

Journeys in Thought: Takeda Kiyoko and the Promotion of U.S.-Japan Intellectual Exchange

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Introduction

In 1939, just before the outbreak of war in Europe, the young Takeda Kiyoko (1917–) set out on a journey that would take her to the United States and to an encounter with a leading Christian thinker, Reinhold Niebuhr, whose scholarly brilliance and moral humility inspired her own intellectual activities and career path. In early post-war Japan, she would interpret his thought to new Japanese audiences, joining with other young intellectuals in promoting American philosophical traditions. She would also engage in a more direct way in the promotion of exchange between American and Japanese intellectuals through her membership of the Japanese Committee of the Intellectual Interchange Program, a group closely associated with International House of Japan. In this essay, I outline how Chō Takeda Kiyoko became part of a transnational network of Japanese and Americans committed to advancing relations between their two peoples through the promotion of open dialogue and mutual understanding, and how these journeys and encounters shaped her early post-war activities and future career.¹⁾

To America: Intellectual Encounters

After completing compulsory schooling at the local girls' school in Itami, Hyōgo Prefecture, Takeda attended Kobe College, the first Christian educational institution for women in Western Japan.²⁾ There she was mentored by Dr. Charlotte B. DeForest, the college's president. DeForest had been born and raised in Japan, the daughter of a long-serving Congregational missionary, and was deeply committed to the country and its people. According to historian Noriko Ishii, "Charlotte B. DeForest interpreted acts of 'independent thinking' as foreign to Japanese girls with traditional Japanese education in Confucianism and sought to instill in them the habit of rational, independent thought ... as an aspect of Christian thought," in the hope that Christianity would one day prevail in Japan.³⁾ Though it never did, the "independent thinking" that became a hallmark of Kobe College graduates was reinforced by "the personal relationship between the American women missionaries and the Japanese girls."⁴⁾ Takeda embraced the liberal atmosphere at the college, which contrasted markedly with the regimentation at her previous schools, and came to understand that discipline was not something to be imposed from above but to be cultivated from within. The curriculum, which encouraged independent thinking, broadened her mind, and she immersed herself in the library's collection of western literature,

particularly in political science and philosophy. DeForest not only taught her the basics of Western dining and other social etiquette at her home on campus; her sensibility as a Christian missionary may also have been an influence in Takeda's conversion to Christianity in 1938 and subsequent involvement with the YWCA.⁵⁾ In the late 1930s, DeForest oversaw Takeda's selection to go on exchange to Olivet College in Michigan.⁶⁾

On her way to Michigan, Takeda travelled to Amsterdam as the youngest member of the Japanese delegation to the First World Conference of Christian Youth.⁷⁾ It was at this conference that she first encountered Reinhold Niebuhr, who gave a keynote address on the topic of "The Christian Youth in the Conflicting World."⁸⁾ The opportunity to meet Niebuhr for a second time came about through Olivet College. There, Takeda studied the philosophy of religion and Christian ethics, and was introduced to Niebuhr's thought through the lecturer, Reverend M. Holmes Hartshorne, a graduate of Union Theological College. After graduating from Olivet, Takeda entered Columbia University and Union Theological College. The move to New York was facilitated by Hartshorne, who had been a favorite student of Reinhold Niebuhr. On his recommendation, Niebuhr agreed to take Takeda on as one of his students and thus she was able to continue her studies of Christian thought. Niebuhr and his wife took particular care of Takeda, offering to act as her guarantors so that she could continue her studies after the outbreak of war between the United States and Japan. Later she would recall:

Professor Niebuhr was gracious in guiding me with special care and invited me to meetings he organized in his home for his students. He was known then as the most gifted professor of theology so that his lectures on Christian ethics held in one of the large classrooms were always full, not only with students from the seminary, but also with many clergymen and scholars from other universities.⁹⁾

When she encountered Niebuhr at Union Theological Seminary,¹⁰⁾ the professor of social ethics was staunchly advocating American intervention on the European front and trenchantly denouncing the irresponsibility of the pacifist camp. A deeply religious thinker, Niebuhr was essentially pacifist. But he was also a realist—the term Christian realism is commonly associated with him—and argued that Americans should feel moral responsibility for Nazi Germany's assault on the Jews; while going to war was immoral, *not* doing so would be even more so. His commitment to the resolution of social issues through political action had seen him confront the injustices of industrial democracy as a young pastor in Detroit, and he now spoke out on international relations. He was widely known for his penetrating insights into human nature, society and history, which he articulated in several popular books and regular essays in popular periodicals. Takeda, who had only recently begun to contemplate the implications of Christianity for conceptualizations of human nature and the challenges of living fully in the world, found his writings particularly intriguing. His engaged lectures, delivered in a powerful speaking voice, made him a very popular teacher at the "very lively and liberal theological school."¹¹⁾

