

# **Searching for Female Agency among Documents: Postwar Japanese Female Intellectuals and Their Network**

*by Hiromi Ochi*

*Senshu University*



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# Searching for Female Agency among Documents: Postwar Japanese Female Intellectuals and Their Network

Since the late 1980s and 1990s, the research field of the cultural Cold War has flourished and produced numerous works in the United States and in other countries. This development has inspired studies on Japanese culture during and after the occupation in the context of Cold War cultural policies, which, programmed and conducted by various US agencies both public and private, provided the arena of hegemonic negotiation. Representative works include: Fumiko Fujita, *Amerika Bunka Gaiko to Nihon: Reisenki no Bunka to Hito no Koryu* [*U.S. Cultural Diplomacy and Japan in the Cold War Era*] (2015), Takeshi Matsuda, *Soft Power and Its Perils: U.S. Cultural Policy in Early Postwar Japan and Permanent Dependency* (2007), Yuka Moriguchi Tsuchiya, *Military Occupation as Pedagogy: the U.S. Re-education and Reorientation Policy for Occupied Japan, 1945-1952* (2005). This scholarship has treated cultural policies as something functional and instrumental in the reconstruction of post-war Japanese subjectivity. In the field of American literary studies as well, this vantage point has been shared since the 2000s.<sup>1</sup>

American literature was reintroduced to postwar Japan mainly through General Headquarters, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (GHQ/SCAP). After the occupation, the US Embassy and the United States Information Service (USIS) were the official conduits for dissemination of American literature, with William Faulkner's visit to Japan as its culmination. Yet during and after the occupation, the Rockefeller Foundation (RF) was also instrumental through its sponsorship of libraries and American studies seminars conducted in Tokyo and Kyoto, the International House of Japan, and other projects.

What has not been fully explored, however, is the fact that there were women deeply involved in this process, working as a kind of agent: as translators, librarians, and others who had mediating functions. The aim of this research

project is to explore and to trace this network of “book women,” which was generated and reinforced in the process of the Rockefeller Foundation’s philanthropic projects for US-Japan cultural relationship. In particular, Shiho Sakanishi and Naomi Fukuda were significant as they functioned as nodes in this process. Sakanishi, the head of the Asian collection room at the Library of Congress during the 1930s, facilitated the Creative Writers’ Fellowships of the RF during the 1950s and 1960s as an unofficial committee member and selected and recommended Japanese writers, including the famous translator Momoko Ishii to one of the Foundation’s officers, Charles B. Fahs. Her younger friend, Naomi Fukuda, recommended by Fahs, unofficially helped Chief Assistant Librarian of Congress Verner Clapp and then Robert B. Downs of the American Library Association to establish systems in the National Diet Library of Japan during the occupation. She was appointed the first chief librarian of the International House of Japan [I-House], and when Ishii established the Study Group for Home Libraries, Fukuda, one of the founding members, opened a room at the I-House for their meetings, where the members examined children’s books gifted by the Asia Foundation’s book program. Their network contributed to cultural exchange, modernization of libraries, and a renewed notion of children’s literature. In other words, they contributed to the reconstruction of the Japanese intellectual infrastructure by involving themselves in postwar cultural diplomacy, in which the Rockefeller Foundation played a significant role.

In exploring the contribution of such women and their network, however, it should be noted that, generally, women are hardly visible in the archives of bureaucratic institutions, which usually reflect their male-dominated institutional structure. These women, who were under the shadow of male directors and leaders and yet established an intellectual infrastructure to facilitate the development of post-war Japanese society, will shed an important new light on an indispensable part of the longstanding impact of the Rockefeller family’s philanthropic projects to promote cultural relations with Japan. Specific files with their own names are very scarce. However, I was able to piece together a clearer picture of what they did, using a number of Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC) collections, along with other archival materials from the Library of Congress, the National Archives, and the Hoover Institution Library. At the RAC, my research was guided by meeting records and

