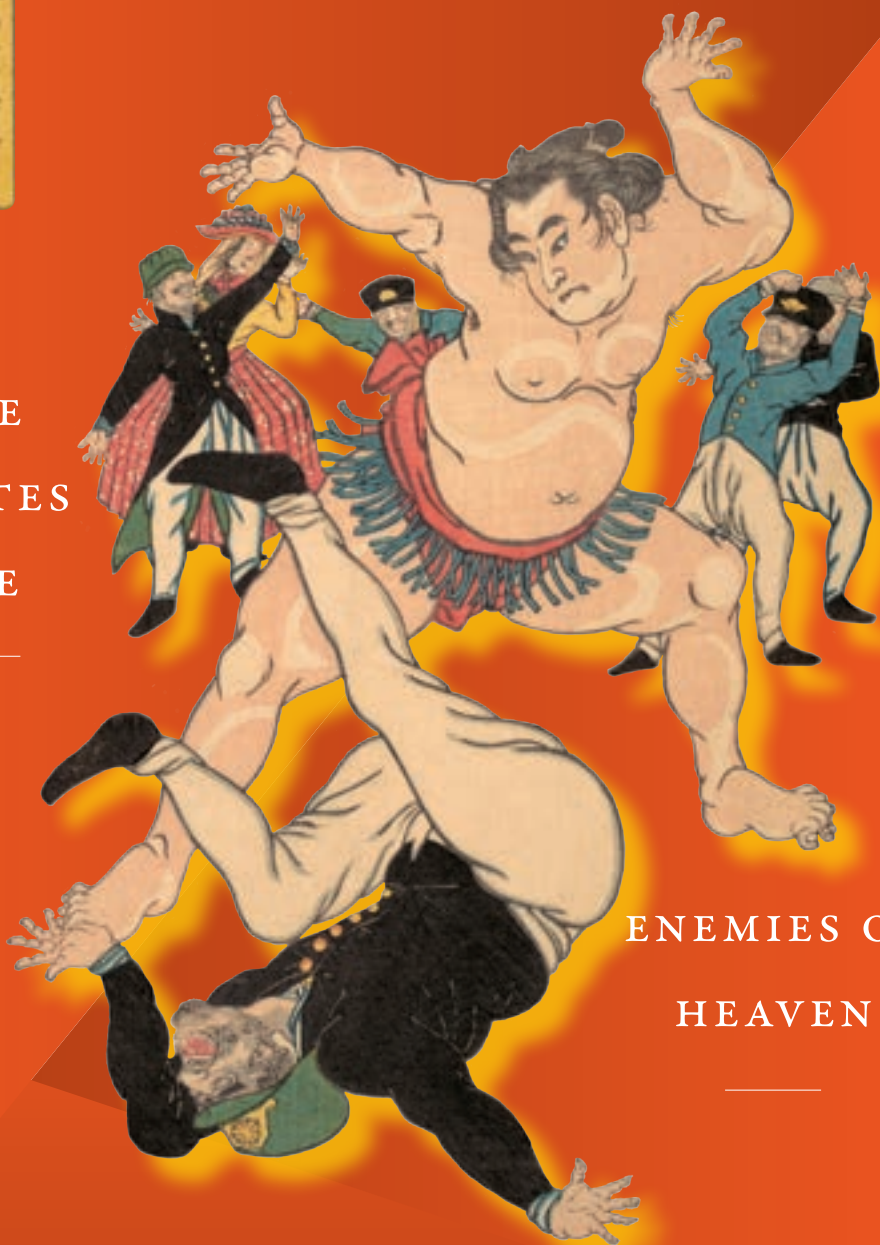


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Climate Caucasianism and Asian Ecological Protection

MARK W. DRISCOLL

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Climate Caucasianism and  
Asian Ecological Protection

MARK W. DRISCOLL

Duke University Press *Durham and London* 2020

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In memory:

Eugene W. Driscoll III, Srinivas Aravamudan,  
David Bell, and Randy Martin

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## Preface and Acknowledgments

This book begins around 1800 when China had the world's largest economy and Japan was so prosperous it doubled its population in two hundred years without a drop in median income. The huge East Asian economic sphere was also what we would today call sustainable: responsible for less than 1 percent of global carbon emissions. The next hundred years saw a massive transformation in world-ecology as Japan and China were turned into peripheries of US and British capitalism under an emerging formation of white supremacy and the systemic plundering of the earth I call Climate Caucasianism. Focusing on the drug, human, and weapons trafficking that gave birth to the carbon-intensive capitalism of the US and UK (responsible in the mid-nineteenth century for between 70 and 80 percent of emissions) and were the driving forces behind this shift affords a new reading of our current moment of the Anthropocene. While I wholeheartedly agree with Jason Moore who suggests replacing the unmarked humanity (*anthropos*) of the term Anthropocene with Capitalocene, white supremacy features extra-economic drives that exceed a logic of capitalism. In other words, climate breakdown is both capitalogenic and raciogenic.

The perceptive Commissioner Lin Zexu, the Qing official who tried to stop British opium trafficking to China, intuited how Euro-whites were attempting to overthrow moral economies, ecologies and cosmologies. In 1839 he identified the problem: "Whites are Enemies of Heaven." With this cue I name this racecological formation Climate Caucasianism and CO<sub>2</sub>lonialism to help focus on a capitalist logic centered on extraction (of nonwhite humans and most women, nonliving fossils, living, extrahuman nature, rent, data; etc) and an epistemic logic of what I call "extra-action"—the domination of "inferior" humans and nonliving extractables from outside and above. I show the rapacious

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“superpredation” necessary to consolidate this planet-endangering project and, following Arturo Escobar, its audacious deforming of language to call it freedom and development.

The events that consolidated Climate Caucasianism were the First (1839–42) and Second (1856–60) Opium Wars with China and the US gunboat invasion of Tokugawa Japan in 1853–54. As the wars with Qing China were launched to remove the obstacles to white UK narcotraffickers, they are more correctly called Wars *for* Drugs. Similarly, while still referred to as the benign “opening of Japan,” the US operation against the Tokugawa *bakufu* quickly unleashed white arms traffickers and contraband gold dealers to plunder Japan of much of its wealth. What Marx called the “ruthless terrorism” of white US and UK capitalists shocked Asian elites into restructuring their economies at the end of the nineteenth century, following the Anglo-American templates of extraction and extra-action, effectively globalizing Climate Caucasianism. Japan underwent this transformation before China and, as I showed in my last book, managed to leverage its own capitalist extraction into imperialist extra-action, becoming a colonial power in East Asia by 1905.

Yet this book also tells a powerful counternarrative: the stories of people in Asia who resisted capitalist and white racial terrorism from within very different ecological and ontological worlds than those being imposed from the West. Borrowing a term from Indigenous protests against capitalist extraction, I call these actors “eco-ontological protectors.” They battled against Western power not extra-actively, but immanent with nature and extrahuman entities in a mode the philosopher Karen Barad calls “intra-active.” While often ruthlessly exterminated, they created an Asian undercommons that stretched across South and East Asia and enabled world historical events like the samurai rebellions in Japan and the Boxer Uprising in China. I will argue that they were also vital to the overthrow of millennia-old dynastic rule in China and offer compelling stories for earthly survival today.

This material is based on a decade of archival work in Chengdu, Sichuan, Fukuoka, Kyushu, Tokyo, Washington, DC, and Princeton University with Japanese- and Chinese-language sources. Sincere thanks to the countless librarians who assisted me at the above archives. Closer to home, the Chinese librarian at UNC, Chapel Hill, Hsi-chu Bolick, was immensely helpful in locating obscure Qing dynasty material for me. The Japanese librarian at Duke, Chris Troost, successfully dug up equally obscure Japanese-language sources.

This book first took shape during a one-year residence at Princeton’s Institute for Advanced Studies in 2012–13, where I was warmly hosted by Nicola Di Cosmo. Conversations there with David Eng, Hyun-Ok Park, and Moon-Kie

Jung helped sketch the early contours of this study. The project moved forward over a total of two years spent reading, translating, and researching in Chongqing, Sichuan. Professor Diego Gullota generously put me up in his small apartment in Shapingba for several months in 2013, which was the first of several long stays in the city.

I want to thank my UNC, Chapel Hill, students for their critical engagement with most of this material, especially those in ASIA 244, JAPN 375, GLBL 383, and GLBL 413. I also received invaluable feedback from invited presentations over the last decade. While I don't have the space to mention every institution, lectures and conversations at Pratt Institute hosted by Jon Beller; at Duke University hosted by Michaeline Crichlow; at the University of Toronto hosted by my brother Ken Kawashima; at UCLA hosted by Bill Marotti and Kats Hirano; at the University of North Georgia hosted by Sungshin Kim; and at the University of Chicago hosted by the PhD students in East Asian studies were particularly fruitful. Professor Wang Di made it possible for me to share my ideas on opium production and consumption in the late Qing period with faculty and graduate studies of the History Department at Sichuan University in Chengdu, after which I was granted access to the Sichuan Provincial Archives.

Several people commented on the manuscript, and I want to single out Harry Harootunian (who else?) and Michael Eng, who provided particularly insightful suggestions. Two anonymous reviewers offered crucial suggestions and correctives. My editor Ken Wissoker was both encouraging and patient with the project from the time I proposed it five years ago.

This project is unimaginable without the inspiration, teaching, and love of three special people. Over the last fifteen years Wahneema Lubiano has patiently mentored me in Black studies, providing in-depth critiques and overviews of the most important global thinkers of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Everything that appears in this book related to race is directly or indirectly inspired by her. Arturo Escobar is my guru in decolonial theory and politics. Whether involved in protest plans against the lack of diversity at Weaver St. Market, participating in his countless colloquia and seminars over the last twelve years, or breaking bread together in Carrboro and Chapel Hill, my life and thinking have evolved considerably through his friendship and writing. Finally, my life and love, Diane Nelson, read and commented on every sentence in this book and was the main interlocutor for each thought in it. Even more than my last book, this one is *from* her.

The book is dedicated to the memory of my younger brother, Eugene William Driscoll III, and to three friends who also passed prematurely during its production: Srinivas Aravamudan, David Bell, and Randy Martin.

## INTRODUCTION

### The Speed Race(r) and the Stopped Incarcer-Races

The devil never made a wiser move than when he introduced opium smoking among the Chinese. It just suits the natural disposition of the people, as alcohol suits the active, impetuous disposition of the West.—Reverend R. H. Graves, *Forty Years in China*, 1895

The Japanese see that their system of locking themselves in . . . has taught them nothing and only stopped their growth. Like a school plot, it has collapsed instantly with the appearance of the teacher.—Ivan Goncharov, *The Frigate Pallada*, 1858 (in Lensen 1959)

Move fast and break things.—Facebook's corporate motto, 2010–14

#### *Wars for Drugs*

In February 1839 the Qing Commissioner Lin Zexu wrote to Britain's Queen Victoria in one of the most famous appeals in the history of international relations.<sup>1</sup> He reminded her that her "honorable country" had benefited from trade with China for two hundred years but that "there are now as many evil foreign traders as good ones. The former are opium dealers who are only concerned with profit and couldn't care less about the harm their products do! These drug traffickers are both enemies of Heaven's way [天道] and universally despised by humans with a heart" (Gong 2010, 694). Appointed by the Qing Emperor Daoguang to halt the illegal flood of Anglo-Indian opium—the nineteenth century's crack cocaine<sup>2</sup>—Lin went on: "Your country is sixty or seventy thousand li away. Nevertheless, your ships frantically rush here to do

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business and reap huge profits. . . . But how do your people justify selling drugs that injure Chinese people? Even though these dealers may not intend to do us harm [未必有心为害], insatiable greed makes them pursue profit to such an extreme that they are blind to the disastrous effects of drug trafficking. We ask: where is the conscience in all of this?" (695).<sup>3</sup>

Nothing in their experience had prepared Lin and his associates for a market system so indifferent to its deleterious effects. One of the reasons for their naïveté was that Qing dynasty (1644–1911) officials lacked information about a crucial precedent for British narcotrafficking—the systematic human trafficking of enslaved Africans by white Euro-Americans across the Atlantic.<sup>4</sup> However, the main reason for their dismay at the amorality of capitalist profiteering was that many Qing officials still configured trade in moral terms as an act of reciprocity, and in basic market terms as the purchase of a commodity by a merchant who then resells it for a modest gain. A standard way to vouch for products was for merchants themselves to be owners and acknowledged users of their product. One of the things that irked Chinese elites like Lin was that the British opium dealers weren't smokers—Lin scolded Victoria, "you do not take it yourselves"—and, as far as they knew, opium was illegal in England.

Lin Zexu and his associates consulted both Christian doctrine and the main textbook of European international law at this time, Vattel's *Le Droit des gens*.<sup>5</sup> Their appeal to Queen Victoria combines these frameworks with Chinese philosophy to undergird a universal moral code the white narcotraffickers were violating. I will flesh out this code in several East Asian philosophico-spiritual discourses in this book. Suffice it to say here that the Chinese officials assumed that humans are morally bound to a Heavenly realm populated by deities. (In fact, when Lin dumped twenty thousand crates of contraband British opium into river trenches in Guangzhou starting on April 11, 1839, he prayed for forgiveness from the river divinities.) It is the responsibility of humans to steward a just, harmonious relationship between the spheres of Heaven and Earth. As deployed in the canonical texts *Analects* and *Mencius*, Heaven requires humans to be accountable to its "way [天道]" and its fateful "mandate [天命]." In this neo-Confucian cosmology, humans are located between ethereal entities and earthly nature in a system held together by rational principle or 理 (*li*). Through no fault of their own, Lin and his associates were unable to fathom an emerging global capitalism where, as Slavoj Žižek quips, erstwhile human Subjects are emptied out by capitalism as \$ubject (1993, 27–28).<sup>6</sup> There was no precedent available in Chinese thought that could legitimate the usurious, predatory behavior of the British \$ubjects Lin denounces. Equally unthinkable

was waging a war with new carbon-spewing gunboats in defense of these predators, as Great Britain was just about to do.

### *Climate Caucasianism*

Britain launched the First Opium War (1839–42) in response to Lin's actions. This book construes it as the First War for Drugs<sup>7</sup> and argues that it was a crucial event in the shift from the Holocene to the Anthropocene. The new geological era of the Anthropocene has been conceived recently by earth scientists to signal the end of the stability of the Holocene Optimum of the previous twelve thousand years and marks the beginning of climate breakdown, a collapse of biodiversity, and major disruptions to biogeochemical cycles of water, nitrogen, phosphate, and carbon. However, I refuse the generic "humanity" in the Anthropocene, as this was the age when white racial capitalists assumed global control over nonliving minerals like fossil fuels, nonwhite humans, and extrahuman nature. Through this control, white men transcended their role in the Holocene as one biological actor among others and became the dominating geological force of what I will call "Climate Caucasianism."<sup>8</sup>

There should be no doubt that European capitalism altered the global climate. The first clear evidence of this is what Lewis and Maslin (2018) call the "Orbis Spike." They demonstrate that the significant global temperature drop between 1550 and 1700 was caused by the Spanish and Portuguese genocide of 90 percent of the Indigenous peoples of the Americas. This wiped out most agriculture and infrastructure and allowed an extensive forest regeneration, which sequestered so much carbon that atmospheric CO<sub>2</sub> levels fell by 6 parts per million between 1520 and 1610. Colder and wetter weather in Europe reduced agricultural yields and put downward pressure on profits pushing capital to intensify its push into the warmer tropical areas in the Americas, this time forcing African slaves to clear forests and work plantations from Brazil to Maryland (Moore 2020). By 1875, atmospheric CO<sub>2</sub> levels had risen by 4 parts per million from 1650 levels. Relentless global warming had begun.

