergoing it. They would be required to be naked and then the physical anthropologist would measure every single part of them. The tools physical anthropologists used to measure were uncomfortable or outright painful for their subjects. The data gained by using physical anthropological methods was, according to the physical anthropologists themselves, objective and could be used instead of the descriptive methods anthropology had been forced to rely on before.[9] The quantifiable, objective nature of physical anthropology made it very applicable in racial theory. By reducing human culture to statistics and values it became very possible to see whether one's "race" was better than another's. As such physical anthropology became a very important tool for the validation of imperial ambitions.[10] Like many of the imperial nations of the twentieth century Japan too used racial rhetoric backed up by physical anthropological data to help justify their imperial ambitions.[11] It is the goal of this thesis to establish where, when and how physical anthropology came to dominate the Japanese anthropological field.

[7] Bowers, *When the Twain Meet,* 65.
[8] Fenneke Sysling, *Racial Science and Human Diversity in Colonial Indonesia* (Singapore 2016) 3.
[9] Ibidem.
[10] Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany* (Chicago 2001) 241-242.
[11] Hoi Eun Kim, *Doctors of Empire, Medical and Cultural Encounters between Imperial Germany and Meiji Japan* (Toronto 2014) 122.

This thesis covers the period 1868-1913. These dates have been chosen for several reasons. First of all, this thesis will not cover the Edo period (1608-1868), choosing instead to focus on the Meiji era (1868-1912). The reason for this is that Edo Japan was prejudiced against foreigners, but this prejudice was largely based on religion, especially against Christianity, rather than on race.[12] 1913 has been chosen as the end date of this research since it is the year in which Kubo Takeshi publishes *Beiträge zur physischen Anthropologie der Koreaner*, translated Contributions to the Physical Anthropology of the Koreans. The dissertation is over seven hundred pages long and is entirely written in German.[13] The methods he uses are the same ones employed by the European physical anthropologists in the same period. Kubo's dissertation marked a shift in how anthropology was practiced in Japan.

Over the years a lot has been written regarding the similarity between Imperial Japan and Imperial Germany.[14] The current debate is split into two groups. The first follows what is known as the aberration theory, also known as Sonderweg thesis, which argues that the Japanese decision to ally with the allies over the axis in world war one is a single divergence from an otherwise fated alliance. It follows up by arguing that both Japan's and Germany's exceptional transition into modernity, compared to other modern nations at the time, paved the way for their alliance in the Second World War. Historians, such as Fritz Fischer, Hans-Ulrich Wheler, Jürgen Kocka, etc, on this side of the debate argue that a common factor in both Japan and Germany is their so called "fatal affinities". The culmination of this theory is the similarity between the medicalized killings in Auschwitz and those done by Unit 731 in Manchuria.[15]

The second group consisting out of historians like Geoff Elley, David Blackbourn, Detlev Peukert, rejects this theory, arguing that Japan and Germany were not necessarily destined to ally with each other.[16] Claims otherwise ignore the deterioration of the

[12] Marius Jansen, *The making of Modern Japan* (London 2002) 66-68.
[13] Takeshi Kubo, "Beiträge zur physischen Anthropologie der Koreaner. I. Metrischer Teil*," Mitteilungen der medicinischen Facultät der Kaiserkich Japanischen Universitäta zu Tokyo* 12:1 (1913).
[14] See for example: Bernd Martin, Japan and Germany in the Modern World (Oxford 1995). And: David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley, The Peculiarities of German History: Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Germany (Oxford 1984).
[15] Bernd Martin, "Japanese-German Collaboration in the Development of Bacteriological and Chemical Weapons and the War in China," in Christian W. Spang and Rolf-Harald Wippich, eds., Japanese–German Relations, 1895–1945: War, Diplomacy, and Public Opinion (London and New York 2006), 200–14.
[16] Sheldon Garon, "Rethinking Modernization and Modernity in Japanese History: A Focus on State–Society Relations," Journal of Asian Studies 53, no. 2 (1994): 346– 66.; Erik Grimmer-Solem, "German Social Science,

relationship between Germany and Japan at the end of the nineteenth century. Germany did not only not support Japan's ambitions in China, but actively sided against Japan with France and Russia in 1895 during the Triple Intervention. The subsequent treaty Japan signed with England and Japan's decision to side with the allies during the first world war can be seen as a further deterioration of the relationship between Germany and Japan. This thesis therefore rejects that Japan and Germany were destined to end up allied due to their fatal affinities. It however can not be denied that both Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan used racial justifications to conquer other nations. How and why did Japan develop these justifications based on race? Where did they come from? This thesis will look into the origins of these racial justifications, mostly focusing on the science that produced them, physical anthropology. Instead of the aberration theory, this thesis proposes a transnational network in which knowledge was exchanged between Imperial Germany and Meiji Japan. In his paper *Transnational History, Transnational Space, Transnational Law* Richard R. Weiner claims that;

> Transnational history gives us a sense of movement, flows, circulation, and intercultural interpretation, and an insight into the whole range of networked institutional connexions and contested history.[17]

When we look at the development of anthropology as a field of study in Japan, we clearly see a circulation of knowledge and people between Imperial Germany and Meiji Japan. With the invitation of the *O-yatoi Gaikokujin* the network was put into motion by the Meiji government and shortly afterwards Japanese students started moving towards Germany to study there.[18] This exchange provided both Japan and Germany with an insight into the other one's culture that would prove vital for the development of anthropology in Japan. Richard R. Weiner also claims that transnational history does not take place around a centre, but rather in a space of respective self-regulatory frameworks transcending national frontiers.[19] This means that to label something as transnational history it has to go beyond the decisions

Meiji Conservatism, and the Peculiarities of Japanese History," Journal of World History 16, no. 2 (2005): 187–222.; Blackbourn and Eley, The Peculiarities of German History.

[17] Richard R. Weiner, 'Transnational History, Transnational Space, Transnational Law', *The European Legacy* 26:1 (2021) 68-74, 68.

[18] It should be noted here that Japanese students also went to English and American universities, but since the Japanese students mentioned in this thesis both went to Berlin Germany is of primary interest to this thesis.

[19] Weiner, ´Transnational history', 68-69.

of the government. Self-regulatory frameworks in this context are organizations, corporations and individuals, who reach out across national boundaries to transfer goods or knowledge. In this thesis I argue that anthropology developed as such a self-regulatory framework. A Japanese student had to ask the Meiji government for permission and funds to study in Berlin and once he was there, he had to provide some kind proof of sponsorship by a German scientist. Apart from these requirements however neither the Imperial German government, nor the Meiji government had any oversight over the information exchanged. Neither did the Meiji government attempt to stop the *O-yatoi Gaikokujin* from performing any kind of research on Japanese society, as is proved by the many published papers of the German Society for the Natural History and Ethnology of East Asia, about whom I shall elaborate in the first chapter.

That Japanese anthropology was such a self-regulatory framework, becomes clearer when we look at how anthropology, physical or otherwise, came to Japan. The Meiji government never had the intention to make anthropology a discipline when they invited the *O-yatoi Gaikokujin* to come teach the first generation of western schooled Japanese scholars. It was taught by doctors who had been invited to teach medicine and developed by new Japanese scholars in reaction to anthropological articles published by western scholars such as Edward Morse and Erwin Baelz and their own findings abroad. In Germany, Japanese students were free to pursue their own interests at the university of Berlin free from the government's interference. The self-regulatory nature of anthropology left room for individuals such as Koganei Yoshikiyo and Kubo Takeshi to have a deep impact on the newly forming science. This thesis however acknowledges that both the Meiji government and the Imperial German government were vital for this framework to exist and continue existing. As Akira Iriye points out in her article 'Transnational History';

> In other words, private associations depend for their effectiveness on the prior existence of a system of government that provides the essential legal and political framework for their activities.[20]

[20] Iriye, Akira, 'Transnational History', *Contemporary European history* 13 (2004) 211–222, 217.

Although Iriye refers here to non-profit organizations that were established after the cold war, the same holds true for this thesis. Without governmental assistance the transnational network described in this thesis could not have come to be. As such this thesis does not fully transcend national history. I would however argue that the consequences of installing this network were beyond what the Meiji government had envisioned when they expanded the *O-yatoi Gaikokujin* programme to the scope it reached in the late nineteenth, early twentieth century. Since this thesis is mostly focused on the unintended transfer of physical anthropology from Imperial Germany to Meiji Japan the transnational framework proposed in this chapter will give a more accurate depiction of the development of anthropology as a field of study in Japan.

Since anthropology in Meiji Japan developed with very little oversight from the national government this thesis will look for its sources in the publications of German and Japanese scholars as well as records kept by the universities of Tokyo and Berlin. This thesis will use these sources to determine the impact of German physical anthropology on Japanese anthropology. Chief among the sources is the dissertation published by Kubo Takeshi in 1913, which I shall analyse to establish connections between German physical anthropology and Japanese anthropology. The dissertation was published in two parts one in 1913 and one part in 1917. The part from 1917 is in my possession in digital form and covers Kubo's theories. The other part from 1913 exists only in physical form at the Tokyo University and contains the metric data of Kubo's research. For the purposes of this thesis the endless lists of measurements Kubo took are not relevant.

In addition to the analysis of Kubo's dissertation I shall also try to establish a direct line of academic genealogy of prominent German physical anthropologists tutoring Japanese students in both Japan as well as Germany. For the publications I shall be using Erwin Baelz' article 'Die Köperlichen Eigenschaften der Japaner Eine Anthropologische Studie' in which he sets out the racial traits of different peoples in Asia against those of the Japanese.[21] This article testifies to Baelz' belief in physical anthropological methods, since the article depends on those methods. The reception of the article also shows how interested the Japanese scholarly community was in racial theory and the science behind those theories, physical anthropology.

[21] Erwin Baelz, 'Die Koperlichen Eigenschaften der Japaner Eine Anthropologische Studie', *Echo du Japon* 28:1 (1883) 330-369.

I shall also be using the English version of Baelz' diary *Awakening Japan,* in which Baelz describes his time in Japan.[22]

This thesis will consist out of four chapters and a conclusion. In the first chapter, 'Awakening Japan', I shall provide the historical context under which anthropology came to Japan. I shall also briefly touch upon the role of British and American anthropologists, as well as the social and scholarly institutions that were involved in this process. In the second chapter, 'Erwin Baelz', I shall look at how Baelz introduced the physical anthropological methodology to Japan. In the third chapter, 'Koganei Yoshikiyo', I shall look at how Koganei learned physical anthropological methods and the impact he had on the Anthropological Society of Tokyo. In the fourth chapter, 'Kubo Takeshi', I shall repeat what I did in the third chapter, but I will also add an analysis of Kubo's dissertation in order to show that physical anthropology in Japan remained a German product. Finally, I will report my findings in my conclusion.

