Regional History and International History: From Hara Katsurō to Ellsworth Huntington

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Introduction

It was in the 1910s that Tohoku's status as a backward region came to be firmly established. On one hand, Tohoku exported produces such as rice and provided manpower for the capitalist labor market and for the development of Hokkaido. At the same time, it imported foreign rice, fertilizer, and light manufactured goods. Thus Tohoku, notwithstanding its own internal differences, became a sort of "domestic colony."[1]

The 1910s were also when a mass society emerged as a result of mobilization for the First World War. It was then that Tohoku came to possess a new historical self-consciousness. Two examples include Asano Gengo's *Tōhoku oyobi Tōhokujin* in 1915 and Takeuchi Unpei's *Tōhoku kaihatsushi* in 1918. Asano, born in Iwate prefecture, later became a central figure in the Tohoku shinkōkai (Association for the Promotion of Tohoku). Takeuchi, who hailed from Aomori prefecture, taught at various schools throughout Japan and edited the histories of Aomori prefecture and Hokkaido. Just as a new historical self-awareness emerged within Tohoku, those outside of Tohoku came to cast their gaze upon the region as well. For example, the first survey of Tohoku history, *Ōu enkakushi ron* (*Theories on Ōu History*), which was edited by the Nihon rekishi chiri gakkai (Japan Historical and Geographical Association; hereafter NRCG), appeared in 1916.[2]

This article analyzes episodes involving *Ōu enkakushi ron* and examines some international academic exchanges that led to a new understanding of Tohoku history. It investigates the intersection between regional history and international history at a time when the modern academic discipline of history was just coming into being.

The Emergence of Hiraizumi History

Ōu enkakushi ron is a record of the summer conference of the NRCG, which took place in Hiraizumi in Iwate prefecture on August 10–14, 1915. The meeting was hosted by three local county chapters of the Iwate Prefectural Education Association. *Ōu enkakushi ron* includes the lecture "Nihonshijō no Ōshū" ("Ōshū in Japanese History") by Hara Katsurō, a professor at Kyoto Imperial University, and seven others.[3] NRCG was formed in 1899 at the behest of Kita Sadakichi and Ōmori Kingorō, both of whom presented at the Hiraizumi conference. *Ōu enkakushi ron* has been praised as "the first to discuss the significance of Hiraizumi culture within Japanese history" and "the pinnacle of pre-war Hiraizumi studies."[4]

What was Hiraizumi like in modern times? In 1876, during the Tohoku imperial progress, the Meiji Emperor visited sites such as Chūsonji Temple, Mōtsūji Temple, and the Takadate ruins, and ordered that they be preserved. Consequently, Iwate prefecture introduced protectionist measures and began efforts to preserve Chūsonji and Mōtsūji. Kishida Ginkō, a reporter for the *Tokyo Nichinichi* newspaper who accompanied the imperial progress, characterized the Golden Hall at Chūsonji as being a notch below Tōshōgū at the Nikkō mausoleum but far more splendid than Kinkakuji in Kyoto.[5] In 1897, Chūsonji was designated a "Specially Protected Architecture" (equivalent to the present-day "Architectural National Treasure"). The main hall of Mōtsūji was completed in 1899, as was the Golden Hall at Chūsonji in 1909. However, both were damaged by floods from hurricanes in 1910 and 1912.

According to the local newspaper *Iwate Nippō*, the Iwate prefectural assembly first took up the issue of preserving Hiraizumi's historical sites in 1913. Governor Tsutsumi Teijirō authorized legislation to improve nearby roadways as a first step in the revitalization of Hiraizumi. He also tried to get the national government involved by bringing Hiraizumi to the attention of Viscount Fukuba Hayato, an official in the Imperial Household Ministry. This came to naught when Ōtsu Rinpei replaced Tsutsumi as governor. As a result, Iwate Nippō Company, which owned the *Iwate Nippō* newspaper, began to solicit tour groups to visit Hiraizumi for the purpose of publicizing the site to a wider audience.[6]

Meanwhile, plans for the summer conference of the NRCG were underway. At a regular meeting of the association in April, 1915, the planners agreed that "1) the conference lectures will cover not only the three generations of Ōshū Fujiwara rule but also the periods before and after; and 2) that the meeting will be kept business-like and avoid an overly festive atmosphere."[7] The conference was publicized in the *Iwate Nippō* and the *Iwate Mainichi* newspapers, and every issue of *Rekishi chiri*, NRCG's official publication, advertised the event from May onward.

This was not the first summer meeting of the NRCG. One had already been held at Kamakura, Odawara, Otsu, Nara, and Ota (in Gunma prefecture), but this was the first to take place in Tohoku. The archaeologist Ueda Yoshiichirō worried that the event would fail to attract the "about three hundred" attendees that NRCG and the hosts had expected.[8] To the contrary, the event enjoyed a much higher turnout; 700 general attendees, and a total of about 1,000 including officials.[9] The conference garnered the attention of even national newspapers, such as the *Tokyo Nichinichi* newspaper, which printed summaries of the lectures.[10] The NRCG published a report on the conference in the September issue of its *Rekishi chiri*, and released *Ōu enakakushi ron* in 1916 as a comprehensive report on the event.

The Hiraizumi conference was a good opportunity for some distant visitors to "discover" Hiraizumi. One attendee from Nagano prefecture described Sendai, where he had made a stopover, as "a deeply quiet town," "lacking in vitality," and "unenergetic," which he attributed to the fact that "government policies do not take the Tohoku region into much consideration."[11] Thus he presented a scheme whereby a glorious Hiraizumi of the Middle Ages was contrasted against the stagnant Tohoku of modern times.

The timing of the conference is also important. One of the speakers, Fujita Akira,

died just after the conference, in November (the text of Fujita's lecture "Nanbokuchō jidai ni okeru Ōshū" was prepared by Watanabe Yosuke for the conference volume). Yoshida Tōgo and Okabe Seiichi died successively in 1918. In that sense, the 1915 conference was perfectly timed.

