

Recent Sourcebooks on Tō-A Dōbunkai and Tō-A Dōbun Shoin:  
A Review Article

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Tō-A Dōbun Shoin Daigaku shi -- sōritsu hachijū shūnen kinen shi  
東亜同文書院大学史~創立八十周年記念誌 [History of Tō-A Dōbun  
Shoin University: Commemorating Its Eightieth Anniversary]. Comp.  
Koyūkai 滄友会 (Tokyo: Koyūkai, 1982).

Tō-A Dōbunkai kikan shi, shuyō kankōbutsu sōmokuji 東亜同文会機関  
誌, 主要刊行物総目次 [Comprehensive Tables of Contents from Tō-A  
Dōbunkai Serials and Major Publications]. Comp. Tō-A Bunka  
Kenkyūjo 東亜文化研究所 (Tokyo: Kazankai, 1985).

Tō-A Dōbunkai shi 東亜同文会史 [A History of the Tō-A Dōbunkai].  
Comp. Tō-A Bunka Kenkyūjo 東亜文化研究所 (Tokyo: Kazankai, 1988).

In 1945, Japan lost her war against China, resulting in the  
surrender of all territorial claims and properties in China. One  
major property loss was Tō-A Dōbun Shoin Daigaku 東亜同文書院大学  
(East Asian Common Culture University) in Shanghai. For 45 years,  
since its founding in 1900, Tō-A Dōbun Shoin had graduated about 90  
young Japanese China-hands each year. Elevated to university status  
in 1938, it was assigned a major role in training personnel for  
Japan's aborted mission in Asia.

Tō-A Dōbun Shoin's institutional sponsor, Tō-A Dōbunkai 東亜  
同文会 (East Asian Common Cultural Association, 1889-1946) in Tokyo,  
likewise witnessed its demise with Japan's wartime defeat. Though  
not singled out for "war crimes" by U.S. Occupation authorities, Tō-A  
Dōbunkai nonetheless came under suspicion. Founded in 1898 by Prince  
Konoe Atsumaro 近衛篤磨 with secret funds from the Japanese Foreign  
Ministry, Tō-A Dōbunkai from the start had enjoyed a close working  
relationship with the Foreign Ministry. This gave it a semi-govern-  
mental character and reputation. After Japan's surrender, Tō-A  
Dōbunkai's president, Konoe Fumimaro 近衛文磨, son of Konoe Atsumaro  
and three-time prime minister between 1937 and 1941, had been ordered  
to stand trial as a war criminal. Rather than suffer this humilia-  
tion, Fumimaro ended his life by taking poison in December 1945.  
Other leaders of Tō-A Dōbunkai, similarly under suspicion or indict-  
ment, were unable to carry out their organizational duties. As a  
result, in late January 1946, officers of the association voted for-  
mally to disband Tō-A Dōbunkai. Over the next several years, in a  
careful and orderly manner, Tō-A Dōbunkai's assets were assessed and  
its money and property assigned to successor organizations, under

different names.

The successor of Tō-A Dōbun Shoin Daigaku was Aichi <sup>愛知</sup> University, founded on the grounds of the Reserve Officer Candidate School of Toyohashi City, Aichi prefecture. It is interesting that in 1938, Tō-A Dōbun Shoin had made history by being the first of many Japanese higher specialized schools (kōtō senmon gakkō <sup>高等専門学校</sup>) to be elevated to university status during the war. Then, in the postwar period, Tō-A Dōbun Shoin made history again, when Aichi University was recognized with startling speed (early 1947) as the first postwar institution to gain university status under Japan's revised education laws. Aichi University could not have been founded without the careful and persistent efforts of Honma Kiichi <sup>本門 喜一</sup>, the last president of Tō-A Dōbun Shoin Daigaku. Nor could it have been founded without Tō-A Dōbunkai money, arranged through Honma, a key member of that association's dissolution committee. Such an arrangement was more than justified by Aichi University's immediate mission: to provide a university home for the thousand or more Japanese students left stranded by the closing of Tō-A Dōbun Shoin Daigaku in Shanghai. In addition, it was meant to absorb the lesser number of Japanese students stranded by the closings of the Imperial Universities in Keijō <sup>京城</sup> (Seoul) and Taihoku <sup>台北</sup> (Taipei).