Introducing Niebuhr's Thought in Postwar Japan

It was with profound regret that Takeda left New York in June 1942, despite Niebuhr's encouragement to remain. The two-and-a-half-month journey on the International Red Cross Exchange ship the *MS Gripsholm* gave ample time to contemplate the future, and Takeda decided to draw on Niebuhr's approach to Western intellectual history and his insights into Christian ethics to investigate the mutual impact of Christianity and Japanese culture. Reflecting on this journey after half a century, Takeda remarked: "I had studied under Niebuhr but I knew that I mustn't be a mere spokesman. Rather I felt strongly that I wanted to take what I had learned from Niebuhr and Tillich and find my own particular research within the intellectual environment in which I found myself."¹²

The opportunity to do so in an academic context would come in 1953 with her appointment to the International Christian University. Before this, however, the radical change in environment for intellectual life following the end of the Second World War allowed Takeda to delve further into Niebuhr's thought. That she was able to continue this engagement was partially due to the good offices of Yuasa Hachirō, the controversial former president of Dōshisha University, whom she had met at a national YWCA conference in 1938.¹³ They had had the opportunity to become further acquainted in the United States in the early 1940s. When Yuasa returned to Japan in October 1946, he brought with him as a gift for Takeda a copy of Niebuhr's *The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness*. Described as "the most comprehensive statement of his political philosophy,"¹⁴ Takeda thought that it had something to contribute to debates on democracy in the "new Japan"—its subtitle was *A Vindication of Democracy and a Critique of its Traditional Defense*—and set about translating it. The publication in 1948 of her translation gave postwar Japanese readers further access to Niebuhr's ideas.¹⁵

A second enabling factor was the formation of an intellectual group focussed on promoting Anglo-American thought.¹⁶ At the core of the group, which became known as *Shisō no Kagaku Kenkyūkai* (The Institute of the Science of Thought, hereafter 'The Institute'), were four young intellectuals who had met on the International Red Cross Exchange ship that repatriated Japanese residents in the United States in June 1942: Tsurumi Kazuko and her younger brother, Shunsuke, Tsuru Shigeto and Takeda.¹⁷

The Institute considered that the issues of post-war Japanese society were best treated holistically. This view was in keeping with its effort to "counter the tendency to excessive academic specialization by promoting a broad comprehensive outlook on human problems."¹⁸ Observing that many Japanese intellectuals acted as mere spokesmen for great European thinkers, its members committed themselves to outlining the relevance of American thought—discussion of which had been taboo in militarist and wartime Japan—to Japanese readers through critical analyses in their own independent journal, rather than acting as a mere "branch office" for it.¹⁹ Takeda's first contribution to the Institute's journal, *Shisō no kagaku*, was a commentary on Niebuhr's *The Myth of World Government* in March 1946.²⁰ For the next issue, she tackled *The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness*.²¹

Shisō no kagaku was a perfect forum for these elaborations. The Institute's intellec-

tual agenda and democratic approach, exemplified in its encouragement of participation by and attention to individuals typically not represented in intellectual discourse and research groups, reflected some of the emphases of American higher education and the values promoted in the “new Japan.”²²⁾ Its research foci and approach also revealed its commitment to interdisciplinarity and respect for individuality. Its exploration of John Dewey’s philosophy, for example, coincided with SCAP’s promotion of “new educational” theory.²³⁾ In addition to the above-mentioned articles, Takeda contributed forty pieces, the majority of which were for the “Japan’s Groundwater” (*Nihon no chikasui*) column in which the activities and periodicals of interest groups were introduced.²⁴⁾

Takeda fast became the foremost interpreter of Niebuhr’s thought in Japan.²⁵⁾ She was not, however, simply a mouthpiece for it. Her analysis of his critique of American pacifism in the December 1950 issue of the journal *Sekai* weighed his views on American foreign policy against the Quakers’ peace project, and highlighted the virtues of the latter. Also, while Niebuhr doubted that, in the context of Cold War tensions, there existed a neutral position that could guarantee Japan’s security, Takeda demurred; as a member of The Peace Problems Discussion Group (*Heiwa Mondai Danwakai*), she firmly believed that Japan’s independence lay in signing a comprehensive peace treaty.