Individual research aside, further large-scale group research on Hiraizumi would have to await the postwar period, namely volume three of *Iwate shigaku kenkyū* and *Tōhoku bunkashi kōenshū* (by Chūsonji kokuhō hozon kōenkai, the Chūsonji Preservation Society) in 1949 and *Chūsonji to Fujiwara yondai* (edited and published by Asahi Shimbun) in 1950. *Tōhoku bunkashi kōenshū* was a report of the Tohoku Cultural History Conference held at Chūsonji in August, 1948. It consists of six lectures on Tohoku history, and is clearly patterned after *Ōu enkakushi ron*; indeed, one of the presenters went so far as to characterize the 1948 event as "the second Hiraizumi conference."

Hara Katsurō's Theories on Tohoku

A three-hour long lecture titled "Nihonshijō no Ōshū" by Hara Katsurō served as a plenary talk at the 1915 Hiraizumi conference. Hara Katsurō (1871–1924) was the eldest son of Hara Katsuta, a former domainal elder in Morioka domain. After graduating from Morioka Middle School and the First Higher School, he entered the History Department of the Faculty of Letters at Tokyo Imperial University in 1893. He graduated in 1898, then continued on to graduate school. After he joined the Fourth Infantry Regiment of the Imperial Guards, he became a professor at the First Higher School, then earned a doctorate in literature from Tokyo Imperial University for his work titled *Nihon chūseishi* (*The History of Medieval Japan*). In the fall of 1903, he began preparing it for publication, but was interrupted by his military service in the Russo-Japanese War, which lasted until November, 1905. *Nihon chūseishi* was published by Fuzanbō in 1906, and became famous for being the first to apply the concept of "the medieval age" to Japanese history. Hara studied abroad in the U.K., France, and the U.S. from 1906 to 1909, and upon returning to Japan, he became a professor in the School of Letters at Kyoto Imperial University, where he taught Western history. He published *Sakunen no Ōbei* in 1912, a travelogue of Southeast Asia titled *Nankai ikken* in 1914, and *Ōbei saikinseishi jūkō* in 1915. In 1912, he visited Taiwan and, in addition to studying in Europe again in 1919, he toured South America in 1920, which he chronicled in a serial titled "Ryōyō no shionawa" for the *Osaka Mainichi* newspaper in May. He also visited Korea in 1921.

While Hara is said to have emphasized the comparative study of Japanese and European histories, he also had in his purview not only the eastern and western hemispheres but also north and south, as well as Asia as a whole. It was from such an international perspective that he produced the first survey of Japanese history written in a foreign language called *An Introduction to the History of Japan* in 1920. It is a tour de force running fourteen chapters and 411 pages.

Hara's academic outlook has been ably analyzed by Ishii Susumu, Kabayama Kōichi, and Takahashi Masaaki.[12] Ishii and Kabayama attribute Hara's scholarly sensibilities to his Tohoku origins, which were crystallized in his talk "Nihonshijō no Ōshū" at the Hiraizumi conference. In its introduction, Hara says the following

about the Heian period (in this instance, the "Ōshū" that he refers to is the Pacific side of the Ōshū that was cut off by the Ōshū mountain range from Dewa along the Sea of Japan, which possessed "a superior civilization."): "In short, there is no region in Japan that was as widely cut off and whose development was as stagnant as Ōshū. In particular, the part of Ōshū around Kitakami River and the area to the north that formerly constituted Nanbu domain should be considered the most backward region in all of Japan."

On the other hand, Hiraizumi culture was "a vast expanse of forward progress" and Ōshū did engage in some cultural exchange with Kyoto. However, from Kyoto's perspective, Ōshū was "barbarian land to be kept at arm's length" and "those who stood beyond the borders of the Japanese state." He argued that this backward Ōshū was not recognized as "a part of Japan" and "governed in the same way as central Japan" until the founding of the Kamakura shogunate. If only Kitabatake Akiie, who had been appointed the Governor of Mutsu by Emperor Go-daigo during the Southern and Northern Courts Period, had been able to not just drive the turncoat Ashikaga Takauji out to Kyushu but to secure complete victory, it would have brought "great fortune upon the Southern Court" and stimulated further exchange between Ōshū and Kyoto. The wall separating Japan and Ōshū would have crumbled and Ōshū culture would have made tremendous progress. However, when Kitabatake Akiie died in battle, so too did the "fate of a fully developed Ōshū." As Hara lamented, "How truly unfortunate this was."

Hara must have relished the opportunity to give this lecture back home in Iwate prefecture. How did his views on Ōshū take shape? The January 1, 1911 issue of *Iwate Nippō* included his essay titled "Hokujin no tenshoku" ("The Heavenly Duty of the Northern People"). He begins by insisting that human civilization, in both East and West, shifts from south to north. In Japan, he explains, "It can hardly be disputed that northern people rarely made new contributions to civilization. But it was the northern people who harmonized the civilization brought about the southern people, and made sure that this civilization maintained its steady course." According to Hara, the Nara and Heian Periods were the work of "southern" civilization, but the Kamakura Period was largely a "northern" civilization. However, due to "Yoshitsune's failure," the northern people were thrown out of "the main ensemble of history." The Kamakura shogunate, which was founded by "northern" civilization, also held international significance. "If the Kamakura Period had never come to pass, Japan might have ended up like Korea. In that regard, the advent of warrior rule by Yoritomo made enormous contribution to Japanese civilization." Hara's argument predated that of Ishimoda Shō, who would later characterize Japan's medieval period as one of warrior domination, which made Japan's historical path diverge from China's.[13] Hara maintained this positive appraisal of the Kamakura shogunate throughout his career, as evidenced in *Nihon chūseishi* and *Higashiyamajidai ni okeru ichi shinshin no seikatsu*. However, we must also note Hara's contempt toward Korea and his excessive celebration of warrior rule as his foibles.

If, in Hara's mind, the Kamakura shogunate was "the first renewal" in Japanese history by northern people, then the Edo shogunate was "the second renewal." Even in that instance, however, Ōshū served as no more than a "shadow warrior."

He also points out that the rise of Kitabatake Akiie during the Southern and Northern Courts Period, which he touched upon in “Nihonshijō no Ōshū,” was another opportunity for renewal. He goes so far as to argue that, had Akiie triumphed, “Japan would have been spared the coming of the Ashikaga Period, which was oddly distorted like a reflection in an antique silver screen.”