[22] Toku Baelz, *Awakening Japan* (Indiana 1974). Original: Erwin Baelz, *Das Leben eines deutchen Arztes im erwachenden Japan* (Stuttgard 1931).

Chapter 1: Awakening Japan

In this chapter I will discuss the circumstances under which anthropology came to Japan. First, I will give an overview of the state of affairs in Japan in second half of the nineteenth century. I will do this because the changes Japan underwent during that time period had lasting effects on Japanese society, science, politics, economics and even geography. For anthropology, physical or otherwise, to flourish the scholarly and political climate in Japan first had to change. The first part of this chapter will expand on how this change came about. Then I will look at how the *O-yatoi Gaikokujin* organized themselves in societies. These societies, of which I will discuss three, were a direct influence on all western sciences practiced in Japan, not just anthropology.

Before the arrival of Commodore Mathew Perry in 1852, and the subsequent ending of the isolationist policy of the Tokugawa Shogunate, Europeans were a rare sight in Japan and foreign technologies were even rarer.[23] Apart from firearms and similar military technologies there were a few small schools dedicated to teaching *Rangaku*, meaning Dutch medicine. These schools were the result of the Dutch presence on Dejima, the artificial island in the bay of Nagasaki. The Dutch were the only European foreign power allowed to trade with the Japanese until 1852. They were also not allowed to leave the island except to travel to the shogun in Edo to pay their respect once a year.[24] The frequency of these journeys to Edo had however been declining steadily since the start of nineteenth century. Instead of every year the Dutch governor of Dejima only made the journey once every three or five years. Of these trips numerous accounts have been written, some of which by doctors in service of the Dutch East Asia Company, hence referred to as the VOC. These doctors were the first to do anthropological research, of a fashion, on the Japanese people. Most notably among these were the manuscripts written by Engelbert Kaempfer, which were special due to the amount of detail Kaempfer goes into.[25] But apart from the limited success in spreading European style medicine and firearms other European technologies were well kept outside

[23] The isolationist policy of the Tokugawa Shogunate was not as complete as has been claimed in the past. The Tokugawa Shogunate reached out to both Korea as well as Ming China for trade agreements. For a recent analysis on Japan's isolationist policy read Peter Woolley, *Geography and Japan's Strategic Choices: From Seclusion to Internationalization* (Nebraska 2005).
[24] Bowers, *When the Twain Meet,* 5.
[25] Engelbert Kaempfer, *The History of Japan, Together with a Description of the Kingdom of Siam 1690-1692* (London 1727).

Japanese borders.[26] When Commadore Perry opened Japan by applying gunboat diplomacy it caused an uproar within the Tokugawa Shogunate. Suddenly confronted by the disparity in technology the Shogunate approved the opening of a school devoted to the study of the western sciences in 1855.[27] From there on out the Tokugawa Shogunate increasingly turned to the western sciences. Subsequently it allowed the opening of a naval training centrum in 1855, a military training centrum in 1856 and a laboratory in 1864.[28] These institutions were often under the supervision of both a Japanese official as well as a hired foreign specialist.[29] These foreign specialists were the first *O-yatoi Gaikokujin.* It was however too little too late. A civil war broke out in 1868, led by the same clans Tokugawa Ieyasu had defeated in the battle for Sekigahara, which ended the last civil war in 1600. The Satsuma and Chosu clans attacked the Shogunate with an army that used modern weaponry and tactics. The Shogunate had no choice but to field their antiquated army, which consequently lost the civil war. The Tokugawa Shogunate was replaced by the Meiji Government in an event known as the Meiji Restoration, named after Emperor Meiji.

After the fall of the Tokugawa Shogunate the new Meiji government wished to break with the tradition orientated past. Feudalism and the caste system were abolished in 1871, instead dividing the nation into three hundred provinces, called prefectures. Later that year that number was brought down to seventy-two and brough down again in 1888 to forty-seven. By redividing the land into prefectures and putting them under the control of administers the Meiji government broke the existing power structure of the noble clans.[30] Eventually it abolished all additional privileges the nobles and samurai used to have.[31] This gave the Meiji government the opportunity to reform Japan completely into, what at the time was considered, a modern nation.[32] In practice this meant that Japan was going to westernize many aspects of Japanese life, including but not limited to, agriculture, law, administration, economy, military, all the natural sciences, mathematics, engineering, all the arts, music, all humanities and education. To realize this ambitious plan the Meiji government started by

[26] It should be noted here that the Japanese did look towards other nations for technology, especially China as Masoyoshi Sugimoto and David Swain point out in Sugimoto and Swain, *Science and Culture,* 225-250.
[27] George Sansom, *A History of Japan 1615-1867* (Stanford 1963) 234.
[28] Sugimoto and Swain, *Science and Culture,* 397-398.
[29] A prominent example of one such foreign specialist is Pompe van Meerdervort, who worked at the naval training centre leading a separate medical training programme. Ibidem, 397.
[30] Andrew Gordon*, A Modern History of Japan,* 62-64.
[31] Ibidem, 64-66.
[32] Ibidem, 70.

organizing visits to the "modern" nations of the period. A journey that would last from 1871 to 1873, by far the most important and lengthy journey of this type that Japanese government ever undertook. The *Iwakura* mission, so named after Iwakura Tomomi, who was an influential minister in the Meiji government and leader of the expedition, would first depart for the United States. From there the mission would travel onwards to the United Kingdom and a host of other European countries. The mission had three goals. Firstly, they aimed to gain recognition from the European countries and the United States for the reinstated imperial dynasty under emperor Meiji. Secondly, to open a dialogue regarding the renegotiation of the unequal treaties that had been forced upon Japan in the wake of Commodore Perry's gunboat diplomacy. And finally, to take stock of what it entailed to be a modern nation. The members of the mission were especially interested industrial, political, military and educational systems, institutions and structures. To the Americans and Europeans however it felt like the members of the *Iwakura* mission were interested in everything.[33] Missions like the *Iwakura* mission had precedent. Similar missions had been sent by the Tokugawa Shogunate in 1860 to the United States, in 1862 to Europe and in 1863 also to Europe. The *Iwakura* mission however was both longer and included highly placed members of the government, which had not been the case under Tokugawa rule. The mission was a partial success, although the diplomats were unable to revise the unequal treaties negotiated by the Tokugawa Shogunate, they were able to acquire a lot of first-hand knowledge regarding the European and American systems, institutions and structures. To assemble all this acquired knowledge the Meiji government looked towards Kume Kunitake, a Japanese historian who was part of the mission and recorded it as completely as he was able. In his official report, which was published in five volumes, called *Tokumei zenken taishi Bei-O¯ kairan jikki* (translated: the true version of the tour of the special embassy to the United States and Europe), he writes pieces on every nation the *Iwakura* mission visited.[34] In a way these five volumes represent the first attempt at anthropology by the Meiji government. Kume Kunitake went on to become a professor of national history at Tokyo University in 1888, but was forced to resign in 1892 after publishing a controversial paper

[33] For this thesis I use an edited and translated version of the compendium of Kume Kunitake edited and translated by Chushichi Tsuzuki and Jules Young, *Japan Rising The Iwakura Embassy to the USA and Europe 1871–1873* (Cambridge 2009) xxii.
[34] Ibidem.

stating that *Shinto*, the primary Japanese religion, was one of the outdated customs the Meiji government should get rid of.[35]

After the conclusion of the *Iwakura* mission the Meiji government decided to widen the scope of the *O-yatoi Gaikokujin* programme to increase the speed of the rate at which the western sciences were adopted and their reforms were implemented.[36] This led to a wave of foreign experts sojourning in Japan for varying amounts of time, but almost always for several years, which was not surprising since the salaries of the foreign experts were very high.[37]

Foreigners and Societies

In an effort to socialize, make business associates or to exchange research many of these foreign experts joined newly established scientific societies. These societies came in many shapes and sizes, with different members depending on the founders and goal of the society, but were always organized by the language the foreign specialists spoke.[38] It was at these societies where anthropology first flourished in Japan. Mostly because these societies provided a hub where all kinds of different scholars and travellers could exchange information on the nations they had visited. These kind of information exchanges happened in both written and oral fashions.[39] This type of anthropology was less formalized than the science practiced at universities in Europe. It had no truly established methodology, nor a singular practice. Instead, members of these societies would write widely differing studies on any topic that might catch their fancy. Generally, the papers would centre around a theme that was popular at the society, but there were no official rules to that regard. Most societies had their own journals, such as *The Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* and the *Deutsche Japan Post*, which were published at regular intervals. Lectures and debates too were frequently organised. There was a wide interest in these lectures and debates since the members of the societies were all literate and most had a higher education due to their occupation as either international businessmen, student or as hired foreign specialists.[40]

[35] Ibidem, xxviii.
[36] Bartholomew, *The Formation of Science in Japan,* 64.
[37] Ibidem.
[38] It should be noted here that there is some nuance to this. The Asiatic Society of Japan did have Japanese members, but they were far outnumbered by English speaking foreign nationals.
[39] Many of the societies still have transcripts of the lectures and copies of publications from the period. These can also be found in their journals.
[40] Kim, *Doctors of Empire,* 107.

Initially the society's members were European or American, but Japanese scholars often joined these societies.

This thesis will focus on three of those societies; The Asiatic Society of Japan, which was home to most English foreign specialists. the Anthropological Society of Tokyo, where Japanese anthropologists, historians and archaeologists gathered. And the German Society for the Natural History and Ethnology of East Asia, which was home to most German speaking foreign specialists. These specific three played a large role in the development of anthropology as a field of study in Japan. There were a few other societies, such as the Tokyo Lawn Tennis Club, founded in 1887, but they were not common due to the very low percentage of foreigners in Japan.

The first society I will be looking at is the Asiatic Society of Japan, henceforth referred to as the ASJ, which was founded in 1872. This society was not just for scientists, but for all English-speaking foreigners residing in Japan as well as the Japanese themselves. Of particular interest to this paper is one of the members of the ASJ, Edward Morse. Edward Morse was a zoologist who had been invited by the Meiji government to teach zoology and physiology at the, in the same year established Imperial University of Tokyo in 1877.[41] Besides being a zoologist Morse had an interest in archaeology, history and anthropology. He had a special interest in Japan's pre-historic period, which he named the *Jomon* Period after pottery shards Morse found while studying and excavating shell mounds. He later wrote a paper on the period, but his findings were not welcomed by the government or the growing Japanese scientific community. For in his paper on Omori shell mounds, Morse suggested that the early Japanese had been cannibals.[42] A claim that was distinctly unpopular in a nation where nationalism was gaining momentum. It should be noted here that the Japanese did not object to Morse's approach, just his findings.