correspondence rather than official reports. I also turned to the digitized diary of one of the RF officers, Charles Burton Fahs, who met these women in Japan. In addition, I picked up and threaded together small, scattered facts about their work in the years ranging from the occupation through to the early 1960s in the following RAC archival collections: “Asian Interests,” “International House of Japan” and “Shigeharu Matsumoto” papers of John D. Rockefeller 3rd papers (FA108); International House of Japan (including a file with the name of Fukuda) and Keio U-Library School papers in the Rockefeller Foundation archives (FA387); and correspondence between Fukuda and Fahs (FA099). The aim of this report is to show how they knew each other and how they worked together, often through the mediation of Fahs. At the same time, this research work and report have throughout involved the theoretical question of how we can trace and chronicle the work of often invisible women.

## **Hidden Female Agency in the Archives**

The earliest notion of the lack of female archive materials motivated creation of women’s archival collections in the 1930s. Second wave feminism problematized “the marked absence of minoritized populations from the historical record,” then challenged the traditional notion of “the archive as a neutral or passive repository,” and eventually described the archive as “an institution that shapes the historical record through exclusion and silence.”<sup>2</sup> Especially after Michel Foucault, the definition of an archive itself has been reshaped based on an assumption that an archive is a “discursive practice,” or “system” that “governs” statements “in accordance with specific regularities.”<sup>3</sup> The revelation of power concerning the construction of archives has introduced critical re-reading of archival materials for “distortions, omissions, erasures, and silences.”<sup>4</sup> Searching archival materials for Japanese female intellectuals inevitably entails searching for “omission, erasures, and silences” that have been produced by the patriarchal, or male-dominated economy of the archives of such institutions as the State Department, the US Embassy, and other organizations, including the Rockefeller Foundation and the Asia Foundation. The research consists not only of looking for their names but also searching for traces of them. Sometimes their network emerges as a

project folder itself. Sometimes their work and their agency are contained in the reports of some department or organization, silenced by the nature of writing of such reports. Sometimes, their work was conducted totally “unofficially,” which erased their figures from the archives or the public sphere.

The first of these figures, Shiho Sakanishi (1896-1976), provides a good example of the difficulty of such research. The first occasion that I saw her name was on a page of a magazine issued by the US Embassy in the 1950s. The magazine *Beisho Dayori* [Monthly Review of American Books] was a book guide which introduced a selection of books with the goal of promoting Japanese translation. Each issue featured essays on translation and trends in American literature written by prominent Japanese scholars and translators. Among those essays was Sakanishi’s piece on the necessity of systematic translation of American literature.<sup>5</sup> Unlike other authors, including Naotaro Tatsunokuchi, Masami Nishikawa, and Yasuo Okubo, she is much less known as a translator of American literature. The next time I saw her name was in the introductory part of Momoko Ishii’s memoir of her trip sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation. Ishii begins her book with the remark “I don’t remember exactly when, but it was probably in the middle of 1953 . . . when I was told that Ms. Sakanishi came to see me. . . . She asked me ‘Do you want to go to the United States to study for a year?’”<sup>6</sup>

Sakanishi has a Wikipedia entry, which informs us that she worked on the construction of the Japanese collection at the Library of Congress in the 1930s but was forced to go back to Japan in 1941. After World War II, she served GHQ/SCAP and then worked for the Japanese Foreign Ministry, the House of Councilors, and Japan UNESCO. Apparently, she was active in the public sphere but strangely the description is mainly based on very few sources including *Sakanishi Shiho San* [Miss Shiho Sakanishi], an anthology compiled after her death to remember her life, issued by the International House of Japan. There is no archival collection of her personal papers except the one that the Library of Congress houses, which records her work at the Library during the 1930s. It seems that her name appears sporadically and yet those cases do not form a linear story of her life. Shigeharu Matsumoto, the former director of the International House of Japan, says that Sakanishi’s will ends with her refusal to have other people construct anything that

would memorize her.<sup>7</sup> Probably her career, which forced her to return to Japan suspected of espionage and led her to work for the Foreign Ministry to facilitate their efforts to end the war, made her silent. Indeed, her younger brother, Yakobu Sakanishi, reveals that Sakanishi intentionally refrained from mentioning her family.<sup>8</sup> She even altered the location of her birthplace.<sup>9</sup> Also, we should take gender norms into account. It is conceivable that her extraordinary academic qualification of a Ph.D. acquired in 1929 from the University of Michigan made her look formidable at a time when women were expected to be subservient, quiet, and not so highly educated. Although she was attracted to the American notion of equality, she did not embrace gender equality.<sup>10</sup>