While Climate Caucasianism built on the conquest of the Americas and the subsequent trafficking of nearly 13 million African slaves across the Atlantic, it ultimately achieved planetary preeminence by military subjugation of the prosperous polities of China and Japan in the Asia-Pacific. It is impossible to understate the impact of this forceful decentering of the Sinocentric trading area (including Japan) on world-ecology. Just before the First War for Drugs, the UK was responsible for over 80 percent of global CO<sub>2</sub> emissions (Malm

2015). China, on the other hand, was responsible for less than 1 percent, even though it had the world's largest economy (Maddison 2007).

More specifically, Climate Caucasianism's power was consolidated through an intricate circuit of high-tech, weaponized clipper ships that trafficked opium from British India to China; Indian and Chinese "coolie" captives trafficked to British colonial territories in Asia and Africa and across the Pacific to supplement and replace Afro-descendant slaves in the Americas;<sup>9</sup> contraband weapons trafficked to East Asia by white arms dealers; and investor capital. Readers are seeing a veritable traffic jam here, and I ask you to patiently idle in it for a while. I will insist in this book that drugs, arms, and human trafficking were not anomalies in the reach of Anglo-American power to the Asia-Pacific, but rather representative instances of what Marx called capitalism's "ruthless terrorism" required to establish the conditions for what we call today rapid economic growth (1977a, 895). Although scholars have drawn attention to the ways opium trafficking to China paid for Britain's empire in the nineteenth century (Trocki 1999), in this book I go beyond this to insist that the clipper-coolie captive-contraband-capital (or 4C) circuit opened new frontiers to plunder nature; extracted large numbers of cheap Asian service and sex workers; and enclosed areas in China and Japan for the newest forms of what I will call CO<sub>2</sub>lonialism, increasing carbon emissions and intervening in the global climate once again. The 4C circuit itself was activated by a structural inequality based in three asymmetries: those of (1) warfare; (2) lawfare, where law, including European "rationality" and representation, is war by other means; and (3) rawfare, in which nonliving minerals, most women, nonwhite humans, and extrahuman nature are all alienated and reduced to "raw" materials. Although the three "fares" of war, law, and raw all have distinct histories, the focus in this book will be on the ways that the nineteenth-century sciences of philosophy, raciology (scientific racism), geology, and meteorology rationalized them. But let's get back to the white guy narcotraffickers that Commissioner Lin denounced as enemies of Heaven. As I will show, as the vanguard force for Climate Caucasianism in the Asia-Pacific, they were hardly friends of the earth either.

The spike in contraband drugs sold to Chinese by white narcos (four thousand 140-pound chests of opium annually in the 1780s ballooned to over forty thousand in 1839) and the subsequent forced migration of many victims of these black markets invites a comparison with the US crack cocaine epidemic of the 1980s and 1990s. First there was the shift in forms of ingestion—in China from swallowing opium and in the US from snorting cocaine to smoking in both places. Second, when trafficked weapons and drugs rushed into an area, money

and captive bodies rushed out. As Chinese opium consumption expanded exponentially in the early decades of the nineteenth century, peasant families were forced to sell off their possessions and even their kids to human traffickers, falling prey to the “symbiotic horizontal integration” of opium and forced migration (Marez 2004, 49). As it had earlier with profitable investments in the African slave trade, Euro-American investor capital swarmed into this labor market when the intoxicating news began to circulate of the 200–400 percent profit made when Chinese from Guangdong province were sold in the Americas as plantation workers (Yun and Laremont 2001, 107). Similarly, in the US case, sentencing disparities force Black and Brown people from their communities into jails and prison labor, feeding the prison-industrial complex. While locked away, their homes can be repossessed by white bankers, and their assets “forfeited” to police.

The First War for Drugs brought widespread destruction and death to coastal southern China, thwarting Commissioner Lin’s attempt to protect China from the scourge of white narcotics. It opened the door for Anglo-American drug cartels, partnering with British and Spanish human traffickers, to press-gang over a million Chinese across what Christopher, Pybus, and Rediker (2007) call the newest Middle Passage of the Pacific. Eyewitness accounts reported that some Chinese captives were auctioned off exactly as African slaves had been decades before (Swinton and Swinton 1859, 15). Evidently, Anglophone capitalists understood the close connection of contraband opium to Chinese captive labor, cynically linking them as “poison and pigs” (Lowe 2015, 110)—their cash cows.

The profits from opium “poison” extracted by white drug cartels such as Jardine, Matheson & Co. and Russell & Co. (headed by Warren Delano, grandfather of US President Franklin Delano Roosevelt) were recycled into expropriating natural resource frontiers in the Americas and into supplying the “pig” (or “coolie”) laborers who worked and died on plantations and built coal-powered railroads cheaply that enclosed this now privatized nature. What is rarely mentioned in the scholarship is that the clipper-coolie captive-contraband-capital circuit also kickstarted the first appearance of the military-industrial complex (McNeill 1982). The trickle of arms sales in the 1830s and 1840s to Asia turned into a tsunami in the 1860s as British and US traffickers, covertly supported by their nations’ respective diplomats, rushed to Japan to sell expensive weaponry to the clan domains battling each other and the Tokugawa rulers, as I will show in chapter 1. In 1842 Hong Kong became the central weapons entrepôt in the Asia-Pacific (Blue 2000). After the Second War for Drugs (1856–60) against Qing China, sales restrictions were lifted, allowing arms traffickers to profit from the spike in weapons purchases by both the Qing government for its



self-strengthening impetus of the 1870s and by its mushrooming opposition. These weapons sales and subsequent wars were climate-intervening as they unleashed greenhouse gas emissions and poisoned environments.

The events set off by the 4C circuit are still applauded by mainstream scholars as the “development” of East Asia. Conversely, my eco-Marxist perspective draws attention to the ways Climate Caucasianism, as the cumulative effect of the 4C circuit, devastated mineral, human, and extrahuman natures everywhere it turned. While Climate Caucasianism is not the same thing as white (people’s) weather, nevertheless Climate Caucasianism deepened when white capitalists profited from extreme weather events, as I will show.

### *Clipper Ships and Capitalist Extra-Action*

Lin Zexu’s indignant letter to Queen Victoria calling out whites as enemies of Heaven intuited the larger structure I am insisting on here: the centrality of drug trafficking to the new capitalist and climate regime. While China enjoyed a GDP larger than the combined total of Western Europe and its colonies at this time, many Chinese trading practices were similar to British ones (Pomeranz 2000). However, the new regime of a globally extractive capitalism inaugurated formations that were incomprehensible to Qing officials like Lin. First, there was nothing in China comparable to the “coolie” captive trade across the Pacific. Second, the logistical complexity of Anglo-American narcotrafficking to China was unprecedented. For example, profit could be accrued at several points in the opium commodity chain: from weapons and ships, from contracts and insurance, from financing and credit, and from buying and selling the laborers needed to move the narcotics long distances. While the English “country trader” who purchased British East India Company (EIC) opium in Kolkata, India, and then acquired the necessary crew and infrastructure to get the narcotics to China took the most surplus, many others profited. More importantly, Euro-American capitalism pioneered a process whereby surplus profits were ineluctably invested back into the system in search of even more surplus, kickstarting a process of endless accumulation. Unfortunately, most of the profit opportunities were in climate-interfering industries that emitted high levels of greenhouse gases (Bonneuil and Fressoz 2017, 118).

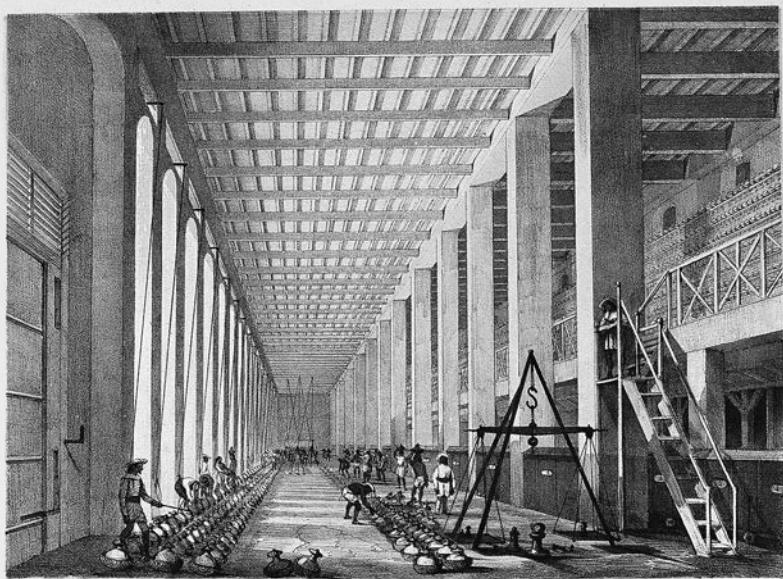
In the late 1700s some Europeans viewed opium trafficking from British India to China as crucial to even out centuries-old trade deficits caused by strong Western demand for Chinese tea and porcelain, and the lack of Asian interest in European products. While it was already reaping large payouts, systematic narco-capitalism appeared when Warren Hastings was named governor



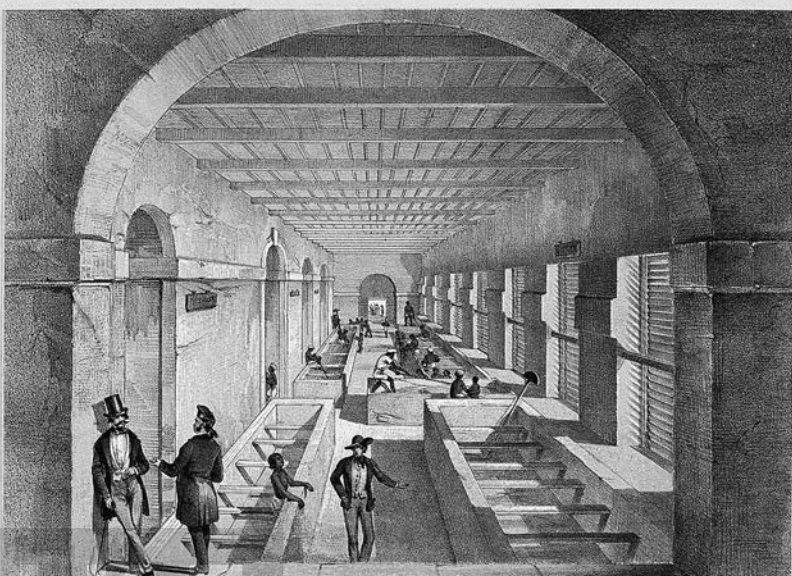
general of India in 1773 and assumed control of the East India Company's new opium monopoly the next year. Attempting to integrate disparate aspects of the monopoly, Hastings began transforming rivers and building roads to ensure the quick movement of opium to—as we can see in the images—the surprisingly modern EIC drug labs and industrial processing facilities, and then finished opium cakes to the export platform in Kolkata.

Vipul Singh shows that this is when the EIC began to see the sacred Ganges and other Indian rivers solely as “resources for accumulating capital” (2018). It's important to highlight these riparian (river and land) zones as also victims of Climate Caucasianism. As I explore in chapters 2 and 6, they feature a diverse habitat and interactions among different kinds of entities not found in other biomes, what Donna Haraway calls a “multi-species democracy” (2007, 262–63). In such zones, dynastic rulers such as China's Qing and Japan's Meiji (1868–1912), as well as CO2lonial regimes like the East India Company tried to practice what I will call “extra-action”—utterly different from more local experiences of interaction or from what Karen Barad calls relational “intra-acting” (2007, 178). Extra-action seeks to dominate from outside and above and features a mode of perception based on separation and superiority, facilitating the making of violent abstractions like those Sylvia Wynter identifies as the “reduction of Man to Labour and of Nature to Land” (1971, 99), the intervening in climates, and the hoarding of biomass. In British India the extra-acting and extracting East India Company transformed riparian zones to facilitate drug trafficking.

Of course, riparian worlds were not the only entities extra-acted upon. Hastings set up a contract system with purchasing agents responsible for delivering a fixed amount of opium to the East India Company for an agreed-upon price. The EIC wanted to procure the drug as cheaply as possible, and the money paid out rarely covered the costs of opium production (Trocki 1999, 62). On top of this, many EIC agents demanded bribes and stole Company money. When these abuses were publicized in England, the company assumed direct control of opium farmers in 1797 under Lord Cornwallis (Farooqui 2005, 14). From then on, through 100 branch offices of its draconian Opium Agency, the EIC forced landholding *gomostabs* to deliver commissioned amounts of opium to its drug labs and processing centers in Patna and Benares (Bauer 2019). In turn, landlords ordered the primary producers—*ryots* or peasants—to grow poppies. Forced to monocrop opium poppies and jettison sustainable crop rotations, the *ryots* wound up with depleted soils, microbe invasions, and no subsistence crops (Farooqui 1998). *Papaver somniferum*, the opium poppy, is a particularly hungry plant and exhausts nutrients from the soil in just three



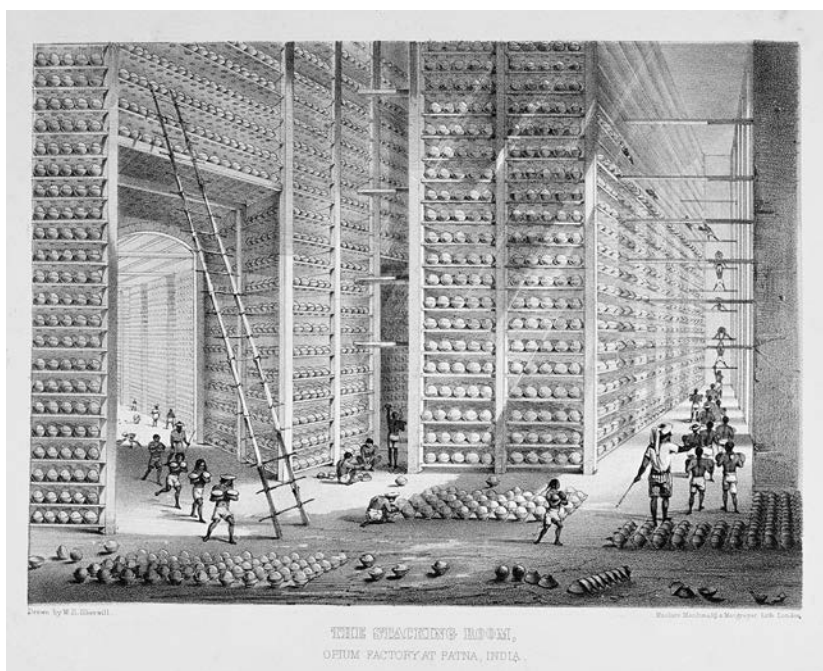
THE EXAMINING HALL,  
OPIMUM FACTORY AT PATNA, INDIA.



THE MIXING ROOM,  
OPIMUM FACTORY AT PATNA, INDIA.

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FIGURES INTRO.1–INTRO.3. British East India Company’s huge drug lab and processing center at Patna in Bihar, India. Courtesy MIT Visualizing Cultures. <https://visualizingcultures.mit.edu/>.

to four years when it isn’t rotated. Aggravating this tendency, the EIC began enclosing tracts of Indian land exclusively for poppy cultivation. Britain’s extractive enterprises were, of course, based on a deeply predatory relation to nature within the UK, but in Asia—building on the precedent set by the slave-driven monocropping of tobacco and cotton in the Americas—domestic rules of engagement were altered, intensifying extraction and unleashing Climate Caucasianism (Merchant 2002, 49). In British India, a vicious cycle of maxed-out soils and skimmed-off payments indebted many peasants and some landlords, “freeing” them up for permanent removal from the land and into exploitative waged labor inside India or forced migration abroad—pioneers of the Asian coolie captive trade. Although the practice of waged labor preceded the EIC assuming colonial control over Bengal after the 1757 Battle of Plassey, the different enclosure techniques the EIC deployed multiplied its use. And as Maria Mies (1986) and Silvia Federici (2004, 2012) argue, the spread of waged labor exacerbated unequal gender relations as men monopolized waged jobs while women’s concrete labor was increasingly denigrated until it was not

even counted as work at all. Conflating women's unremunerated labor with the unpaid costs of despoiling nature, Moore and Patel call this "capitalism's most sinister accounting trick" (2017, 94).