Thus ended Tō-A Dōbun Shoin, a unique institution that had lived and breathed an area studies curriculum for more than 40 years before area studies was "invented" by the West. My research has inspired a considerable admiration for this school and its curriculum, its larger training program, the "Shoin spirit," and many of its graduates. At the same time, however, the school's demise in 1945-46 was not unwarranted. For Tō-A Dōbun Shoin was a training ground for Japanese under the umbrella of imperialist laws and privilege, without regard for Chinese sovereignty and interests.

The passing of Tō-A Dōbun Shoin was mourned by alumni. The China setting of their alma mater was out of reach for good, with all prospects of renewal nil. But the Shoin spirit lived on, as did the alumni association embodying that spirit. That group, Koyūkai <sup>滬友会</sup> (Shanghai Friends Association), received a share of Tō-A Dōbun assets. It also received office space in the Kazan Building, so named in memory of Prince Konoe Atsumaru, whose honorific title was Kazan <sup>霞山</sup>. The building occupies the same downtown Imperial Household property as Tō-A Dōbunkai, in the shadow of the Kamigaseki Building and midway between the Japanese Foreign Ministry and the American Embassy. Fortunately for historians, Koyūkai has remained vital and active. It has carefully preserved historical records and alumni reminiscences, and it still publishes Koyū <sup>滬友</sup> [Friends of Shanghai], the alumni magazine, as well as alumni directories.

Between 1977 and 1982, a Koyūkai committee of more than twenty, under the director of former journalist Kurai Ryōzō <sup>蔵居良造</sup> (28th Shoin class) and assisted by some 30 others, compiled Tō-A Dōbun Shoin Daigaku shi. This book is much more than just a "school histo-

ry" (kōshi 校史). Its 775 pages are packed with basic information and meant to serve as a "sourcebook." Musty documents, excerpts from articles and books, and alumni memoirs are integrated smoothly into the historical narrative. These are accompanied by useful charts and maps, and enlivened by numerous historical photographs. The impressive end product is brought to an apt conclusion with an extremely useful 27-page Chronological Table, covering the years 1839 to 1950 (pp. 774-71). This book, though "not for sale" (hibaihin 非売品), carried a designated price of ¥7000; it is now out of print. A quality product in every respect, it will remain the definitive official history of Tō-A Dōbun Shoin for some time.

The "school history" character of Daigaku shi is immediate in the book's five major sections and the space allotted each: Part I, Background History (pp. 1-36); Part II, Tō-A Dōbunkai (pp. 37-68); Part III, Tō-A Dōbun Shoin Daigaku (pp. 69-244); Part IV, Activities of the School Headmasters, College Presidents, and Alumni, by Profession (pp. 245-396); and Part V, Student Recollections (pp. 397-708). Yet, Daigaku shi is much more than a school history, and almost every page contains something to stimulate the scholar unwilling to relegate the subject of modern Sino-Japanese relations to the diplomatic or military historian.

Over the course of Tō-A Dōbun Shoin's 45 years, more than 5000 students passed through its gates. Of these, 3652 graduated. One of the valuable features of Daigaku shi is that it provides authoritative statistics on the number of graduates for each class (pp. 84-85 and 154). It also charts the course of graduates' professional careers. This is done in two ways. First, it reproduces several employment charts giving the type and place of employment of Shoin graduates for the years 1907 (p. 102) and 1938 (p. 85). Second, and more revealing, is the rich and informative 123-page section (pp. 273-396) on the activities of graduates, listed by profession. In separate sub-sections on academia, foreign relations, journalism, business, Manchukuo, the South Manchurian Railway, and culminating in a survey of twenty "unique people" (ishoku no hitobito 異色の人々, ranging from a Buddhist scholar-priest-missionary first based at Changsha, to one of Japan's earliest Qing Restorationists, to the owner of a famous Chinese restaurant in Tokyo, to a wartime confidante of Konoe Fumimaro, to a Christian missionary in Rehe, Northeast China), this book carefully reconstructs the career patterns of Shoin graduates as a whole, highlights the lives of its most prominent graduates, and is full of delightful surprises challenging prevailing stereotypes about Japanese in China.

