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AN APPENDIX TO *THE CHRYSANTHEMUM AND THE SWORD* : A BIBLIOGRAPHY

Pauline KENT

International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Kyoto, Japan

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Although Ruth Benedict's *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* did not contain a bibliography when published, it has been possible to build one up from the notes she left on her research of the Japanese. A list of references used during her wartime research on the Japanese is provided here, along with a list of the people she worked with, in a team effort to fathom the wartime Japanese morale, at the Foreign Morale Analysis Division in the U. S. Office of War Information.

Keywords: RUTH BENEDICT, *THE CHRYSANTHEMUM AND THE SWORD*, BIBLIOGRAPHY, JAPAN

Ruth Benedict's *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (1946) is considered a classic in Japan Studies and still generates a relatively large amount of discussion. Yet despite the influence of this book, up until now very little has been known about the background research conducted before publication.¹ The fact that Benedict wrote the book based on research she conducted during the war while attached to the Foreign Morale Analysis Division (FMAD), Bureau of Overseas Information (BOI), Office of War Information (OWI) has caused speculations concerning her intentions behind writing the book. It is often suggested that the book was written for the express purpose of guiding MacArthur and the Occupation Forces but this is far from the case. Benedict did prepare a report entitled "Report 25: Japanese Behavior Patterns" during the early summer of 1945. Once capitulation became certain it seems that "Report 25" was retrieved from the files, annotated and circulated to a wider audience that included policy makers in the field of Japan.

However, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, which was based upon this report, was written in the following year with the general public in mind. In the first chapter "Assignment", Benedict talks about the research methodologies she was forced to employ in lieu of not being able to actually conduct field research in Japan. There she talks about using available travelogues, literature and other references as well as conducting interviews with: Japanese, those of Japanese descent and with those who had knowledge of Japan. She also mentions watching films to further her understanding of the Japanese character. Yet as the book targeted the general public it contains few footnotes and no bibliography and therefore it is not possible to learn from the text of *Chrysanthemum* just what these references, interviews and films involved.

¹ See P. Kent (1994) : Ruth Benedict's Original Wartime Study of the Japanese, *International Journal of Japanese Sociology*, 3: 81-97.

Thus those who have discussed *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* have had to base a lot of their assumptions about Benedict's sources and methodology on the information she proffers in the first chapter. This has led to speculations about the scope of Benedict's research and sometimes to facile criticisms of the quality of her work. But speculations can be put to rest as the Ruth Fulton Benedict Papers, housed in the Special Collections Library at Vassar College, Benedict's alma mater, allows us to build up a list of references and materials that Benedict referred to during her research on the Japanese.

Benedict may not have left too many clues as to her references in *Chrysanthemum* but the annotated version of "Report 25" allows us to confirm over sixty of the references she employed. By further sifting through the materials on Japan in the RFB Papers it is also possible to know what Benedict was reading in order to glean information because she clearly annotated the vast majority of her notes. Here I have prepared a list of references and materials, based on the materials found in the RFB Papers. Whilst the list is not complete—in that journal pages are missing and some sources are only noted by author and title or simply title—it is reasonable to assume that it is complete enough to illustrate the extent of Japan related sources available to Benedict at the time she studied Japan.²

In her capacity as a researcher in the OWI, Benedict was also privileged to restricted and confidential information provided not only by the OWI but also intelligence reports from the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), British Intelligence and other related wartime departments. Benedict first started with the OWI in 1943, as a Cultural Analyst of European cultures but soon took up work on Thailand, Burma, Rumania, Norway, The Netherlands, Germany, China and other countries. She collaborated with the OSS to write a report on Japanese films³ but did not begin a fully fledged investigation on the Japanese until she joined the FMAD, which was newly formed specifically for the purpose of assessing the morale and will to fight of both front line and home front Japanese, as well as providing information on ways to use propaganda to end the war as early as possible. A list of the members of this Division and their fields of research or speciality has also been provided to give an idea of the environment in which Benedict formed her ideas.

The FMAD was made up of social scientists, some of whom had Japanese expertise, and staff that were Japanese or of Japanese descent who analysed and translated information within the Division. Robert Hashima, a *kibei* (a Japanese who had returned to America at the onset of war), worked closely with her, providing information through formal interviews. He also answered a multitude of questions Benedict posed on the meanings of Japanese concepts, words and things she had read or seen but had not fully understood. Tom Sasaki also helped her to understand meanings of certain concepts as no doubt did many other members of the Division.

² The vast majority of books listed can be found in the Nichibunken Library.

³ Japanese Films: A Phase of Psychological Warfare. An analysis of the themes, psychological content, technical quality, and propaganda value of twenty recent Japanese films, Research and Analysis Branch, OSS, Report No. 1307, March 30, 1944. See John Dower (1993): *Japan in War and Peace*. New York: Viking Press. p. 52, fn. 3.

Benedict's notes on Embree's research suggests she took advantage of his knowledge too. Outside the FMAD, Nathan Leites, in OWI, and Andrew Meadow in psychology, in the OSS, also provided her with a number of notes on psychoanalytical aspects of the Japanese character.

The Division also had a large processing and analysis staff which worked to process incoming information including materials on Japanese Prisoners of War which were all coded and recorded on cards, complete with cross-referencing. This information was evaluated both quantitatively and qualitatively. It was this information that Benedict used when she wrote on what POW's had said and thought after their capture—as it was not possible for her to directly interview them herself. (It is often incorrectly assumed that Benedict actually interviewed the prisoners.) As mentioned above, she interviewed people like Hashima but throughout her time in the OWI Benedict often made use of "consultants" who were instructed to write about certain subjects, or answer questions on a particular theme such as childhood discipline, sleeping, etc. In the case of Japan, she used both those of Japanese descent and people who had some knowledge of Japan. She also used two intermediate consultants, Sula Benet and Hsien Chin Hu to conduct interviews for her. Moreover, as many of the members of the Division had worked at the War Relocation Camps (although some of the Japanese had been interned there) she had access to the information that had come out of the research that had been carried out there, too.