Takeda’s translations and explications of Niebuhr’s writings caught the attention of other intellectual groups and prompted meetings where she played a central role. One such event was organized by the staunchly left-wing Association of Democratic Scientists (Minshushugi kagakusha kyōkai) and focused on *The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness*.²⁶⁾ In 1957, Takeda would describe this book as one of the most influential in her life. Reflecting on the round-table discussion many years later, Takeda recalled, with some bemusement, that she had not hesitated to discuss the text with the ‘prominent intellectuals representing the Marxist camp’, commenting that ‘youth know no fear’.²⁷⁾

Her precocious intellectual confidence was further evident in her monograph-length study of Niebuhr’s thought, published in 1953.²⁸⁾ This would be one of Takeda’s last publications on Niebuhr.²⁹⁾ In it she highlighted two of Niebuhr’s particular contributions to Christian social ethics: first, his analysis of the importance of the problem of evil for the Christian understanding of man and society and; second, his highlighting of the dangerous superficiality of the trust placed in democracy by Christian idealists.

In April 1954, Takeda was made a full-time lecturer in intellectual history and educational philosophy at International Christian University (ICU) under Yuasa Hachirō’s leadership. She would become deeply committed to the University, serving in a range of administrative positions and being promoted to professor before retiring after 35 years. ICU itself was the product of extensive transnational collaboration between Japanese and American Christians and relied, in its early years, on the financial support of prominent American philanthropists and influential people on both sides of the Pacific. Yuasa would also demonstrate his high regard for his junior colleague when he tasked Takeda with drafting the research program for the newly-established Committee on Asian Cultural Studies. It was the precursor of the

Institute for Asian Cultural Studies, which she would direct for many years. Takeda's academic activities did not entail a break with the United States. American historians contributed to several of the Committee's first projects.³⁰⁾ The Committee also benefited from generous grants from the Harvard Yenching Institute; its director, E. O. Reischauer, and his Japanese wife frequently visited ICU.

Promoting International Intellectual Interchange

Another forum through which Takeda promoted intellectual exchange was the Japanese Committee of the Intellectual Interchange Program (*Nichibei chiteki kōryū i'inkai*) formed in early 1952 for the purpose of building a "broad base of mutual understanding and respect ... through in-depth dialogue among creative minds."³¹⁾ It was launched with Takagi Yasaka as chair, Matsumoto Shigeharu and Gordon Bowles as permanent co-secretaries (*jōnin kanji*), and Koizumi Shinzō, Maeda Tamon, Kameyama Naoto, Matsukata Yoshisaburō, Haneda Tōru, Imamura Arao, Tsuji Matsuko and Takeda Kiyoko as regular committee members. Takeda was one of only two Japanese women members of the Japanese Committee, having been invited to join when the chair of Japan YWCA, Tsuji Matsuko, agreed to join "only if Miss Takeda did."³²⁾ Underpinning Takeda's involvement was the desire to promote constructive dialogue—intellectual exchange—between citizens of the two countries for the advancement of world peace. It also enabled her to advance her own agenda: public acknowledgement of the contributions to Japanese society of individual Japanese women. When the Committee sought to sponsor a visit to the United States by a prominent Japanese figure, Takeda convinced it that the suffragist, Diet member and President of the Women's League of Voters Ichikawa Fusae should be sent as "a representative of Japanese women and a pioneer of their liberation."³³⁾

Sponsoring Ichikawa's visit to the United States was a very practical way in which Takeda engaged in the promotion of intellectual exchange and mutual understanding between America and Japan. In 1953, she would accompany Eleanor Roosevelt, one of the first American Intellectual Interchange Fellows, on her visit to Osaka.³⁴⁾ It was originally envisioned that the Intellectual Interchange Program would function for a year or two immediately after the signing of the peace treaty to facilitate Japan's transition from an Occupied nation to an American ally, but it extended into the 1960s and beyond.³⁵⁾ Reinhold Niebuhr had been among the Americans that the Japanese Committee expected to host, but his visit did not eventuate.³⁶⁾ Takeda's other former teacher at Union Theological College, Paul Tillich, spent a month in Japan in 1960 (when he was Professor of Theology at Harvard Divinity School); his dialogue with Buddhists in Kyoto is seen as an exemplary outcome of the Program and "a triumph for communication and the exchange of ideas, precisely the purpose of the Intellectual Exchange Program."³⁷⁾ Takeda herself would spend a year based at Princeton University as an Intellectual Interchange Fellow in 1965.