In other words, the basis for his “Nihonshijō no Ōshū” in 1915 had already been laid in 1911 (it should be noted that Hara did insist on the need to demarcate the Ashikaga Period as a discrete history period). Hara goes on to argue that there was even a chance for renewal “in the not so distant past.” Needless to say, he was talking about the Meiji Restoration. Had a leader like Akiie emerged then, Japan would have witnessed “a most interesting historical drama” unfold. Instead, the north suffered “an ignominious defeat” and the “market value of the Ōshū people’s potential,” which had been “an unknown” since the days of the Hiraizumi Fujiwara, was set at its nadir. “In the forty years since the Restoration, Ōshū has had to lie in subservience,” Hara wrote.

Hara’s argument culminated in a call for a second renewal. “The current civilization of the Meiji era, which was brought about by the hands of southern people, is already in a state of fatigue. The job of rescuing this civilization belongs, by destiny, to the people of the north.” It was time for them to escape their “shadow warrior” status, put this “new civilization” on its “steady course,” and correct their “market value” which was wrongly established forty years ago. In Europe, the Slavic peoples are expected to bring about a hopeful future for Europe; could the Slavs of Japan fulfill *their* destiny?

By the time Hara wrote those words, his *Nihon chūseishi* had already been well-received and he enjoyed a comfortable career as a professor at Kyoto Imperial University. Still, he was driven to his risky and extreme position because of the desperate state of Tohoku at this time. Certainly, one could view his words as lip service to his northern roots. On the other hand, it was also true that he could be quite harsh and provocative toward his northern audience, as he was in a lecture in Iwate in 1912. There, he remarked, “From an objective standpoint, it must be said that Morioka is rather backwards in terms of knowledge compared to the rest of Japan.”[14] Therefore, “Hokujin no tenshoku” should be read as both a future aspiration and a historical retrospective based on a well-balanced appraisal of Tohoku that was both affirmative and negative. Between “Hokujin no tenshoku” in 1911 and “Nihonshijō no Ōshū” in 1915, he located Tohoku’s significance as a historical space in the context of Japanese history. Hara did not only introduce the historical concept of “medieval” to the study of Japanese history; he also introduced a historical space known as “Tohoku.”

The “Civilization Ranking” of Ellsworth Huntington

Any historian born in Tohoku can narrate Tohoku history the way Hara did. What distinguished Hara was his familiarity with foreign scholarship. In his “Nihonshijō no Ōshū,” he mentioned the “civilization ranking” of Ellsworth Huntington of Yale University. According to Huntington, England received the highest possible score of 10. Southern Japan scored 8.3 and northern Japan 6.2. Hara surmised, “It is beyond

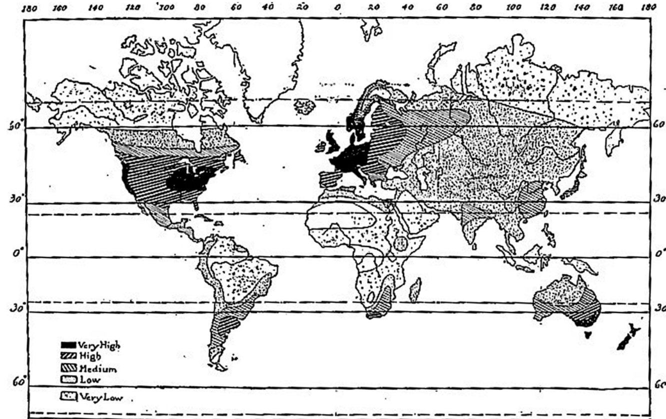

Figure 1: The Distribution of Civilization (*Civilization and Climate*, 295)

debate that Japan's northern half, especially Ōshū, continues to lag behind southern Japan in terms of civilization." If so, he insisted, "The study of Ōshū history" must, for the people of Ōshū, serve not as "a source of fond reminisces" but "an inspiration to build a better future."

Ellsworth Huntington (1879–1947) was a professor at Yale and a prominent figure in American geography circles. He arrived at Yale via Euphrates University in Turkey, and went on to author numerous books. While he is also known for applying tree ring dating techniques to archaeology, he is best known for his environmental determinism.[15] Among his works that have been translated into Japanese are: *Civilization and Climate* (written in 1915, translated in 1922); *The Earth and Sun* (translated in 1924); *Principles of Human Geography* (written in 1923, translated in 1926); *Asia: A Geography Reader* (written in 1912, translated in 1927); and *Mainsprings of Civilization* (written in 1945, translated in 1950).[16] Those written around the same time as Hara's *Ōu enkakushi ron* are *Geographer and History* (1914), *Neglected Factor in Race Development* (1915), and *Civilization and Climate.*

According to its preface, *Civilization and Climate* seeks to investigate "the apparent connection between a stimulating climate and high civilization."[17] "Civilization rankings" refer to figures found in the appendix titled "The Relative Civilization of the Countries of the World." The book consists of eighteen chapters, the first seven of which discuss the relationship between "climatic vitality" and "the distribution of civilization." Chapter 8, titled "The Distribution of Civilization," discusses how he produced his "Map of World Civilizations" (Figure 1, Figure 2).

Huntington took five steps to create this map: 1) In the fall of 1913, Huntington requested the cooperation of 213 people from 27 countries in producing this map. The people were mainly geographers and scholars of race, but also included historians, diplomats, colonial administrators, travelers, missionaries, journalists, educators, and entrepreneurs. 2) He secured the cooperation of 138 of them. 3) He calculated the civilization rankings of 185 world regions based on figures provided by 53 contributors. 4) The 53 contributors consisted of 25 Americans, 8 British, 8 Teutonic Europeans, 7 Latin-Europeans, and 5 Asians. The U.S. and Europe compiled most of the figures (two Latin-Americans responded, but their data was not used). 5) The

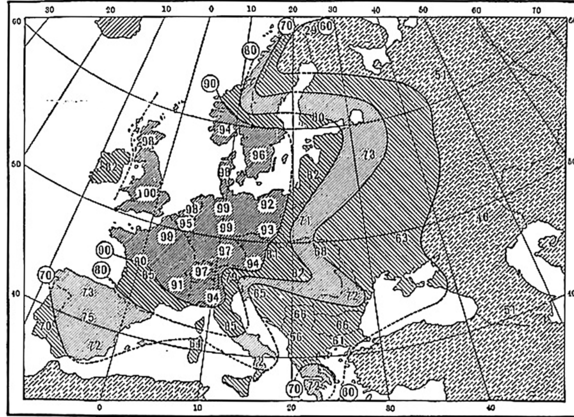

Figure 2: Distribution of Civilization in Europe (*Civilization and Climate*, 293)

five Asians included three Japanese—Hara Katsurō, Nitobe Inazō and Yamasaki Naomasa of Tokyo Imperial University—and two Chinese (the response from one other Chinese was lost in transit). It is worth noting that both Hara and Nitobe were from Morioka in Iwate prefecture (Yamasaki was from Kōchi prefecture).