Still, the scholar in me has problems with this book. These are less problems of execution than of conception, and they relate to the book's "school history" character and intent. Aimed at alumni and their families, this book wants to make its readers recall their school and alumni friends warmly and sympathetically. It wants readers to "feel good" about the school. It wants to celebrate success.

That is only natural.

Therein lies the rub. For a school like Tō-A Dōbun Shoin to celebrate "success" means celebrating the careers and achievements of graduates who accomplished something significant for their organizations in China. From the Chinese point of view, Japanese organizations in China after the Twenty-One Demands of 1915 were mostly engaged in activities inimical to Chinese interests and supportive of Japanese imperialism and militarism. But, this book simply cannot bring itself to say anything bad about its alumni or their immediate predecessors. For example, it reports sympathetically on the activities of Nezu Hajime 根津一 and the "Nine Martyrs" (executed by Chinese authorities for wartime spying) and other graduates of Nis-Shin Bōeki Kenkyūjo 日清貿易研究所 (Japan-China Trade Research Institute), 1890-93, Tō-A Dōbun Shoin's predecessor in Shanghai, who had fought against China in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 (see pp. 245-47). It praises alumni who "served their country" as army interpreters and who undertook intelligence missions for the Foreign Ministry that could be used against China in peace or war (pp. 99, 185, 373-75, 404). It praises those serving after 1937 in the Japanese imperialist army and others gathering intelligence on China, while Japanese armies overran China and killed tens of thousands of men, women, and children (pp. 148-53, 283, 391-93). It praises alumni who served as agents of Japanese economic imperialism in China and Manchukuo during China's War of Resistance against Japan, 1937-45 (see pp. 317-25, *passim*). Having praised all these elements, it commends to its readers "the Nezu spirit of unbounded love and deep understanding for China and the Chinese people" (p. 344). This is confusing and contradictory, to say the least.

I regard this confusion as fundamental and serious, because it suggests that alumni of Tō-A Dōbun Shoin, who by their prewar training stood the best chance of any Japanese at understanding the anti-imperialist point of view of China, do NOT (even today) understand that point of view. To be fair, Daigaku shi does give "equal time" to the school's late 1920s rebels who understood Chinese opposition to Japanese imperialism and some of whom went on to join the Chinese and Japanese Communist Parties, such as Nishizato Tatsuo 西里竜夫, Anzai Kuraji 安齋庫治, Mizuno Shigeru 水野成, and Nakanishi Tsutomu 中西功 (pp. 141-42). These, too, after all, were alumni. But having said this, the fact remains that nowhere in this major publication do its alumni compilers question or condemn Japanese imperialist and militarist behavior in China during the first half of the 20th century--perhaps because Shoin graduates were too close to it, or even a part of it. When the best-trained Japanese minds cannot think clearly about one of Japan's major modern tragedies, what hope is there for less-trained minds?

Books two and three under review are publications of Kazankai 霞山会 (Kazan Association). That association, established in March

1948 under the authority of the Foreign Ministry and headquartered in the Kazan Building, inherited Tō-A Dōbunkai's major interests and assets. The December 1988 issue of Tō-A 東亞 (Asia Monthly), the main Kazankai journal, states on the inside back cover, under the (English) heading, Watching China Since 1898: "Kazankai, in the spirit of Tō-A Dōbunkai, seeks to serve as a bridge linking Japan with China and Asia, by undertaking cultural and educational exchanges, research and surveys, and language education." Kazankai is perhaps best known for its periodically updated reference works, Gendai Chūgoku jinmei jiten 現代中國人名辭典 [Who's Who in China] and Chūgoku sōran 中國總覽 [China Handbook].