Takeda's involvement with the Committee saw her entry into close networks and lineages of Japanese Christians who had experience of living in the United States, close associations with internationally-minded Americans dating from the prewar era (or were otherwise culturally familiar with it), and committed to trans-pacific friendship. The leading figures behind the Japan Committee were Matsumoto

Shigeharu and John D. Rockefeller 3rd, who first met at the 1929 Kyoto Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations and became lifelong friends. Matsumoto and his former teacher Takagi Yasaka were also the driving force behind the establishment of International House, the aim of which was “to provide cultural exchange in intellectual Corporation between the people of Japan and the peoples of America and other countries, thereby to contribute to the cultivation of international friendship and understanding.”³⁸⁾ The ‘international exchange of intellectual leaders and creative artists’ was the first item listed on the program of, and activities to be undertaken by, International House, towards this end.³⁹⁾ Both projects were envisioned as initiatives to bring together private individuals independent of government.

John D. Rockefeller 3rd was particularly interested in the exchange of leading intellectuals between the United States and Japan and, independently of Takagi and Matsumoto, initiated the launch of the Intellectual Interchange Program with a substantial personal financial gift to the East Asian Institute at Columbia University, which would be the home of the American side of the program.⁴⁰⁾ The American Committee for Intellectual Interchange was enthusiastically supported by Edwin Reischauer and the East Asian Institute’s assistant director Hugh Borton, both leading scholars of Japanese history. The latter’s sabbatical in Tokyo facilitated the formation of the Japanese Committee for Intellectual Interchange, under Takagi’s leadership.

Scholars of political science have tended to dismiss initiatives such as the Intellectual Interchange Program as tools of American cultural policy and soft power, pointing to the close official connections of sponsors, without closely examining the motivations of individual participants.⁴¹⁾ John D. Rockefeller 3rd is targeted for his association with officials such as Secretary of State John Dulles, and the generous funding provided by the Rockefeller Foundation to institutions that indirectly served to promote American foreign relations. Dulles recruited Rockefeller as a member of his 1951 Peace Mission that aimed to lay the groundwork for a peace treaty as a “consultant on cultural affairs ... to [broaden] the basis of the peace delegation” well-aware of the depth of Rockefeller’s commitment to and warm feeling towards Japanese intellectuals.⁴²⁾

Rockefeller lent his voice to the projects of organizations closely associated with the American government, as did American scholars of Japan such as Hugh Borton;⁴³⁾ however, he was no hand-maiden of the American State Department. The objectives of the Rockefeller Foundation were also not identical to those of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) or the State Department.⁴⁴⁾ Rockefeller was sincerely committed to the Intellectual Interchange Program, expecting it “to bring [Americans and Japanese] closer together in their appreciation and understanding of each other and their respective ways of life, to enrich [their] respective cultures through such interchange and to assist each other in solving mutual problems.”⁴⁵⁾ In 1955, he wrote:

The interchange of culture ... makes possible an awareness of the problems of other peoples and it leads to recognition of the existence of many common purposes, common interests, and common objectives. In this way cultural inter-

change can lay the ground work for solution of mutual problems.⁴⁶⁾

Prominent Japanese scholars associated with Intellectual Interchange Program were engaged in promoting more nuanced understandings of America than the polarized views then held by many intellectuals. Matsumoto Shigeharu and Takagi Yasaka, key figures behind the Japanese Committee and International House, which served as its secretariat and shared its objectives, were among the founding members of the Japanese Association of American Studies in 1947. Ishida Takeshi attributes the work of this association and the Intellectual Interchange Program to the modification of the one-sided view of America in the second half of the 1950s.⁴⁷⁾ While she was not engaged in American Studies, Takeda shared the aspirations of Matsumoto, Takagi, and Rockefeller for improved understanding between the peoples of America and Japan, and their commitment to frank and open dialogue.⁴⁸⁾ Characterizations of the Intellectual Interchange Program and International House that focus on their members' links to formal politics at the expense of attending to the motivations and aspirations of individual members lead to generalizations that obscure how individual participants characterized the significance of collective action, and the involvement of individuals less likely to receive attention because of their low-key contributions. Takeda was one such member. While she was engaged in debate of such political issues as the so-called "peace problem", her participation in the Intellectual Exchange Program was not linked to figures closely associated with inter-state politics; rather she was committed to promoting improved mutual understanding between Americans and Japanese. Her proposal that Ichikawa Fusae be the first Japanese Intellectual Exchange Fellow was intended to encourage awareness that Japanese women's desire for suffrage was not merely fulfilled by recent SCAP policy but had been the objective of a lengthy struggle by Japanese women.