Subsequent to processing and packaging the opium, the EIC auctioned it off to private British drug traffickers at Kolkata. (Until the 1830s, US drug carrels weren't allowed to bid at the EIC auctions and bought their opium in Turkey instead.) After the auctions the EIC regularly pocketed between eight and ten times what it had paid out, an astronomical profit rate. But this was just a hint of the extreme extractions to come.

At Kolkata, India, the clipper ship assumed a central role for white narcos. The antithesis of a "slow boat to China," the clippers were the fastest sailing vessels in the world and were originally built in Baltimore, New England, and Great Britain; some began their careers as slave ships. From the turn of the nineteenth century, some Euro-American clipper ships were made for white narcos much cheaper in Indian ports like Masulipatam and Surat using local teak wood, long valued by Indian Ocean sailors for its durability and resistance to water (Arnold 2000, 101). With the savings from building ships locally in India, drug lords could spend more on weaponry, and the most popular clipper design used to traffic drugs to China until the 1850s was outfitted with twenty cannons. The ships were manned by between 60 and 120 Asian lascar sailors, ten sepoy soldiers, and a core group consisting of a white captain, his two or three European mates, and a British or American officer and drug lord. The only females on board were the slave girls the white narco and captain often took on board as concubines (Jaffer 2015, 64). The standard 25-to-1 ratio of South Asian to Euro-white workers was driven by capital's need to drive down costs and increase profitability through a racist rawfaring (or turning Asian humans into cheap "natural" resources) of nonwhite workers. The discursive lawfare that enabled this rawfaring is explained by Ravi Ahuja: "If an unskilled Asian laborer was not a worker but a 'coolie' and an Indian infantryman not a soldier but a 'sepoy,' an Indian Ocean sailor was not a seaman but merely a 'lascar'" (2009, 14). "Lascars" normally slept on the decks of the ships exposed to the elements and accounted for less than one-half the food costs of Euro-white sailors (Myers 1994, 12).

In addition to the South Asian sailors and sex slaves, H. M. Elmore, veteran captain of successful opium runs in the 1790s, described the hardware required for a successful trip to China from Kolkata: "The ship, in addition to the necessary ammunition for her [twenty] guns, musquets, and pistols, should have a box containing fifty hand grenades in each top; together with an arm chest containing musquets and ball cartridge . . . the commander ought to be well



supplied with boats. The long-boat should carry two (at least) or four chambered swivels, of three pound caliber; the second boat two; and third boat one; with grape canister and langrage shot sufficient for them" (in Parkinson 1966, 348).

With this amount of weaponry it is no surprise that historian C. N. Parkinson uncovers in captains' memoirs of opium trafficking "nothing but tales of smuggling at the pistol point" (1966, 349). Indeed, exasperated commander-in-chief Rainier of the Royal Navy's East Indies station from 1794 to 1805 described the British narcos' activities as "mere buccaneering" or piracy (346). But this is actually unfair to pirates, disregarding the intricate cooperation and collaboration piracy was based on at this time, as I explore in chapter 4. Instead, individualistic Euro-whites who trafficked contraband drugs and weapons to China exhibited a paranoid fear of everyone involved in the business, combined with a homicidal amorality. Parkinson puts it this way: "the trader was at once bold and guarded . . . eternally watching for symptoms of treachery, both in his crew and among his customers. He was always ready to shoot" (348). While Farsis and Indians also trafficked opium to China, white British and North American narcos came to dominate the lucrative trade, but not because of their superior business acumen or inherent knack for risk management. Rather, as Parkinson argues, they were able to succeed because of race privilege—"they were white men and therefore able to inspire confidence in other white men" (320)<sup>10</sup>—and because they were more cold-bloodedly violent than their nonwhite competitors. Euro-American and South Asian investors were confident that white narcos would stop at nothing to get their contraband drugs to the vaunted China market.

Corroborating further their reputation as "enemies of Heaven," these drug cartels occasionally conducted armed raids on Dutch East India spice plantations in Java. Twenty cannons became standard equipment for the Anglo cartels at the turn of the nineteenth century because the Dutch gunboats guarding their colonial possessions were equipped with only eighteen, so the US/UK dealers were bound to be victorious in any "White-on-White" firefight (Parkinson 1966). But it wasn't just the numerical advantage that underwrote their monopoly of force. White narcos were the first to feature the carronade, a light but devastatingly powerful short-barreled cannon. Developed by the Scottish Carron Company in 1778, carronades became their weapon of choice because their weight didn't hamper the clipper's speed (Roger 2004). Especially after the Qing Emperor Jiaqing reinforced the 1729 ban on opium trafficking to China in 1799, Anglo-American drug cartels needed both speed and an asymmetry in force projection to outgun and outrun Chinese, Vietnamese,

and Malay pirate groups. These carronade-equipped clipper ships were so effective that the Royal Navy leased several from Jardine, Matheson & Co. in 1840 for the First War for Drugs, supplementing steamships (Hayes 2019). After this war against Qing China, coal-powered vessels gradually replaced the wind power of the clippers throughout the Asia-Pacific—a significant climate-intervening event. To facilitate this, by the late 1840s the Royal Navy was working with the British Geological Survey to map the planet's coal resources for UK supply lines, identifying assets in Bengal, Australia, Java, Malaysia, New Guinea, Aden, Japan, and Syria (Bonneuil and Fressoz 2017, 142). Even more than biopower, Britain's hegemony increasingly relied on what Christian Parenti calls “geopower” (2015, 829).

Opium trafficking was outlawed in many places en route from India to China. Therefore, white narcos had to convince port officials to let them do business at each stop on the way (Parkinson 1966). The rare captain's account of opium trafficking provides hints that Anglo-American narcos offered Asian officials who were unwilling to do business with them a choice that Latin American *narcotraficantes* are better known for: *plata o plomo* (a bribe or a bullet) (Elmore 1802, 50; 125).<sup>11</sup> Bribes were so prevalent that Chinese leaders used the stock phrase “salary from the sea [海俸]” to describe them. One way to convince port authorities of the life-or-death seriousness of these offers was pioneered by the US drug cartel Russell & Co. Russell's clipper ships featured the entrepreneurial innovation of hanging the murdered bodies of those unwilling to cooperate with the white narcos up on their masts, showing to all what happened to human obstacles to Anglo-American capitalist progress (Owen 1934, 203–4). This depravity—a more significant and appropriately named “killer app” (Ferguson 2011, 12) than the clichéd explanations for the rise of the West (the hard-working Protestant ethic, private property, Enlightenment science, etc.)—was attractive to investors and enabled Anglo-American drug traffickers to expand the amount of opium dealt to China, with the corresponding increase in use and abuse (Hanes and Sanello 2002, 34). Similar to the deleterious effects of any drug epidemic, from 1807 the Chinese economy began suffering a reversal of trade surpluses as silver money flowed out of East Asia directly into the pockets of white Anglo narcos and their investors. It's worth repeating that this reversal redistributed wealth from the carbon-neutral Sinocentric trading area to the carbon-intensive capitalism of Climate Caucasianism.

The white narcos and their clipper ships stuffed with opium, cotton goods, and contraband weapons worked their way from Kolkata through Southeast Asia—selling, bribing, and murdering. Before 1800 the final drop-off took place at cartel-owned barges near Guangzhou (Canton) on the south China

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coast, then at Whampoa until 1821, and finally at Lingding Island and Hong Kong, where the drugs were transferred to receiving barges. These barges—Jardine, Matheson & Co.'s weighed seven hundred tons, a floating opium Walmart—proceeded to hook up with Chinese merchants operating “fast crab” and “scrambling dragon” vessels (Owen 1934, 196). Anywhere from 100 to 500 percent markup was made by white narcos on a successful run, leading veteran dealer Charles Magniac to crow that it was “unequalled in the annals of commerce” (Trocki 1999, 79). Karl Marx exaggerated only slightly when he quipped that these drug traffickers were “cleverer than alchemists” (who had to spend money on metal before turning it into gold) in that superprofitable “primitive accumulation went on without the advance of a shilling” (1977a, 917).

The capitalist alchemy of opium trafficking caused other, equally miraculous transformations. The most important were the extreme corporate makeovers that saw an early nineteenth-century version of low-profile street dealers become CEOs of venerable agency houses like Dent & Co. In David Simons's *The Wire*, the African American drug dealer Stringer Bell makes a similar attempt to launder his ill-gotten gains into real estate and political credibility, but like so many of his real-life Black and Brown brothers and sisters, he ends up murdered. The white narcos I'm studying, however, get to “graduate” from drug dealing. Russell & Co.'s Warren Delano became the grandfather to a US president and publicly *whitewashed* his criminal business as “honorable and legitimate” (Ujifusa 2018, 46), while James Matheson achieved the ultimate vindication in becoming a baron and member of Parliament. Dent & Co. was the beneficiary of the first corporate makeover, shifting their main business from narcotrafficking into banking and shipping. Jardine, Matheson & Co. followed them by recycling their criminal profits into real estate speculation (BFO 46/87, October 19, 1861), banking, insurance, and coal and copper extraction in Japan and the Asia-Pacific (Hidemura 1977, 56–57). Rather than relegitimize these graduations, we should construe these white men as the original “bad hombres” (as Donald Trump depicted brown Latino drug dealers).

After the British victory over the Qing in the First War for Drugs they extorted a staggering £20 million pound indemnity, a boon that should be understood as yet another extraction elicited by the clipper-coolie captive-contraband-capital circuit. Britain also expropriated the island of Hong Kong to be used for secure trafficking of drugs, arms, and people, and took the first concessions on mainland China with the Fuzhou, Guangzhou, Ningbo, Shanghai, and Xiamen treaty ports. Although there is agreement among scholars writing in English, Chinese, and Japanese to refer to these five treaty ports (and all the others to follow in China, Korea, and Japan) as being “opened,”

I will argue that it is more accurate to depict what happened to them as (en) closure for a new kind of racial capitalist and climate regime.

### *Marx's Extraction → Extinction Imperative*

Together with the conquest of the Americas and the African slave trade, Marx categorized the events surrounding the First and Second Wars for Drugs as paradigmatic cases of the primitive accumulation of capital (1977a, 915). With Rosa Luxemburg's (1871–1919) development of Marx's concept, primitive accumulation is now understood to provide capitalists with opportunities for extreme profiteering and the further plundering of nature. Recent anticapitalist scholarship has reframed primitive accumulation as “accumulation by dispossession” to draw attention to its expropriating destructiveness (Coulthard 2014; Harvey 2005). In this book I will build on recent eco-Marxism that puts in bold the ways primitive accumulation both severs humans from nature and rips them from the land where they could reproduce themselves sustainably and, as we saw above with Indian ryots and Chinese coolie captives, delivers them into unsustainable worlds where they are dependent on the owners of capital for their livelihoods (Burkett 1999; Foster 2000). However, following James O'Connor's (1998) concept of capitalism's second contradiction, I think we can go further in arguing that Marx intuited the unsustainability of capitalism *tout court* as it exhausts and extinguishes human labor and nature.

Marx deployed the concept of primitive accumulation to underline the ways capitalism blithely destroys many forms of life (Saitô 2017, 247–55). More precisely, this happens when humanity's relational “metabolism” (a mid-nineteenth-century synonym for “ecology” before Ernst Haeckel's 1867 neologism replaced it) with nature is ruptured or rifted and then transmogrified into an exploitative system of wage labor and competition between humans, and between humans and nature. In both his early (*German Ideology*) and late (*Capital*, vol. 3) work, Marx diagnosed the ways primitive accumulation alienates humans from what he called our “intimate ties” with nature, bemoaning in the later text the way capitalism produced an “irreparable rift in the interdependent” connection of humans with nature (1981, 949). Capitalism kidnaps humans from their intra-actions within nature, subsequently enabling it to exploit both waged labor and natural entities. To underline this, Marx argued that capitalism exhausts soils “like workers,” imposing a “martyrology” on both (1977a, 638). Then it expands its thievery into more abstract modes such as financial rent, patents, and contracts (1981, 641).



Marx helps us understand the centrality of primitive accumulation with his key concept of metabolism, which he used in two ways. First, the original connections humans have to their local environment—what he called “natural metabolism”—are severed (in Saitô 2017, 208). Second, after this irrevocable rift, capitalism installs a “social metabolism” that allows it to further expropriate “martyrs”: human workers, agricultural soils, animals, freshwater, air, forests, the sea, mountains, minerals—in other words, most living and nonliving entities on the planet. In the case of the Wars for Drugs in China, Marx saw how British capitalism “every hour is bringing new victims to a Moloch which knows no satiety” (1968, 53). His attention to how capital demands live sacrifices reveals a crucial practice of Climate Caucasianism, where capitalist extraction leads to exhaustion and extinction, what I’ll call the extraction → extinction imperative. While extraction → extinction appeared first for Marx in the genocide of Indigenous peoples enabling the European theft of American gold and silver, he also lamented the necropolitical “turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of blackskins” in the slave trade. Further, he denounced the “destruction of the human race” following the flooding of China with Anglo-Indian opium, leading to a death rate of 15 percent for trafficked Chinese captives crossing the Pacific and a mere 50 percent survival rate for the period of indenture of Asian forced migrants in the Americas (1977a, 915, 587). With a surprisingly wide extrahuman optic, Marx in volume 3 of *Capital* underlines the way capitalism exploits workers and the natural environment in the same way—“ruining and laying waste” both to workers in factories and to soils in large-scale capitalist agriculture (1981, 949–50). Marx denounces capitalism’s cold disregard for pushing living things to “the point of no return,” or beyond the threshold of existence into extinct martyrdom (1977a, 342).

I need to clarify that nonrelational, extra-active postures and extractive operations preceded the arrival of Euro-American capitalists to East Asia. These featured mineral extraction and river management in Japan and salt, coal, and copper mining in China, where dynasties assumed the position of Heaven and possessor of its mandate (天命). The canonical works on anthropogenic climate change in China, Elvin’s 2006 *Retreat of the Elephants*, and in Japan, Walker’s 2005 *The Lost Wolves of Japan*, make this argument convincingly.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, the toxic combination of Euro-whites claiming to be uniquely self-determining and extra-actively separate and superior to nonwhite humans and extrahuman nature, with a subjectivity whose sole concern is profit, was a novel entity in Asia. To be sure, Asian hydraulic dynasties influenced their local environments. At an entirely different scale, however, Climate Caucasianism should be seen as a global power wielding unprecedented force to both

directly intervene in, and less directly, interfere with the planet's biosphere, hydrosphere, and atmosphere. Following from Climate Caucasianism's planetary reach, one of the main arguments of this book is that subsequent to the First War for Drugs (1839–42), Chinese and Japanese elites were compelled to intensify their own endogenous practices of extraction and mimic Euro-white templates in, for example, capital-intensive coal mining that will be discussed in chapter 1 and the conclusion. With an eye toward understanding the origins of today's extractive capitalism in the form of mountain-top removal for coal, hydraulic fracturing for gas, and deep-water drilling for oil, I will show how the agents of Climate Caucasianism in Asia in the nineteenth century can be characterized as extractiv-eyes/Is.<sup>13</sup> That is to say that white extractiv-eyes/Is were fixated on what they could expropriate from a specific environment, with no consideration of giving back or replenishing. W. E. B. Du Bois called this "the divine right of white people to steal" (1920, 48).