In response to Morse's controversial paper a Japanese scholar and strong supporter of the Meiji government, Tsuboi Shogoro, suggested that instead of foreigners, Japanese scholars should conduct research into their origins as a people.[43] He established the Anthropological Society of Tokyo in 1884, henceforth referred to as AST, which grew to two

[41] James R. Bartholomew, *The Formation of Science in Japan,* 66.
[42] Edward S. Morse, 'Shell mounds of Omori.' *Memoirs of the Science Department, University of Tokyo, Japan* 1:1 (1879)1–36.
[43] Morris Low, 'Physical Anthropology in Japan: The Ainu and the Search for the Origins of the Japanese', *Current Anthropology* 5:53 (2012) 57-68, 59.

hundred members within two years of its founding.[44] The society was modelled after the many already existing European societies, with its own activities and journal, the *Tokyo Jinrui Gakkai Hokoku*. He left Japan in 1889 to study in the United Kingdom and France. He returned in 1892 and became a professor at the Tokyo College of Science. A year later Tsuboi, in concert with others, founded the Institute of Anthropology, which strongly supported a type of archaeological anthropology, focussing on discovering the origins of the Japanese people.[45] This inward focus should not come as a surprise, like many countries in Europe in the same time period Japan was experiencing a wave of nationalism. The boom in education around the country caused literacy rates to drastically rise, increasing public interest in governmental affairs as well as pushing the need for a national history.[46] Tsuboi found his origins of the Japanese people in *Ainu* legends. The native people of Hokkaido had stories concerning a people they referred to as the *Koro-pok-guru* (translated: people below the butterbur plant), whom Tsuboi believed to be the original Japanese people.[47] The theory was put into question by professor Koganei Yoshikiyo, who went with Tsuboi to excavate shell mounts. He theorized, after having studied skeletal remains, that the *Koro-pok-guru* were in fact the *Ainu* themselves.[48] Koganei was shortly after proven right by additional research and would not be proven wrong until five years after his death in 1944. Koganei will be the subject of chapter three. For Tsuboi the question regarding the origins of the Japanese was of utmost importance. In his effort to resolve the question he shaped the agenda for anthropology for the next two decades. To this day Tsuboi is hailed as the father of anthropology in Japan.

When comparing the abovementioned two societies to the German Society for the Natural History and Ethnology of East Asia, henceforth referred to as the OAG, was more focused on anthropology than the ASJ and had less members than the AST.[49] The purpose of the German Society of Tokyo was to be an intellectual hub where German nationals could exchange research on East Asian Countries, not just Japan, to increase the body of scientific

[44] Ibidem.
[45] Hoi Eun Kim, *Doctors of Empire,* 118.
[46] Morris Low, 'Physical Anthropology in Japan', 59.
[47] Omoto, Keiichi, 'Tsuboi Shōgorō (1863–1913)', in: *The International Encyclopedia of Anthropology* (2018) 1-4, 3.
[48] Ibidem.
[49] It should be noted here that the OAG had two branches, one in Yokohoma and one in Tokyo. The branch in Tokyo will be the main focus of this thesis since most German scholars were active there.

knowledge on East Asia as a whole.[50] Virtually every German national who travelled to East Asia and stayed there for a prolonged period of time became a member of the society, which was founded in 1873.[51] The society was divided between German scholars, who attended the society in Tokyo, and businessmen, who attended the society in Yokohoma. There was some animosity between the two branches, but financial restrictions kept the Tokyo branch from separating.[52] From the onset the OAG had a strong interest in ethnology and racial science, mirroring the interest of similar societies in Berlin.[53] Many of the scholars who were members of the OAG were also employed by the Imperial University of Tokyo, where they taught a variety of sciences. Although anthropology was not one of the subjects being taught, medicine was and the wide interest in this field opened the door for a new type of anthropology to come to Japan, physical anthropology. Medicine and physical anthropology have often been linked to one another due to the fact that one needed a working understanding of the human body to practice physical anthropology.[54] I mention this society at this point in the paper for it was this society that helped shape the research of Erwin Baelz, who will become the subject of the next chapter. His research on the origins of the Japanese people were filled with racial theory based on data acquired through the methods used in physical anthropology, such as scull measuring, which found a fruitful soil in the OAG. Baelz rose to prominence within the society because of the scholarly climate that was present there. The OAG was a society mostly controlled by doctors and other medical professionals, which must have made it easy for a medicalized version of anthropology to become very popular very quickly.[55]

The success of these societies predominantly rested on the large influx of European and American scholars and businessmen who came to Japan and found themselves in need of the company of their national peers. All of the societies took a serious financial hit when the *O-yatoi Gaikokujin* programme was ended by the Meiji government in 1899. The government felt that the programme had ran its natural course, after all by the time the

[50] OAG, Die Geschichte der Gesellschaft, in: OAG (ed.), Festschrift zum 50. Gründungsfest der OAG, Tokyo 1923, pp. 1 – 11, 1.
[51] Hoi Eun Kim, *Doctors of Empire,* 105.
[52] Ibidem, 106-107.
[53] For an overview of the development of German anthropological societies read Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany* (Chicago 2001).
[54] Sysling, *Racial Science,* 6-7.
[55] At the time of its founding the board of the society was entirely made up out of doctors, save for Max von Brandt who was not a doctor but who was likely appointed due to his position as an important German diplomat. Hoi Eun Kim, *Doctors of Empire,* 105.

twentieth century came about a new generation of Japanese scholars had been trained in the western sciences. The Meiji government did not renew most contracts with foreign specialists, forcing most to return to their country of origin. A notable exception was Erwin Baelz, who was at the time conducting ethnological research in Korea. Upon his return to Japan, he was even promoted to the role of physician in waiting to Emperor Meiji himself. The Tokyo branch of OAG was almost forced to disband in 1904 as so many contracts came to a close. It was eventually saved by the Yokohoma branch in return for certain concessions the Tokyo branch had not been willing to agree to before.[56] For instance, one of these concessions was allowing women into the society. The role of women in these societies has not been researched in depth. The fact that the German male scholars had banned women from their *"Gelehrtenkolonie"* should give an idea as to how accepted the idea of a female scholar would be. There might however be a wealth of information in the letters these women sent home or the diaries they kept. These will however be beyond the scope of this thesis.

The abovementioned societies all still exist and can be easily found online. The ASJ still exists under the same name, still publishes their journal; *The Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* and still gives lectures.[57] The AST was renamed in 1941 and became known as the Anthropological Society of Nippon (ASN), which is still active today, but has widened the scope of its activities to additional fields such as human ecology, human genetics, morphological anthropology and several others.[58] The OAG too is still operational under the same name and now boasts a library with over 6500 publications written in German and or English by its members.[59]

Conclusion

Prior to the Meiji Restoration Japan was a deeply traditional, feudal nation, hidden from the world by its isolationist policies. It was suspicious of both European technologies as well as European peoples, which were kept out both intellectually as well as physically, save for the Dutch, who were confined to the island of Deijima. Tight regulation was the norm until Commander Mathew Perry ended Japan's isolation in 1852. After 1852 the Tokugawa

[56] Ibidem, 107.
[57] The Asiatic Society of Japan <https://www.asjapan.org/about.html> 2021-01-04.
[58] The Anthropological Society of Nippon <http://anthropology.jp/english/about/history.html> 2021-01-04.
[59]Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens <https://oag.jp> 2021-01-04.

Shogunate started the *O-yatoi Gaikokujin* program. After the Meiji restoration and the *Iwakura* mission the Japanese government upscaled the *O-yatoi Gaikokujin* program so to wholly adopt the western sciences. The foreign experts banded together in societies that were mostly decided by nationality, but had no rigid rules regarding whether different nationalities could join. Anthropology was not a subject the Meiji government initially decided to adopt. It arrived in Japan with the foreign experts, many of whom saw Japan as an interesting object of study. The societies regularly organized lectures based on aspects of Japanese culture European members had researched. Japanese anthropological scholarship did not exist and thus it was not consulted. When Edward Morse accused the prehistoric Japanese of cannibalism Tsuboi Shogoro decided that Japan needed its own anthropology department to study its own culture. Tsuboi founded the AST and set its agenda for the first two decades, finding the origins of the Japanese race. The Meiji restoration radically changed Japan's academic climate. The Tokugawa Shogunate had been conservative and withholding, preferring tradition over innovation. The Meiji government was the polar opposite. It strongly supported innovation and experimentation, even if those did not produce clear results. Anthropology might not have been one of the subjects the Meiji government wanted to adopt, but it arrived in Japan nonetheless. In the next chapter I will introduce Erwin Baelz, a German anatomist, who brought with him a new German methodology for anthropology, which would come to dominate Japanese anthropology, physical anthropology.

Chapter 2: Erwin Baelz

This chapter will focus on Erwin Baelz, the German vessel that brought physical anthropology to Japan. Baelz arrived on the shores of Japan in 1876, to work at the university in Tokyo as a professor of anatomy. Before Edward Morse published his controversial paper, in which he claimed that the prehistoric Japanese had been cannibals. Baelz then was in an excellent position to follow the ensuing debate about the origins of the Japanese race, which he did. In fact, he sought to contribute to the discussion. Baelz' publication on the racial layout of the Japanese race, was remarkable for several reasons. First of all, the methodology he used, physical anthropology, was new to the Japanese. Secondly, it put the Japanese in a better light than most publications written by Europeans. It for instance, did not accuse Japanese ancestors of cannibalism. Finally, the theoretical racial layout presented in the publication was a lot more nuanced than Japanese were used to from European scholarship. Baelz did become incredibly successful, amassing wealth and prestige during his stay in Japan, which lasted twenty-nine years. He became the physician and friend of the Japanese emperor and his family. He met statesmen and was consulted on government policy. Baelz life was eventful to say the least. This chapter will consist out of three parts and a conclusion. The first part will give a short overview of Erwin Baelz' life and career. The second part will go into Baelz' work and research regarding physical anthropology. The third part of this chapter will discuss Baelz' legacy.