Conclusion

Takeda's involvement with the United States-Japan Intellectual Exchange Program developed out of her earlier participation in American higher education. She belonged to several generations of Japanese women who went to college in the United States of America and, upon their return to Japan, contributed their skills, cosmopolitan awareness and networks developed overseas to strengthening transnational relations. Like these Japanese women, further education opened a world of opportunities for Takeda and led the way to encounters with people, places and ideas that shaped the course of her life.⁴⁹⁾ Many devoted their energies to the field of higher education and fostering the moral sensibilities and intellectual outlook of new generations of Japanese. Tsuda Umeko, the founder of Tsuda College, is perhaps the most famous of these women, but Takeda might best be compared with the General Secretary of the Japan YWCA and founder of Keisen Girls' School, Kawai Michi, whose dedication to Christian organizations for women Takeda shared. Kawai was a graduate of Bryn Mawr College and a trusted associate of Charlotte B. DeForest.⁵⁰⁾ Both Takeda and Kawai drew on their experiences at American colleges in their contributions to cross-cultural understanding and trans-pacific relations upon their return to Japan. This engagement—participation in global Christian networks and Christian

education—is being recognized by female scholars today,⁵¹⁾ but the involvement of Japanese women in other male-dominated projects such as the Intellectual Interchange Program, and the parallel role of such initiatives in the promotion of better understanding between the United States and Japan also warrants exploration.

Notes

- 1) A version of this essay was presented at the Sixteenth Asian Studies Conference held at Rikkyō University between 30 June and 1 July, 2012. I wish to thank Sally Hastings (Purdue University) for organizing the panel, and Noriko Ishii (Sophia University) and Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow (Toyo Eiwa University) for their critical feedback. I refer to Chō Takeda Kiyoko simply as Takeda Kiyoko or Takeda, as she used this, her maiden name, as a pen name.
- 2) It was established in 1875 by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the missionary organization of Congregational Church.
- 3) Noriko Ishii, *American Women Missionaries at Kobe College, 1873–1909: New Dimensions of Gender* (New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2004), 184.
- 4) Ishii, *American Women Missionaries at Kobe College*, 184.
- 5) See Takeda Kiyoko, *Deai, hito, kuni, sono shisō* [Encounters, People, Countries, Thoughts] (Tokyo: Kirisutokyō shinbunsha, 2009), 23–24.
- 6) Ishii notes that Kobe College began sending one or two of its graduates to the United States in 1887, and that by the 1890s approximately ten percent of its graduates went on to further study at American women’s colleges (“The Role of Church Networks in International Exchange: Kobe College Graduates as Students in the United States, 1887–1939,” *Ōtsuma Journal of Comparative Culture* 1 (Spring 2000), 12–29, 13). DeForest saw Kobe College’s sister college relationships ‘as pivotal cornerstones to promote mutual understandings as U.S.-Japan relations deteriorated in the 1920s’ (14).
- 7) The Conference was held between 14 July and 2 August, 1939. The Japanese delegation comprised 24 representatives of Japanese churches, the Japan YMCA, the Japan YWCA and the WSCF. Takeda is listed in the Conference Program as a representative of the WSCF.
- 8) Niebuhr’s key-note address was translated by Kimoto Mosaburō, one of the Japanese delegates representing the Japan YMCA, as “Funsō no sekai ni okeru Kirisutokyō” [Christianity in the World in Conflict], and published in the May 1940 issue of the journal *Shinkō Kirisutokyō* [The New Christianity]. According to one account, Niebuhr’s ‘extemporaneous remarks’ and ‘rapid-fire, mid-Western English’ were incomprehensible to ‘most of the student delegates from the Continent’ so it is likely that Takeda was just as impressed by Niebuhr’s powerful presence than what he actually said (Fox, Richard W., *Reinhold Niebuhr: A Biography*, New York; Pantheon Books, 1985, 189).
- 9) Chō Takeda Kiyoko, *Hachiro Yuasa, The Hopes and Challenges of a Christian Educator in Japan*, Philip West ed. (Tokyo: Japan International Christian University Foundation/EastBridge, 2008), 57–58.
- 10) She studied there between September 1941 and June 1942.
- 11) Krista Tippett interview with Elisabeth Sifton (Reinhold Niebuhr’s daughter), transcript and audio file online at <http://www.onbeing.org/program/moral-man-and-immoral-society-rediscovering-reinhold-niebuhr/extra/reinhold-niebuhr-timel-16> (retrieved 12 June 2012).
- 12) In the December 1995 issue of *Shisō no kagaku*, Kawamoto Takashi quotes Takeda’s recollections on the Red Cross Exchange Ship that: ‘I had studied under Niebuhr but I knew that I mustn’t be a mere spokesman. Rather I felt strongly that I wanted to take what I had learned from Niebuhr and Tillich and find my own particular research within the intellectual environment in which I found myself’ (“Takeda Kiyoko to Rainhōrudo Nibā,” 28–35, 33–34).
- 13) For Takeda’s account of the deep impression that Yuasa made on the conference participants, see Chō, *Hachiro Yuasa, The Hopes and Challenges of a Christian Educator in Japan*, 39–40.
- 14) Gary Dorrien, “Introduction,” in Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness: A Vindication of Democracy and a Critique of its Traditional Defense* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011), x.