Let's look at the case of Chinese tea to elucidate some of the ways British capitalists activated the extraction → extinction imperative through warfare, lawfare, and rawfare. You'll recall that the original *raison d'être* for the clipper-coolie-contraband-capital circuit was to eliminate the large trade deficit of tea imports from Qing China with contraband opium sales. This was so successful that it morphed into a plan to replace Chinese tea altogether. First, during Britain's colonial war against Burma in Assam (1824–26), British East India Company officer Robert Bruce stumbled across tea plants growing there (Antrobus 1957, 17–18). Once Assam was removed from Burmese control, in 1834 the British governor general of India, William Bentinck (1774–1839), via a Parliamentary minute, called for tea plantations to be established. Bentinck trumpeted the urgency for "Our Empire to annihilate . . . the Chinese monopoly" over tea by growing it in Britain's India colony (in Liu 2010, 77–8). This was the lawfare that began the installation of brutal plantation capitalism, reducing the rich ecology of Assam to "worthless" rawfare. To push this forward, in March 1838 the British administrator, Captain Jenkins, working closely with Bentinck's appointed Tea Commission, convinced the colonial government in Bengal to pass the Waste Land Settlement Rules for Assam. This forced locals off their commons and enclosed huge tracts to be handed over to white settlers for free, with zero taxes for fifteen to twenty years. "Waste Land" signified any land lacking in cash crop agriculture (Chakraborty 2012, 9–10). When the Kachari people native to Assam refused to work for British capitalists for the exploitative wages of 1–2 rupees a day—evicting their clanfolk from the area, assarting trees and deforesting—the British colonizers attempted to cut off the supplies of opium that many Kacharis smoked regularly (Varma 2017, 38) Failing at this,

the British considered small warfare in the form of mass shootings—similar to the extermination of local labor that Donna Haraway (2016, 557) argues was standard for white plantation capitalism—before deciding to assassinate several of the Kachari leaders (Imada 2000, 131). Ultimately, Kacharis were lawfared as worse than natural “waste”—constitutionally “wasted” on opium and non-civilizable. But the problem of cheap labor remained unsolved.

A new round of warfare in the form of the First War for Drugs of 1839–42 offered a solution as “coolie” captives began to be rawfared, alienated from inland China and trafficked throughout the British Empire. Furthermore, the enclosure of the five Chinese treaty ports allowed extractiv-eye/I bioprospectors like Robert Fortune to trespass into tea-growing areas in Fujian province and expropriate contraband caches of tea samples and bring them to Kolkata. Almost all of the Chinese plants died before reaching India; even flora were bound by the extraction → extinction imperative (Rose 2011). While the South Asian coolie trade to Jamaica and Barbados had expanded after Great Britain abolished slavery in 1833, the internal trade in Indian coolie captives was still in its infancy (Carter 1995). The Tea Commission, now privatized as the Assam Company, worked to change that (Chakraborty 2012, 12). As informal trafficking of poor laborers into Assam from neighboring Bengal took off in the 1850s, speculative British capital poured into the tea plantations in the early 1860s and, together with a new round of Waste Land grabs, created the “tea mania.” White plantation capitalists in Assam urged British rulers in Bengal to make it easier to alienate and extract low-cost workers, and they responded with the lawfare of the Master and Servants Act of 1859, followed by the Bengal Native Labor Act of 1863, which dictated a five-year indenture for all Bengali coolies brought into Assam and imprisonment for those who violated their contracts (Stanziani 2018, 109). Of course, many plantation owners refused to honor their part of the bargain by violating the terms of the 1863 Act which called for a minimum wage and food rations. When the luckiest of the coolies sponsored by the Bengali Labor Act finally arrived to Assam plantations on coal-powered steamships (the death rate for the month-long trip on the Brahmaputra river was between 20 percent and 50 percent [Varma 2017, 47])—they realized that the labor brokers who had recruited them in Bengal had lied about the wages and labor conditions; they immediately began resisting (Lees 1867, 207–8). As soon as the Bengalis insisted on their humanity and refused their devaluation to rawfare with work stoppages and desertions, lawfare kicked in again, this time in the form of the Assam Contract Act of 1865 allowing plantation managers to arrest deserters personally and take the law into their own hands, similar to slave patrols in the US South (Varma 2017, 49). In practice, this meant the colonial

government turned a blind eye to floggings of workers when plantation owners realized that jailing their workers for contract violations was counterproductive. Like the racially terroristic whippings that white plantation owners used to raise slave labor productivity in the US South (Baptist 2014), Nitin Varma details the systematic nature of torture of re-rawfared coolies by white capitalists in Assam. Each round of torture was overseen by the plantation doctor to ensure that overzealous plantation managers didn't kill the Bengali workers (2017, 57–63). Nevertheless, regular abuse added to the extraction → extinction toll. When combined with inadequate food supplies and the arduous labor of clearcutting jungles, along with the effects of foreign microbes, only 60 percent of the Bengali coolie captives survived their five-year indenture.

The Assam plantations were similar to the environmentally destructive plantations relying on slave labor in the US South that Markewitz and Richter (2007) have studied—depleting soil nutrients, shrinking biodiversity, and raising mortality rates for humans and fauna. By the 1880s coal-powered drying and rolling machines for tea leaves were common in Assam (Varma 2017, 80). In other words, Climate Caucasianism's extraction → extinction imperative performed its role very well in Assam. So well that, as Sarah Rose (2011) ironizes, by 1900 “all the tea in China” was replaced by all the tea in British India.

### *The Two Ecologies*

Moore and Patel underline that capitalism isn't merely one part of an ecology, “but *is* an ecology” (2017, 38). We saw above how destructive that ecology is when it fixes itself in space. However, this book will also highlight different assemblages of human and extrahuman nature I will refer to as “eco-ontologies.” By eco-ontology I mean ecology as “house” or “home,” together with ontology as “Being” or “beings.” Eco-ontology is therefore a nonanthropocentric commune of coexisting beings. Far from being particularistic deviations from a universal form, the East Asian eco-ontologies I address in this book were structurally similar to most examples elsewhere, especially Indigenous ones. For this reason I will make the case that white capitalism—based on a possessive individualism we could name “ego-ontology”—was the deviant particularism, albeit one driven by ruthless terrorism to plunder and rape its way to claims of universality. Moreover, I will try to expose and then displace Climate Caucasianism's false universality in favor of what Latin American decolonial thinkers call pluriversality (Blaser and de la Cadena 2018; Escobar 2018, 2020). Pluriverses are embedded in distinct eco-ontologies and, while obviously shot through with power hierarchies, are not invested in CO2lonialism and con-

quest. Rather, the pluriverses discussed in this book will be shown to be defending these very eco-ontologies threatened by Euro-white and Chinese and Japanese capitalists. In this sense, they are similar to contemporary Indigenous struggles to protect local land and water and preserve nonanthropocentric forms of relationality. Because the condition of this human “subject” is intra-actively enmeshed with and dependent on other forms of life, it is more correct to depict it with the and/& character as “&bject.”

### *Race as Yellow*

In the examples above of primitive accumulation Marx intuited how global capitalism works through white racial domination. What Cedric Robinson synthesized as “racial capitalism” (2000) shows that capital’s ruthless terrorism normally requires racial terrorism. Therefore, after the first homologue with the crack cocaine panic in the shift to smoking, and the second—asset forfeiture, dispossession, and the rendering of rawfared bodies of color into prisons and exploitative labor—we arrive at one final element delivered by Euro-American capitalism in the early nineteenth century with narcotrafficking: race.<sup>14</sup> Smoking opium was thought by white people to bring out a latent jaundiced color in Chinese skin, initiating a racial classification of “yellowness” (Keevak 2011). From the “sickly yellow” of their epidermal hue, an entire algorithm of East Asians was calculated that posited them as decayed (and decadent), mellowly unmotivated, and stubbornly holding on to ingrained “habit”—traits directly attributed to regular opium smoking. But don’t go blaming Anglo-American narcos for this. As the US missionary Graves claimed in the epigraph, most Caucasians rationalized that the sedative effect of opium suited perfectly the “natural” inertia and slow-motion disposition of Chinese people, as alcohol was the appropriate intoxicant for “active and impetuous” white men. In fact, a handful of Europeans were willing to smoke opium with their Chinese acquaintances but grew frustrated by how long it took to prepare and thought the whole process of getting high was agonizingly time-consuming (BPP 1894, 109–10). White men’s tight pants also didn’t make it easy to lie down and enjoy a pipe, unlike the “dresses” that some Westerners described gender-troubled Chinese men as preferring. More importantly, the lethargic conditions of supine, stupefied, and slow (opium “stupefaction” was normally brought about by smoking while lying down on couches, beds, or floors) were unacceptable for upright, on-the-go white men in Asia intent on—as Facebook brags—“moving fast and breaking things.” It was no coincidence that the whiskey and beer preferred by Euro-American

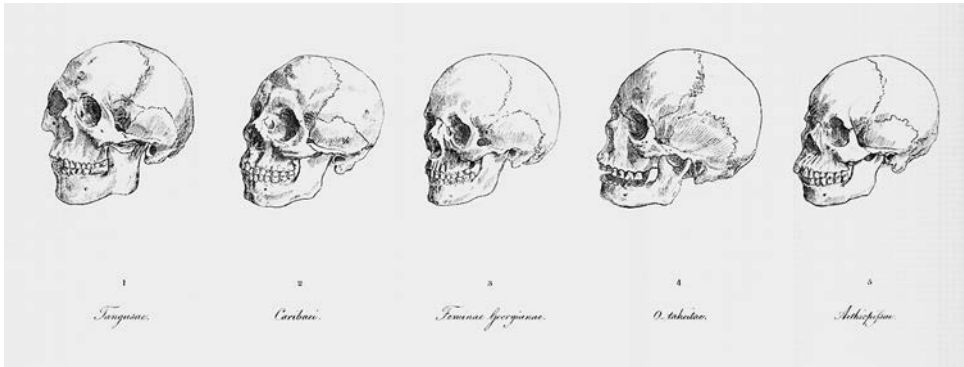


FIGURE INTRO.4. J. F. Blumenbach's five races. What Blumenbach called the "beautifully" contoured Caucasian skull is in the middle, flanked by the Black (Ethiopian) on the far right and the oversized yellow (Tungusae) on the far left (Blumenbach 1795).

men were consumed in an elevated position on bar stools, or better, from hip flasks while striding (or stumbling) forward.

While the "fix" that Chinese opium smokers derived from the drug served to "fix" or repair the British empire's balance of trade, it also performed a third service to "fix" or hold in place globally Euro-American racial science, what Paul Gilroy calls "raciology" (2000). By the 1850s the crayon color "yellow" had become the standard reference to the German anatomist J. F. Blumenbach's influential 1794 racial classification of East Asians as "Mongolian." As we can see in the illustration from his *Natural Varieties of Mankind*, he ranked the Mongolian with the Ethiopian below the superior white. The Mongolian phenotype included jaundiced, yellow skin, sinodonty (crooked "Chinese teeth"), and neoteny, or "youth (*neos*) extended (*teinein*)"—that is, childlike features (Kowner and Demel 2015, 55–76).

Therefore, Euro-American raciology insisted Mongoloid adults resembled sick, bucktoothed, and bedridden white children.<sup>15</sup> In 1843 the US narco Warren Delano casually drew on the racism of neoteny, denigrating his adult Chinese servants in Guangzhou as "talking and thinking like foolish little children" (Ujifusa 2018, 61). Less casually, the French anatomist E. R. A. Serres (1786–1868) provided the scientific foundation for neoteny in the 1820s and '30s with his theory of recapitulation, holding that superior racial groups repeat and surpass inferior raced adults in their growth process (Kowner and Demel 2014, 87–125). In the late 1850s and early 1860s the English physician John Langdon Down (1828–96) applied recapitulation to his research on developmental disorders in children, arguing that arrested development in Cau-



casian kids demoted them to yellow Mongolians. His 1866 paper etiologized whites with mild cognitive impairment as “Mongoloid idiots” who took on a racial phenotype more characteristic of “orientals” (Down 1866).<sup>16</sup> After his death this condition was reframed as “Down syndrome,” although the original racist name would survive colloquially well into the late twentieth century (Kevak 2011, 6). Here too, the association of “idiocy” with yellow Mongoloids was taken from British depictions of Chinese opium smokers in the 1830s. Royal Army doctor Lord Jocelyn famously described the “idiot smile and death-like stupor” of Chinese lying around supine in opium rooms in Singapore (1841, 38).<sup>17</sup> Similarly, an anonymous British army officer based his best seller, *The Last Year in China to the Peace of Nanking*, on his experiences in the First War for Drugs, writing: “The effect of excess in opium is more like idiocy, than ordinary intoxication. It steals away the brain, like drink, but does not substitute fire, as the latter appears to do” (1843, 29). For our purposes, this depiction of layabout, confused, and stoned Chinese became so prevalent among Euro-whites that I will use the single phrase *supinestupefiedyellow* to code it. The denigration of opium prostration had an analogue in what Euro-whites saw as the ubiquitous East Asian practice of the “kowtow” (Chinese, 叩头). Westerners construed the bowing protocol as evidence of the benumbed slavishness that Chinese and Japanese exhibited toward their emperors and leaders (Hevia 2003). I will show that when erstwhile *supinestupefiedyellows* refused racialized deference—the examples put forward here are the Gelaohui brotherhood in southwestern and central China, the Boxers in Shandong province, and the rogue samurai in Japan—what Carol Anderson calls murderous “white rage” often ensued (2017).

### *... and in Japan*

The racial prototype for neoteny also informed the profiling of “Mongoloid” Japanese. In the epigraph the writer Goncharov documented Russia’s 1855 Japan Expedition by depicting Japanese adults as mischievous schoolkids who have “stopped their growth” (in Lensen 1959, 343). Although Euro-Americans smuggled opium into Japan as well, their apparent subservience to white men led Westerners to depict Japanese as less idiotic and less rooted in habit than opium-addled Chinese. British officials in the late 1850s and early 1860s like Ernest Satow and Lord Elgin delighted in noting Japanese people’s deference to Euro-whites; they were, as Elgin wrote, “gentle and submissive” (BPP 1859, 371).

They would soon realize that this was a partial story at best. What was more representative of Japanese elites’ opinion of Westerners appeared in a text that

circulated in official circles fourteen years before Lin Zexu's 1839 letter (but not published until 1858)—Aizawa Seishisai's *New Proposals* (新論). It was first written as an explanation for Japan's Tokugawa rulers' Expulsion Edict of 1825, which overturned a decades-long policy of allowing Euro-American whaling ships into Japanese ports to buy coal and provisions. Japan's Tokugawa *bakufu* government (1603–1868) had become increasingly alarmed both by white sailors' violent behavior and rumors of missionary attempts to propagate Christianity. With the new edict, coastal Japanese domains were compelled to fire on unannounced European ships. The Expulsion Edict stated: "When the English and Russians come ashore, they are more and more disrespectful of our laws. Moreover, they seem to be spreading their wicked religion among our people. . . . Please note that Chinese, Koreans, and Ryukyuan can be differentiated from [Westerners] by physiognomy and ship design, but this is not the case with Holland. Even so, don't worry about firing on the Dutch by mistake" (Wakabayashi 1986, 60; translation modified).

Beginning around 1640, Tokugawa Japan conducted regulated trade with China and Holland through the western port of Nagasaki. The Dutch were the sole European power to be granted trading rights by the Tokugawa rulers because: first, they weren't proselytizing Christianity; second, unlike Portuguese and Spanish, they weren't publicly involved in trafficking Japanese slaves;<sup>18</sup> and later, they weren't known as narcotraffickers. The precocious deployment of a European-style concept of racial phenotype, or visible biological distinction, in both the 1825 Expulsion Edict and *New Proposals* text signals absorption of Dutch medical and scientific knowledge laid over the proto-caste structure of Japanese society. Early modern Japan was ruled through a caste/status system, with educated samurai at the top and outcaste *hinin* at the bottom, which, as Maria Elena Martinez argues (2008), assumed forms of innate difference—a crucial precedent for modern understandings of race. Perhaps this is why elites in Japan were early adopters of the colored-in, racial phenotypes of white, yellow, black, and red, beating the first major Chinese text on racial classification—Wei Yuan's 1852 edition of *Haiguo tuzhi*—by decades.<sup>19</sup>

Here I want to return to the intellectual endowment that construes the human in much more complex ways than the reduction to rawfared race. While Lin Zexu argued from a standpoint of universality to denounce Euro-whites as enemies of Heaven, the Japanese scholar Aizawa identified a particular East Asian ecology nested in a specific ontology where certain beings are co-present. The "spiritualized nature [神道]"<sup>20</sup> Aizawa claimed was omnipresent in East Asia decenters living humans as only one part of an eco-ontology consisting of metaphysical entities together with varieties of extrahuman life.