The compiler of the last two books under review was Tō-A Bunka Kenkyūjo 東亞文化研究所 (East Asian Cultural Research Institute), a research arm of Kazankai. The first, Tō-A Dōbunkai kikan shi, shuyō kankōbutsu sōmokuji, took three years to compile and is a precious resource for historians researching almost any aspect of late-Qing and Republican China. Scholars of late 19th- and early 20th-century China, for example, depend heavily for their baseline data on the twelve-volume Shina keizai zensho 支那經濟全書 [Comprehensive Survey of the Chinese Economy, publ. 1907-08] and Shina shōbetsu zenshi 支那省別全誌 [Comprehensive Gazetteer of the Individual Provinces of China, publ. 1917-20]. Sōmokuji reproduces the contents of these two landmark publications (pp. 487-543, 545-696, respectively), down to their finest subheadings (but without page references, unfortunately). A simple glance at heading and subheadings is stimulating, identifying numerous research possibilities, particularly for the economic historian. To illustrate, the following topics appear in the credits for Shina keizai zensho (p. 488): land and ownership rights, labor, capital, prices, living standards, finance, business, licensed trade, compradors, guilds, corporate statutes and family regulations, customs fees and assorted taxes, navigation, warehousing, Shanxi banks, business administration, trade exhibition halls, and business correspondence and accounting.

Sōmokuji also includes the contents of the rare and valuable Shinkoku tsūshō sōran 清國通商總覽 [Commercial Handbook of China, publ. 1892] (pp. 471-86). Japan's first modern comprehensive guide to China, this three-volume, 2300-page encyclopedia of business and society was compiled at Nis-Shin Bōeki Kenkyūjo in Shanghai, based upon data gathered in the field by army spy-turned-educator Arao Sei 荒尾清 and his associates between 1886 and 1889. The tables of contents of Shina kenkyū 支那研究 [China Studies] 1-70 (August 1920-October 1944) (pp. 451-70) are similarly reproduced. With respect to this learned journal, Japanese Studies of Modern China (1955), by John King Fairbank, Masataka Banno, and Sumiko Yamamoto, states: "Most of its materials relate to the current scene and they are often based on field investigation of aspects of the Chinese economy. Much of this research seems to have been weak on the side of social science analysis but it usually displayed a strong historical sense"

(entry 9.9.21, p. 284). This same entry directs the reader's attention to "a special issue [1928] on all aspects of Shanghai to commemorate ten years of the research department's work (804pp.)." The mention of "804pp." reminds me again that the user of Sōmokuji has no way of knowing the length of an entry or work, page references are consistently omitted. One final feature of Shina kenkyū deserving mention is that each issue, from number 12 (1927) to the last, carries a regular "Index to Important Chinese Journal and Newspaper Articles" (expanded in 1941 to "East Asia").

Taken together, these four items constitute the "major publications" of Sōmokuji's title. "Serials," on the other hand, occupy the first two-thirds of the book (pp. 1-447). The contents of Tō-A Dōbunkai's first three association journals, for the years 1898 to 1911 (pp. 1-138) should reveal fresh materials and perspective of value to persons researching late-Qing political and economic topics. (Unfortunately, the journals themselves are not easy to find, even in Japan). For the Republican period, we are offered the tables of contents of Shina 支那 (The China Review), the rich and virtually untapped biweekly magazine of China news and analysis for the years 1912 to 1945 (pp. 139-447). Concerning Shina, Fairbank, Banno, and Yamamoto state that "this journal provided a regular channel for information and informed comment on the current Chinese scene and international issues affecting it" (entry 9.9.20, p. 284). In the United States, the best holdings of Shina are at the Hoover Institution (Stanford University) and the Library of Congress.