- 15) The publisher Shinkyō Shuppan released this work in an inexpensive paperback format in 1964. This was not the first Japanese translation of Niebuhr's writing. In 1928, Idea Shobō published a translation by Kurihara Motoi of Niebuhr's *Does Civilization Need Religion?* (1927) as *Kindai bunmei to Kirisutokuyō* [Modern civilization and Christianity].
- 16) American thought featured prominently in the list of works edited by Shisō no Kagaku Kenkyūkai; two early examples are *Amerika shisōshi* [American Intellectual History] (Tokyo: Nihon Hyōronsha, 1950–1951) and *Dyūi kenkyū* [Dewey Studies] (Tokyo: Shungasha, 1952).
- 17) For further information on the early activities and membership of Shisō no Kagaku Kenkyūkai, see Shisō no Kagaku Kenkyūkai ed., *“Shisō no Kagaku” go-jūnen no kaisō* [Reminiscences of Fifty Years of *Shisō no Kagaku*] (Tokyo: Shuppan Nyūsha, 2006).
- 18) Dore, R P, “The Tokyo Institute for the Science of Thought,” *Far Eastern Quarterly* 13:1 (November 1953), 23–36, 24.
- 19) The launch of the journal preceded the formal establishment of Shisō no Kagaku Kenkyūkai (the Institute of Science of Thought, hereafter referred to as ‘the Institute’) by several years.
- 20) This commentary appeared a mere five months after the essay was published in the journal *Nation*.
- 21) Niebuhr's famous observation that “man's capacity for justice makes democracy possible, but man's inclination to injustice makes democracy necessary” appears in the foreword of this text.
- 22) This was not surprising considering that three of the journal's seven founding members had studied at American universities.
- 23) For a discussion of the Institute's engagement with Dewey's thought (particularly the work of Tsurumi Kazuko), see Victor Nobuo Kobayashi, *John Dewey in Japanese Educational Thought* (Michigan: the University of Michigan School of Education, 1964), 139–141.
- 24) This semi-regular column (“Nihon no chikasu”) was co-authored with Tsurumi Shunsuke and Sekine Hiroshi between 1956 and 1965. For Takeda's account of how she came to meet the Tsurumi siblings, and participate in the founding of the journal and the Institute's “philosophy of the ordinary man” project (which she assessed as being its most important contribution to early postwar thought), see “‘Hitobito no tetsugaku’ o saguru” in Yasuda Tsuneo and Amano Masao eds, *Sengo “Keimo” shiso no nokoshita mono: fukkōkuban “Shiso no kagaku,” “Me” bekkān* (Tokyo: Kyuzansha, 1992), 181–191.
- 25) Takeda was not the first Japanese translator of his writing, however. As far as the author can determine, this was Kurihara Motai. See note 15 above.
- 26) See the regular column on an individual's favourite or most influential book entitled “Watashi no koten” in the 22 July 1957 issue of *Nihon dokusho shinbun*.
- 27) An account of the discussion appeared in the 1 February 1949 issue of the Association's journal *Riron*. For Takeda's recollections, see *Sengo demokurashi no genryū* [The origins of post-war democracy] (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1995), 171. Her other essays on Niebuhr from this time include a lengthy contribution entitled “Rainhoruto Nibā no ningenkan” [Reinhold Niebuhr's View of Man] to *Kaitakusha* (1 September 1948); “Rainhōruto Nibā” [Reinhold Niebuhr] in *Risō* (January 1950) and “Kakumei ni taisuru ‘iesu’ to ‘nō’ Nibā no rekishikan no kadai” [Yes and no to revolution, Niebuhr's view of history] in *Tembō* (1 March 1950).
- 28) *Ningen, shakai, Rekishi: Nibā no hito to shisō* [Man, Society and History, Niebuhr and his thought] (Tokyo: Sobunsha, 1953).
- 29) Her translation of his *Moral Man and Immoral Society* (1933) appeared in a multi-volume anthology of ‘World Thought’ published by in 1960 Kawade Shobō (*Sekai Daishisō zenshū*, vol. 30).
- 30) One was a series of lectures on the ‘Methodology of the History of Thought in Asia’, published as *Shisōshi no hōhō to taishō* [Methods and subjects in the history of thought] (Tokyo: Sōbunsh1961); another was a lecture series entitled ‘Studies on Modernization of Japan by Western Scholars’ (the proceedings of which appeared in the journal *Asian Cultural Studies* 3 (1962)).
- 31) Fujita Fumiko, “‘Nichibei chiteki kōryū keikaku’ to 1950nendai Nichibei kankei” [The U.S.-Japan Intellectual Exchange Program and U.S.-Japanese Relations in the 1950s], *Tōkyō daigaku Amerikan Studizu* 5 (2000), 69–85, 74. Quotation is from Kato Mikio, *The First Fifty-five Years of the International House of Japan* (Tokyo: I House Press, 2012), 126. The American Committee had been launched in December 1951 out of the East Asian Institute at Columbia University.