The reciprocal intra-action of these different entities is underwritten by divine reason *li* (理) and channeled into organic forms by primordial matter or *qi* (氣).<sup>21</sup> The *li*-*qi* couple links the realm of human beings with earth and super-natural Heaven, and disruptions to the circulation of *li*-*qi* will impact all three. Unlike the masculine subject-centeredness of Cartesianism and its ontology of binary opposition (mind/body, spirit/matter, culture/nature, male/female), the task of the human being here is to intra-actively maintain a harmony of *li*-*qi* (Aizawa 1931, 67–70). Aizawa insists that Europeans are ignorant about humanity’s “proper place” in the relational ontologies of East Asia. Therefore, rather than accept the hierarchy of European raciology, *New Proposals* argues that because of white people’s myopic “pursuit of profit,” their “destruction of local practices of spirituality,” and their “decimation [荒] of local ecologies,” they barely qualify as human at all (37, 14). Sounding here like an anticapitalist land and water protector, Aizawa uncovers a hidden truth of Euro-American trade as that which “doubly profits [一挙而兩利]” by selling far above the cost of production as it facilitates dispossessive occupation of foreign territories (36). For Aizawa this double profiting results in multiple losses for the Asian country when Westerners, driven by the extraction → extinction imperative, wipe out the natural resources in their own countries and, subsequently, come to Asia to “extract lead, copper, iron, sulfur, and other precious minerals from their overseas possessions” (52). This urtext of Japanese decolonial thinking offers other striking insights into Climate Caucasianism. This is why I render its anti-Western cry 尊王攘夷, normally translated as “Revere the Emperor, Expel the Barbarians!” as “Revere the Emperor, Fight the Whites!” following Aizawa’s understanding of phenotype as described above.<sup>22</sup> *New Proposals* instigated dramatic changes in Japan’s politics of the 1860s, as I show in chapters 1 and 3.

As we’ve seen, both Lin Zexu in Qing China and Aizawa Seishisai in Tokugawa Japan strongly rejected the determinations from Euro-American raciology that they were inferior, backward people. Rather, they denounced Westerners as vile predators who transgress all known norms of conduct from a position of extra-active superiority. Their ultimate violation was to initiate the First War for Drugs, a major asymmetric war against China, as justification for the lowest form of predation. Ranajit Guha calls this kind of antithetical refusal of Western discourse in Asia a “negative and inversive procedure” (1983, 9). In other words, in China and Japan, all that was proclaimed as upright and universal by the US and UK was largely negated as degenerate and particular to Caucasians, Christianity, and capitalism. There was, however, one additional aspect of Euro-American deportment to be inverted.

Qing officials and Japanese policy intellectuals also singled out Euro-whites' excessive speed as an offense to Heaven. Caucasian hypermobility was seen as the key to conquering distant lands and reducing humans and nonhuman animals and nature to extractable rawfare. Especially for the Japanese Mito scholars like Aizawa, growing familiar with the new language of raciology, the people who phenotypically look and act the same—Dutch, British, Russians—travel restlessly all over the world in expensive ships armed to the teeth. With a powerful rapidity previously reserved for supernatural beings and extrahuman entities like typhoons, Euro-whites had transgressed the proper order of Heaven, humans, and the earth. The Qing officials joined Aizawa and the Expulsion Edict in decrying the cumulative effects of Euro-American predation in East Asia as local ecologies and economies were disrupted and millennia-old moral systems were stomped on by Christian missionaries. The ecology or “home” they shared with various beings was morphing into something unrecognizable. Just who were these impetuous predators, trying to exploit East Asia from all the way across the globe?

In these horrified attempts to categorize and contain this entity, East Asians were sketching a critical profile of racial whiteness. Beginning with the warfare characteristic of capital's primitive accumulation—which allowed a subsequent plunder and appropriation of rawfare—followed by the attempt to destroy polytheistic Asian beliefs and replace them with Christian lawfare, the most shocking trait of Euro-whites was their deranged transgression of the normative limits on human movement. Not yet understanding the need for capital's quick turnover time, in the first decades of the nineteenth century Japanese and Chinese officials critically highlighted this hyperactive, stressed-out mobility. From the East Asian perspective, Caucasians were the dangerously velocious Speed Race(r), and, by usurping the capacity for rapid movement previously belonging only to divinities and the winds, they were violating the laws of spiritual nature. For many Japanese and Chinese, the joyride undertaken by Euro-whites was destined for a serious crash, or at least a bad fender bender—the *Occidenting* of East Asia.

As expressed in Aizawa's text, in early modern Chinese and Japanese thought humans are embedded eco-ontologically in an overarching cosmological order. Beginning in the nineteenth century, Europeans became manifestly disdainful of this refusal of anthropocentrism in Asia. The German philosopher G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831) was the most famously dismissive. For Hegel, firm connections to local ecologies and cosmologies doomed East Asians

philosophically, politically, and racially. While lauding Europeans' aptitude for abstract thought, Hegel condemns Asians, asserting: "In the Orient neither consciousness nor morality exist, only natural order." The geopolitical effects of Asians' inability to think abstractly meant that "Asian states belong to mere space" while, contrastingly, Euro-America exists in "the Form of time" (Hegel 1956, 105–6; citations to follow). China's severe philosophico-political disability elicits the philosopher's trash-talking verdict that the erstwhile Middle Kingdom is "outside of the history of the world" (117). This is similar to Hegel's white supremacist denunciation of the "Negro" as exemplifying "natural man in his completely wild and untamed state" (99, 93). Hegel concludes his gloss by praising Euro-whites as the race built for speed, while East Asians are maligned as passive, fossilized in the earth, and immobile. Oblivious to the supernatural overcoming of place by the Speed Race(r)—jacked up on sweetened tea and coffee and made impetuous by whiskey and beer—supinestupefiedyellows and stuck-in-the-mud Blacks are too spaced out to be going anywhere at all. They are clearly at the bottom of what Mel Chen calls the "animacy hierarchy" (2012, 13). Therefore, opposed by Hegel to the accelerating Speed Race(r), Asians and Africans are rawfared together with inert nature as outmoded fossils, what I'll be calling the Stopped Incarceration Races (think stop and frisk, stopped or "arrested" development, racist traffic stops, etc.). We will see later that some Euro-whites promoted East Asians to the rank of the Slow Races, or those nonwhite others who proved to be more than inert fossils by their deference to pale males. Many were extracted and made to work like the fossil fuels oil and coal. I will show in this book that the hypermobile animacy of the white Speed Race(r) depended on the Incarceration-Raced captivity, fossilization, and inanimacy of all other living beings.

### *#WorldSpiritSoWhite*

I'm turning to European philosophy here to help tell a story of whites as enemies of Heaven because all too often the narratives about their pedal-to-the-metal, carbon-intensive incursions into China and Japan are written as normative ones of the extension of political liberties, private property regimes, and techno-science into "traditional" East Asia. Similar to the narrative about capitalist globalization today, we are still expected to applaud its universal rationality and not criticize it as hastening the planetary Sixth Extinction. Again, contemporary Indigenous movements like Idle No More and women-led peasant movements like Via Campesina struggling against resource extraction and for a more interdependent, nonanthropocentric world are particularizing Climate

Caucasianism's extra-actions and extractions as the truly deviant phenomenon (Desmarais 2007; Four Arrows 2016; Simpson 2017). In a similar vein, this book will show the ways East Asian resistance to Euro-white asymmetric warfare, lawfare, and extractable rawfare (both nonliving things and the non-white humans Mbembe calls "bodies of extraction" [2017, 18]) was nourished by their relational eco-ontologies. To illustrate this, I will draw on recent post- and anti-anthropocentric approaches of actor network theory (ANT), decolonial and Indigenous relationality (de la Cadena, Escobar, Rose, TallBear), and object-oriented ontology (OOO).<sup>23</sup>

After the postcolonial work of Edward Said (1978, 1993), Gayatri Spivak (1999), and Teemu Ruskola (2013), it's fairly straightforward to expose the biases in Hegel's philosophy of history, which is also a geology of history based on his conflation of Africans and Asians with nonliving fossils. However, this is only one part of a still underexplored system of European supremacy in post-Enlightenment philosophy, an instance of what Du Bois called a "white blindspot" (1935, 577).<sup>24</sup> Because Denise Ferreira da Silva's *Toward a Global Idea of Race* (2007) detects this blind spot better than anything I know, it will be introduced here. More importantly, Ferreira da Silva's genealogy of modern race provides a theoretical lens through which we can clarify what I'm calling extra-action. It can also elucidate how Kantian and Hegelian thought functioned as a philosophical platform for Climate Caucasianism.

*Toward a Global Idea of Race* makes three main points. First, against the easy dismissal of the "pseudo-science" of nineteenth-century raciology still common in our age of genomics, Ferreira da Silva argues that the two bodies of knowledge that consolidated white supremacy—historical science and evolutionary science—have yet to be overturned. Hegel's oeuvre was one front in the battle that philosophy waged against Newtonian science to prove that Euro-whites were uniquely self-determining entities free from the constraints of relational other-determination that burdened non-European and extrahuman life. In her analysis, the science of evolution effectively ended the tense standoff between philosophy and the life sciences. Ferreira da Silva insists that Darwin built on Hegel's work in securing European self-determination, reminding us that, as he put it in *The Descent of Man*, only white people are able to "defie the regulative and productive force of nature" (2007, 111).

The marriage of Hegelian historicism and evolutionary science helped whip up a Euro-American hurricane, fed by the winds of racial capitalism. But this could only be achieved philosophically after Hegel reclaimed Euro-white self-determination by upgrading the dry formalism of Immanuel Kant's transcen-

dental philosophy with the power to appropriate and/or extinguish all exteriority. This is the second of Ferreira da Silva's main points.

As is well known, while he was contributing to European raciology with his 1798 *Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View*, Kant installed the human capacity for reason inside the transcendental I or ego. Arguing that the external, empirical outside ruled by nature is chaotic and in flux, Kant insisted that humans require an internal a priori (before experience) system to intellectually organize external nature. Accessing the transcendental app and submerging reason within it guarantees that the a priori categories (quantity, quality) and forms of intuition (time and space)<sup>25</sup> that constitute reason map onto and correlate with empirical exteriority—a reduction of what counts as reality as only that which appears to human consciousness. Quentin Meillassoux calls this the “Kantian catastrophe” (2010, 124). The transcendental-empirical (or inside/outside and ahead/behind) split is featured in Kant's famous *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781), but he also treats the issue in a more straightforward way in his next work, the *Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals* (1785). “Metaphysics of morals” means that rational laws governing what is disinterested must originate not from local culture and custom—this would make morality merely particular to one place—but from pure concepts of the mind and therefore universally applicable. The test of who acts morally is actually a test for who is unhinged from physical desires and extra-actively distanced from natural environments, and therefore possesses the capacity for “pure” unbiased reason. Those Europeans who are successful in this white flight from nature and local custom use their free will to produce laws and codes of conduct that they imagine would be shared by other rational beings similarly freed from local and empirical constraints. Ferreira da Silva builds on previous scholarship (Mills 1997) that criticizes Kantian reason as established by and for Euro-white men. However, her main concern is to show how Kant's transcendental I restores an isolated interiority and auto-determination for these European men after the challenges posed by Newtonian science (2007, 57–68).

Ferreira da Silva reminds us that Hegel critiqued Kant's transcendental I as too distant from and transcendently cut off from the down-to-earth empirical. Trying to answer the question that she insists hasn't been confronted by critical race theory—“How did whiteness come to signify the transparent I and blackness to signify otherwise?” (8)—she demonstrates the ways in which Hegel enhances Kant's transcendental I with the fast-forwarding powers of progressive temporality and spatial conquest. Kant's clear separation of the interiorized transcendental human from exteriorized empirical nature was incapable of insulating Euro-whites from “becoming a thing of outer determination—affectability”

(70). The problem for Kant lies in the fact that transcendental law and rationality are inevitably applied to empirical things in the world, and this exposes their formal purity to a threatening enmeshing in nature. Hegel's solution is to unleash the transcendental and allow it to get down and dirty by aggressively engaging with external things, upgrading itself in the process. This is to say that Ferreira da Silva sees Hegel going beyond Kant's formalistic by "weaponizing" the transcendental I with the power to either "engulf" (partial violation) or "murder" (total annihilation) what is exterior (28–29). Indeed, in Hegel's 1817 *Philosophy of Nature* he urges humans to "do violence" to nature (in Stone 2005, xiii). With the transcendental armed and dangerous in this way, the transparency and self-determination of Euro-whites is, once again, secured. More importantly, it privileges extraction as the vehicle to deepen self-determination.

She summarizes the important shift from Kant to Hegel this way: "Hegel reconstituted the Kantian formal ('pure reason') universal, the transcendental, as a historical (desiring or living) thing, namely, productive (interior-temporal) force, 'Spirit,' the transcendental 'I.' By resolving Reason into Freedom, Nature into History, Space into Time, things of the world into the (thinking, knowing, acting desiring, or living) subject, Hegel rewrote the Kantian play of reason as transcendental poesis" (71–72).

This is a mouthful, for sure. But to conclude this brief synopsis of Ferreira da Silva, her third point sees Hegel taking the main Kantian postulates (Reason, Nature, Space) and turning them into full-throttle dynamos (Freedom, History, Time). While the transcendental app in Kant was deployed to extra-actively map outside things by the internally contained subject, Hegel's transcendental I (aka World Spirit) aggressively makes/produces external things through appropriative extraction, with "make" or "produce" the standard English translation for the Greek word *poesis*. In other words, the Kantian correlation between internal reason and external objects becomes for Hegel coercive appropriation by Euro-whites in the best case, and genocidal murder in the worst. Calvin L. Warren calls this the "metaphysical holocaust" perpetrated by European thinkers (2018, 13). In the *Phenomenology of Spirit* Hegel wrote that this transcendental self "seeks its 'other,' knowing that therein it possesses nothing else but itself, . . . and it strides forward in this belief to a general appropriation of its own assured possessions, and plants the symbol of its sovereignty on every height and on every depth" (1977, 146). Hegel is confident that the trajectory of the (white) World Spirit is indexed precisely to historical progress; for the first time the "strides forward" of Europeans colonize every part of the earth.<sup>26</sup> I see the intellectual antecedents of Climate Caucasianism beginning with Descartes, but Hegel endows European men with the confident possession



of a world that they construe as “liberated” from the wretched (of the) earth—albeit an earth that the white world needs to feed off and prey on.<sup>27</sup>

My own understanding of the intellectual history of race and evolutionary science urges an amendment to Ferreira da Silva’s analysis of a fully contained, self-determining Euro-white masculinity. I see a continuity between Hegel’s forceful management of a transcendental/empirical (or inside/outside and ahead/behind) dialectic and adaptation as it was construed by Lamarckian evolutionists. After all, J. B. Lamarck’s (1744–1829) insistence that the struggle for survival impelled self-improvement that could be inherited was the basis for Social Darwinism. Remember Lamarck’s thesis of the giraffe gradually passing down to its genetic successors the long neck it had acquired by stretching to reach the leaves of tall trees. In *Physics and Politics* the white supremacist Lamarckian Walter Bagehot (1826–77) deploys this concept to argue that cultural techniques like military prowess could be passed on biologically by superior individuals, enabling them to control their environment and dominate inferior people.

This substitution of Lamarck for Darwin (who agreed with much of Lamarck) allows us to extend Ferreira da Silva’s analysis into the most serious threat posed to nineteenth-century white supremacy: the science of thermodynamics. While the first law of thermodynamics stated that energy was constant and available, the second law’s emphasis on entropy and burnout revealed limits to both Caucasian evolution and capital accumulation. Where would the ever-expanding energy needed to power the Speed Race(r) come from when the new concept of entropy promised irreversible deterioration and waste for all systems?

