

they exiled the survivors to a desolate area in northernmost Honshu where many died of starvation and others barely survived.

Shiba was one of the survivors. Not yet a teenager during the worst of this period of exile, he nonetheless harbored vivid memories of the siege and its aftermath for the rest of his life. Composing this memoir must have served as a long-awaited form of therapy, enabling him to purge his mind of appalling catastrophes and to articulate memories he had always striven to repress. He communicates, rightly, I think, a deep sense of anger toward Aizu's malefactors from Satsuma and Chōshū. In the process he gives voice and authority to the survivors of the siege and their descendants, who to this day apparently harbor ill will toward the "western armies." Despite every justification, however, I feel that Shiba never descends into malignity or rancor toward his enemies.

Consequently, his text is infused with a sense of sincerity, balance, and sheer steadfastness that lends it a powerful measure of plausibility, even though there are good reasons to doubt aspects of his account. Shiba was, after all, an elderly man when he wrote it. Much time had passed since the key events transpired. He had no records on which to rely for reference to a period when he was a barely literate teenager. Nonetheless, there is much to be learned from his account, and even more to reflect on.

Like Katsu Kokichi's autobiography, Shiba's testament embodies a mixture of self-promotion and self-denigration, of ambivalence and ambiguity. I have assigned Katsu's work with great success, both in large survey courses and in small seminars. Students respond to the immediacy of his account, to his audacious personality, to the unexpected events of his life, and to the baffling indeterminacy of his writing. Shiba's memoir has these qualities, too, but in contrast with Katsu, he conveys them in a remarkably well-conceived text that is gripping, even suspenseful.

Beyond these attributes, *Remembering Aizu* is valuable in other ways. It has many revealing things to say about male-female relations, parent-child ties, child-rearing practices, childhood customs, and the importance of hierarchy, patronage, and personal contacts in nineteenth-century Japan. It also conveys a vivid sense of the chaos and volatility of the first decade of the Meiji era, when the demands for survival sent a cold chill through Japanese society, and institutions spun on a dime while adapting to a new world. This memoir covers a shorter time span than those of Katsu and Shibusawa, but it was a historically weighty decade on whose events this book casts a sharp, sometimes startling, and always illuminating light. Like the other works Craig has translated, this one promises to be exceptionally valuable for use in the classroom and for general readers as well.

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Kaempfer's Japan: Tokugawa Culture Observed. By ENGELBERT KAEMPFER.
Edited, translated, and annotated by Beatrice M. Bodart-Bailey. Honolulu:
University of Hawaii Press, 1999. xiv, 545 pp. \$34.95.

Beatrice Bodart-Bailey makes an important contribution to the study of Tokugawa Japan with her long-anticipated retranslation of Engelbert Kaempfer's *The History of Japan*. Working from Kaempfer's original German manuscript, she has given the modern reader the faithful translation needed to ensure the work's place within

the best first-hand scholarship of the period. By correcting errors, explaining terms, and providing historical context for both the book and the author, Bodart-Bailey has resuscitated a valuable primary source of early modern Japan and made it relevant to an entirely new generation of scholars.

Engelbert Kaempfer spent two years in Japan (1690–92) as a physician with the Dutch East India Company and then returned to his native Germany. Although he lived until 1716, a busy schedule and a lack of funding prevented him from publishing the manuscript on his stay in Japan. After his death, Kaempfer's nephew sold the manuscript (originally entitled *Heutiges Japan* or Today's Japan) to the Englishman Hans Sloane. Sloane then had a young Swiss employee named Johann Scheuchzer translate the document into English. The result was the publication in 1727 of Kaempfer's work under the title of *The History of Japan*. This admittedly flawed translation (as well as a similarly imperfect German edition by Christian Dohm published in 1779) has served as the basis of all later editions of Kaempfer's manuscript until Bodart-Bailey's heroic efforts.

In her translator's introduction, Bodart-Bailey explains how Kaempfer's extensive foreign travel equipped him with the necessary skills of a trained observer that would prove so vital during his stay in Japan. She also notes that Kaempfer learned much about Japan before he ever set foot on Japanese soil through written records and conversations with people in Batavia who had previously visited the country. Once reaching Japan, he also relied heavily on his Japanese interpreter, Imamura Genemon Eisei, for information. In this way, Kaempfer was able to compile a very detailed study of life in Tokugawa Japan, even though he resided in the country for only two years—most of which time he spent confined to the man-made island of Dejima in Nagasaki Harbor. Also included in the introduction are a personal background of Kaempfer, a publication history of his manuscript on Japan, and information regarding the historical context of late seventeenth-century Japan.