Two of the crucial materials that can fill the blanks among her numerous official public statuses are the diary and papers of Charles B. Fahs, then Director of the Humanities Division at the Rockefeller Foundation. Fahs first met her in the 1930s, when Sakanishi worked for the Library of Congress.<sup>11</sup> His introduction of Sakanishi in his report on the Japanese Literary Fellowship Program (1953-1963), to which Sakanishi contributed a chapter, outlines her career, providing a glimpse of what she was doing immediately after the war. She made her living as “a freelance writer and lecturer,” and immediately after World War II, she translated “the American comic strip ‘Blondie’” for a newspaper.<sup>12</sup> When Fahs conceived the idea of the Literary Fellowship Program, he consulted Sakanishi, who would work as a member of “an informal committee” concerning the selection of candidates.<sup>13</sup> When Fahs visited Japan, he saw Sakanishi more than once to talk over various topics to acquire necessary information and suggestions from her.

This kind of “informal” function that Sakanishi had makes her agency rather invisible in archival materials. In the case of this fellowship program, in order to know her work, we must get into the folder of each fellow, as there is no folder dedicated solely to Sakanishi, an “informal” committee member. For example, on the application form of one of the first fellows, Tsuneari Fukuda, the very first document in the folder, shows Sakanishi’s signature as a sponsor. She signed as “Special Councilor of the Diet” at that time.<sup>14</sup> The folder of another fellow, Junzo Shono, contains an excerpt from Fahs’ Diary,<sup>15</sup> which features Sakanishi’s recommendation of Shono as a candidate with “outstanding promise for his

sensitive interpretation of individuals and families.”<sup>16</sup>

The most impressive case which illustrates Sakanishi's and other women's function in the Japanese Writers Fellowship Program and which also shows how gender norms threatened to block an opportunity relates to the female translator Momoko Ishii. The document with the earliest date in the folder is Sakanishi's information on Ishii sent to Fahs.<sup>17</sup> In the selection process, however, after conducting two interviews with Ishii, he was not sure enough about Ishii's ability. He wrote a confidential letter of inquiry to Mrs. Elizabeth Gray Vining, asking for her “confidential comment with regard to her character and abilities” and her “advice as to whether an opportunity for study abroad might help her [Ishii] to contribute more significantly to literary developments in Japan.”<sup>18</sup> Mrs. Vining, knowledgeable of the reserved nature of Japanese women, urged Fahs to understand “the depth and range of her ability” even though she did “not put all of her wares in the show window” and was “quiet.” She suggested that Fahs should talk with Bertha Mahoney Miller of *Horn Book* magazine, who had been corresponding with Ishii.<sup>19</sup> Miller also ardently supported Ishii, assuring Fahs that “no one” was “more deserving of a Rockefeller Fellowship than Momoko Ishii” and hoping that “the way would open for her to come to this country [the United States].”<sup>20</sup> Sakanishi clinched the process by sending Fahs the news of Ishii's winning of a prestigious literary award.<sup>21</sup>