Life and career

Erwin Otto Eduard von Baelz was born in 1849 in Bietigheim-Bissingen In Germany. He came from a moderately wealthy family which paid for his education from the age of twelve up to the age of twenty-three, when he graduated from the university of Leipzig. During his time as a student Baelz travelled extensively through Europe, in order to improve his knowledge of other cultures and languages.[60] While still unqualified Baelz signed up as an army medic during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870. The experience nearly cost him his life as he himself fell sick during the campaign. After the war was over Baelz went to Leipzig to get his medical degree. Soon after graduating he secured himself a position at Leipzig university. He worked there until 1875. During his years as a student Baelz became deeply impressed by the works

[60]Baelz, *Awakening Japan*, 3.

of doctor Rudolf Virchow, who founded the first German anthropological society, the Berliner Gesellschaft filr Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte.[61] Indeed, Baelz must have idolized Virchow, since he mentions Virchow in his diary in the same breath as Aristotle, Darwin, Roentgen and a few others of the greatest and brightest of European scientists.[62] Baelz did get the chance to study under Virchow. During their time together they developed a friendly relationship and they stayed in touch when Baelz moved to Japan. Baelz for instance sent his new paper on Japanese river fever to Virchow in Berlin.[63] During his final year at Leipzig university a Japanese official came under his care.[64] While Baelz treated the official they often talked about Japan, and once the official was cured, he offered Baelz a teaching job at Tokyo university. It should be noted here that Baelz was not a known scholar in Germany at this point, but he was not just another student either. According to Baelz' son he had been serving in the position of first assistant for doctor Carl Reinhold August Wunderlich.[65] Usually, this position is reserved for outstanding students, which attests to Baelz' skills. Baelz wanted to see other parts of the world and consequently he left for Japan in 1876.

Baelz kept a diary of the time he spent in Japan from 1876-1905. His son Toku Baelz has edited this diary as well as added speeches and essays Baelz gave and wrote during his time in Japan and shortly after. The diary as well as a part of Baelz' research will form the main body of sources for this chapter. The diary has no entries between 1883 and 1888 since he spent those years either traveling back and forth to Germany or doing research in Japan's interior.

Upon his arrival in Tokyo, Baelz immediately became a member of the OAG. Baelz spent most of his time in Japan working. He gave lectures on several medical as well as anthropologic topics at Tokyo university, among which psychiatry and introductions to ethnology. At these introductions Baelz most likely taught physical anthropological methods. Baelz used different terms for physical anthropology, often referring to it as ethnology, but it should be noted that he always meant his practice of measuring human bodies and categorizing physical traits by race. More often than not his lectures were about medical

[61] Benoit Massin, "From Virchow to Fischer, Physical Anthropology and "Modern Race Theories"", in in George W. Stocking, Jr. eds., Volksgeist as Method and Ethic, (Madison 1996), 79-154.
[62] Ibidem, 149-150.
[63] Ibidem, 49.
[64] It is unclear who this official was exactly. Most likely it was either Sagara Gentei or Sagara Motosada. Ishibashi Chosei and Ogawa Teizo, *O-yatoi Gaikokujin-Igaku* (Tokyo 1969) 110-111.
[65] Baelz, *Awakening Japan*, 6.

topics, with anthropology being a secondary focus. This did not mean that there was no overlap between the two. Baelz often lectured on anatomy and a large part of physical anthropology is study and comparison of bones. Aside from the time he spent teaching he also saw patients privately and during clinical hours in the newly built hospital. Baelz most certainly measured his patients and did so in great detail. During a field trip to Niigata, a city in the north west of Japan, one of Baelz' students, Suzuki Hisashi, observed him measuring his patients.[66] This field trip will come up again in chapter three when I discuss Koganei, the father of physical anthropology in Japan. Koganei too was on this trip and it likely inspired him to go study in Europe and take up with prominent physical anthropologists, such as Rudolf Virchow. Outside of work Baelz attended lectures at the OAG, as well as giving them on occasion. In his diary he actually has an overview of his workweek, but it does not include his activities at the OAG.[67] This indicates that Baelz liked to keep his work and social lives separate and likely did not see his activities as the OAG as work. Baelz' merit as a teacher as well as his success as a medical practitioner quickly helped him rise to prominence and his contract with the university of Tokyo was renewed several times. He married with Toda Hanako, with whom he had four children. Due to his skill and the results, he delivered, Baelz' patients became increasingly more important, gaining him a tremendous amount of access to Japan's higher social circles as a result. Baelz met and treated nearly every minister and nobleman of importance as well as a host of foreign dignitaries. For example, Baelz met William Howard Taft, the twenty-seventh president of the United States, at a luncheon at the British legation. At that time Taft was still the governor of the Philippines. Baelz described Taft as a corpulent but energetic type.[68] Baelz was able to move freely in those high circles due to his control of the Japanese, English and French, languages, as well as his abilities as a German schooled doctor, his skills as a researcher and educator and his friendly disposition to anyone who was not outright hostile to him.[69] By all accounts Baelz was a popular man, both among peers as well as patients. With all the banquets, state and court functions, dinners and luncheons he

[66] Suzuki Hisashi, "Koganei Yoshikiyo sensei (1858–1944) to Erwin von Baelz hakushi (1858–1913)," *Jinruigaku zasshi* 82: 1 (1974): 1–9, 1.
[67] Baelz, *Awakening Japan*, 51.
[68] Ibidem, 240-241.
[69] There are in fact many testimonies of students and colleagues who write about Baelz' friendly temperament and the extremely clear way he expressed himself in. For example, read Otto Schmiedel, *Die Deutchen in Japan* (Leipzig 1920).

mentions going to, one wonders how he had time left to work.[70] It is unclear whether Baelz did anything with his access and influence, but it likely helped his career a great deal. His years in Japan were not always as peaceful and happy as Baelz would wish. The passing of his three-year-old daughter Uta in 1896 weighed heavily on Baelz.[71] The loss of his daughter did not stop him from reaching the peak of his influence when he became the personal physician of the emperor's family in 1902. He had treated the emperor's mother and son before, but the official position cemented a lifelong friendship with the emperor and his children.[72] Baelz also steadily grew in wealth throughout his stay in Japan. He acquired several properties, located around Japan's many hot springs, so that he could pursue his interests in balneotherapy, which is a method to treat diseases through the act of bathing in special waters. Baelz also bought a summer home and a country residence.[73] When Baelz and his wife left Japan for Europe in 1905 he was not all that regretful. Anti-German and anti-foreigner sentiments were rapidly spreading through Japan and Baelz felt less comfortable every year.[74] Once Baelz returned to Germany he spent most of his time writing papers, doing research and promoting Judo as a sport.[75] Baelz died in 1913 of heart disease. Looking back on his life Baelz said the following;

In my journey through the world, I have shared in joys and sorrows, playing my own part in both. Not for all the wealth in the Indies would I have had things different.[76]

[70] There is barely a page in the diary where Baelz is not attending one kind of social event or another. Bowers, *When the Twain meet*, 123.
[71] Baelz, *Awakening Japan*, 107-109.
[72] Baelz is often invited to courtly functions and dinners, often being the only European present. Upon his departure the empress both invited Baelz and his wife to the palace for a personal farewell. On itself extraordinary, but even more so when one considers that the empress was suffering from influenza at the time. Ibidem, 378-379.
[73] Kim, *Doctors of empire*, 50.
[74] There is an incident towards the end of the diary where Baelz discovers that his name has been put on a list of foreigners who are likely spying for the Russian government. The Japanese-Russian war is at his height at that point. The whole thing turned out to be a misunderstanding, but the police saw it is necessary to post a guard in his house.
[75] Baelz is credited with bringing the sport to Germany.
[76] Baelz, *Awakening Japan,* 400.

Research

Baelz was by all accounts a busy man. During his sojourn in Japan, Baelz measured over a hundred thousand people either partly or fully.[77] A full measurement in this context meant that Baelz would measure every part of the human body. When only a part of the body is measured it is called a partial measurement. The process of taking these measurements was uncomfortable, humiliating and could even be painful for the subject. Subjects had to be naked, since their genitals too had to be measured, and the measure instruments used were uncomfortable. Baelz' measurements were extensive and thus he must have caused a lot of discomfort, humiliation and pain to his subjects. Nowadays, we would condemn his research just on ethical grounds alone. The goal then of taking all these measurements was to find characteristics specific to the Japanese and other races. This in order to categorize the races of the world. Baelz fell into a class of physical anthropologists whom did not necessarily attach values to racial traits, but who categorized them extensively. However, by dividing the world in races Baelz, and others like him, did contribute to the creation of the racial hierarchy that helped enable and legitimize wide scale oppression of racial minorities around the globe.

During his time in Japan Baelz wrote many articles, most of which were published. There is one that stands out for the purposes of this thesis; Erwin Baelz, 'Die Körperlichen Eigenschaften Der Japaner Eine anthropologische Studie'.[78] This paper put Baelz on the map where it came to physical anthropological research. The paper revolves around three points that Baelz wants to make clear.

The first point is the origins of the Japanese people. This topic had been popular among the Japanese for some time and Baelz intended to expand on it. Baelz is of the opinion that the Ainu are the first people to settle Japan and by that definition they are the original people of Japan. However, he also points out that the Ainu are not numerous enough to have had a major impact on the Japanese people racially speaking.[79] In addition, he estimates that only a small percentage of the Japanese had Ainu blood.[80] Baelz reached this conclusion based on the information he had on what the Ainu look like. The Ainu were said to have a lot of hair in comparison to the Japanese. The Ainu, according to Baelz sources, were always depicted

[77] Ibidem, 387
[78] Baelz, 'Die Körperlichen Eigenschaften Der Japaner'.
[79] Ibidem, 336-337.
[80] Ibidem, 346.

and described as having a lot of head, facial and chest hair.[81] Baelz actually was in the position to confirm his sources by measuring real Ainu, since they still live on Hokkai-dō, the most Northern island of Japan.[82] The Japanese people have a noticeable lack of hair, ergo the presence of the Ainu race was diminishing among the Japanese and had likely never been all that present.[83] This point was not all that revolutionary, but the way Baelz debunked myths surrounding the Ainu with measurements and medical observation was.[84]

The second and also third point Baelz wants to make is that the Japanese people are not a homogenous people. Previously, European anthropologists had assumed that Japan either had the full Mongolian race or a hybrid variant of the Mongolian race and another one.[85] Baelz disagrees with these views and blames them on earlier racial investigators being too heavily influenced by outward appearances.[86] He makes his argument in two different points. In the first, he establishes that although the Mongolian race is present in the lower classes of the Japanese people, he found that a different race is dominant among the ruling class. He describes this race as a Chinese or Korean related one.[87] His second point is about Japan's lower classes. These people are a hybrid variant of the Mongolian race. Aside from the Mongolian race they also had characteristics of the Malaysian race.[88] According to Baelz this type is found throughout Japan, but is most clearly present in East Japan. In total Baelz identifies three types of races in Japan. The Ainu type, the Malayan-Mongolian type and the Manchurian-Korean type. In a different publication however, he is against separating the types. According to Baelz there is too little difference to make the types distinct from one another and that these types, and people who have characteristics from these types, are present throughout Asia.[89] Why then did Baelz go through the trouble of identifying different racial types among the Japanese? The answer is not clear, but it is likely that Baelz meant that although you can identify these types, they all fit within the Japanese race, but that is mere speculation. The racial layout that Baelz presented in his 'Köperlichen Eigenschaften' did not