Sōmokuji consists strictly of listings of contents from the above serials and books. No mention is made of non-listed Tō-A Dōbunkai publications. Nor is there any discussion of that association's larger research and publications program. For this, one must go to Daigaku shi (pp. 65-67, 114-15, 187-88) and to the summary and superb three-page table of publications (giving title, author, publication date, pages, and price) in Tō-A Dōbunkai shi (pp. 105-08).

This last work, Tō-A Dōbunkai shi, is the latest and possibly last in this series of sourcebooks which promises to restore Tō-A Dōbunkai and Tō-A Dōbun Shoin to their rightful places in modern Japanese history and in modern Japan-China relations. Though self-serving, this effort by Kazankai was much needed. For Japanese academic historians have refused to undertake it, given their disdain for "institutional history" which they leave to hired or in-house historians who (presumably) can be bought.

Frankly, before Tō-A Dōbunkai shi came out in February 1988, I was skeptical. What more could be said, especially after the fine summary treatment of Tō-A Dōbunkai in Daigaku shi (pp. 37-68)? Therefore, when it did come out, I was surprised at its length of 706 pages (just short of Daigaku shi's 775 pages). Those pages, moreover, were oversized, like those of Daigaku shi, permitting more than two normal pages of material to fit onto one. The other thing that

astonished me was its price: ¥20,000, or about US \$160.

How good is it? Like Daigaku shi, there is nothing cheap about this book. Both are works of love and infinite care, compiled with great effort and difficulty. Tō-A Dōbunkai shi opens with a page of remarks by Kazankai's president, Konoe Michitaka 近衛通隆, son of Konoe Fumimaro and grandson of Konoe Atsumaro. Konoe's note is followed by a two-page essay by Etō Shinkichi 衛藤瀧吉, president of Ajia University in Tokyo and husband of the daughter of a Shoin alumnus (the 2nd class).

Of the three works under review, Tō-A Dōbunkai shi is most nearly a sourcebook of documents. More than 80 percent of its pages consist of writings or records from the years 1886 to 1926. Note the dates: 1886-1926. That omits the final twenty years (or nearly one-half) of Tō-A Dōbunkai's formal existence! This is deliberate. The rationale behind this is given in an excellent explanatory note by one of the major younger compilers of this volume, historian Kurita Hisaya 栗田尚弥, and entitled "Tō-A Dōbunkai Activities in the Meiji and Taishō Periods" (pp. 675-82). In fact, before plunging into the documents or text, the serious reader would do well to start with Kurita's fine note, which refers back and forth to the printed documents. This gives a good sense of the documents' historical value and meaning.

Kurita offers two reasons for Tō-A Dōbunkai shi terminating in 1926. First concerns the easier availability of materials in library collections after 1926. (Most libraries in the Tokyo area, for example, suffered major losses at the time of the 1923 Kantō earthquake). Second is the understandable desire to concentrate on Tō-A Dōbunkai's halcyon years.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, after 1926, comments Kurita: "Like it or not, individuals and organizations were swallowed up by that great tidal wave called military fascism" (p. 675; also p. 682).

Kurita's essay is not an apologetic for Tō-A Dōbunkai. It raises uncomfortable questions of interpretation and significance. Following the death of Konoe Atsumaro in 1904, for example, and with the coming of war with Russia in 1904-05, Kurita claims that Tō-A Dōbunkai abandoned its stance of independence and its function as a "check" upon the Japanese government to enter into full cooperation with that government. This led to arrangements having the ever-present danger of turning Tō-A Dōbunkai into a "government subcontractor agency" (pp. 679-80). Thus, at the time of Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910, Tō-A Dōbunkai merely rationalized it away. Kurita also quotes from materials critical of Japanese foreign policy. A 1922 document from the Foreign Ministry Archives declares: "The anti-Japanese feelings of China are a curse brought on by us Japanese ourselves" (p. 681). And, a postwar statement by Ishii Itarō 石射猪太郎, prominent diplomat and Shoin graduate, asserts that Japanese policies in Asia, with their imperialist tendencies, caused Shoin graduates to be perceived as "tools" of Japanese imperialism (p. 682).