Fahs himself was often a facilitator of female agency. He was instrumental in securing Sakanishi's position as one of the councilors for the International House of Japan. At the end of 1951, John D. Rockefeller 3rd (hereafter JDR 3rd) was at the initial stage of planning the International House of Japan (I-House) based on his so called “Rockefeller Report.” This report was written at the request of John Foster Dulles on post-occupation US-Japan cultural relations and submitted in April 1951.<sup>22</sup> His “Proposed Cultural and Student Centers” of November 15, 1951 shows the possible members of “Plans and Program Sub-Committee,” consisting of seventeen members including Shigeharu Matsumoto, Shigeto Tsuru, and Shiho Sakanishi.<sup>23</sup> Back in September, in the process of drawing up the outline, JDR 3rd asked Fahs for suggestions concerning who he should contact, attaching the list of people.<sup>24</sup> Responding to the inquiry, Fahs suggested several people of the

younger generation, who nevertheless had “great ability” and “more ideas to contribute than their seniors.”<sup>25</sup> He listed three names, and the fourth person, Shiho Sakanishi, was given a specific description possibly because her name was not known to JDR 3rd. Fahs described “Dr. Sakanishi” as the creator of “the Japanese collection at the Library of Congress” and currently an educator of “members of the Japanese House of Councilors on international affairs,” a person who was “a brilliant individualist, well worth talking to,” and even added her home address.<sup>26</sup> She attended the first meeting for planning the I-House on November 12, 1951 and served as a member of the Plans and Program Committee of the Cultural Center Preparatory Committee.<sup>27</sup> When the International House of Japan, Inc. was established in the summer of 1952, Sakanishi was listed as one of the councilors.<sup>28</sup>

## **Silencing Discourse of Documents**

In the records of the preparatory process for the establishment of the I-House, the opinions and suggestions of Matsumoto Shigeharu, Gordon Bowles, or other “big names” fill the pages. We cannot hear Sakanishi’s voice except once when she voiced her concern about “the permanent support” of the planned institution.<sup>29</sup> There were only three female members in the body of councilors that was made up of 50 members. The other two members, Tano Jodai and Matsuko Tsuji, are silent in the meeting minutes. It is difficult to know whether they were really silent, or whether their opinions were simply not recorded. This section examines the kind of difficulties that accompany the research work to trace female agency in the archival materials, and how we can explore the methodological possibilities to see or sense their agency when it is difficult to see it at a glance.

Sometimes the documents do not record female voices at all. For example, in a letter to Gordon Bowles in 1953, JDR 3rd says to Bowles that Fahs would visit Tokyo and they could talk about the “leadership of Tokyo International House” with Bowles and Matsumoto. When we turn to Fahs’ diary, however, it was with Matsumoto and Sakanishi that Fahs had a meeting.<sup>30</sup>

Another person that has been rather unknown until recently is Naomi Fukuda (1907-2007). She became the librarian of the International House of Japan in 1953 and before that she assisted Robert B. Downs of the American Library Association (ALA) to lay the groundwork for the newly established National Diet Library (NDL), modeled after the system of the Library of Congress in 1948. According to Izumi Koide, the leading researcher on Fukuda, she has not yet located documents about Fukuda's contribution to the conception of the establishment of the NDL in 1947, when the Assistant Librarian of the Library of Congress Verner W. Clapp and Charles Brown of the ALA visited Japan in December 1947 and stayed until February 1948 to prepare the plan. Koide cites the former NDL Deputy Director Heihachiro Suzuki's testimony about how Fukuda bridged the US library experts and the Japanese officials concerned.<sup>31</sup>

The difficulty of documenting hidden figures in history again requires another "diary," this time the diary of Verner Clapp, as the official reports of their activities in Japan issued by the Culture, Information and Education Section (CI&E) of the GHQ/SCAP held by the National Archives show the male names of the official committee members. Clapp's visit to Japan was advocated by Justin Williams of the Government Section of the GHQ/SCAP and Fahs of the Rockefeller Foundation.<sup>32</sup> After his arrival in Tokyo on December 14, 1947, Clapp met Paul Burnette, the 2nd CIE Library Officer, several times about the project to draft the law establishing the new national library (on December 15, 19 and 23) as well as Japanese legislators in charge of the project.<sup>33</sup> Clapp involved Sakanishi in this project. He visited his former colleague in Abiko in Chiba prefecture on December 28, and then she visited him on December 30. Sakanishi participated in Clapp's January 3 meeting with Japanese legislators, including Goro Hani, chairman of the library committees in the House of Councilors. Her name then appeared in the entry for January 31, 1948, when she participated in the meeting with Japanese library committees. Sakanishi informed Clapp of "discrepancies" among the members.<sup>34</sup> Before leaving Japan, he had lunch with Burnette, Sakanishi, and Fukuda, who was working for the Civil Intelligence Section of the GHQ/SCAP at that time. It is conceivable that Clapp became acquainted with Fukuda through Fahs or Sakanishi, as Fukuda had been on friendly terms with Sakanishi since the 1930s, when the latter wrote a recommendation for Fukuda to the Rockefeller