[81] Ibidem, 335.
[82] 23.782 People nowadays identify as Ainu, but approximately 200.000 Ainu still exist. Low, 'Physical Anthropology in Japan', 58.
[83] Baelz, 'Die Körperlichen Eigenschaften Der Japaner', 336.
[84] Baelz, *Awakening Japan,* 386-387.
[85] Rotem Kowner, 'Lighter than Yellow, but not Enough': Western Discourse on the Japanese 'Race', 1854-1904', *The Historical Journal* 43:1 (2000) 103-131, 110.
[86] Erwin Baelz, 'Prehistoric Japan', *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 3:1 (1907) 523-547, 523-524.
[87] Baelz, 'Die Körperlichen Eigenschaften Der Japaner', 339.
[88] Ibidem, 337.
[89] Erwin Baelz, *Die Ostasiaten,* (Stuttgard 1901) 20-21.

become popular in Europe when Baelz first presented it. Over time however, it was widely adapted and built upon by physical anthropologists.[90] In Japan the article was quickly accepted and it became quite popular. It used a medical, positivist framework to outline its theory.[91] The kind of data presented in the article was rarely brought in connection with anthropology in Japan at the time of the article's publication, back in 1883. The scientific nature of these measurements in combination with Baelz' stellar reputation as a medical professional, his access to the powerful, wealthy and prominent members of Japanese high society and his long-standing relation with the University of Tokyo likely helped a great deal with the success of his racial layout, making it a pivotal publication for Japanese anthropology. His relationship with Tokyo University especially helped his theory to become popular in academic circles very quickly. It also helped that the article caught on with the Japanese due to its nuance. Previous European scholarship had just written the Japanese off as another Mongolian race in Asia, like they did with so many other peoples. Baelz however presented a racial layout that was more complicated, detailed and based on empirical data, that could be recreated using the same method Baelz had.

Legacy

A distinction can be made between Baelz' legacy in Germany and the one he left behind in Japan. Baelz' racial layout did not have much success in Germany at first. This was probably due to the fact that he was not a household name there, in fact, his quick departure to Japan had made him a rather obscure figure. Over time attitude towards his racial layout in Germany changed. The theory was added to textbooks on anthropology. Prominent British and French anthropologists, Alfred Haddon and Joseph Deniker, used Baelz observations and measurements in their work, after which the theory became widely accepted in European scholarly circles.[92] With physical anthropology's fall from grace in the late twentieth century Baelz has passed into obscurity in Europe. It should be said here that the diary Baelz left behind is of historic value to anyone who studies the Meiji period and who is interested in seeing the events of that period from a foreigner's eyes.

[90] I will return to the legacy of Baelz' research in the next segment of this chapter.
[91] Baelz, 'Die Körperlichen Eigenschaften Der Japaner', 347-371. The second segment of Baelz paper includes an explanation of how he did his measurements as well as the results of those.
[92] Kowner, 'Lighter than Yellow', 124-125.

Baelz legacy in Japan is quite different from the one he left in Germany. Baelz and his fellow doctors laid the foundations of the medicine faculty of Tokyo University, an institution which still exists today.[93] Outside of his career and social life Baelz was also an investor and researcher. He bought several properties throughout Japan and developed hot spring resorts. On Baelz' initiative the volcanic springs near Kusatsu were remodelled and it became one of the most successful hot spring resorts in Japan.[94] His students erected a monument in his honour while Baelz was still alive, which currently resides on the grounds of Tokyo University. Baelz also started a scholarship fund worth ten thousand marks, to which he added another twenty thousand marks in his will.[95] The scholarship was dedicated to helping Japanese students follow courses at German universities.

Conclusion

Baelz is of tremendous import to this thesis because of two reasons. The first of course being his racial theory. The theory was supported by a kind of evidence that had not been used before in Japan and the theory itself was appealing to the Japanese. The article was more nuanced than the Japanese were used to from a European at that time. The last time an article had been written about the origins of the Japanese they had been accused of cannibalism. This article looked at the origins of the Japanese through a positive lens. Baelz reputation must also be taken into account here. Many prominent members of Japanese society trusted Baelz with their health. Baelz marriage to a Japanese woman too, must have lent him credibility among the Japanese, contributing to his success. The second reason Baelz is so important is because of his students. Baelz wrote his article in a very turbulent time for anthropology in Japan. Anthropology as a field of study was in the process of being formed. Additionally, Baelz also gives a unique perspective on the period in his diary. It was rare for foreigners to hold such a high position in Japan and Baelz was a man who enjoyed keeping track of current events, both in Asia as well as in Europe. Put together in the diary it gives the perspective of an insider in Japanese politics, from a German point of view.

[93] Bowers, *When the Twain Meet,* 126.
[94] Ibidem, 119. The inhabitants of Kusatsu raised a monument in Baelz honour in 1935, a copy of which was also placed in Bietigheim-Bissingen, Baelz town of origin.
[95] Ibidem, 390.

A year after Baelz' published his racial layout, the Anthropological Society of Tokyo was founded by men who would become the leading anthropologists in Japan. Coincidentally, these men had all been students of Baelz at some point. In the next chapter this thesis will explore how physical anthropology was introduced to the AST by Koganei Yoshikiyo and how it became the dominant form of anthropological practiced in Japan.

Chapter 3: Koganei Yoshikiyo

In the previous chapter I discussed Erwin Baelz' life, career and theories to establish where physical anthropology came from and how it was introduced in Japan. In this chapter I will discuss Baelz' most accomplished student, who was vital in the adaptation of physical anthropology to Japan, Koganei Yoshikiyo. Koganei is important to this thesis since he was the first Japanese anthropologist who used physical anthropology to solve the *Koro-pok-guru* debate in his lifetime, although his theories later turned out to be only partially right. Solving this debate caused a paradigm shift in anthropology in Japan as the German methodology came to dominate the field. This chapter will consist out of three parts. First, I will discuss the life and career of Koganei, who was a Japanese anatomy student. He went to university in Berlin. He later became one of the founders of the AST and is widely known as the father of physical anthropology in Japan.[96] In the second part I will discuss Koganei's impact on Japanese anthropology.

The life and career of Koganei Yoshikiyo

Koganei Yoshikiyo was born in 1859 in the Nagaoka Domain, now known as the Kashiwaza prefecture. He attended *Daigaku Tōkō,* translated the Eastern School, the precursor to the Tokyo Imperial University, between 1871 and 1880. Koganei first met Erwin Baelz when the latter came to Japan in 1876. Koganei attended a number of the courses Baelz taught, most likely on anatomy. Baelz and Koganei developed a teacher student relationship and Koganei must have been a good student, since Baelz singled him out to go with him and two other important students on a field trip to Niigata. On this trip Koganei was first introduced to physical anthropology. Baelz took three assistants with him on this trip to inspect and measure patients in local hospitals. According to one of the students, Suzuki Hisashi, Koganei seemed to be very taken by the medical and scientific nature of physical anthropological methods.[97] Anthropology however was not Koganei's primary interest. He was a doctor first, something we can deduct from his choice to study anatomy and histology in Berlin from 1880 to 1885, and an anthropologist second.[98] Which is actually quite similar

[96] Hisashi Suzuki, "Koganei Yoshikiyo sensei", 1.
[97] Ibidem.
[98] Le Minor, Jean-Marie & Richert, Jean-Baptiste. 'Japanese students and assistants of the medical faculty of Strasbourg from 1872 to 1918', *Histoire des sciences médicales*. 45:4 (2011) 403-414, 403.

to Baelz' own interests. Baelz too was a doctor first and anthropologist second. Baelz and Koganei's shared interests led to a friendship, that would last until Baelz' death in 1913.Upon his return in 1885 he became the first Japanese professor to lecture on anatomy at the university. His star rose further in 1888 when he theorized that the *Koro-pok-guru*, (the people below the butterbur plant) who Tsuboi discovered, and the Ainu, an ethnic minority from Hokkaido, were in fact the same people.[99] Koganei reached the peak of his career in 1893 when he established the Japanese Association of Anatomists and became the president of the Imperial University Medical College. He retired in 1921, but continued his research until his death in 1944.

Koganei and the Koro-pok-guru theory

For the purpose of this thesis, I will look at arguably the most important anthropologic work Koganei produced, the *Koro-pok-guru* theory. This theory originated from an excursion Koganei and Tsuboi undertook together to excavate shell mounds in Hokkaido in 1888. Tsuboi claimed to have found the original Japanese people, whereas Koganei claimed that the *Koro-pok-guru* were an offshoot of the Ainu, a conclusion he based on the similarity between the bones he had found in the shell mounts. He also claimed that the reason the Ainu were confined to the northern island of Hokkaido, was that the Japanese race had driven them off the more hospitable islands in the south.[100] It took a few years before the debate between the two anthropologists was settled. Koganei first went back to Hokkaido to collect more bones in 1888, before publishing his findings in 1894, after which he was deemed to be right by the majority of Japanese anthropologists.[101] Ironically, both turned out to be right and wrong in the end. In a book published in 1949, by the Japanese physical anthropologist Kenji Kiyono, he concluded that the bones found in the shell mounts belonged to a common ancestor of both the Ainu and the Japanese.[102]

The debate was tied in to the larger discussion of the origins of the Japanese race that was an important topic of the time. Directly this discussion had been started after Edward Morse theorized that the original Japanese people were cannibals. Although Morse was the

[99] Omoto, 'Tsuboi Shōgorō', 3.
[100] Ibidem.
[101] Hoi Eun Kim, 'Chapter Seventeen Anatomically Speaking: The Kubo Incident and the Paradox of Race in Colonial Korea', in: *Race and Racism in Modern East Asia Volume 1* (Leiden 2013) 411–430, 418-419.
[102] Kenji Kiyono, *Ethnology of the Japanese Race Based on the Study of Ancient Bones* (Tokyo 1949).

catalyst, the question regarding the origins of the Japanese race would have risen regardless. It was linked to Japan's period of "inner colonization". During this period, which lasted from 1868 to 1895, Japan was focused on gaining dominion over strategic areas in its immediate vicinity, areas like Hokkaido and the Ryukyu islands. The successful occupations of these areas posed the Meiji government with a challenge Japan had not faced yet. It would need to see to the classification and integration of the new and different peoples it now ruled. Although there had been previous, disastrous attempts to invade Korea, Japan at that point had never had holdings elsewhere than on its primary islands.[103] To be able to integrate these peoples, Japan needed to have clear criteria as to what it meant to be Japanese. Koganei's and Tsuboi's search for the original Japanese people should be seen in this light.