As Cara Daggett (2019) argues, scientists of energy like Lord Kelvin came to the realization in the 1850s that the second law of thermodynamics didn’t necessarily mean that energy was irrevocably lost and capital accumulation accordingly halted; in fact, the first law contravened this. Rather, energy came to be understood as more widely dispersed in the environment than was first thought. In order to avoid waste, more capital would need to be directed to capture diffuse energy and put it to work for Caucasians. This meant that the extraction → extinction imperative would have to be made fully operational, digging deeper into the earth and reaching higher into the atmosphere. In volume three of *Capital* Marx called this the capitalist derangement to “exploit the earth’s surface, the bowels of the earth, the air” (1981, 909). To facilitate biospheric and atmospheric exploitations, capitalism would draw on the new sciences of geology and meteorology. While Hegel’s World Spirit managed to press-gang entities into working for it, these were limited to humans, flora and fauna. With thermodynamics,



carbon, glucose, and oxygen would be enclosed by Climate Caucasianism and inserted as inputs, resulting in more profitable outputs. Therefore, with the demarcations between inside/outside and ahead/behind secured, white Euro-American accumulators versus nonwhite dissipators (like Chinese “wasted” on opium and Japanese exhausted from sexual promiscuity) became the thermodynamic supplement to the binary opposition of the Speed Race(r) and the Stopped Incarcerated Races.

### *Climate Caucasianism's Victorious Arrival*

The First War for Drugs (1839–42)—what the *New York Herald* called at the time “not a victory for British imperialism, but a triumph for the Anglo-Saxons”<sup>28</sup>—globalized Climate Caucasianism. When he received no reply in his attempt at interaction with Britain’s Queen Victoria, Qing Commissioner Lin Zexu took the unprecedented step of confiscating and destroying 2.6 million pounds of contraband drugs in the Euro-American warehouse area of Guangzhou. This immediately elicited the denunciation that Qing officials had no respect for property and were clueless about modern contracts. As Ruskola argues, from this point forward, Chinese were construed as completely lacking in reasonable jurisprudence, “lawless” (2013, 6).

After months of lobbying effort in the British Parliament, spearheaded by white narco William Jardine himself, Foreign Secretary Palmerston ordered a flotilla of gunboats to punish the Qing. The British refused to commit significant ground forces because they needed them in Afghanistan after militarily occupying Kabul in August 1839. Nevertheless, the British flotilla was beefed up in 1840 by the first all-iron steamship, the *Nemesis*. Under the command of William Hall, the *Nemesis*’s coal power, high-tech guns, impregnable hull, and low draft allowed the British to easily knock out Qing batteries, kill Chinese, and wreak havoc on local environments. With civilian “collateral damage” and significant casualties to the Qing’s best soldiers, Chinese officials no longer construed British actions as lacking in divine benevolence (as enemies of Heaven); now they were thoroughly conflated with evil—the *Nemesis* was called the “devil ship [鬼船]” and white people were denigrated as “devils [鬼子].”

### *Black Ships and Blackface*

“White devil” was certainly not the handle that the devout Christian Matthew Perry (1794–1858) identified with, doing what he thought was God’s work during the Mexican-American War of 1847–48. Commanding a US squadron that

raided and terrorized Mexican ports, Perry personified the Manifest Destiny of the settler colonial United States. After winning California with the thrashing of Mexico, and advocating for free and enslaved Africans to be deported back to Africa, he was dispatched by President Fillmore to lead a gunboat flotilla to acquire coal concessions and landing rights in Japanese ports for US ships engaged in extracting whales, avian nitrate, phosphate, and other rawfared entities in the Pacific. No doubt inspired by the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo that annexed close to one-third of Mexico, Commodore Perry's mission quickly scaled up to demanding that Japan's Tokugawa leaders accept an Unequal Treaty based on the 1842 accord Britain had wrung from Qing China. What worked for the United States in Mexico—scorched-earth tactics, shelling of civilian areas from the sea—was always an option for dealing with racially rawfared Japanese. Although the Tokugawa rulers had readied thousands of samurai fighters to defend the archipelago, they were overwhelmed by the visitation of the four US war machines on July 8, 1853. Perry's ships were twice as large as any they'd seen before, and the Japanese were at first disconcerted when they couldn't locate sails large enough to move the vessels. They quickly discovered that the smoke enveloping them came from dirty coal. They promptly named them "black ships [黒船]" after the toxic clouds their engines deposited into the East Asian atmosphere.

After Perry presented the US demands, he returned six months later prepared to carry out asymmetric war. Arriving in March 1854 with nine vessels (including three *Nemesis*-like iron gunboats), over a hundred mounted cannons, and a crew of 1,800, Perry threatened to bomb to ashes the huge city of Edo (soon to be renamed Tokyo) and its one million inhabitants if the Tokugawa bakufu refused the transcendently produced reason of the United States. In effect, Perry threatened the officials with the worst drive-by shooting in history. Moreover, he ordered US squadrons to stay within gunshot range of all meetings with Japanese officials, declaring, "I was determined to prepare against their well-known duplicity." The Tokugawa government never stood a chance against the US assault that was designed, as the American leaders put it, "to command fear" and "astound the Orientals" (McCauley 1942, 24). Throughout the show of force, Perry accessed what Frantz Fanon (1967) called the "historico-racial schema" that profiled Japanese people as "treacherous and deceitful Orientals" (Feifer 2006, 66, 68).<sup>29</sup> Shocked by the display of high-tech killing machines, Japanese leaders were also reportedly awed by the aesthetics of this new raciology—Fanon's "epidermal schema"—on display in the entertainment provided at the signing ceremony on Perry's ship *Powhatan* and depicted by a Japanese illustrator who witnessed it: a blackface minstrel show (Hawkes 1856, 329, 376).<sup>30</sup>

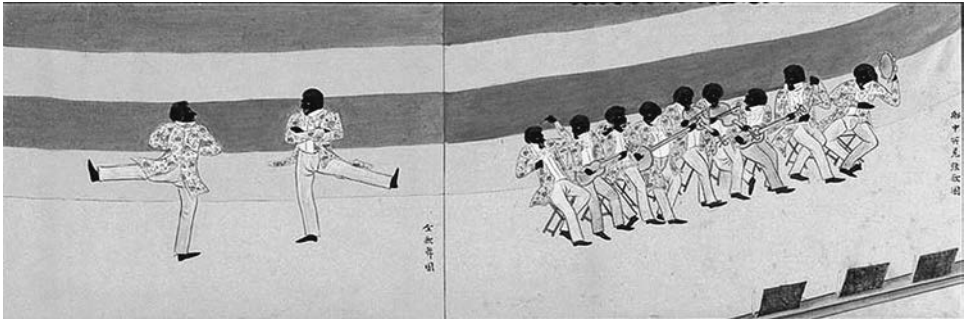


FIGURE INTRO.5. Japanese depiction of US minstrel show. Courtesy MIT Visualizing Cultures. <https://visualizingcultures.mit.edu/>.

During the long trip from the eastern US across the Atlantic and through the Indian Ocean, Perry often ordered the musicians hired to entertain him with an “Ethiopian concert.” This was the colloquial term for blackface minstrelsy, where white men made themselves up as Africans by putting burnt cork on their faces. The motivations behind white minstrels appropriating the music and dance patterns of Blacks at this time were complex, with some scholars of blackface arguing that respect for and envy of Afro-descendants were prominent (Lott 1993). However, this pioneering form of US mass entertainment was conceived entirely by whites to transcendently produce images of Blacks—highlighting African musical and dance prowess, while depicting Blacks as ignorant, lazy, and grateful for a life of plantation slavery. As such, minstrelsy supports the theory of Climate Caucasianism I’m developing through Ferreira da Silva, where white men alone have the power to appropriate and/or extinguish nonwhite humans and nature. In the 1830s the first minstrel, the white Thomas Rice, sang and danced on the ground with Blacks and subsequently appropriated their best moves, leaving Rice and later other whites alone to represent blackness. I would argue that this dramatizes the synthesis of the on-the-ground empirical with the positioning above and accelerating ahead powers of transcendental production in Hegel’s operating system of whiteness. In other words, although the white man Rice was admittedly the loser in impromptu contests with Blacks, white supremacy granted him a platform for extra-acting on and transcendently producing the “truth” of blackness that was denied to African Americans themselves.

As we can see from the program printed for the event, Commodore Perry’s minstrels divided their show for the Japanese officials into two sets, each representing distinct types of Blacks. The first was “Colored Gemmen of the North,” about the lascivious dandy Zip Coon, and the second was “Plantation

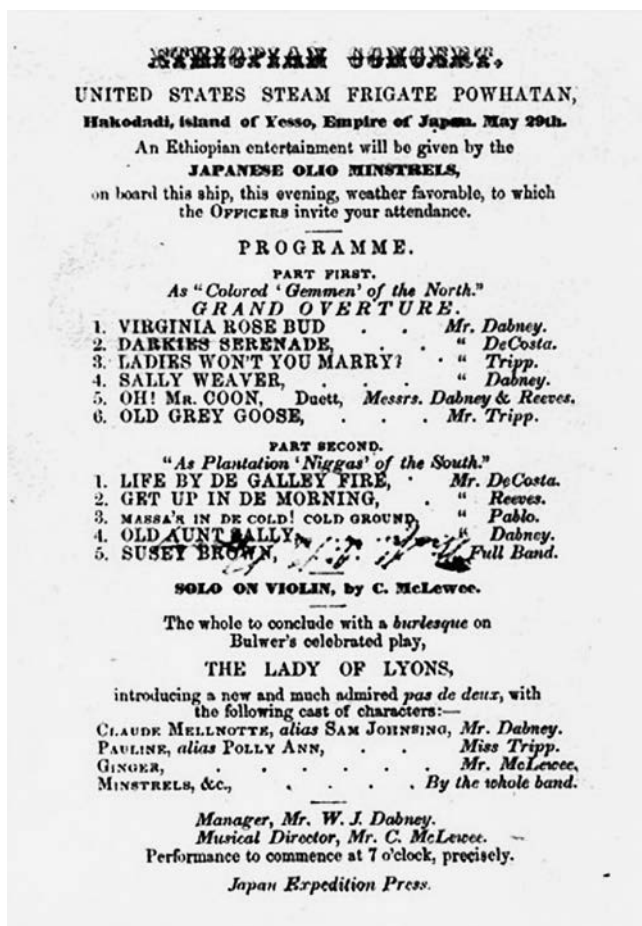


FIGURE INTRO.6. Program for US minstrel show. Courtesy MIT Visualizing Cultures.<https://visualizingcultures.mit.edu/>.

"Niggas of the South," which showcased happy, infantilized slaves grateful for all their benevolent white masters had given them (Yellin 1996). Featured songs included "Darkies Serenade," which highlighted the inferior intelligence racism insisted was characteristic of all Blacks. The main events for the celebration concluding the signing of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship featured, on the Japanese side, a Kabuki play and, for the US, military band music and the minstrel show.

Surprisingly, the program referred to the blackface performers as "Japanese Olio Minstrels" (Perry 1854).<sup>31</sup> Why would the North Americans refer to the blackface performance as conducted by Japanese?

As there was no translation of the program into Japanese, the reference to the white sailors doing blackface as “Japanese minstrels” was meant for the English speakers alone. Although I am unaware of any commentary on this in the voluminous literature on the Perry mission, I find it useful to construe this peculiar framing through the terms laid out above from Ferreira da Silva. Whatever else the motivations for blackface minstrelsy—money, racist humiliation, love, jealousy—it was obviously another instance of Euro-white engulfment of people of color that Ferreira da Silva uncovers in Hegel. The inside joke of the blackface performers referring to themselves as “Japanese” should be seen as a racial threat: just as they transcendently rawfared Africans, Climate Caucasianists were coming to terrorize Japanese people and nature next.

### *Asymmetric Lawfare*

Coming on the heels of the US invasion of Japan, the Second War for Drugs (1856–60) in China legalized the trade in opium and coolie captives and forcefully enclosed the major Chinese city of Hankou (some five hundred miles inland from Shanghai) as a treaty port. In violation of recognized standards of conduct in war, the British commander, Lord Elgin, ordered the destruction and looting of the vast complex of Qing palaces, gardens, and libraries known as the Summer Place as retribution for the torture and death of several Westerners captured by Qing soldiers (Hevia 2003). After the conclusion of military operations, the British and French decided it was time to force the Qing into accepting the “universal” laws transcendently produced by and for the white Speed Race(r). So British officials established an agency to tutor Chinese in the new game of capitalist lawfare—the Imperial Maritime Customs (IMC), tasked with stabilizing Chinese foreign and domestic customs revenue. After a shaky first few years, the leadership of the IMC was given to Robert Hart (1835–1911) as inspector general in 1863. He spoke fluent Chinese and has been revered by important Euro-American Sinologists as someone who brought the modern world to backward China (Bruner and Fairbank 1986).

While Hart ran the IMC for over four decades, it morphed, after the chaos of the Taiping Rebellion (1850–64), into the principal purveyor of extra-action and extraction in China. It pioneered meteorology in China as a way to manage weather and mitigate the negative effects extreme events had on capital accumulation (Bickers 2012). In so doing, the IMC transformed the eco-ontological intra-actions humans had had with the weather (and the cosmos) in China for thousands of years into an extra-active relation of exteriority. Telegraph wires the IMC installed in the 1890s made possible the first weather map in China.<sup>32</sup>

Building on the barometers and thermometers Europeans had brought to China, the weather map allowed IMC engineers to depict exteriorized weather on a large scale, seeing how a collection of local air moistures, wind speeds, and atmospheric pressures could build up to reveal patterns that could be reliably identified. Until this time weather in China was a local phenomenon that was inextricable from morality and cosmology. The Climate Caucasianism of the IMC turned weather into a discrete entity disembedded from human and extrahuman forces.<sup>33</sup> While it isolated weather so as to manage it better, the IMC's Marine Department similarly transformed rivers and ports into spaces supposedly immune to the constraints of diurnal and seasonal changes; putting in lighthouses and signal systems and undertaking major hydraulic transformations (Bickers 2012).

Robert Hart's IMC also aggressively applied the European science of statistics to mathematically determine the value of human and extrahuman nature (Chen 2002). This included putting a price tag on human life itself, disconnected from its mesh of relations—and the new nineteenth-century science of raciology dictated that Chinese life was cheaper than Euro-American life. For example, Hart routinely devalued Chinese people during the negotiations over the large indemnities paid to Euro-American countries by the Qing government. The inspector general of the IMC wasn't shy about raciologically rawfaring Chinese in his personal life either. Hart rationalized one of his discount purchases of teenage sex servants in October 1854 this way: "some of the China women are very good-looking: you can make one your absolute possession for 50 to 100 dollars and support her at a cost of only 2 or 3 dollars per month" (Heaver 2013). What's important to flag here is not only the dehumanizing creepiness of this extractiv-eye/I but the lawfare that leads Hart to reduce them to a low dollar value. While sex work had been a feature of urban East Asian societies for over a thousand years, white capitalism will systematically extract these girls from their immeasurable eco-ontological relations and rawfare them as measurements—50 dollars down and only two or three bucks a month to allow Hart to always, as he put it, "have a girl in the room with me, to fondle when I please" (Coble 1991, 179).