- 32) Takeda, *Deai*, 149.
- 33) Personal communication, 12 November 2011; Takeda, *Deai*, 159; Edamatsu Sakae and Takeda Kiyoko, “Tuhō kajogo, Nichibei chiteki kōryū i’inkai shisetsu de hōbei no Ichikawa san,” *Josei tembō* 618 (September 2009), 16–18. For a full list of Program Fellows, see Kato, *The First Fifty-five Years*, 291–294.
- 34) In her entry to her “My Day” column for 15 September 1954, Roosevelt relates that Takeda was ‘one of the secretaries in the group helping the exchange visitors’ (see http://www.gwu.edu/~erpapers/myday/displaydoc.cfm?_y=1954&_f=md002962). While in Tokyo, Roosevelt addressed the ICU convocation on the topic of the ‘Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Freedom’ (see the 9 May 1953 issue of *The ICU 1953–4*, for a transcription of her address).
- 35) For a discussion of the Program in the 1960s, by which time it was being gradually integrated into the programs of International House, see Kato, *The First Fifty-five Years*, 124–128. The visit to Japan of the last exchange fellow took place in 1996 (Kato, *The First Fifty-five Years*, 294).
- 36) Anonymous, “Nyōzekan shira rokushi haken Nichibei chishikijin no kōryū ni” [Six people including Mr Nyōzekan to go to America on intellectual exchange], *Mainichi shinbun* (morning edition), 29 May 1952.
- 37) Kato, *The First Fifty-five Years*, 127. Tillich’s visit to Japan is the focus of a special issue on ‘A half-century of “intellectual exchange”’ of the journal *Kokusai Kōryū* [International Exchange] 100 (2003), published by the Japan Foundation.
- 38) Kato, *The First Fifty-five Years*, 53.
- 39) The list is reproduced on Kato, *The First Fifty-five Years*, 53. The International House of Japan would also receive substantial funding from the Rockefeller Foundation. Details of the funding applications to the Foundation for development of International House, and the close cooperation between Takagi and the Foundation’s Charles B. Fah, and between Matsumoto, Rockefeller’s legal adviser Donald McLean Jr., and Harold Hackett, the vice president for administration at International Christian University, are provided in Chapter Three of Kato, *The First Fifty-five Years*.
- 40) Kato, *The First Fifty-five Years*, 59. Fujita Fumiko also identifies Rockefeller as the principal instigator of the American Committee (“Nichibei chiteki kōryū keikaku’ to 1950nendai Nichibei kankei” [The U.S.-Japan Intellectual Exchange Program and U.S.-Japanese Relations in the 1950s], *Tōkyō daigaku Amerikan Studizu* 5 (2000), 69–85, 69).
- 41) Takeshi Matsuda, for example, dedicates two chapters to John D. Rockefeller 3rd in his study *Soft Power and its Perils, U.S. Cultural Policy in Early Postwar Japan and Permanent Dependency* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007).
- 42) Matsuda, *Soft Power and its Perils*, 96. Iokibe Makoto, who offers a more balanced interpretation of the Rockefeller Foundation’s involvement in early postwar U.S.-Japan cultural relations, highlights Dulles’ commitment to ‘the wisdom of entrusting cultural exchange to private philanthropy’ (“U.S.-Japan Intellectual Exchange: The Relationship between Government and Private Foundations” in Yamamoto Tadashi *et al.* eds., *Philanthropy and Reconciliation: Rebuilding Postwar U.S.-Japan Relations* (Tokyo: Japan Center for international Exchange, 2006), 61–98, 73).
- 43) Robert S. Schwantes’s *Japanese and Americans, a century of cultural relations* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955). This study was published for the Council on Foreign Relations, which sponsored a study group on American cultural relations on Japan chaired by Rockefeller that brought together individuals associated with private initiatives for trans-pacific cultural exchange (see the list of its members at the end of Rockefeller’s Foreword). In addition to being involved with the Intellectual Interchange Program in his capacity as a faculty member at the East Asian Institute at Columbia University, Borton served as the secretary of the Council’s Japan Study Group. He was also a supporter of ICU, and was instrumental in persuading Rockefeller to make a substantial financial contribution towards the construction of its library (see Hugh Borton, *Spanning Japan’s Modern Century: The Memoirs of Hugh Borton* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2002), 242–246).
- 44) Reiko Maekawa makes this point in “American Philanthropy and Cultural Politics in Postwar Japan” in Soma Hewa and Philo Hove eds., *Philanthropy and Cultural Context, Western Philanthropy in South, East, and Southeast Asia in the 20th Century* (New York: University Press of America, 1997), 117–128. In contrast, Chizuru Saeki implies that the Rockefeller Foundation was manipulated by