Foundation to help her application for a fellowship, and that may have led to the function that Suzuki described.<sup>35</sup> Also a short note mentioning “Miss Fukuda” and her office in one of the GHQ buildings in Clapp’s diary may refer to Naomi Fukuda. At least we can say that Fukuda was in a network that connected her to an integral part of Cold War cultural diplomacy, namely the development of modern libraries.

In a March 1953 letter to JDR 3rd, Gordon Bowles reports that Fukuda joined the I-House’s preliminary planning group of librarians consisting of Robert Gitler of Keio University, David W. Heron of the US Embassy Library, and Fukuda.<sup>36</sup> At that time, Sakanishi was a member of the Library Policy Committee and “upon the recommendation of the Committee,” Fukuda was appointed as librarian of I-House.<sup>37</sup> She traveled around visiting libraries such as Tenri University Library and the Michigan Center in Okinawa and discussed “methods of securing books from abroad.”<sup>38</sup> She eventually became the hub of a network of librarians in Japan.

Official reports of male dominant directors and councilors often deprive female agency such as Fukuda’s of visibility, especially when those women are expected to carry out no more than an assisting function. Fukuda’s case, however, prompts us to see the possibility of a discursive silencing of female agency. Take the example of the report *The International House of Japan, Inc: Challenge Response Progress, 1952-1962*.<sup>39</sup> If the House asked “specialists” about acquisition lists, their names appear on the page “Professors Shinzo Kaji (economic geography), Totaro Hosoiri (literature). . . were invited to participate as members of the Acquisition Subcommittee. . .”.<sup>40</sup> On the other hand, librarians are anonymous:

Since its opening in 1953 *the library* has continuously worked with such organizations as the National Diet Library, the United States Educational Commission, the Special Library Association, the Japan Library Association, the Home Library Association, and the Japan Library School. The Seminar on the International Exchange of Publications in the Indo-Pacific Sea, the Tokyo Conference of the Asian Federation of Library Associations, and the Seminar on Library Buildings were all effectively carried out through House cooperation. For librarians from major libraries in Tokyo, *the library* has long conducted a Saturday Library Seminar. . . One of the findings of the monthly studies group indicates that reference services in Japanese libraries have not been developed to meet the needs of modern

research. Accordingly, *a project* called the U.S. Field Seminar on Library Reference Service for Japanese librarians was planned with a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. *Under this project* nine participants headed by *the House librarian* spent two months in the fall of 1959 visiting a number of libraries in the United States. (emphases added)<sup>41</sup>

The achievements reported here are attributed to Fukuda, but she only appears as “the House Librarian.” In place of Fukuda, the term “the library” was used, and the project planned by Fukuda drops the name “Fukuda” in its passive voice sentence by omitting the agent of its planning. If we attempt to identify her achievements, we must turn to the specific applications for the RF funding made by her,<sup>42</sup> or we must again turn the pages of Fahs’ diary for the corresponding description on May 19, 1954:

CBF [Charles Burton Fahs] talked for some time with Naomi FUKUDA, former RF fellow, now librarian for the House. She is apparently pleased with having this constructive opportunity after a number of years without a real post. Apparently a considerable part of her work goes beyond the development and maintenance of the House’s own collection. It is, rather, assisting various visiting scholars in making necessary contact with other institutions, particularly the National Diet Library. <sup>43</sup>