Huntington considered the timing of his project, coming as it did just before the First World War, to be fortunate. He regarded that time as when "good feeling prevailed everywhere, and among men of sound judgment there was perhaps as little racial prejudice as at any time during the course of history."[18] The fact that ranking the world's regions according to a ten-point scale did not strike Huntington as racist reflects the intellectual attitude of the time. Still, he found it "particularly gratifying" to have gained the cooperation of five respondents from Japan and China.[19] Huntington sought to measure "the power of initiative, the capacity for formulating new ideas and for carrying them into effect, the power of self-control, high standards of honesty and morality, the power to lead and to control other races, the capacity for disseminating ideas, and other similar qualities which will readily suggest themselves." More specifically, he was interested in "high ideals, respect for law, inventiveness, ability to develop philosophical systems, stability and honesty of government, a highly developed system of education, the capacity to dominate the less civilized parts of the world, and the ability to carry out far-reaching enterprises covering long periods of time and great areas of the earth's surface."[20]

This ten-point "civilization ranking" was completed at the end of October, 1914. The top score of 10 went to "England and Wales" and the lowest of 1.2 to the "Kalahari Desert." As noted earlier, southern Japan scored 8.3 and northern Japan scored 6.2. In chapter twelve, "The Movement of the Center of Civilization," Huntington noted that the primary epicenter of civilization is Europe, the second is the eastern U.S., and the third is Japan. He indicated that Japan's influence upon the world is marginal given its population, but it has effectively deployed Western civilization. He regarded Japan highly, saying that the Japanese "make themselves so efficient that they do not need the help of Europeans." As he put it, "When Japan sees an opportunity, such as was afforded by the war in 1914, she takes it, and thus advances another step in her role as the most capable nation in Asia."[21] It is clear that the

"civilization ranking" that Hara referred to in his lecture came from *Civilization and Climate.*

We face an apparent contradiction in timing. The Hiraizumi conference took place in August, 1915 but *Civilization and Climate* did not come out until October. Is it possible that Hara had come across the contents of *Civilization and Climate* before it was published? All eleven works referenced in the book had come out before fall of 1913 and would not have contained the idea of "civilization ranking." Is it possible that Hara read *Civilization and Climate* immediately upon publication and added references to "civilization ranking" to his manuscript for *Ōu enkakushi ron*? "Nihonshijō no Ōshū" makes no mention of any addendums, nor is there any sign of an unnatural addition to the text. What must have happened is this. According to Huntington's letter of request that is mentioned in chapter 8, the final result of the survey was to be distributed to everyone, regardless of whether he had replied. Therefore, it is conceivable that Hara, as a participant in the survey, had received the results of the survey sometime before the conference in August, 1915; in fact, Hara had specifically requested the results from Huntington. Because the preface to *Civilization and Climate* is dated July, 1915, it is possible that Hara had received the results by that spring.

It is surprising to learn of such international exchange and cooperation behind Hara's "Nihonshijō no Ōshū." Of course, some scholars criticized the statistical and impressionistic nature of Huntington's project. Hara himself seems to have harbored some doubt, but it is clear that his theory on Ōshū was not conceived within the confines of just one country. Indeed, just after his *Ōshū enkakushi ron* was published in 1916, he wrote a book review of Huntington's *Civilization and Climate* for the October issue of the journal *Shirin.* Hara praised the "fine, frequently enlightening book" for offering "a new axis of analysis and "a new line of research," and making "undeniable" contributions to scholarship.

For Huntington, northern Japan referred to "Yeso and northern quarter of Hondo," which departed somewhat from Hara, who defined Ōshū as only the Pacific side of Tohoku. Nonetheless, it can be said that Hara's lecture at Hiraizumi was both a self-affirming historical theory and a global historical theory that was closely linked to international academic developments.

Huntington and Japanese Researchers

Hara, Nitobe, and Yamasaki were not the only ones who were involved in such global academic interactions. The Huntington Papers at Yale University's Sterling Library provides some additional background to the "civilization rankings" in *Civilization and Climate.* The papers contain two rosters of Japanese scholars. One, called "Japan First List," includes the names of twelve prominent Japanese scholars.[22] The "Second List" contains 34 names, including the 12 names on the first list except Yamasaki Naomasa. According to the appendix in *Civilization and Climate*, Huntington requested assistance from 21 Asians. Only three Japanese—Hara, Nitobe, and Yamasaki—ultimately cooperated with Huntington.

How did the three men rank the 185 regions of the world? For simplicity's sake, let us focus here only on East Asia, that is, China. Japan, Korea, and Taiwan. All

three scored East Asia fairly high, despite some differences. In general, Hara tended to be easy while Nitobe was harsh, especially regarding Korea, Taiwan, and northern Japan. Nitobe's scores on Korea and Taiwan were lower than Hara and Yamasaki's. Nitobe only gave northern Japan 6 while Hara gave 9. Yamasaki tended to be in the middle. It is interesting that Hara and Nitobe, both of whom who hailed from northern Japan, gave divergent scores to northern Japan. We can conclude that: 1) Huntington divided Japan into north and south; 2) the 54 respondents scored southern Japan versus northern Japan quite differently; 3) even Japanese respondents were split in their appraisal of northern versus southern Japan.

Huntington's Three Japanese Collaborators

What was the relationship between Huntington and Hara, Nitobe, and Yamasaki? The Huntington Papers provide some clues. As previously mentioned, Huntington requested the cooperation of 213 scholars from 27 countries. In addition to a standardized letter of request, he sent some personalized requests as well. A letter to Hara dated October 27, 1913 indicates that Huntington chose to approach Hara on the advice of his Yale colleague Asakawa Kan'ichi. Hara's reply to Huntington is dated December 5. Given that mail between the U.S. and Japan took more than two weeks, Hara must have taken about two or three weeks to prepare his response after he received Huntington's request in the middle of November. Huntington had already informed Hara that he would be receiving the final results, but Hara reminded Huntington to send the results. Hara also thanked Huntington for including an interesting pamphlet about ancient culture, which Hara enjoyed reading with his colleagues.