Although Tsuboi and Koganei disagreed on the exact nature of the *Koro-pok-guru* they both agreed that the Ainu were a primitive, sickly and dying race.[104] A notion which incidentally reappears in the work of Reverend John Batchelor, who was an Anglican missionary, *The Ainu of Japan: The Religion, Superstitions, and General History of the Hairy Aborigines of Japan*.[105] Batchelor lived in Hokkaido for close to sixty-four years and had gotten to know the Ainu well. He was sympathetic towards them, praising their eyes and beards, but also noted that they were dirty, clad in badly made clothes and smelled terribly.[106] The works of Bachelor, Tsuboi and Koganei constructed a view of the Ainu as an inferior race, which was then measured into the actions of the Japanese government. The Ainu's territories were taken from them and placed under Japanese control and the people were denied indigenous status. This marked them for assimilation, by which the Japanese government intended to make the Ainu Japanese. The Ainu did get Japanese citizenship, but that only increased the hold the Japanese government had over them. This was the first time that Japanese intellectuals used physical features to identify racial weaknesses. This concept of a racially inferior other, who could be identified on physical features, was not of Japanese design, but it was adopted to answer Japanese questions. These questions generally were about the origins of the Japanese race and the position of the Japanese race compared to other races in

[103] Between 1592 and 1598 Japan invaded Korea three times. All the invasions failed and no other attempt was made until the acquisition of Korea in 1910.
[104] Richard Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan* (London 1996) 76-112.
[105] John Batchelor, *The Ainu of Japan: The Religion, Superstitions, and General History of the Hairy Aborigines of Japan* (London 1892) 18.
[106] Ibidem.

Asia. By depicting the Ainu as a dying race, Koganei reaffirmed the superior status of the Japanese race. A method often adopted by the colonial powers of the time.[107]

Historians such as Michael Weiner have pointed out that the depiction of the Ainu as an inferior race/ racial other was not an anomaly.[108] Following the successful colonization of Hokkaido and the rise of collectivistic nationalism throughout Japan, the creation of racial others became common place. The peoples of Asia were often depicted as inferior, uncivilized, lacking in martial spirit and technologically backward by Japanese scholars. Much like in Europe many Japanese people thought that the only way to "civilize" East and South East Asia was by a firm Japanese hand.[109] It is not strange that Koganei adopted these kinds of ideas into his research. He had first learned of physical anthropology from Baelz and then studied in Germany where he had formed many working relationships with prominent German physical anthropologists, such as Rudolf Virchow and his son, Hans Virchow.[110] He met Virchow senior and Junior during his time in Berlin.[111] It is unclear what kind of relationship Koganei developed with the Virchows. He did however get caught up with the then current developments in physical anthropology. We know this because Koganei used standardized measurements instead of Baelz' tables. To clarify, this did not change the physical anthropological methods used. It just changed the way measurements were noted down, allowing for better comparisons. Koganei's discourse on race then was largely defined by the framework he operated in. This framework was of German make, but served to affirm the Japanese racial identity. Once Koganei's findings, regarding the *Koro-pok-guru,* were published, it likely boosted not only his reputation, but also the credibility of physical anthropology in Japan. It is due to his success with the *Koro-pok-guru* theory that Koganei is seen as the spiritual father of Japanese physical anthropology. Koganei might not have been the first to use physical anthropological methods in Japan, Baelz still holds that dubious title, but he was the first Japanese physical anthropologist to do so. With the success of Koganei's theory his methods were proven to be more potent than the archaeology-based anthropology Tsuboi preferred to employ. It caused Tsuboi's faction of archaeology-based Japanese

[107] Michael Weiner, 'The Invention o Identity, Race and Nation in pre-war Japan', in: *The Construction o Racial Identities in China and Japan, Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (London 1997) 96-118, 112.
[108] Ibidem.
[109] Ibidem.
[110] Kim*, Doctors of empire*, 118.
[111] Ibidem.

anthropologists to diminish in the years that followed.[112] That however, did not mean that physical anthropology came to replace archaeology-based anthropology entirely, or that Japanese anthropologists could not switch factions from time to time. Tsuboi for instance, took great care to organize a "hall of mankind" for the fifth national industrial exposition in Osaka.[113] The exhibition would include living examples of the races represented, acting in their "natural" settings. Naturally, the exhibition only served to depict these races as inferior to the Japanese race, which of course was not on display. Due to objections raised by several Asian peoples and nations, who did not wish to be displayed as a primitive people, Tsuboi had to cut most of the exhibition. He went through with it regardless, but limited the exhibition to five Ainu, four Taiwanese aboriginals and two Ryukyans.[114]

There were Japanese anthropologists that kept practicing the kind of anthropology that Tsuboi had first employed to disabuse Edward Morse of the notion that the Japanese race originated from cannibals. Torii Ryuzu, for example developed what is to this day known as the Torii style. The Torii style is stooled on three pillars, research, exhibition and lecture. Torii believed in field work, traveling to scores of nations to research their inhabitants. According to British author Terry Bennet, Torii pioneered the use of photographs in anthropological fieldwork.[115] He inspired a range of Japanese anthropologists to take a camera into the field with them. Torii also contributed to the discussion of the origins of the Japanese race. He claimed that in the Neolithic period the original Japanese people and the Ainu had lived in harmony, even though the Ainu were racially inferior. The article was a thinly veiled justification for the Japanese to conquer any race they found to be inferior.[116] Physical anthropology did not have the monopoly on the discourse of race in Japan. It did however quickly gain recognition due to Koganei's success and because it gave a measurable answer to the question of the position of the Japanese race among other Asian races.

[112] Omoto, 'Tsuboi Shōgorō (1863–1913)', 3.
[113] Low, 'Physical Anthropology in Japan', 60.
[114] Ibidem, 60.
[115] Terry Bennet, *Korea Caught in Time* (Reading 1998) 16.
116 Torii Ryuzu, 'Yushi izen no Nihon' (1918), in *The Complete Works of Torii Ryuzu, Volume 1* (Tokyo 1975) 459-470.

Conclusion

Koganei Yoshikiyo was a prominent figure in Japanese scholarly circles. He was the first of a new generation of Japanese scholars taught entirely in the western style. This put him in a rare position of influence. The Imperial University of Tokyo was during his tenure as professor a new institute in which there was much room for experimentation and reorganization. Koganei seemed to realize this since he was both a founding member of the Association of Anatomists as well as the AST. For the purpose of this thesis Koganei represents a turning point in how anthropology was practiced in Japan. He followed in the footsteps of his mentor Erwin Baelz and studied anatomy in Germany, even sharing the German scholar's enthusiasm for physical anthropology. When Koganei triumphed in the *Koro-pok-guru* debate, it lent credibility to physical anthropological. This made it possible for Japanese scholars, like Kubo Takeshi, to learn physical anthropological techniques from Japanese professors. Koganei became the father of physical anthropology in Japan, but it could only succeed because it was an accepted science from Europe, particularly Germany, and due to the climate of reform that was predominant at the Imperial University of Tokyo in the Meiji era. Physical anthropology in Japan was then of German make. It was first taught to Koganei by Erwin Baelz, and then in refined in Berlin under the tutelage of Rudolf Virchow and Hans Virchow. However, the German influence is clear, Koganei explicitly used the techniques he had learned to solve Japanese questions regarding the origins of the Japanese race and its position among and relation to other East and South East Asian races.

Chapter 4: Kubo Takeshi

The goal of this chapter is to show that the physical anthropological methodology Baelz brought to Japan, which was then adopted by Koganei, is the same as the methodology practiced by Kubo Takeshi and his fellow Japanese anthropologists. To that end I will first briefly look into Kubo's background. Kubo in this chapter represents a larger group of Japanese physical anthropologists who were taught by Japanese scholars, instead of European or American ones.[117] I could have chosen other examples like Buntaro Adachi or Katsumi Dohi, but Kubo was the most successful of them, working the most high-profile jobs and gaining international recognition for his research. After his life and career, I will discuss Kubo's dissertation.

In spite of his acknowledged status Kubo Takeshi remains an elusive figure. There are precious few records of him and his research is hard to come by. Of his research several articles remain, which were published in *Chōsen igakkai zasshi*, (translated the Korean Medical Journal). Kubo's 718 pages dissertation too, which he published in two parts in 1913 and 1917, withstood the test of time. It should be noted here that Kubo passed away in 1913 and that there is no visible reason why it took four years for the rest of his dissertation to be published posthumously. There is only a single physical copy of the complete dissertation, which is currently in possession of the University of Tokyo. I was unable to obtain the first half of the dissertation due to its rarity. The second half, in which Kubo details his scientific approach and the meaning of the data he acquired, I was able to obtain through Professor Hoi-Eun Kim, who I thank for his cooperation.[118] For the purposes of this thesis when I refer to the dissertation, I mean the part published in 1917. It is unclear why there is so little information to be found on Kubo's life, but one of the possible reasons is that Kubo disgraced himself. During what is known as the Kubo incident of 1921, Kubo falsely accused his Korean students of stealing one of his skulls. He based his accusations on physical anthropological data he had acquired on the Korean people as a whole. The incident was followed by large scale student protests, and in many ways represent the persistent racism against Koreans during Japanese colonial rule, which I will return to at the end of this chapter.

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[117] Tsuboi Shogoro was the first professor of anthropology and no foreign experts were hired for the post. Most contracts with foreign experts were terminated at the turn of century.

[118] Takeshi Kubo, 'Beiträge zur physischen Anthropologie der Koreaner. I. Metrischer Teil,' *Mitteilungen der medicinischen Facultät der KaiserkichJapanischen Universitäta zu Tokyo* 12:1 (1913).