*The International House of Japan: A Center for Cultural Exchange*, 52-57 arranges numerous photos of House guests, lecturers, and directors, which have captions with their names including the director, Mr. Shigeharu Matsumoto.<sup>44</sup> The beautiful pamphlet introduces rooms inside the I-House, and on one page with a description of the library, there is one picture that clearly shows Fukuda working with a man, with the caption “A glimpse back at the library in its embryo stage, when the House still occupied temporary quarters in the Marunouchi branch of the Bank of Tokyo.” Another picture on the page shows “Mr. Koji Nishimura, Professor of English Literature at Meiji University, speaking at the Book Review Meeting. . . .”<sup>45</sup>

## Conclusion

If a collection of papers reflects an organization, the archives of a male-dominated organization is structured accordingly. Usually meeting minutes are very useful to trace an organization's decision-making process. But if the organization or committee consists mainly of male members, the visibility of women is, considering the factor of gender norms, very low, still lower if a woman is an "informal" advisor. Also as shown in the previous section, narrative voices or styles of the documents may silence female voices and agency. To trace and find them, we must further look into diaries, correspondence, memoranda, or materials housed by other archives as well, and we must also find hidden female agency in a certain writing style of documents.

In the case of Sakanishi and Fukuda, the highly organized Rockefeller Foundation archives help us to find them under the shadow of "John and Shige."

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<sup>1</sup> Greg Barnhisel's *Cold War Modernists: Art, Literature, and American Cultural Diplomacy* (Columbia University Press, 2015) is one of the achievements of this field. In Japan also, with seminal works by Takaki Hiraishi, "Rekishi to Bungaku no Aidaniha: Nihon ni okeru Amerika Bungakushi [Between History and Literature: American Literary History in Japan]" in Jun Furuya et. al. eds., *Amerika: Bungakushi Bunkashi no Tenbo* [America: Perspectives in Literary History and Cultural History] (Shohakusha, 2005) and Takayuki Tastumi, "Beigakukotohajime [Beginning of American Studies]." *Bungaku* (Literature) 1, no. 3 (2000): 22-25. Also see Hiromi Ochi, "American Literature During the Occupation." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Literature* (2017). DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780190201098.013.163.

<sup>2</sup> Marika Cifor and Stacy Wood, "Critical Feminism in the Archives," *Journal of Critical*

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*Library and Information Studies*. no.2 (2017), DOI: 10.24242/jclis.v1i2.27: 4-5.

<sup>3</sup> Michel Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (1972; Vintage Books, 2010), pp. 128-29.

<sup>4</sup> Rodney G. S. Carter, "Of Things Said and Unsaid: Power, Archival Silences, and Power in Silence," *Archivaria* 61 (2006): 224.

<sup>5</sup> Shiho Sakanishi, "Hontou ni Shiru to Iukoto [What It Is to Know Something]," *Beisho Dayori* [Monthly Review of American Books], 5 (Aug. 1953): 22-24.

<sup>6</sup> Momoko Ishii, *Jidou Bungaku no Tabi* [Trip in Search of Children's Literature] (Iwanami Shoten, 2015), 2.

<sup>7</sup> Shigeharu Matsumoto, "Grand Finale of a Strenuous Life," in *Sakanishi Shiho San* [Miss Shiho Sakanishi], ed. *Sakanishi Shiho San* Editorial Board (International House of Japan, 1977), p. 306.

<sup>8</sup> Yakobu Sakanishi, "Ane, Sakanishi Shiho no Koto [On My Elder Sister, Shio Sakanishi]" in *Sakanishi Shiho San*, p. 312.

<sup>9</sup> In her essay "Omou [My Thinking]" in *Tokyo Shinbun* (June 16, 1975), she suggested that she was born in Kanda, Tokyo, by saying that she went to see her father in Hokkaido and that she lived in Kanda. But the chronicle in *Sakanishi Shiho San* and Yakobu's essay says she was in fact born in Hokkaido and at least entered a local elementary school there. See *Sakanishi Shiho San*, pp. 312, 316.

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, Sakanishi's essay series "Watashino Yuigon [My Will]," pp. 32, 90, 103, in *Sakanishi Shiho San*.