In his response dated January 8, 1914, Huntington thanked Hara and informed him that the final results of the "civilization rankings" would be available soon, although the publication date of *Civilization and Climate* was not yet set. In other words, Huntington promised to share the results before publication. Since the "civilization rankings" were completed at the end of October, 1914, the results probably reached Hara sometime between the end of that year and the spring of 1915. Therefore, Hara must have had ample time to study the state of world civilization before his Hiraizumi lecture in August, 1915.

As for Nitobe, his 1912 book *Nihon kokumin*, which is said to be "the first attempt at a comprehensive introduction to Japan," mentions Huntington.[23] Nitobe quotes a theory on the correlation between tornadoes and civilization, which was developed by Huntington and Charles J. Kullmer of Syracuse University. He wrote, "Countries that are struck by tornadoes are the U.S., England, France, Holland, Scandinavia, Switzerland, Germany, Austria, northern Italy, western Russia, and Japan, which—strangely enough—is the only Asian country with tornadoes. Just as ethnography divides peoples, climatology brings them together."[24] Kullmer's theory, which he presented at a meeting of the Association of American Geographers, became a major motif in Huntington's *Civilization and Climate.*

No correspondence from Huntington to Nitobe remains, but there is a letter from Nitobe's wife Mary dated November 28, 1913. It mentions that Nitobe had asked Mary to mail in the scores, then left for a trip to Tohoku on November 27. Assum-

ing Huntington mailed his request to Nitobe at the same time that he mailed one to Hara, Nitobe was even quicker to reply than Hara. However, Nitobe apparently complained to Mary that he cannot possibly be held responsible for scoring world regions that were unfamiliar to him. Huntington quickly replied to Nitobe on December 20. He reveals a rather optimistic outlook in which he believed that the kinds of errors that concerned Nitobe would be mitigated by the overall sample size. The letter also mentions that Nitobe was the first Japanese to respond.

Yamasaki Naomasa (1870–1929) was a pioneer in the modern field of geography in Japan. Between 1903 and 1915, he edited *DaiNihon Chishi*, and in 1905 he discovered the "Yamasaki Glacial Cirque," which proved that the Ice Age had come to Japan. Huntington's initial request to Yamasaki is no longer extant, but there is a letter from Yamasaki to Huntington, dated December 18, 1913. Huntington's second letter to Yamasaki is dated January 12, 1914, and it indicates that Yamasaki's scores arrived third among the Japanese respondents. In short, Nitobe's response arrived first, Hara's second, and Yamasaki's last.

At least five things become clear from the above: 1) Huntington seems to have mailed his requests to the Japanese toward the end of October, 1913; 2) The requests arrived in the middle of November; 3) Nitobe took about two weeks and Yamasaki about a month to complete their ranks; 4) Hara was looking forward to receiving the overall findings; 5) Nitobe expressed some doubt about his ranks.

The Huntington Papers also contain correspondences with Inoue Enryō and H. Ten Kate. A letter addressed to Huntington by Ishikawa Yoshimasa explains that Inoue is unable to respond due to illness. H. Ten Kate was a Swiss anthropologist who lived in Kobe at the time. Kate's letter to Huntington dated December 16, 1913 shows that he was late to reply because Huntington's request had been sent to Switzerland. Kate's scores can be found in chapter 8 of *Civilization and Climate.*

The Problem of Translating *Civilization and Climate*

Even more interesting are the correspondences regarding the efforts to translate Huntington's work. The Japanese version of *Civilization and Climate* that is available today was produced by Mazaki Masato of Keio University, who translated a number of other works on Western history. As Mazaki notes in his translator's notes, *Civilization and Climate* was translated as the second in a series of publications aimed toward members of an organization called Chūgai bunka kyōkai. Not much is known about this organization, which seems to have translated and introduced contemporary Western scholarship to Japan. Mazaki produced the Japanese version of *Civilization and Climate* with the assistance of four others. The book became a part of Iwanami bunko in 1938.

Correspondences between Huntington and Tsuyusaki Atsushi in 1925 reveal the bizarre fate of *Civilization and Climate.* First, however, let us consider Huntington's visits to Japan in 1923. In August of that year, he stopped by Japan on his way to the Second Pan-Pacific Science Congress in Melbourne and Sydney, then again in December on his way back home. He wrote about this trip in *West of the Pacific* in 1925. According to the preface, Tsuyusaki Atsushi had already volunteered to serve as Huntington's guide during his visit. At the time, Tsuyusaki was an English teach-

er at Pusan Middle School. He had already translated Huntington's 1912 book *Asia: A Geography Reader*, and they had long been acquaintances. Huntington described Tsuyusaki as "a good friend and a fine leader." Huntington seems to have mistaken Tsuyusaki for a geographer; in fact, Tsuyusaki was an English teacher who was simply using Huntington's books as a language text in his English classes. Still, the two men were close. For example, Tsuyusaki invited Huntington to stay at his home in Chiba prefecture, where he began teaching at Ōtaki Middle School in 1925. The Japanese version of *Asia: A Geography Reader* includes a photo of the two men taken in front of a Tenrikyō church in Katsuura in Chiba.

A lengthy letter from Huntington to Tsuyusaki Atsushi dated January 12, 1925 thanks Tsuyusaki for his hospitality in Japan and gives some advice regarding Tsuyusaki's desire to study at Yale to become a professional interpreter. Huntington seems to have consulted his colleague Asakawa Kan'ichi in providing many useful details regarding cost and the like. He even offered to put Tsuyusaki up in New Haven until he settles down. It is said that Huntington was quite helpful to young researchers, which can be confirmed here.[25)] He also recommended that Tsuyusaki translate his *West of the Pacific.* In the same letter, we can also see that there was some conflict among Japanese scholars over the translation of *Principles of Human Geography*, which Huntington had co-authored in 1920. This book was eventually translated in 1926 by Fushimi Yoshio of Okayama University under the supervision of Ishibashi Gorō of Kyoto University. However, it seems that after Huntington granted translation rights to Ishibashi, an unidentified geographer in Sendai requested the same rights.