Life and Career

Kubo was born in 1879 in Wajima-machi, a small port in the Ishikawa prefecture in the Midwest of Japan. He graduated from the Department of Medicine at the Fourth High School in 1898 and obtained his medical practitioner licence a month later.[119] The Imperial University of Tokyo hired him 1899 as an Assistant in Anatomy under the guidance of by then Professor of Anatomy Koganei Yoshikiyo at the College of Medicine. During his two years at the university Kubo and Koganei developed a mentor, mentee relationship. Although there is no definitive proof that Kubo met with Baelz, their overlapping interests, Kubo's proximity to Koganei and their similar research methods make it very likely. Kubo made several references to Baelz' research in his dissertation on the status of Korean race.[120] It is clear however that Kubo was much closer to his mentor Koganei than to Baelz, which can be deduced from the fact that Kubo dedicated his dissertation to Koganei and not Baelz.[121] Kubo did not stay long at the university. He left in 1901 and consecutively worked different medical related jobs in Tokyo, Kyoto and Nagoya.[122] In 1907 he travelled to Seoul to take up residency there in a local hospital. During his three years working Seoul Kubo measured 3425 Koreans, both male and female.[123] These measurements formed the basis for his dissertation. He returned to Japan in 1910, to teach in Kanazawa, but instead he travelled onwards to Manchuria, where he was employed by the South Manchurian Railway Medical College. Eventually, he returned to Seoul in 1916, where he became a professor of anatomy at the Keijo Medical College, where he remained until 1921. It behoves us to look into the Kubo Incident that happened on may the 31 1921 for two reasons. First of all, because Kubo used physical anthropological data to justify accusing his Korean students of theft. Secondly, because the university chose Kubo's side over the students. This was the start of what would become systematic racism against Korean students under Japanese colonial rule. On May 31 1921 Kubo discovered that a precious skull was missing from his classroom. Kubo's class consisted out of six Korean students and four Japanese ones. Kubo however accused only his Korean students, because,

[119]Kim, 'Anatomically speaking', 414.
[120] Kubo, 'Beiträge zur physischen Anthropologie der Koreaner, 1.
[121] Ibidem, 23.
[122] Mark Caprio, 'Abuse of Modernity: Japanese Biological Determinism and Identity Management in Colonial Korea', *Cross-Currents: East Asian History and Culture Review* 10:1 (2014) 1-26, 8.
[123] Kim, *Doctors of empire,* 119.

according to him their physical traits betrayed them as barbarians and as inferior.[124] The Korean student body was outraged by his statements and went to the chief of school affairs, Inamoto Kamegoro, to deliver an ultimatum. Inamoto had forty-eight hours to find a new professor of anatomy and to order Kubo to hold a seminar detailing his racial theories regarding the Koreans. If Inamoto did not meet their demands the Korean students threatened to boycott the college. Kubo did not hold the seminar and the college refused to take on a new anatomy professor, although they requested that Kubo took a short vacation. In Kubo's defence, he did apologize for his outburst, citing overwork as a reason for his slip in self-control. The students however remained firm in their demands. Inamoto then wrote a strongly worded letter to the entire student body, threatening consequences if the students did not let the matter go. Consequently, the Korean students boycotted the college. The college in turn, responded by expelling nine students and suspending most of the others.[125] In the following years universities and other institutes of higher education under Japanese colonial rule would continue the behaviour showed by the Keijo Medical college during the Kubo incident.[126] Where Japanese students could expect preferential treatment, Korean and Taiwanese were constantly treated unfairly. Historians like Hoi Eun Kim have expressed that this unfair treatment of Korean, Taiwanese and later Chinese and Mongolian students stemmed from the racial questions that plagued Japanese scholars.[127] By creating a favoured environment for Japanese students to develop their skills, while simultaneously hampering the growth and development of non-Japanese students, Japanese teachers and scholars like Kubo could reaffirm the superior status of the Japanese race. It also is a testament to the credibility and legitimacy physical anthropology had acquired as scientific field. Kubo accused his Korean students of theft, because he truly believed that his research proved that his Korean students were inferior to their Japanese colleagues. And rather than stopping their professor from discriminating between students, the Keiji Medical College chose his side. The student's wish for a new professor of anatomy would to their surprise, and that of the Keiji Medical College, be fulfilled. Kubo suddenly left the college and shortly after passed away.

[124] Caprio, 'Abuse of Modernity', 1-2.
[125] Ibidem, 2.
[126] Kim, 'Anatomically speaking', 411-412.
[127] Ibidem.

Kubo's Dissertation

In this segment of the chapter, I will first broadly outline the content of Kubo's research and then identify clear German influences in his research. When translated the name of Kubo's dissertation means; 'Contributions to the Physical Anthropology of Koreans'. The dissertation was the culmination of three years of intensely measuring Koreans using physical anthropological methods, hence the name. In the dissertation Kubo explains how he organized the data he collected from the many measurements, and he shares his interpretation of that data. The dissertation is made up out of two parts named *Körper* (body) and *Kopf* (head). Each part is broken up into sections about specific part of either the body or the head. Those sections are then further broken down into sub-sections addressing specific traits or sub-categories. For instance, the *Körper* part is divided into six sections. Section three, *Hautfarbe* (skin colour), has three subsections, *Hauptfarbe* (Main colour), *Kinderfleckei* (children's stains) and *Verhalten der Linea Alba* (Behaviour of the Linea Alba).[128] The *Kopf* part is much larger than the *Körper* part, this is likely because of the heavy emphasis Kubo's contemporaries put on the shape of the skull.[129] The general assumption was that cranium size equalled brain size and thus intelligence. Operating from this point of view, Kubo dedicated the first pages of the *Kopf* part to proving that the cranium size of the Koreans, while bigger than those of the Japanese and the Europeans, was not a sign of their superiority.[130] He does so by recreating an experiment Koganei did earlier. Like Koganei he reached the same conclusion, that the Korean cranium was bigger. Koganei's experiment stopped after reporting the measurements, Kubo's however continued. He added measurements of the skull, which showed that while the cranial volume might have been bigger, the cranium's circumference was smaller, which meant that the Koreans had a shorter head than Japanese. Shape trumps size according to Kubo and thus the Koreans remained inferior to the Japanese.[131] Upon closer examination it becomes clear that the claims Kubo makes all seem to support the notion that the Koreans are an inferior race. Although, perhaps that could already be gleaned from a subsection in the *Körper* part called *Integument*.[132] This

[128] The linea alba is a white line that can form inside one's mouth, it is harmless and does not need to be treated. Kubo, 'Beiträge zur physischen Anthropologie der Koreaner', 1.
[129] Caprio, 'Abuse of Modernity', 6.
[130] Kubo, 'Beiträge zur physischen Anthropologie der Koreaner', 59-60.
[131] Caprio, 'Abuse of Modernity', 16-17.
[132] Ibidem, 19.

section which has no scientific basis, safe Kubo's own opinion, depicts the Koreans as filthy people who seldom bathe and who contract all kinds of skin diseases, like herpes, scabies. Under closer scrutiny Kubo's research does not hold up. This thesis will not go into the soundness of Kubo's science, but refers to Mark Caprio's work for a more detailed breakdown of Kubo's research.[133] Suffice it to say that Kubo pushed the numbers of his measurements around until it fit the outcome he desired, that of Japanese superiority.

Historians like Yuki Terazawa have argued that racial discourse in Asia was a lot more complex than similar discussions in Europe.[134] Opposite to European scholars, who could often easily identify non-European races by the colour of their skin, Japanese scholars could not easily distinguish the Japanese race from other races and ethnic groups in East and South East Asia. A consequence of this was that the list of races who shared aspects with the Japanese race depended largely on the political agenda of the individual scientist.[135] Even with the introduction of standardized measurements Japanese physical anthropologists made the science fit their political agenda. As we can see clearly in the cranium case, Kubo had a habit of reaching the conclusions that were most convenient for him. Using physical anthropological data to push a political agenda is a phenomenon that has also been observed in European colonial empires of the time. Historians such as Fenneke Sysling have for instance showed that Dutch physical anthropologists often emphasised certain measurement results over others to promote the outcomes they desired.[136] Kubo's entire dissertation falls squarely in this category. He was not interested in a narrative in which the Korean race would gain equal status to the Japanese race and so he did not find one.

When searching for German influences in Kubo's work one does not have to search far, for it was written in German. The reason for this is likely twofold. Firstly, physical anthropology and medicine are closely linked. This meant that it was easier to report physical anthropological data in German because all medical terms were in German or Dutch. The Dutch medical terms show up in the Japanese language due to the early efforts of Dutch doctors to spread western style medicine throughout Japan during the Tokugawa era. The

[133] Caprio,'Abuse of Modernity'.
[134] Yuki Terazawa, 'Chapter 4, Racializing Bodies through Science in Meiji Japan: The Rise of Race-Based Research in Gynecology', in: *Building a Modern Japan, Science, Technology and Medicine in the Meiji Era and Beyond* (New York 2005) 83-103, 87.
[135] Ibidem.
[136] Sysling, Racial Science, 177-178.

German medical terms are a natural consequence of the Meiji government's decision to adopt and teach German style medicine.[137] Most reference material too was likely in German since a lot of the physical anthropological techniques Japanese scholars used were developed in Berlin.[138] Secondly, Kubo likely intended to reach a wide audience. Most anthropologists, physical or otherwise, in Japan knew German. This meant that Kubo could make his research available to German physical anthropologists, without having to shut out his Japanese colleagues. It should also be noted here that Kubo's dissertation was the culmination of his research in Korea. A lot of the things he reported in his dissertation he had first published in individual essays in two Korean journals, the *Chōsen igakkai zasshi*, (translated: The Korean medical journal), and *Chōsen oyobi Manshū*, (translated: Korea and Manchuria).[139] This meant that there already were Japanese versions of his research. Even if his colleagues had not spoken German his research would have been available to them. This brings up the question why Kubo would publish his research in Korean journals instead of the Japanese ones. The answer is likely that he intended to reach a wide as possible audience and while these journals were circulated in Japan the same could not be said for similar Japanese journals in Korea and Manchuria.

Another very notable German influence are the people Kubo refers to in his dissertation. These can generally be separated into three categories. The first category consists out of other Japanese physical anthropologists and are less frequently cited. Kubo makes use of the research of his colleagues to compare his data to or as a supplement for his argument. The most frequently returning names are Watanabe, who is mentioned on nine pages, Adachi, who is mentioned on seven pages and Dohi, who is mentioned on six pages. By far the most referred to Japanese scholar is Koganei, who is mentioned on seventeen pages. This highlights Koganei's importance since even the European household names of physical anthropology, like Schmidt and Virchow, are not mentioned on more than ten pages. The second category is the largest and consists mostly out of European physical anthropologists, although there are a few exceptions. This category is dominated by German physical anthropologists and it is here that the German influence is most clearly visible. Rudolf

[137] Bowers, *When the Twain Meet,* 50.
[138] Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism,* 4.
[139] To name two of those articles: Kubo Takeshi, "Taikakujō yori mita Chōsenjin to shinajin" [Observing Korean and Chinese physiques]. *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* (1917) 29–30. And: Ibidem, "Mōhatsu no kenkyū" [The study of hair]. *Chōsen* igakkai *zasshi* 21:1 (1918) 81–130.

Martin and Emil Schmidt for instance are both mentioned on ten pages, sometimes repeatedly. The renowned French anthropologist Ernest Chantre for instance is only mentioned on seven pages. There is only one non-German physical anthropologist that is mentioned more often than most Germans and that is the French physical anthropologist Paul Topinard, who is mentioned on twenty pages. He particularly cites Topinard a lot when talking about black skinned peoples. Perhaps there was little German scholarship on that topic, or perhaps Kubo liked Topinard's style, the reason is unclear. Forming a category all by himself is Baelz, who is mentioned on fifty pages, often multiple times. There are multiple reasons for this. Firstly, Baelz had done research on the Koreans, measuring some of them during his brief sojourn in Korea. As such Baelz was the closest Kubo had to a previous version of his experiment. This is indeed often the case. For instance, when Kubo addresses tattoo art he cites Baelz earlier research into tattoo art in Asia.[140] Another reason is that Baelz loomed in the minds of Japanese physical anthropologists. Baelz' paper on the racial traits of the Japanese was the first physical anthropological publication about Japan and it was famous among Japanese physical anthropologists. In addition, Baelz was the mentor of Kubo's mentor, a bond which in Japanese culture was a great deal stronger than in western societies. It should also be considered that Baelz no longer lived in Japan when either part of Kubo's dissertation was published. In fact, Baelz passed away in august 1913, so it is unlikely that he read it. This means that the influence Baelz' wielded during his time in Japan was likely not a factor in Kubo's decision making.