Perhaps the most significant instance of his overvaluation of white life came with the Margary Affair. Augustus Margary was a British consular official carrying out geological surveys and exploring an overland route for trade in opium and cotton from India through Burma (Chen 2010, 142). He was killed in February 1875 in Yunnan province by unknown actors, and his death was exploited for a full-on expansion of Climate Caucasianism. While some Europeans claimed the murder was a *casus belli*, more savvy imperialists like UK



minister Thomas Wade wanted to leverage it both for a large indemnity payment and to push for new privileges for white extractive capitalists in China. Robert Hart wrote the proposal submitted to the Qing government's Zongli Yamen (Foreign Ministry) on January 23, 1876, laying out precisely what he and Wade thought these new privileges should be, indexed to the inflated value of the life of Margary. The proposal first outlines basic disagreements between Westerners and Chinese: Euro-whites want their imported goods to be taxed only once at the low rate of 5 percent, while Qing officials want to maintain the additional *likin*, the tax on interprovincial trade. So right away in the introduction, Hart's extractiv-eye/I puts forward the British negotiating position:

If it is asked what more the foreigner wants in China . . . the reply is, that on the foreign side the end now sought for is freedom for every kind of trading or industrial operation. . . . [This] means that the foreigner wants unrestricted access to whatever place interest suggests; development of local natural resources; etc. On the Chinese side, the object hitherto and still kept in view has been, and is, self-preservation; change is not welcome . . . change is rarely accepted on foreign suggestion except when imposed by force. (BPP 1971, 739)

While Robert Hart reminds the Qing officials of their recent defeats in the First (1839–42) and Second (1856–60) War for Drugs, he asserts the right of Climate Caucasianists to do anything they want with rawfared nature. He also states limpidly that if Qing officials attempt to obstruct Euro-white extraction (“unrestricted access”) the British government will not hesitate to kill Chinese. This was the typical negotiating position of Euro-whites outside the North Atlantic at this time.

Next, Hart elaborates on China's endemic conservatism in a section called “Administration,” rolling out Orientalist stereotypes of the sort we witnessed in Hegel's writing above: “Chinese are a very conceited people,” and Chinese are delusional and paranoid: “[Chinese] have been suspicious of the foreigners' intentions, and still think every word must have some ulterior object, and every suggestion some sinister motive. . . . But, obstacles though they long have been and now are, they are nevertheless forces which must decrease. . . . But alongside of these Chinese forces exists another set of forces” (750).

This “other set of forces” is nothing but the march of Hegel's World Spirit, moving in lockstep with white capitalism's haste to extract. Hart himself provided specifics about these forces in his introduction when he insisted that on-the-ground reality in China in 1876 must not reflect the status quo ante, dictated by what he calls “defensive extraterritoriality,” or mere immu-



nity from Chinese law. Although this might have been appropriate European policy for the 1840s and '50s, Hart insists that the transformed political situation of the 1870s calls for much more. Therefore, Qing officials must install the political protections for a new "aggressive" or offensive extraterritoriality for Euro-whites (740). What Hart here calls defensive extraterritoriality was the set of privileges granted to Euro-Americans after the First War for Drugs and in Japan after the 1858 treaties with the US and the UK. Ruskola writes that even in this limited form, when Euro-Americans entered China, "their law traveled with them" (2013, 111). But offensive extraterritoriality goes well beyond this. In this new upgrade, Euro-whites must be provided with complete protection from local Qing officials as they exercise, anywhere in China they want, their "freedom for every kind of trading or industrial operation," underwritten by "unrestricted access . . . to work mines, or introduce railways with *carte blanche*" (BPP 1971, 749). In other words, this new extraterritoriality unleashed Euro-whites to extract human, extrahuman, and mineral rawfare completely above and beyond Chinese laws. In the face of saber rattling, the Qing ratified Hart and Wade's demands for offensive extraterritoriality in the Chefoo Convention of August 1876, concluding the Margary Affair. It transformed the Qing government's primary responsibility from providing for their own subject people to shielding and protecting Euro-white men as they transmogrified China into a shopping mall, open-pit mine, brothel, and outhouse.

### *White Superpredation*

One could argue that offensive extraterritoriality was already understood to be the law of the land in China after the Unequal Treaties of 1858 and 1860 concluded the Second War for Drugs (1856–60). These agreements removed the remaining obstacles to the clipper-coolie captive-contraband-capital circuit by decriminalizing narco and other kinds of trafficking, while it pried loose China's interior to Christian missionary occupation. One underacknowledged effect of this was an intensified sense of impunity on the ground that allowed white supremacist violence against Chinese to become routine and, as I will show, enjoyable. This phenomenon emerged initially at the end of the First War for Drugs with widespread beatings of Chinese men, rapes of women, and looting carried out by Euro-white and colonized Indian forces (Fay 1975, 224–25, 315, 318).

The prevalence of White-on-Chinese violence got so out of hand that British officials in the treaty ports who had otherwise been full-throated supporters of Anglo-American imperialism were aghast. The British consul at Guangzhou

in 1857–58, Rutherford Alcock (1809–97), was irate over the predominance of what he called “offscum” among Euro-whites in China. He argued that extra-territoriality “brought with it an evil progeny . . . license and violence wherever the offscum found access and peaceable people to plunder” (BPP 1859, 56). An example of the offscum *modus operandi* in Guangzhou in 1857 featured “three or four ruffians of a Western race, armed with revolvers and bowie knives, [who] put a whole district under a levy of blackmail by the terror they inspired”—acts of white terrorism that Alcock first observed in Shanghai in 1852 carried out by heavily armed men from Sydney and San Francisco (1863, vol. 2, 366). For him the treaty port enclosures opened a window into the ubiquity of Euro-American criminality and made him fearful that it was jeopardizing the British imposition of free trade and other lawfare in East Asia. For example, the belligerent UK diplomat in China C. G. Alabaster (1838–98)—reportedly nicknamed “the Buster” for his predilection for punching people in the face—reminisced fondly about the “fun” British sailors experienced while on leave in the treaty ports in the 1860s, when they immediately got drunk and roamed the streets looking for Chinese to assault (Coates 1988, 48). While I will demonstrate in this study that, although punching and whipping were the preferred ways to elicit this fun (in East Asia the whip became established globally as the essential accessory for alabaster-white supremacists), Euro-American men also used knives to stab and cut off the fingers and ears of innocent Chinese. Firearms came out when Chinese offered the slightest resistance to white terror—“resistance” often being construed as nothing more than refusing to avert one’s gaze from a white guy—close to what whites called “reckless eyeballing” as a justification for lynching Blacks in the US South (Goldsby 2006, 249). Tragically, these nights of Westerners “wilding” in China and Japan often culminated in brothels, where they had their way with young East Asian women and girls until they passed out. Like Hart, the more middle- and upper-class white men bought concubines so they could act as if they were above such lowlife activities (Coates 1988; Hoare 1994).

Even Lord Elgin, the man who ultimately ordered the sacking and looting of the Qing Summer Palace in 1860 and recommended that British men needed to “bully and then stand firm” in China, was himself scandalized during visits to treaty ports in 1858. There he couldn’t but notice the “foreign adventurers . . . who take advantage of the laxity of the Consular systems, and the immunities attached to extraterritoriality, to commit outrages on the natives” (BPP 1859, 260). Terrorizing Chinese in this way, Elgin fumed, saw “the worst class of foreigners profit at the cost of the more respectable” (346). However, Elgin found it difficult to identify such “more respectable” Euro-American businessman

working in the Ningbo and Fuzhou treaty ports (255). No doubt this was because the most respected were the drug cartels Jardine, Matheson & Co. and Dent & Co. Clearly, respectability was in short supply in 1858.

*Chinese Are Entirely at Their Disposal*

Nowhere was this more the case than in Shanghai, ground zero for white racial capitalism in Asia. Euro-American missionaries and travelers to the city corroborated Alcock's depictions of "license and violence" and Elgin's "outrages on the native." Some white men appeared to do nothing but go to the brothels and bars, and when they ran out of money they found mercenary work or, alternatively, extracted food and sex at gunpoint from local Chinese (M'Ghee 1862). The British consul at Ningbo, D. B. Robertson, tried to prevent all Anglo-American sailors and merchant marines from disembarking at this treaty port in 1858, as they "consider the persons and property of Chinese to be entirely at their disposal" (Coates 1988, 48). What facilitated robberies and rapes is that white men often carried firearms. In fact, many Westerners residing long-term in China possessed a private arsenal both to hunt game and to terrify Chinese (Wood 1998, 120).

Higher up the social ladder from the so-called "worst class" of whites, middle-class businessmen thought nothing of assaulting Chinese in the streets. The veteran Scottish merchant in Shanghai, John Scarth, bragged that "if there is a coolie doing something vexatious, and an angry foreigner gives him a good punch in the ribs, the Chinamen will drop down and have his cry" (1860, 149). Many white capitalists refused on principle to learn Chinese and some also disliked hearing it spoken, calling it aggravating "clatter and chatter" (Marez 2004, 115). On July 4, 1846, in Guangzhou, the British merchant Charles Compton yelled at a perplexed Chinese street fruit seller in English, telling him to stop hawking his wares across the street from his corporate office. When the peddler didn't understand and continued working, Compton flew into a white rage, punching the man and kicking his fruit stand over into the street. When Cantonese locals started gathering in protest, an armed white mob led by Compton responded by shooting at the indignant Chinese, killing three and seriously wounding six. Compton did not serve any prison time (Morse 1910, vol. 1, 381–84).

Frederick Bruce, Lord Elgin's brother and the British envoy to Qing China from 1859 to 1863, was called on to support British consuls fining and jailing white men for murders and assaults of Chinese, a system that Rutherford Alcock first tried to formalize in Shanghai in 1847 when he became disgusted

by the widespread brutalization of Chinese servants (BFO 228/76, Shanghai 32, 1847). Bruce was similarly shocked at the ubiquity of white criminality in China's treaty ports, writing to his sister in April 1858 describing Euro-American mercenaries and traffickers as "the scum of the earth . . . attracted to a country where they can commit excesses without restraint" (in Gerson 1972, 211). While he held out hope that the "more respectable" capitalists would carry themselves differently, these were soon dashed. Commenting on a White-on-Chinese assault case in Shanghai in 1862 involving the "brutal and unprovoked attack upon an unoffending coolie in his employ," Bruce conceded that this seemingly respectable British trader represented "a type too often found among our middle class in China, with the brutal courage of a prizefighter, unchecked by a single chivalrous instinct. . . . They acquire a taste for inflicting suffering and practicing it upon people who don't resist" (in Checkland 1989, 17–18). What particularly bothered Bruce (and other honest diplomats) is that there didn't seem to be any discernible point to the brutality. The white men who assaulted and stole from Chinese were already living well, and, different from the white plantation masters who systematically tortured Bengali peasants in Assam, India and African slaves in the US South, the capitalists who whipped and kicked their Chinese servants generally weren't successful in making them more productive. Perpetrators of white racial terror simply claimed that they were relieving boredom or "having fun." To understand this we will have to go beyond an economic logic focusing on the exploitation of humans and nature for profit to a psychic one that construes white supremacy as compensating itself "psychologically," as W. E. B. Du Bois famously theorized (1935, 700–01) and chasing what followers of the psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan call "obscene enjoyment" (Žižek 1989, 1993).

Because of drunk and marauding lower- and middle-class white men, Shanghai's International Settlement was already off limits to Asians and all women after dark by 1855—the first sundown town<sup>34</sup> in Asia (BFO 228/196, Shanghai 53, 1855). Japanese visitors to Shanghai, after Japan's own coerced entry into global trade in July 1859, experienced this firsthand and registered shock at how Chinese were treated. After several days in the city in 1862, the Japanese samurai Takasugi Shinsaku—protected by his two swords—realized that Shanghainese "scurry away in fear" from white men on public streets to avoid being arbitrarily assaulted or shot (1916, 79–80). Frustrated British consuls in Shanghai and Guangzhou were finally forced to increase the fines in an attempt to curb the assaults (Miyazawa 1997, 44–45). Unlike the diplomats, however, most rich capitalists on the Shanghai International Council seemed less worried about pugilistic traders abusing Chinese in the privacy of their

residences or offices than the optic of Euro-white mercenaries and sailors looting and murdering in public. Some of the businessmen on the council who hired these same men as police and security no doubt realized that it was, as we say today, a “cost-effective” savings for them when food, sex, and lodging could just be taken for free by white mercenaries at gunpoint, meaning that wages ordinarily used for these needs could be reduced accordingly. However, the majority of the Shanghai Council understood they had to do something after a series of homicidal rampages in the Hongkou neighborhood of the International Settlement in 1862–63. So, they took the unprecedented step of ordering one of the mercenary perpetrators, the American John Buckley (who had previously worked as a policeman for the same council), hanged for the senseless murder of a Chinese man (46; Bickers 2011, 180).

This toxic mix of extraterritorial lawlessness and Euro-white predation was exported to Japan when treaty ports were enclosed by the Euro-American powers in July 1859. Nagasaki and Yokohama were immediately occupied by both drug cartels and arms traffickers like Jardine, Matheson & Co. as well as the more numerous middle-class capitalists whose curriculum vitae featured what J. E. Hoare calls “years of opium smuggling and ruffianism” in China (1994, 6). Rutherford Alcock was promoted and sent to Tokugawa Japan in late June 1859 as the first British minister and witnessed an uncannily familiar license and violence there. As I will show in chapter 1, once in Japan Alcock became much less concerned with white working-class offscum than with what he called the more pernicious kind—the obnoxious white traders and corporate capitalists like Dent & Co.

Then there was what we might call the “onscum”—the diplomats themselves, the ones the Chinese and Japanese officials who had to deal with them called truculent “fist-pounding foreigners” (Wilgus 1987, 91). In addition to the aptly named “Buster” Alabaster, there was the combative Harry Parkes, the second British minister to Japan, who will feature in chapter 1. In fact, in China Frederick Bruce didn’t confine his outrage to middle-class racial terrorists but asked for advice from the Foreign Office in London about how to stop “persistent acts of violence by consuls” like Alabaster and Horatio Nelson Lay (Coates 1988, 152).

Although Robert Hart and Thomas Wade succeeded in leveraging the death of Augustus Margary into an expanded set of privileges summed up as offensive extraterritoriality, damages were rarely paid by the Euro-American powers to Chinese unlucky enough to be on the receiving end of a lethal blow.<sup>35</sup> Only mass protest by Chinese was able to elicit investigations by Euro-American consuls.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, as all non-aristocrat Chinese women and girls were

assumed to be dehumanized rawfare by white men, rape being a crime was inconceivable. This absolute opposition between the value of rawfared Chinese and lawfared whites was succinctly explained in the mid-1860s by the British consul at the central Chinese treaty port of Hankou, Walter Medhurst: “The foreigner . . . is regarded, and with reason, as the depository and source of all wealth, influence, and power. Foreigners own the most magnificent houses and conduct the most wealthy banks and firms; foreigners own and command the finest ships and steamers. . . . In fact, foreigners are everything” (in Bickers 2011, 184).

Notwithstanding what Du Bois called the “Heaven-defying audacity” (1920, 43) of these kinds of declarations of Caucasian supremacy—what the comedians Desus Nice and Kid Mero conflate as “Caucasity”—there was an improbable consensus among Chinese officials like Lin Zexu and Anglophone diplomats like Rutherford Alcock in calling the behavior of Euro-whites in East Asia “predation.” This book shows how this predation flourished in East Asia by activating asymmetries in warfare, lawfare, and the extraction of rawfare. It’s worth underlining the fact that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Chinese and Japanese repeatedly said that they didn’t need anything from Europe. But on the contrary, Euro-whites didn’t hide the fact that they needed tea, silk, and “china” from East Asians, and the only way to guarantee continued access was through escalating violence. Here, as Frederick Bruce and Alcock recognized, white male predation in the East Asian treaty ports was a form of merciless conduct that acknowledged no higher juridical or moral law. Echoing the terms of tough-on-crime leaders in the 1990s like Bill and Hillary Clinton defaming African American teenagers, Euro-whites in China and Japan exhibited “no conscience, no empathy.” However, to displace the Clintons’ racist profiling of Black youth as “superpredators,” when we consider the problem of Euro-white predation from the fuller analysis developed through Ferreira da Silva, it’s clear the denunciations of Qing officials and British diplomats didn’t go far enough. That’s because they couldn’t grasp the ways in which the joining of the empirical, on-the-ground conflict with up-in-the-clouds transcendental extra-action allowed white predation to be uploaded and recoded into rational truth. In the era of liberalized trade and the Climate Caucasianist despoiling of nature in East Asia, these truths would include the Social Darwinian “struggle for existence,” the capitalist ideology of “free market competition” and nature as a “resource,” and the Smithian “invisible hand” justifying extractive greed. Reframed in this way, one could argue that when extra-active transcendental reason was downloaded into the on-the-ground empirical, the predatory actions of Euro-whites weren’t at all lacking



in rationality but became grounded on principles authorized by a constantly transforming transcendental production. In other words, the expropriation of the rawfared “outside” by the “inside” and the “behind” by the “ahead” rationalized multiple forms of Euro-American brutality, and then allowed those “truths” (race war; the putative public good of vile, private greed; extraction as civilizing development; etc.) to then guide and direct further actions on the ground. Therefore, together with a basic predation determined solely by plunder and pleasure, we should construe Euro-white actions as more complex, transcendently extra-active endeavors involving classifying, calculating, and coding—in other words, “Superpredation.” Supported by the nineteenth-century sciences of philosophy, raciology, geology, and meteorology, Superpredation defined the attitude toward nonwhite humans and nature in the era of Climate Caucasianism.