Huntington made considerable efforts to help Tsuyusaki. In his letter to the dean of the graduate school at Yale, Huntington described Tsuyusaki as being diligent and full of ideas, if not especially talented, and requested that he be admitted to the graduate school. A letter on May 26, 1926 shows that he was accepted and a visa would be issued. Tsuyusaki would reply with joy two months later.

Meanwhile, Huntington wrote to Tsuyusaki, Yamasaki, and Tanakadate Shūzō of Tohoku Imperial University on July 22. In his letter to Tsuyusaki, Huntington enclosed a copy of a letter he had written to Tanakadate, who, along with one of his students, had translated *Civilization and Climate.* Huntington formally asked Tsuyusaki to undertake the task of translating the book, which seems to have already been underway. He also asked that Yamasaki edit the translated manuscript. Huntington then wrote to Tanakadate to tell him that Tsuyusaki Atushi has been tasked with the translation, and to get in touch with him. If Tsuyusaki defers, then Tanakadate could assume the work of translation. Regardless, he asked that Yamasaki edit the translation. To Yamasaki, Huntington asked whether he has the time to read both Tanakadate's and Tsuyusaki's translations, and that he would rather see the latter translate his book. The Huntington Papers show that Tanakadate Shūzō was hoping to translate *Principles of Human Geography* in addition to *Civilization and Climate.* Perhaps Huntington was keeping Tanakadate at arm's length; he did not bother to visit Tanakadate during his 1923 trips to Japan. The more important point, however, is that no one involved mentioned the existence of Mazaki's translation of *Civilization and Climate*, which had been published by Chūgai bunka kyōkai in 1922. This may

have been due to the fact that this version was intended for the association's members only.

Tsuyusaki's letter to Huntington dated August 7 shows that the governor of Chiba prefecture approved Tsuyusaki's leave of absence from Ōtaki Middle School and he was scheduled to arrive in the U.S. in February or March of 1926. He also informed Huntington that he was on schedule to complete the translation of *Civilization and Climate* by November and pass the manuscript onto Yamasaki Naomasa. Tsuyusaki also expressed his eagerness to translate Huntington's other works, including *Principles of Human Geography*, which Ishibashi Gorō was already working on. Huntington replied on September 2, writing that he was pleased that Tsuyusaki was on his way to the U.S. but that he should arrive in September to coincide with the new academic year. In his reply on October 9, Tsuyusaki explained that his job responsibilities force him to wait until next spring. He also wrote that he had finished translating *Civilization and Climate*, and that he was in touch with Tanakadate to cross-check the translation. He and Tanakadate's group were also planning to translate *Business Geography* together. Ultimately, Tsuyusaki's translation of *Civilization and Climate* was published as an article in the October, 1925 issue of the monthly journal *Gekkan Nihon oyobi Nihonjin*. Although his efforts did not result in a book, Tsuyusaki deserves recognition for his work despite not having been a specialist.

In his letter to Tsuyusaki dated December 15, Huntington expressed his appreciation for Tsuyusaki's interest in translating *Business Geography* but asked him to wait until the third edition was published. Huntington's letter to the principal of Ōtaki Middle School on December 28 offered to send two complimentary copies of *West of the Pacific*. Huntington and Ōtaki Middle School had built a bridge of friendship across the Pacific.

Conclusion:
Linking Regional History and International History in the 1910s and 20s

How did Hara, Nitobe, and Yamasaki's involvement with the "civilization rankings" in *Civilization and Climate* affect them? The impact on Hara is apparent not only in his "Nihonshijō no Ōshū" but also his *An Introduction to the History of Japan*. The latter was published in 1920 by the Yamato Society, which sought to introduce Japanese history and culture to a global audience in order to counter anti-Japanese movements in the West, and whose members included the leading entrepreneurs and cultural figures of the day. In chapter 2 of *An Introduction to the History of Japan*, titled "The Races and Climate of Japan," Hara directly mentioned northern and southern Japan. He noted that northern Japan is at a climatic disadvantage compared to southern Japan, and also referred to Ura-Nihon as the "Back of Japan." He argued that climate cannot be the only reason for northern Japan's backwardness because it is no worse off than Scandinavia or northeastern Germany in terms of climate. He declared: "The principal cause of the retardation of progress in northern Japan lies rather in the fact that it is a comparatively recently exploited part of the Empire" and "Just at the most critical time in [northern Japan's] development, the attention of the nation was compelled to turn from inner colonisation to foreign relations."[26)]

Hara's understanding of Tohoku, which was largely formed in the early 1910s, evolved in the late 1910s. He came to believe that the reason for Tohoku's backwardness lay in modern Japan's policy of overseas imperialist expansion. It was through his encounter with *Civilization and Climate* that he arrived at this conclusion. This suggests that Hara had a keen eye for not only medieval history, but also modern history. As mentioned previously, Hara is often regarded as a forerunner to Ishimoda Shō, who argued that the course of Japanese history diverged from Chinese history in the medieval age because of warrior rule. In other words, Hara was the inspiration for Ishimoda, whose work shaped postwar historical studies. In that sense, it is important to bear in mind that, at a time when the embryo of postwar historical studies was just forming, scholars took Tohoku's significance in Japanese history quite seriously. Put another way, postwar historical studies may have developed —and proceeds apace even now—without fully embracing this Tohoku perspective that had been so critical in its formative stage.

As for Nitobe, he referred to Huntington's theory on the correlations between tornadoes and civilization in *Nihon: sono mondai to hatten no shokyokumen* in 1931, as well as *Nihon kokumin* in 1912. He wrote, "If Professor Huntington's hypothesis is correct, Japan will surely become a world leader due to its vitality and spiritual vigor." As he quoted from *Civilization and Climate*, "Japan is the only country in Asia where tornadoes occur frequently."[27] Nitobe clearly took this point from Huntington. More importantly, Nitobe came to view the difference between northern and southern Japan as not one of "hardship" or degree, but an absolute difference of kind. In his final years, he wrote, "I have recently had the opportunity to travel to the backward regions of Japan, that is, Tohoku and Hokkaido. I was able to confirm a longstanding truth. The people of those regions are clearly different from their more blessed brothers in western and southern Japan."[28] He continued elsewhere, "The Tohoku region of Japan is so vastly different, in terms of nature and society, from the southern and western regions that it is sometimes hard to believe that they belong to the same country."[29] The former quote came after his lecture at Hokkaido Imperial University in May, 1931, and the latter during his stay in North America. Just before his death in 1933, Nitobe came to understand that the disparity between northern and southern Japan was enough to cast doubt upon Japan's unity.