- the State Department into supporting the establishment of institutions that served to promote American democracy in Japan, but is ambiguous as to whether the Foundation wittingly supported American Cold-War policy (*U.S. Cultural Propaganda in Cold War Japan, Promoting Democracy 1948–1960*, Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2007).
- 45) Fumiko Fujita, “Eleanor Roosevelt’s 1953 Visit to Japan” in Cristina Giorcelli and Rob Kroes eds., *Living with America, 1946–1996* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1997), 310.
 - 46) “Foreword” in Robert S. Schwantes, *Japanese and Americans, A Century of Cultural Relations* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955), vii–viii, vii.
 - 47) “The Changing Intellectual Climate in Postwar Japanese Social Sciences and U.S.-Japan Cultural Relations,” *International House of Japan 40th Anniversary Symposium, The Postwar Development of Japanese Studies in the United States: A Historical Review and Prospects for the Future* (1993), 7–18, 10. For a statement of Takagi’s vision of international understanding and a record of his work for American-Japanese friendship over forty years, see his *Toward International Understanding* (Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1954).
 - 48) “Nichibei Chiteki Kōryū I’inkai no koro,” in Kokusai bunka kaikan Tsuisō Matsumoto Shigeharu kankō I’inkai (ed), *Tsuisō Matsumoto Shigeharu* (Tokyo: Kokusai bunka kaikan), 152–155, 153.
 - 49) Chō Takeda Kiyoko acknowledges the importance of these encounters in the title of her memoirs *Deai, hito, kuni, sono shisō* [Encounters, people, countries, thoughts] (Tokyo: Kirisutokyō shimbunsha, 2009).
 - 50) Kawai was one of five women who ‘knew western viewpoints’ that DeForest trusted to read and critique her 1923 book, *The Woman and the Leaven in Japan*, ‘a textbook to be used for the meetings of Christian women’s groups in local societies as well as young women’s organizations and college groups in the United States. DeForest intended to distribute this book among Christian women in the U.S. to enhance their missionary support and strengthen the U.S.-Japan Christian church network (Ishii, “The Role of Church Networks,” 14–15).
 - 51) See, for example, Ishii, 2000, 2004, and the contributions of Sally Hastings, Patricia Sippel and Linda L. Johnson to *Asian Cultural Studies* Vol 38 (March 2012).