Benedict not only had access to the vast majority of available reference materials on Japan, she also was able to make use of the most current information coming out of Japan as well as the expertise of her colleagues in the Division. The fact that Benedict considered her research a team effort is obvious from the manuscript for the first chapter of *Chrysanthemum* where she has gone through and crossed out all the "I"s and pencilled in "we". No doubt editorial policy let the "I"s have it but acknowledgements at the beginning of the book express thanks to a number of colleagues with whom she worked during her wartime studies.

Benedict never had any delusions of grandeur concerning the status of her work on the Japanese, as evidenced in a letter she wrote to a woman who had critiqued her book: "As an anthropologist I could never have believed that I would ever be willing to publish a book about a people among whom I had never lived. That is a matter almost of professional integrity. But in this case, after the war, I broke the rule. When some student does good field work in Japan the picture will be expanded and corrected." (RFB Papers, Letter to Mrs. Wayman, July 24, 1947.) Since then many have done much to contribute to the picture but Benedict's efforts had much to do with the expansion of the field of Japan Studies. For this reason, further information concerning her classic work, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, will serve to help us appreciate her work even more while allowing us to gauge the growth that has ensued.

Ruth Benedict's References for *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*
 from the
Ruth Fulton Benedict Papers
Special Collections Library, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, NY

* indicates footnoted reference in "Report 25"
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Other Films on which Benedict made Notes

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Last of the Chrysanthemums (Zangiku no Monogatari)

Father and Son Whalers (Oyako Kujira)

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Other Research

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**Office of War Information, Bureau of Overseas Information,
Foreign Morale Analysis Division (FMAD)⁴**

The Foreign Morale Analysis Division was established in the OWI, in the spring of 1944, and consisted of one chief and three analysts. In the autumn of the same year, staff numbers grew to number seventeen and the Division made use of space provided in both the War Department and OWI offices. By the beginning of 1945, staff had grown to number one Division chief, a co-chief, ten analysts, two translators, and three secretaries. Those in the War Department office conducted analysis of intelligence material and military morale while the OWI section conducted translations and analysis of cultural and spiritual characteristics. As the need to counteract the Japanese in the escalating war in the Pacific grew, the number of staff continued to grow.

In the spring of 1945, the Division was restructured to form a co-operative research unit made up of the FMAD and Military Intelligence Service (MIS) known as the Joint Morale Survey (JMS). This unit was placed under the authority of the Chief of OWI and the MIS Chief and divided into the sections of:

1. Translations, Research and Administration, located in the OWI
2. Morale Research Unit in the War Department Offices
3. Propaganda Section in the War Department Offices

The combined Army, Navy and OWI personnel, working in collaboration, were ultimately named the JMS which was jointly directed for a brief period by Leighton and Moore. Most reports, however, were issued under the affiliate of the FMAD. (FMAD reports including those written by Benedict, can be found in the National Archives of the USA.)

As were other wartime offices, the Division was disbanded soon after the war ended.

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Royal Hassrick (Anthropology)	Analyst & Assistant Supervisor of Processing
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Dr. Elliot Fisher (Sociology)	Analyst & Processor
Yoshiharu Matsumoto (Community Analysis, Japanese Language & Culture)	Analyst & Processor
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Rose Matsumoto (Japanese Language & Culture)	Translator & Processor
Florence Mohri	Division Secretary & Stenographer
Frances Payne	Division Secretary & Stenographer
Atsuko Aoki	Translator, Typist
Helen Holt	Clerk, Typist
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Personnel from the Sociological Branch, Military Intelligence Service, War Dept. General Staff (MIS)

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Tech. Sgt. Y. B. Goto (Japanese Language & Culture)	Translator/Analyst
M/Sgt. Keith Kaneshiro (Japanese Language & Culture)	

Agnes W. Brewster	(Sociology)	Translator/Analyst
Mary E. Maltman	(Sociology)	Propaganda Analyst
Dr. George D. McJimsey	(English Literature)	Propaganda Analyst (Parttime)
Edward K. Merat	(Political Science)	Analyst & Processor
Jerodene E. Tuck		Propaganda Analyst
Roberta Garner		Clerk, Typist (Part-time)
		Clerk, Typist (Part-time)

*Personnel from the Navy***Chief of Division*

*Commander Alexander H. Leighton	(Psychiatry & Anthropology)	
Lt. Marion Levy, Jr.	(Sociology)	Analyst & Processor
Commander George Townsend Lodge	(Psychology)	Training in preparation for assignment in Civil Affairs Medical Corps, USNR

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Dr. Florence Kluckhohn	(Sociology)	Liaison with Office of Deputy Director for the Far East in OWI
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隠された文献リスト

— 『菊と刀』をめぐって—

ポーリン・ケント

要旨：ルース・ベネディクトの『菊と刀』には参考文献リストが含まれていなかったが、彼女が残した日本研究関係の資料から参照したと思われるものをピックアップしリストを作ることができた。なお、彼女は米国戦争情報局（OWI）の海外戦意分析課（FMAD）のなかで日本研究を行ったので、その環境を紹介する意味でメンバーのリストも掲載する。