Huntington's geographical perspective on race also made significant impact on Japanese scholars. His name will always be associated with environmental determinism and racism, as clearly attested by his "Map of Civilization" in *Principles of Human Geography*, which was based on data in *Civilization and Climate*, and his 1924 work *Character of Races*. Indeed, Huntington served as the president of the American Eugenics Society between 1934 and 1938, and he wrote books such as *Neglected Tendency in Eugenics* in 1933 and *Tomorrow's Children: The Goal of Eugenics* in 1935, which was published by the American Eugenics Society as a way to boost the group's image and membership. Considering that the organization had close ties to eugenicists in Nazi Germany, it is clear that Huntington was no mere geographer.[30]

The Journal of Race Development, first issued in 1910, suggests how Huntington combined eugenics and geography. The journal's editors and contributors included scholars at Clark University, which published the journal, and other prominent

American universities. In the inaugural issue, the editor-in-chief George Blakeslee described the journal as a forum for helping backward ethnicities, such as India, the Middle East, Africa, and the Far East, further develop; Japan was not included for being on par with the West.[31] Huntington became an editor for the journal after 1911, and contributed an article called "Geographical Environment and Japanese Character." The article, which relies mainly on Kullmer's theory on tornadoes and civilization, begins, "Individuals may determine the details of history but its great movements depend upon the character of races. In no country is this truer than in Japan."[32] An article by Nitobe, "Japan as a Colonizer," appears in the same volume. In 1911, Nitobe went to the U.S. as the first U.S.-Japan exchange professor and gave lectures throughout the country. The article was based on his talk at Clark University's Japanese Studies Association, and would later appear in his *Nihon kokumin*. It is easy to imagine that Nitobe met members of the *Journal of Race Development* while in the U.S. Other Japanese contributors to the journal included Takamine Jōkichi, Ienaga Toyokichi, Asakawa Kan'ichi, Ichinomiya Rintarō, Honda Masujirō, and Naruse Jinzō. The journal, which changed its title to *The Journal of International Relations* in 1919, is said to be the first American academic journal on international relations. This suggests that, from its very inception, the field of international relations framed some people and states as "inferior."

Even in his final work, *Mainsprings of Civilization*, Huntington observed, "The climate of the Pacific Coast of Honshu, the main island, from Sendai northward closely approaches the optimum for the stage of technical progress found in the United States and western Europe. It is, however, too cool for the stage thus far reached in Japan. … The Japanese find that their best climate lies farther south, from Tokio to Osaka and Hiroshima."[33] His initial views on northern and southern Japan, which he first put forth in *Civilization and Climate*, continued to shape his ideas to the end. Indeed, Huntington himself admitted, "Plans for this book [*Mainsprings of Civilization*] were first laid almost a quarter of a century ago," and that "in a certain way this book is a resume of the author's entire lifework, including what seems to him the most significant ideas in twenty-seven books and numerous articles."[34]

Thirdly, let us turn to the relationship between Huntington's views on geography and Japanese society. The first people in Japan to hear of the "civilization ranking" in *Civilization and Climate* were Hara's audience at his Hiraizumi lecture, that is, the masses of Tohoku. Nitobe and Yamasaki were already familiar with it, but the people gathered at Hiraizumi were the first to hear of the developmental disparity between northern and southern Japan explained from an international perspective. Just how Hara's lecture shaped the audience's understanding of Tohoku remains to be studied, but it is clear that Huntington's name lived on in Tohoku. More than ten years after the Hiraizumi conference, in May of 1926, Sasamori Junzō wrote an article in the journal *Hirosaki shōkō zasshi*, where he noted, "Some people regard ethnic personality traits as the result of geography. For example, H. Ten Kate concludes that the unadorned and tenacious nature of Germanic people was the result of the harsh German climate. Likewise, Professor Huntington insists that the Japanese temperament is stormy because Japan sees many storms." Sasamori, who had studied in Denver as a young man, written for the *Denver Shinpō* newspaper, and would

become a Diet member in the postwar period, was then a principal of a private middle school in Hirosaki in Aomori prefecture. The people of Hirosaki, such as Sasamori, thus came to learn of Huntington's environmental determinism.

Tsuyusaki Atsushi's encounter with Huntington was more intensely personal. How this middle school English teacher came to be interested in Huntington and studying abroad is unclear, but his story suggests that American universities were more familiar to the Japanese of that time than we often believe. As Takamine Jōkichi wrote in the journal *Minzoku hatten zasshi*, "More Japanese have heard of New Haven and Cambridge than New York or Chicago." Those who aspired to study abroad at Yale or Harvard included not only the elite but any academically ambitious youth. It is also remarkable that a teacher at a provincial middle school like Tsuyusaki was able to push aside prestigious university professors and engage in an academic exchange with a "cutting-edge" scholar in America.

The First World War kept *Civilization and Climate* from being introduced to Europe for several years; the London journal *Tropical Diseases Bulletin* noted in 1921 that it did not receive a copy of *Civilization and Climate* until 1920. By contrast, the people of Hiraizumi had already learned of "civilization ranking," the core concept in that book, in the summer of 1915, just after its release. As war raged on in distant Europe, those people of northern Japan must have connected Europe with their Tohoku homeland, imagining Europe not just another foreign land but a part of the same world that was interconnected through the concept of "civilization ranking." Regional history had come to be linked to international history. For the people of Tohoku, this marked the beginning of a globalized spatial consciousness and the start of a new perspective on international relations.[35]