Kurita's essay is buried at the back of Tō-A Dōbunkai shi and identified in the Table of Contents only as Kaisetsu 解説 (Explanatory Note), without even the author's name. By contrast, both Konoe Michitaka and Etō Shinkichi are identified by name, for mainly cosmetic reasons. In an important sense, however, it is a tribute to Japanese institutional integrity that Kurita's troubling essay was allowed to be published at all. (Could its counterpart have been published in China? In many other countries?).

The title of this work, Tō-A Dōbunkai shi, without further qualification, led me to expect a full and comprehensive, definitive history of Tō-A dōbunkai, comparable to Daigaku shi. But, that is not the case. This work is, first of all, only a "half-history" covering Tō-A Dōbunkai activities merely through the end of the Taishō period, or 1926. And, second, it is a special kind of history, chiefly, a "documentary history." The book's organization is simple: Part I, History of Tō-A Dōbunkai (pp. 1-108); Part II, Published Articles and Materials Relating to Policies (pp. 109-261); and Part III, Documents and Reports Relating to Activities (pp. 263-637). These are followed by a valuable Appendix, offering 36 pages of budgets and allocations (mostly from records preserved at the Foreign Ministry Archives), for the years 1899 to 1920 (pp. 638-74). Then, skipping over Kurita's "Explanatory Note," the volume is brought to an end with a Chronological Table, 1839-1950 (pp. 683-704), identical in most respects to the one mentioned in Daigaku shi.

Part I, the narrative history of Tō-A Dōbunkai and its background, contains information mostly available in earlier treatments of Tō-A Dōbunkai.<sup>2</sup> One of the several exceptions to this statement is the useful section on Konoe Atsumaro and his activities related to Tō-A Dōbunkai, with special attention to Konoe's advocacy of Shina hozen 支那保全 (the preservation of China). It is important here to recall that Prince Konoe was no mere figurehead leader of Tō-A Dōbunkai; he made a critical difference both in defining Tō-A Dōbunkai's goals and in their early execution, through personal contacts and a prolific correspondence. Within this section on Konoe is an interesting subsection on Tō-A Dōbunkai and Sun Zhongshan 孫中山 (Sun Yat-sen) (pp. 67-73). A separate section reports on Tō-A Dōbunkai's extensive educational activities in Korea until the Japanese annexation in 1910. And, the table of Tō-A Dōbunkai publications, lauded above, is found here (pp. 106-08).

Part II, articles and materials relating to policies, includes writings and reports by Tō-A Dōbunkai's "founding fathers." These are assembled here for the first time, concentrating on the late Meiji years until 1911.<sup>3</sup> It is appropriate that Arao Sei (1859-96), a "spiritual founding father" of Tō-A Dōbunkai through his many followers, opens Part II with eight items from the years 1889 to 1895. Nezu Hajime, frequently called Arao's "alter ego" (isshin dōtai 一心同体), closes it with three substantial items, two from the Foreign Ministry Archives never before published. But, it is Konoe

Atsumaro whose name dominates Part II, as it should. Entries relating to Konoe include his notes from conversations with Kang Youwei 康有為 and Liang Qichao 梁啟超 in Japan (1898-99), and with Liu Kunyi 劉坤一 and Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 in China (1899), and letters to him from each of these four men. Three interesting items report on Sun Zhongshan in Japan (pp. 215-25). Other articles and notes are by Japanese whose names are more familiar to historians of modern Japan than of modern China. Altogether, 68 documents are reproduced.

Part III, relating to Tō-A Dōbunkai activities, is two and one-half times the length of Part II and contains 187 documents. The overwhelming majority of those documents derive from one of the four consecutive association journals of Tō-A Dōbunkai, published between 1898 and 1945, and included in Sōmokuji. In 1986, using the Sōmokuji as my guide, I spent many hours, photocopying "association news" (kaihō 會報) items from Shina, first at the Library of Congress and later at the East Asian Collection of the Hoover Institution. Now, those items up to 1926 (including rare items from pre-Shina journals) are available in quality form. My earlier efforts were not wasted, however, because Tō-A Dōbunkai shi deletes "unimportant" information, and my copies also serve as a check on important passages through 1926.