### *Chapter Outline*

Chapter 1, “J-hād against ‘Gorge-Us’ White Men,” and chapter 2, “Ecclesiastical Superpredators,” are introductory chapters on Japan (1854–81) and China (1839–91), detailing the ways in which locals defended their eco-ontologies against the onslaught of white racial capitalism. These chapters use decolonial, relational theory and eco-Marxism to reject the standard descriptions of this period (“opening” of treaty ports; capitalist “development”) for a framework that emphasizes dissymmetries in warfare, lawfare, and the extraction of cheapened rawfare. These chapters also reveal the climate-intervening and climate-interfering aspects of white capitalism.

The next four chapters are based on a decade of archival research in both China and Japan on two insurgent groups I call “eco-ontological protectors.” In chapters 4 and 6 on China, I focus on the outlaw brotherhood the Gelaohui (GLH). GLH membership exploded in central and southwestern China after the Taiping Rebellion (1850–64) was crushed and after major peasant uprisings in Yunnan and Sichuan resulted in small farmers adding opium poppies to their crop rotation. Growing poppies both for their own use and to sell to local Gelaohui dealers led to a substitution of Anglo-Indian opium for Sichuanese product. As more and more peasants took to growing poppies as their winter crop, opium smoking spread from being an expensive habit for Qing officials and rich gentry to an affordable form of recreation and relaxation available to all. But this sudden increase in opium smoking didn’t lead to spikes in addiction and delinquency as white Protestant missionaries warned in their War on Drugs launched in China in the 1870s. Rather, it resulted in sustainable



economic growth in Sichuan, where sales of the organic product spurred an increase in market towns and new opium establishments and restaurants where peasants could both deepen existing friendships and make new ones. These regular encounters in opium rooms supplemented the traditional function of the Sichuanese teahouse in spreading news and gossip. As Euro-white missionaries flooded into central and southwestern China after the Second War for Drugs, they denounced opium smoking and the “devilish” places where people gathered to smoke it. When news of Euro-whites’ attack on the local product that was penetrating deeply into the lives, lungs, and even spiritual practices of Sichuanese peasants reached opium rooms and teahouses, this intensified the opposition to Euro-American Christianity. Sichuan witnessed the greatest number of attacks against Euro-American Christians (教案, *jia’ān*) until the more famous Boxer Rebellion of 1898–1900. Finally, when the Qing government itself launched a draconian opium suppression campaign in 1906, it was opposed by a wide swath of political actors in Sichuan. No one group was more militant in its opposition than the outlaw brotherhood the Gelaohui. In a new analysis of the causes of the overthrow of dynastic rule in China, I will argue that the anti-Qing uprising in Sichuan—usually considered the second most important site of confrontation after Wuchang, Hubei—resulted from this widespread opposition to opium suppression as much as the frequently noted Sichuanese anger at being denied the right to build a railroad linking Sichuan’s capital of Chengdu to Yichang, Hubei.

In chapters 3 and 5 I focus on the important southwestern Japan group Genyōsha, from Fukuoka, Kyushu. Inheriting a tradition of anti-Westernism from rogue samurai known as principled protectors (志士, *shishi*), Genyōsha was a major force in the sociopolitical movement known as the Autonomy and People’s Rights (APR) movement. Although the APR has been well documented in English and Japanese, there are significant gaps that I have tried to fill. The first is what is known as the Osaka Incident of 1885, where Genyōsha allied with several other armed APR groups in an attempted simultaneous uprising inside Japan—and in Korea and China—to overthrow the Meiji oligarchs. The second gap in APR scholarship is the attempts by local groups to delink from both the centralized capitalism of Tokyo and the carbon-spewing economic system subtending Climate Caucasianism. Genyōsha was one of the groups involved in an attempt in Fukuoka, Kyushu, to do this in 1880–81.

In these two chapters on Genyōsha I return to one of the central themes in this book to analyze the contentious issue of coal extraction in western Japan. As coal mining was being monopolized by large capitalist companies like Mitsui and Mitsubishi with connections to the Meiji oligarchs, many APR groups

opposed it, and Genyôsha was no different. However, when the Tokyo leaders imposed a crushing austerity program in 1882, the APR opposition saw its resources vanish. Inside Genyôsha, a fierce debate took place from 1884 to 1886 about moving into coal mining. While nearly all members opposed it, a new pragmatic and proextractivist faction emerged, led by Tōyama Mitsuru, who managed to convince a few of the members to join him in the outright buying of coal resources and investing in other mining ventures. This infuriated Genyôsha's President Hakoda Rokusuke and internal fistfighting and name-calling continued for three years until Hakoda's suicide in 1888.

In the conclusion, called “‘Undermining’ China and Beyond Climate Caucasianism” I bring the main theme of resistance in East Asia to the extra-action and capitalist extraction of the “enemies of Heaven” to a close with a discussion of two of the most important thinkers of turn-of-the-century East Asia, Zhang Taiyan and Tanaka Shōzo. Zhang was a fierce critic of Euro-American imperialism, but he separated himself from other critics by attacking both the philosophical premises of Western power and its on-the-ground practices. He was also a supporter of the subaltern Boxer and Gelaohui insurgencies. Tanaka was the first environmental activist in Japan, and he was supported financially by Genyôsha.

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## Notes

### INTRODUCTION: THE SPEED RACE(R) AND THE STOPPED INCARCE-RACES

1. There were two versions of this letter: the one I'm quoting from here and a nearly identical second, cowritten by Lin, the governor of Guangdong Deng Tingzhen, and the vice minister of the Qing Board of War Yi Liang. The second letter was sent to England with the seal of the Daoguang emperor.

2. This isn't a loose comparison. One similarity is that Latin American (crack) cocaine and Anglo-Indian opium were produced at great distances from their centers of consumption in the US and China, respectively. More importantly, the physical effects of both drugs have been exaggerated to (re)consolidate white supremacy. Rather than making people lazy, opium was known as the "work drug" in Japan's Manchukuo colony in the 1930s for its ability to turn even the most degrading labor into something tolerable. Although crack cocaine can be highly addictive in many situations, rather than turning smokers into sociopathic "crackheads" and "crack mothers" as tough-on-crime advocates insist, the half-life of a standard dose of crack is less than one hour, whereas for "white" drugs like methamphetamine or heroin it is up to twenty-four hours.

3. All translations from Japanese, Chinese (modern and classical), French, and Spanish are mine unless indicated.

4. The termination of slavery in the British Empire in 1833 was in part conceivable because white Anglo elites saw the rise of the Asian coolie trade as a substitute source of labor to replace Black slaves (Lowe 2015).

5. See Liu (2004, 118).

6. Marx writes in *Capital*, volume 1, that "a strange God perched himself side by side with the old divinities of Europe on the altar, and one fine day threw them all overboard. . . . It proclaimed the making of profit as the ultimate and the sole purpose of mankind" (1977a, 918).

7. Andreas (2020) also uses War for Drugs.

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8. This shares a critical perspective with Françoise Vergès's notion of the "Racial Capitalocene" in Johnson and Lubin (2017).

9. The technical term for this is "indentured labor" (Northrup 1995). However, an estimated 90 percent of Chinese indentured laborers were forced and/or lied to about the conditions of employment, which is the UN definition of forced labor today. While the term "indenture" suggests an above-the-board legality, the majority of Chinese cases belie this, impelling scholars like Yun and Laremont (2001) to use the phrase "forced migration" to depict this human trafficking of Asians. South Asian migration was less coercive, although some of the effects of their forced migration were shared with Chinese "coolies."

10. George Lipsitz (2009) calls this beneficial ownership of pale privilege the "possessive investment in whiteness."

11. Thanks to Diane Nelson for this reference.

12. Miller, Adeney Thomas, and Walker (2013) suggest that Japan and Europe weren't that different in terms of intensifying aspects of the control of nature in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Federico Marcon's 2015 study makes this point with even more force.

13. Mezzadra and Neilson (2017) and Arboleda (2020) are doing the best work on contemporary extractivism.

14. I'm not arguing that modern raciology was produced ex nihilo in the nineteenth century, but that it built on what Frantz Fanon called the "historical racial schema" (1967). Accumulation by drug and arms possession was both cause and effect of emerging scientific racism. Similarly, the 1980s and 1990s crack epidemic gave birth to an insidious form of postracialism that reversed legal and sociopolitical victories of the civil rights and Black and Brown power movements of the 1960s and '70s; see Alexander's germinal *The New Jim Crow* (2010).

15. An infamous example of this was in Gilbert and Sullivan's 1885 *Mikado*, where an adult Japanese male (referred to as a coolie) was played by a white child.

16. I've benefited from a fine presentation on Down by Mel Chen at Duke University in February 2016.

17. I will not be using "den" in this study, as in English dens are for children and animals. The Chinese for such a place is 鴉片館 (*yapian guan*), with 館 (*guan*) denoting an upscale establishment or domicile.

18. On this see Kitahara (2013), where Portuguese are said to have done most of the human trafficking of Japanese and Chinese.

19. See Sufen Sofia Lai in Kowner and Demel (2014).

20. In 1826 the Sino-Japanese characters 神道 didn't have the meaning that they would by 1890 of Japan's state religion, or Shinto. Often translated literally as the "way of the gods," in his fine English translation of *New Proposals* Bob Wakabayashi renders the 神道 compound circa 1826 as "spirit-like processes of nature."

21. What is important here is the ontological monism linking divine reason, primordial matter, and the inscriptions of these in myriad kinds of entities in Japanese neo-Confucianism thought. This should be distinguished from the rupturing dualisms in Cartesian and Kantian philosophy.

22. Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for helping me parse this.

23. I'm collapsing theoretical systems here with significant differences. Philosophically, I agree with object-oriented ontology's insistence that not all objects are &jects and *every* object possesses the potential (or phase space capacity) to withdraw from relation, as Martin Heidegger insisted (Harman 2018). Actor network theory's flattened ontology disperses questions of power, while decolonial relationality *foregrounds* power, correctly in my view. Decolonial relationality, while appalled by what they see as the apolitical Anglo-white men leading the OOO movement, actually shares some of their insights. For instance, Marisol de la Cadena's (2015) argument that things are "not only" what they are for human phenomenology is an OOO conceit par excellence.

24. Important exceptions include Warren (2018), Bernasconi (2003), Eze (1997) and Osborne (2003).

25. This is worked out in Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*, part II, book 1, chapters 1 and 2.

26. The most important precedent for a Euro-white subject authorized to extract that which is external to it is John Locke's 1690 "Second Treatise of Government," where he encouraged white settlers in the US to "subdue the earth."

27. I'm critiquing the recent "decolonial" reading of Hegel inspired by Susan Buck-Morss (2009). While Hegel does allow for black slaves to be victorious in a race war with Euro-whites, this can only occur after they have interiorized and subsumed all aspects of Europeans, including self-determination and an extra-active exteriority vis-à-vis nature. Furthermore, Hegel does not preclude white Christian Masters from winning back racial superiority in the rare instances of losing race wars. He recommends as much when he revisits the Master-Slave dialectic in the 1817 *Philosophy of Mind* and suggests that if white Christians recognize the ways in which black slaves have jettisoned their egotism and selfish desires, they can appropriate these for the revanchist project of white Self-Consciousness; see sections 432–35 in Wallace et al. 2007.

28. Cited in Marez (2004, 96).

29. See also Beasley (1955, 158–61) and Inoue (2010, 19–20).

30. Perhaps it bears mentioning that this violence enacted on yellow people by Japanese men dressing up as Blacks occurred on an imperialist ship nostalgically named for a red Native man.

31. "Gemmen" satirizes African American pronunciation of "gentleman," denying, of course, any such status for such a backward caricature. "Olio" refers to the mixture of jokes and songs performed between acts in minstrel shows.

32. 百度百科, accessed April 3, 2018.

33. I learned much about meteorology from Max Conley's 2019 honors thesis, "The World Whole."

34. In reference to US towns where intimidation and threats of violence kept Blacks from living in white towns or even being there after dark.

35. As the discussions over opening Chongqing heated up, Robert Hart refused a Qing government request that Chinese life be compensated when Chinese boats were rammed by Western steamships (BFO 228/886, May 17, 1890). If an incident of White-on-Chinese murder became public—and if the family was of means—consuls in the east coast ports paid damages of ten to twenty dollars; see Coates (1988, 46–47).

36. This changed somewhat with the establishment of the British Supreme Court for China and Japan in Shanghai in September 1865 (Clark 2017, 41). Nevertheless, Chinese victims of Euro-white assaults had to convince Chinese magistrates to open cases against white men, with the consuls representing the Western men who then brought the case to the Supreme Court. It was rare for consuls to initiate investigations against their countrymen, even in capital crimes.

#### I. J-HĀD AGAINST “GORGE-US” WHITE MEN

1. The Stirling Convention of 1854 was England’s first trade treaty with Japan, and its most-favored-nation clause granted British nationals limited trading rights in Nagasaki and Hakodate. When the first British minister, Rutherford Alcock, landed in Nagasaki on June 4, 1859, he found that almost all of the British traders were openly violating the agreements; see Fox (1969, 52–60).

2. There were at least two instances of Euro-white grave robbing, with the first happening outside Nagasaki by Russian mercenaries in 1859. In Hakodate three British employees of the consulate, Henry Frone, George Kernish, and Henry Whitelery, managed to dig up twelve skulls and three whole skeletons in 1865 to sell to dealers in Shanghai before they were found out. These contributed to the phrenological and raciological “proof” of Euro-white supremacy (BFO 46/88, January 31, 1866).

3. Saidiya Hartman makes a similar point about the sexual assault of slave captives in the US South (1997, 43).

4. More honest Euro-whites recognized that most Japanese women were horrified by Caucasian men and did everything they could to avoid them; see Heusken (1964, 93–94) and Cortazzi (1987, 146).

5. After implying as much earlier, Oliphant states clearly that “young ladies” are constantly trying to peek at “the toilet, as performed by an English gentleman” (1860, 376).

6. James Hevia’s work (1995, 2003) has been pioneering in this regard.

7. Morikawa Tetsurō claims that the British Legation arranged to buy two sex servants named O’hana and O’kanai to “comfort” Englishmen at Tōzenji, while the 1862 Japanese text *Yokohama Kidan* lists only one woman registered as a *musume*—the common reference to sex servant—to work at the British embassy. See Morikawa (1967, 47–48) and Williams (1963, 109–10).

8. Miyazawa’s work is the most detailed description of the incident in any language.

9. Eventually, Anglophone residents of Yokohama in the 1880s acknowledged that Richardson’s provocations caused the event. The journalist E. H. Scidmore, who lived in Yokohama for three years in the late 1880s, wrote that Richardson and his friends “deliberately rode into the daimio’s train” (1892, 28).

10. This same phrase appeared in Marshall’s original testimony given in Yokohama, although this made it seem like Marshall was, nonsensically, yelling at the Japanese.

11. Philip Towle describes the “generalized beating” inflicted on South Asians by British subjects in the nineteenth century (in Kowner and Demel 2014, 287).

12. Grace Fox writes that in Yokohama and Nagasaki, “drunken and disorderly sailors from Western ships repeatedly outraged the peaceful native population” (1969, 77).