Notes

1) Okada Tomohiro, *Nihon shihonshugi to nōsonkaihatsu*, (Kyoto: Hōritsu bunkasha, 1989).
2) Nihon rekishi chiri gakkai ed., *Ōu enkakushi ron*, (Tokyo: Rekishi toshosha, 1972); Marui Kazuko ed. "Tohokushi kankei shuyō bunken mokuroku" in Yoshida Ryōichi hakase kanreki kinenkai ed., *Tohokushi no shinkenyū*, (Tokyo: Bunri tosho shuppansha, 1955).
3) The other lectures in the book are: "Ezo no junpuku to Ōu no takushoku" by Kida Sadakichi (Lecturer, Kyoto Imperial University); "Zen-kyūneneki to Go-sanneneki" by Okabe Seiichi (full-time editor, Restoration Historiographical Association); "Heianchō bukkyōshijō ni okeru Chūsonji no chii" by Tsuji Zennosuke (Assistant Professor, Tokyo Imperial University); "Fujiwarashi sandai no jiseki to Minamoto-no-Yoritomo no Ōshū seibatsu" by Ōmori Kingorō (Professor, Gakushuin University); "Sengoku igo Edo jidai no Ōshū" by Yoshida Tōgo (Professor, Waseda University); and "Fujiwara jidai no bijutsu to Chūsonji" by Fukui Rikichirō. The absence of participants from nearby Tohoku Imperial University owes to the fact that the Faculty of Law and Letters at Tohoku Imperial University was not founded until 1922, and the Japanese History Seminar there was not established until 1923. Yanagihara Toshiaki, "Kokushi Nihonshi kenkyūshitsu shoshi fu ryakunenpyō," *Kokushidanwakai zasshi*, vol. 44 (2003).
4) "Koto Hiraizumi no bunka isan," http://www.pref.iwate.jp/~hp0909/
5) "Tohoku gojunkōki" in *Meiji bunka zenshu*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Nihon hyōronsha, 1928).
6) "Honsha no Hiraizumi shōkai," *Iwate Nippō*, May 1, 1915.
7) Ueda Yoshiichirō, "Isshū ichigen," *Iwate Nippō*, April 13, 1915.
8) Ibid.
9) "Rekishi kōshū seikyō Hiraizumimura kūzen no nigiwai," *Iwate Nippō*, Aug. 11, 1915.
10) *Tokyo Nichinichi*, Aug. 11–18, 1915.

11) Ogiwara Takehira, “Tohoku kyōikuka shokun ni,“ *Iwate Nippō*, Aug. 17, 1915.
12) Ishii Susumu, “Nihonshi ni okeru ‘chūsei’ no hakken to sono imi” in Ishii ed., *Chūseishi o kangaeru: shakairon, shiryōron, toshiron*, (Tokyo: Azekura shobo, 1991); Kabayama Kōichi, “Hara Katsurō” in Imatani Akira et al. eds., *Nijūseiki no rekishikatachi 1 Nihonhen jo*, (Tokyo: Tōsui shobo, 1997); Takahashi Masaaki, “Joshō futatsu no bushikan: Hara Katsurō to Kume Kunitake” in Takahashi ed., *Bushi no seiritsu bushizō no sōshutsu*, (Tokyo: The University of Tokyo Press, 1999). On more recent work dealing with Hara Katsurō, see Detlef Taranczewski, “Kindai Nihonshi no naka de no ‘chūsei’ to ‘hōken’ no imi suru mono” in The Historiographical Institute ed., *Rekishigaku to shiryō kenkyū*, (Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, 2003).
13) Ishii, “Nihonshi ni okeru…”; Nagahara Keiji, *Nijūseiki Nihon no rekishigaku*, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2003). On Ishimoda Shō’s views on medieval history, see Kawanishi Hidemichi, “Rekishiteki shikōryoku no keisei kūkan to shite no higashi Ajia” in Katō Akira ed., *Chokyō suru rekishi kyōiku: Kokkyō o koete, sedai o koete*, (Tokyo: Kyōiku shiryō shuppankai, 2004).
14) Hara, “Kyōri no seinen kyōiku ni kansuru shokan,” *Iwate gakuji gohō*, no. 132. Reproduced in Hara, *Nihon chūseishi no kenkyū*. *Iwate gakuji gohō* was the official newsletter of the Iwate Board of Education.
15) On Huntington, see Fukui Eiichirō, “Erusuwōsu Hanchinton no shōgai to gyōseki,” *Chiri*, 10:1 (1965) and Geoffrey J. Martin, *Ellsworth Huntington: His Life and Thought*, (New York: Archon, 1973).
16) The writer Ishizaka Yōjiro was involved in the translation of *Mainsprings of Civilization.* The economist Koizumi Shinzō contributed advertising copy for the book.
17) Ellsworth Huntington, *Civilization and Climate* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1915), vi.
18) Ibid., 241.
19) Ibid., 248.
20) Ibid., 242.
21) Ibid., 351.
22) Hara Katsurō (western history, Kyoto Imperial University); Inoue Enryō (Buddhist scholar, Toyo University); Kanō Jigorō (physical culture); Matsumoto Matatarō (psychology, Tokyo Imperial University); Mitsukuri Genpachi (western history, Tokyo Imperial University); Nakajima Rikizō (ethics, Tokyo Imperial University); Nitobe Inazō (agriculture, Tokyo Imperial University); Shiga Shigetaka (geography, Waseda University); Takekoshi Yosaburō (politics, travel); Tokutomi Iichirō (journalist, editor, *Kokumin Shimbun*); Tsuboi Kumazō (history, Tokyo Imperial University); and Yamasaki Naomasa (geography, Tokyo Imperial University).
23) Satō Masahiro, “Kaisetsu *Nihon kokumin*” in *Nitobe Inazō zenshū*, vol. 17 (Tokyo: Kyōbunkan, 1985).
24) Ibid., 41.
25) Fukui, 62.
26) Hara Katsurō, *An Introduction to the History of Japan*, (New York and London: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1920), 26, 27.
27) Nitobe, “Nihon: sono mondai to hatten no shokyokumen” in *Nitobe Inazō zenshū*, vol. 18, 26.
28) Nitobe, “Kitaguni no jinzai no shūkaku” in *Nitobe Inazō zenshū*, vol. 20.
29) Nitobe, “Tohoku Nihon” in *Nitobe Inazō zenshū*, vol. 20.
30) Stefan Kuhl, *The Nazi Connection: Eugenics, American Racism, and German National Socialism*, (New York: Oxford UP, 1994).
31) *The Journal of Race Development*, vol. 1, 1.
32) Ibid., vol. 2, 256.
33) Huntington, *Mainsprings of Civilization*, (New York: Wiley and Sons, 1945), 388.
34) Ibid., vi.
35) For more on scholarly exchange among American and Japanese historians, see Kawanishi, “Senzen Nihonshigaku no kokusai kankyō” in *Hikaku nihon bunkagaku kenkyū*, no. 1 (2008) and no. 2 (2009).