Most valuable of the items in Part III are the regular semi-annual reports of association activities in China, Japan, and (until 1910) Korea. Until 1914, these reports were usually given by Nezu Hajime, in his capacity as General Secretary (kanjichō 幹事長) of Tō-A Dōbunkai, 1900-14. A man of unusual energy, Nezu was simultaneously headmaster of Tō-A Dōbun Shoin in Shanghai, 1900-23. This accounts for the favored treatment accorded Dōbun Shoin in his semi-annual reports. Part III of Tō-A Dōbunkai shi reproduces not only these, but numerous specialized reports on Dōbun Shoin (on entrance and graduation ceremonies, student field trips for research, and the like). This volume thus serves as a valuable supplement to the earlier Daigaku shi.

Tō-A Dōbunkai's semi-annual reports often list officers (and sometimes members) by name. Special meetings frequently report the names of those in attendance, including Chinese on special occasions. Not a few entries, until 1910, relate Tō-A Dōbunkai educational work in Korea. (Korea was brought within Tō-A Dōbunkai's fold almost immediately after the association's founding in 1898). Through annual reports and other documents, one is also able to track the agile responses of Tō-A Dōbunkai and of Nezu Hajime to educational opportunities in Manchuria, during and after the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05. Thus, by late 1906, education in Manchuria was reported in a field survey to have become a primary Dōbunkai undertaking (p. 419).

My research of the moment is concentrated around a book entitled Japan-China Relations, 1898-1907, and China's Leap into Modernity. Part III of Tō-A Dōbunkai shi has been particularly valuable in giving me a more true-to-life sense of Japan-China networking and

interactions at the turn of the century, a period which I call "a Golden Decade Forgotten."<sup>4</sup> Tō-A Dōbunkai and Tō-A Dōbun Shoin were actors and catalysts in the student and teacher exchanges of those years. Both were involved in specific educational reform efforts of Zhang Zhidong and Liu Kunyi. Until reading the rich documentation of Tō-A Dōbunkai shi, I had not realized the extent and variety of those involvements.

Is Tō-A Dōbunkai shi worth the high price tag? For me, absolutely; for research libraries, absolutely. In fact, research libraries should have all three works reviewed here, to have them available for scholars needing a deeper and fuller understanding of the complex fabric of modern Sino-Japanese relations.

In the modern relationship between China and Japan, no institutions compare to Tō-A Dōbunkai and Tō-A Dōbun Shoin, in their gathering and dissemination of knowledge about modern China and in their training of China specialists. The uniqueness and importance of these two institutions, and the quality of the publications under review, make the cost of these works more palatable--and the works themselves all the more indispensable particularly for specialists in Sino-Japanese relations, but even for country specialists.

### Notes

1. I refer to Tō-A Dōbun Shoin as "Japan's most important agency devoted to China research and cultural enterprises during the first quarter of this century," in my essay, "Chinese Area Studies in Prewar China: Japan's Tōa Dōbun Shoin in Shanghai, 1900-1945," The Journal of Asian Studies 45.5 (Nov. 1986), p. 954.

2. Besides the extensive treatment in Daigaku shi, I would single out the 1955 history under the same title, Tō-A Dōbun Shoin Daigaku shi [History of the Tō-A Dōbun Shoin University], comp. Koyūkai (Tokyo: Koyūkai).

3. For full bibliographic information on each entry, one must turn to the numbered listings on pages 111-12. Item #45 of the Table of Contents is inadvertently omitted from the listing on page 112, requiring its insertion, and then the upward adjustment of each numbered item thereafter.

4. See my essay "A Golden Decade Forgotten: Japan-China Relations, 1898-1907," The Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, fourth series, 2 (1987), reviewed in the SJSN 1.1 (Nov. 1988), pp. 48-51.