<sup>11</sup> The Sakanishi Papers held by the Library of Congress contain several letters from Fahs between 1937 and 1939 which show their friendly relationship. See Box 4 Folder 2 of Sakanishi Shiryo, Asian Reading Room, Library of Congress (hereafter LOC).

<sup>12</sup> "The Japanese Literary Fellowship Program," The Rockefeller Foundation Confidential Report for the Information of the Trustees no. 194, January 1959," p. 2. Charles Burton Fahs Papers, Series 2: Professional Papers, Box 6, Folder 86, Rockefeller Archive Center (hereafter RAC).

<sup>13</sup> *ibid.*, p.3. Also see Fahs Diary April 17, 1952, RG 12: Officers' Diaries, Box 140, Rockefeller Foundation Records (hereafter RF Records), RAC.

<sup>14</sup> RG 10.1: Fellowships, Fellowship Files, Series 609, Box 351, Folder 5241, RF Records, RAC.

<sup>15</sup> April 11, 1956 in "CBF's Trip to Far East 1956." RG 12: Officers' Diaries, Box 143, RF Records, RAC.

<sup>16</sup> RG 10.1: Fellowships, Fellowship Files, Series 609, Box 374, Folder 551, RF Records, RAC.

<sup>17</sup> "Excerpt from: Dr. Shio Sakanishi's letter to CBF," April 24, 1953. RG 10.1: Fellowships, Fellowship Files, Series 609, Box 356, Folder 5298, RF Records, RAC.

<sup>18</sup> Fahs to Mrs. Elizabeth Gray Vining, February 17, 1954. RG 10.1: Fellowships, Fellowship Files, Box 354, Folder 5298, RF Records, RAC.

<sup>19</sup> Vining to Fahs, 1954. RG 10.1: Fellowships, Fellowship Files, Box 354, Folder 5298, RF Records, RAC.

<sup>20</sup> Bertha Mahoney Miller to Charles B. Fahs, February 9, 1954. RG 10.1: Fellowships, Fellowship Files, Box 354, Folder 5298, RF Records, RAC.

<sup>21</sup> Shiho Sakanishi to Charles B. Fahs, February 24, 1954. RG 10.1: Fellowships, Fellowship Files, Box 354, Folder 5298, RF Records, RAC.

<sup>22</sup> "Declassification of Rockefeller Report of 1951," July 22, 1971. RG 59 Department of State, Central Decimal File 1950-54, Box 2534, National Archives and Records

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Administration, College Park, Md. (hereafter NARA).

<sup>23</sup> JDR 3rd, "Proposed Cultural and Student Centers," November 15, 1951. RG 1.2: Rockefeller Foundation Records, Projects, Series 609 Box 1, Folder 6, RF Records, RAC.

<sup>24</sup> JDR 3rd to Charles B. Fahs, September 21, 1951. RG 1.2: Projects, Series 609, Box 1, Folder 6, Rockefeller Foundation Records, RAC. The list, however, is not found in the folder. Probably the list is the same as that sent to Douglas Overton on the same day. See JDR 3rd to Douglas Overton and JDR 3rd to Edwin Reischauer, September 21, 1951. RG 5: JDR 3rd Papers, Series 1, Box 51, Folder 461, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

<sup>25</sup> Charles B. Fahs to JDR 3rd, September 27, 1951. RG 1.2: Projects, Series 609, Box 1, Folder 6, RF Records, RAC.

<sup>26</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> "List of Persons Invited to Conferences with Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Kabayama, November 12, 1951." RG 5: JDR 3rd Papers, Series 1, Box 51, Folder 461, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC; "Preliminary Report, March 6, 1952." RG 5: JDR 3rd Papers, Series 1, Box 51, Folder 463, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

<sup>28</sup> See the brochure "The International House of Japan, Inc." RG 5: JDR 3rd Papers, Series 1, Box 51, Folder 462, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC. It was probably issued somewhere between late July and August, after the name of the institution was finally decided on in July.