In notes on the translation, Bodart-Bailey states that the main purpose of her translation is “to make available to as large a readership as possible an accurate version of Kaempfer's account of Tokugawa Japan . . . ” (p. 22). One should not be led to believe, however, that her work is an absolutely faithful translation of Kaempfer's original manuscript. Because of space and cost considerations, Bodart-Bailey admits to making certain concessions, such as abbreviating or eliminating sections of second-hand information that Kaempfer gathered from Japanese sources. We are also told that “in those instances where repetitions, omissions and grammatical errors can obviously be attributed to ‘a slip of the pen,’ corrections have been made and recorded in the notes” (p. 22). In addition, Bodart-Bailey utilizes modern spelling conventions, retains Kaempfer's original brackets and underlining, and [thankfully!] breaks up inordinately long paragraphs. The end result is an eminently readable translation that is a vast improvement over any previous edition.

Kaempfer's work is divided into five books. The first includes a description of his journey to Japan and an overview of the country. The 1727 edition (which I consulted using a more accessible 1906 version) began with a description of Kaempfer's journey to Siam, but this had been added by Scheuchzer from separate notes not included in the original manuscript, and Bodart-Bailey eliminates it. Book 1 contains particularly informative sections on minerals, plants, and fish in Japan. While Bodart-Bailey improves the translation in countless areas, I found a few of her changes a little mystifying. For example, her use of Scheuchzer's translation of sake as “rice beer,” at one point (p. 39), but later switching to the more well-known term of “rice wine”

(p. 146). Since the former term is actually a more accurate description, I believe that I would stay with Kaempfer's (and Scheuchzer's) original usage.

Of the six chapters in book 2 of the original manuscript (concerning the early rulers of Japan), Bodart-Bailey includes only one because the others consisted of information received from Kaempfer's translator that is now available in its original Japanese form. This appears to be a wise editorial decision.

Book 3 concerns Japanese religion, by which Kaempfer means Shinto, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Christianity. He tends to be quite critical of the early Christian missionaries to Japan, a fact that, according to Bodart-Bailey, offended his earlier translators and editors and led to alterations of Kaempfer's original text. Kaempfer states that "freedom of worship has always been permitted [in Japan], as long as it does not obstruct secular government" (p. 103). He generally believed that Christian missionaries had provoked Japanese rulers into expelling them.

Book 4 on Nagasaki is almost one hundred pages long. It contains particularly valuable information on the Japanese officials who governed this major port city and the Dutch and Chinese merchants who resided there. It is not, however, one of Bodart-Bailey's strongest segments. Factual mistakes made by Kaempfer are not corrected as often as in other sections of the volume, and few scholarly Japanese works are employed by Bodart-Bailey to supplement the material in her notes. She also attempts to correct Kaempfer concerning the local official Takaki Sakuemon, when Kaempfer was indeed accurate in his original description (p. 167).

The heart of the volume and by far the longest section is book 5, which concerns Kaempfer's two round-trip journeys between Nagasaki and Edo. Kaempfer gives a vivid account of what life was like along the highways of Tokugawa Japan and a rare physical description of the shogunal castle in Edo. Bodart-Bailey adds to Kaempfer's observations with detailed notes concerning corrections, explanations, and historical context. Kaempfer's trained observations were particularly astute regarding the details of everyday matters that most Japanese tended to ignore: beggars, prostitutes, inns, baths, food, toilets, fertilizer, gardens, bridges, roads, medical practices, festivals, and so on. As Bodart-Bailey notes, "The greatest value of Kaempfer's work lies in permitting us to enter the world of late seventeenth-century Japan and see, smell, and hear what he did on the small island in the harbor of Nagasaki and on his travels to Edo."

The greatest value of Bodart-Bailey's work is that it brings us Kaempfer's observations as they were originally intended and provides a historical and cultural context for the modern reader. In general, she has accomplished this in a remarkably skillful manner. There were some minor flaws with *Kaempfer's Japan*, but nothing to detract from the general quality of Bodart-Bailey's work. The absence of a list of the thirty black-and-white Kaempfer illustrations in the book is unfortunate. I also question her claim that the old English translation of Kaempfer was a major influence on Gilbert and Sullivan's comic opera *The Mikado*. While it undoubtedly had some influence, so did a number of other popular accounts of the day. And I certainly see little resemblance between Titipu and Nagasaki.

In summary, Bodart-Bailey's *Kaempfer's Japan* not only provides a critical first-hand insight into Tokugawa Japan, but will also serve as the centerpiece of the expanding scholarship on Kaempfer that has achieved a resurgence in Japan, the United States, and Europe over the past two decades.

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