Another clear sign of German influences in Kubo's anthropology is his methodology. Kubo mentions that he uses Schmidt's standardized measurements for all his tables.[141] Kubo uses Schmidt for a particular purpose, defining bodily areas. For instance, in the *Kopf* part, he deploys Schmidt to define what one measures when measuring the skull.[142] He uses Martin sometimes in a similar way. First Kubo's shows Martin's schema of the subsections of the body part Martin measures, then Kubo presents the reader with his own schema, which is clearly similar, but slightly different. For instance, when Kubo discusses hair colour, he first refers to Martin's schema of hair colour and then to his own, which is remarkably similar.[143]

[140] Kubo, 'Beiträge zur physischen Anthropologie der Koreaner', 41.
[141] Ibidem, 4.
[142] Ibidem, 56.
[143] Ibidem, 85.

This method of first presenting precedence and then one's own work, which is very similar, speaks to a strong desire to be associated with the precedential research and the methodology used there. Kubo shows us throughout his dissertation that he has kept to the rules set out by Schmidt, Martin and other physical anthropologists involved in the creation of the physical anthropological methodology. Kubo almost never consults with non-German scholars where it comes to questions of methodology. Only when there is debate surrounding the precise measurements of certain body parts does Kubo reach out to scholars of a different nationality. For instance, we see this happening when Kubo discusses cheekbones. There seemed to be some debate in how to precisely measure them.[144] He consulted with eight physical anthropologists, Virchow, Luschan, Schmidt, Martin, Siebold, Koganei, Baelz and Topinard. The fact that six of these scholars were German should also speak of the German influences on anthropology practiced in Japan.

Conclusion

At first glance it might seem strange that a Japanese scholar, who never studied in Europe, would write his thesis in German for a Japanese university. When we look closer it is however a clear and logical choice. A choice which fits into a wider pattern that developed in the early 20th century in the field of anthropology in Japan. Kubo Takeshi became interested in physical anthropological research because he came into contact with Koganei Yoshikiyo, while working under the latter. Koganei taught Kubo everything the latter needed to know about physical anthropological methods. Koganei had learned these methods from Baelz and in Berlin, so naturally they were of German design. Kubo specifically made sure that his research on the Korean race could be read by the most prominent physical anthropologists of his time, who were either German or German schooled. Kubo then moved to Korea where he conducted extensive measuring, with Swiss tools admittedly, in the German style. There can be no doubt that physical anthropology as it was practiced in Japan was of German make. This would be a hasty conclusion based on the work of a single man, but Kubo here represents a larger group of physical anthropologists in Japan. A group including men like Nakajima Motojirō, who measured the pelvic bones of Korean women, and Kudo Takeki, who linked Korean husband murders to Korean racial traits and who often wrote on Korean crimes in relation to their

[144] Ibidem, 149-150.

racial status.[145] It should also be noted that there was a wide audience for Kubo's work. The articles he wrote while he was sojourning in Korea were printed and reprinted in numerous popular journals.[146] Kubo, Kudo and Nakajima were part of a rapidly growing faction among Japanese anthropologists. This faction had a clear goal, to prove that the Japanese race was superior to every other Asian race. A goal easily achieved through the racial deterministic viewpoint Japanese physical anthropologists chose to adopt. Physical anthropological data could always be interpreted in a way that would prove the superiority of the Japanese race. Right on time too. As Japan became the only "modern" Asian empire it started down the same track most European empires with colonial ambitions had gone down before.

[145] Nakajima Motojirō, "Chōsen fujin no kotsuban gaikei keizokusu ni oite" [On the outer diameter measurements of the Korean woman's pelvic bone], *Chōsen igakkai zasshi* 4:1 (1913) 125–126. Kudo Takeki wrote a series of articles called '"Chōsen tokuyū ni hanzai" (Crimes unique to Koreans) in *Chōsen oyobi Manshū*.

[146] Caprio, 'Abuse of Modernity', 11-12.

Conclusion

Japan at the end of the 19th century was a rapidly changing nation. The Meiji period was a time of transition. Japan transformed in the span of a few decades from a traditional feudal society into, what at the time was considered, a modern nation. It could however not do so on its own. The Meiji government acknowledged that it lacked the technology and know how to run a modern country. It remedied that problem by travelling to the other modern nations of the time, to see how the metaphorical sausage was made. Upon returning from the Iwakura mission the Meiji government decided to upscale the foreign teacher programme that had been started under the administration of the Tokugawa Shogunate. Between 1868 and 1913 hundreds of foreign experts from all over the modern world flocked towards Japan, where they would receive high salaries and benefits for their work. These foreign experts organized themselves in societies. Members of these societies often shared nationalities, but it was not a requirement to be of a certain nationality to join and dual memberships were not uncommon. During the Meiji period Japan's higher academic institutions and disciplines were shaped by these foreign experts. One of these disciplines, was anthropology, the subject of this thesis.

This thesis has asked the primary question; "How did German physical anthropology influence the development of anthropology as a field of study in Meiji Japan between 1868 and 1913?" In this thesis I have broken this question down into three questions, which I have addressed in four chapters. I started by asking how anthropology was practiced in Japan before physical anthropology arrived. The answer is that anthropology was practiced, but sparingly and using a type of antiquarian archaeology focused methodology. This type of anthropology had been introduced by anthropologists such as Edward Morse. It was taken up by a handful of Japanese scholars who could no longer cope with the fact that Japan was only studied through foreign eyes and who believed that Japan should be studied by the Japanese themselves. This discourse between European and newly minted Japanese anthropologists took place without governmental oversight, between a handful of scholars. Anthropology operated in an unregulated space in Japan and this allowed anthropologists, both Japanese as well as European, to leave a lasting mark on the science. In this environment publications could change the entire course of the science as indeed happened.

In the second and third chapter, I asked the question how the physical anthropological methodology was introduced to Japan and how it was able to spread. Before Baelz' arrival physical anthropology was not practiced in Japan. It was a single publication that put the methodology on the map. Baelz' 'Köperlichen Eigenschaften der Japaner' was a pivotal publication for anthropology in Japan. Baelz likely learned how to practice physical anthropology from Virchow, one of the founding fathers of German physical anthropology. The academic genealogy of German physical anthropology in Japan starts with Virchow, who taught the method to Baelz. It was then adopted by Baelz' student Koganei, who went on to study anatomy in Berlin. There his education was supplemented with anthropological methods taught by Virchow himself.

Koganei used the methods he had learned from Baelz and in Europe to go head-to-head with his friend and rival Tsuboi Shogoro, who represented the archaeological, anthropological methodology, in what is known as the *Koro-pok-guru* debate. Koganei hypothesised that the *Koro-pok-guru* were in fact the Ainu and not the original Japanese race as Tsuboi had proposed. The debate was ruled in Koganei's favour after he published a very well-reviewed paper on the nigh identical nature of Ainu bones and the bones, he and Tsuboi had found in the shell mounds. As a consequence of the success of this new methodology, Koganei's physical anthropology gained momentum. Even though the *Koro-pok-guru* turned out to be an ancestor of both the Japanese as well as the Ainu. Koganei is widely seen as the father of physical anthropology in Japan due to the success of the physical anthropological methods he employed in the *Koro-pok-guru* debate. He was the first Japanese practitioner of physical anthropology and as such was the only one capable of teaching it to a new generation of scholars. This new generation of scholars would be granted new opportunities to research physical anthropology

In the fourth chapter I asked how Japanese anthropology developed after the introduction of physical anthropology and whether it remained a German science. I studied Kubo Takeshi, one of the more prominent physical anthropologists prior to World War One in Japan. Kubo had a teacher student relationship with Koganei and was most likely acquainted with Baelz. Kubo, like Koganei and Baelz was an anatomist first and a physical anthropologist second. Over the years, as he studied under Koganei, Kubo developed an interest in physical anthropology, which came to fruition during his sojourn in Korea. He did extensive research on the physical traits of the Korean people. He took 3425 full measurements of Korean bodies

both male and female, over the span of three years. These measurements formed the statistical body of all Kubo's publications pertaining to the racial traits of the Koreans. His research was respected and widely read. He published his complete research in two parts, the metric part in 1913 and the descriptive part in 1917. This dissertation was written in German, using the standardized measurements as prescribed by Emil Schmidt in '*Anthropologischen Methoden'*. Most of his references are to German and Japanese doctors and physical anthropologists and he takes great care to show that his own, slightly different measurement tables, are variations on accepted German tables. By all accounts it is clear that the science Kubo practices is a German product.

Apart from these clear German influences I would also add that Japanese physical anthropologists started operating in a similar fashion as most European physical anthropologists. Much like their European counterparts, Japanese physical anthropologists developed a symbiotic relationship with the colonial branches of their government. The Japanese government increasingly saw value in physical anthropologists who could strengthen their claims on other Asian nations. Differently, from European physical anthropologists, who were always in search of exotic new study materials, Japanese scholars preferred to measure large quantities of the peoples already living within the growing Japanese empire.

Having answered these secondary questions, I can now answer my primary question. German physical anthropology influenced the development of anthropology in Japan to such a degree that it almost completely came to entirely replace any other form of anthropology in Japan. German physical anthropology became the norm and the Japanese physical anthropologists tried to keep as true to the methodology as possible. The way physical anthropology, and by extension nearly all anthropology, was practiced in Japan was then of German made, unintentionally imported in Baelz and then intentionally adopted by Koganei and his students. Anthropology in Japan developed without oversight of the Japanese government or any regulating body belonging to the university. The science had a flexibility and moldability to it that was not common in Japan's higher institutes of education. This explains then how single publication by previous unknown authors could become pivotal for the field of anthropology as a whole. When physical anthropology made such a successful introduction, it caused a paradigm shift in the practice and perception of anthropology in Japan. the sudden shift in direction anthropology took befitted the nature of the Meiji era. It

was a time of great experimentation and modernization, in which the Japanese people adopted and adapted western technologies and practices to suit their own needs. Ultimately, the adoption of physical anthropology would lead Japan down a dark road of justifying the oppression of racial minorities across the empire, medicalized human experiments and the institutionalization of racism.

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