<sup>29</sup> "Memorandum for Record, May 5, 1952." RG 5: JDR 3rd Papers, Series 1, Box 51, Folder 462, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

<sup>30</sup> JDR 3rd to Gordon Bowles, April 6, 1953. RG 5: JDR 3rd Papers, Series 1, Box 51, Folder 464, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC; Charles B. Fahs Diary, April 11, 1953. RG 12: Officers' Diaries, Box 141, RF Records, RAC.

<sup>31</sup> Heihachiro Suzuki, *Tsubaki to Uma to* [Camelias and Horses] (Chuō Shuppan, 1988), pp. 260-261, cited in Izumi Koide, "Fukuda Naomi to Amerika Toshokan Kenkyu Chōsadan [Naomi Fukuda and U.S. Field Seminar on Library Reference Services for Japanese Librarians]," in Madoko Kon and Masaya Takayama eds., *Gendai Nihon-no Toshokan Kōsō: Sengokaikaku to Sono Tenkai* [Ideas of Contemporary Japanese Libraries: Postwar Reforms and Developments] Bensei Shuppan, 2013.

<sup>32</sup> Taro Miura, "Senryōka Nippon ni okeru CIE Dai Nidai Toshokan Tantoukan Barnett no Katsudō [Activities of Paul J. Burnette, the 2nd CIE Library Officer under the Allied Occupation Japan]." *Bulletin of the Graduate School of Education*, the University of Tokyo, vol. 45 (2006), p. 269.

<sup>33</sup> "Trip to Japan." Box 3, Folder 1, Verner W. Clapp Papers, 1901-1994, Manuscript Reading Room, LOC.

<sup>34</sup> *ibid.* In the letter dated January 5, 1948 to Luther Evans, the Librarian of the Congress, Clapp reveals Hani invited Sakanishi, who was working for the House of Councilors as a member of the Foreign Relations Committee. Box 33, Folder 4, Clapp Papers, 1901-1994, Manuscript Reading Room, LOC.

<sup>35</sup> See RG 10.1: Fellowships, Series 609E, Box 351, Folder 524, RF Records, RAC. Sakanishi recommended Fukuda in her letter of March 1, 1939. The application document dated May 1, 1939 shows one of her sponsors to be Sakanishi. Later, in a letter of August 13, 1940, Fukuda wrote to the RF officer in charge, David H. Stevens, reporting that she had worked at the Library of Congress for almost a year under Sakanishi.

<sup>36</sup> Gordon Bowles to JDR 3rd, March 25, 1953. RG 5: John D. Rockefeller 3rd Papers, Series 1, Folder 464 Box 51, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

<sup>37</sup> 6th Meeting of the Board of Directors, June 26, 1953. RG 5: John D. Rockefeller 3rd

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Papers, Series 1, Box 52, Folder 466, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

<sup>38</sup> Report on the General Activities, October 1- December 28, 1953. RG 5: John D. Rockefeller 3rd Papers, Series 1, Box 52, Folder 466, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

<sup>39</sup> *The International House of Japan, Inc: Challenge Response Progress, 1952-1962*. RG 5: John D. Rockefeller 3rd Papers, Series 1, Box 52, Folder 469, RAC.

<sup>40</sup> *The International House of Japan, Inc*, p.49.

<sup>41</sup> *The International House of Japan, Inc*, p.50.

<sup>42</sup> See for example project records RG 1.2, Series 609, Box 35, Folder 405 “Japan International House of Japan, Fukuda Naomi, 1962-64,”), RF Records, RAC; RG 1.2, Series 609, Box 36, Folder 406 “Japan-International House of Japan, Library Reference Book Guide, 1960-1963.”)

<sup>43</sup> Fahs Diary, “Trip to the Far East, 1954 April 26-June 23.” RG 12, Officers’ Diaries, Box 141, RF records RAC.

<sup>44</sup> RG 5: John D. Rockefeller 3rd Papers, Series 1, Box 52, Folder 468, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC. This pamphlet does not have page numbers.

<sup>45</sup> *ibid*.