

THE STORY OF KANAYE NAGASAWA *

By Terry Jones

Prologue

On the northern edge of Santa Rosa, California, where Mendocino Avenue nearly intersects California's scenic Highway 101, stand the iron gates of Fountaingrove Ranch. The eucalyptus lined drive behind them winds up through a rolling pasture and disappears from sight behind the hills. Hidden by the knolls and the cluster of tall oak trees is the last remnants of a magnificent English-style manor house. It was destroyed in Santa Rosa's earthquake of 1969, but from 1875 to 1934 it was the home of California's most inimitable Japanese gentleman, Kanaye Nagasawa (1852-1934).

Nagasawa had come to California from New York in 1875 with Thomas Lake Harris (1823-1906), founder of the Brotherhood of the New Life. The Brotherhood was a theosocialist cult looking for greener pastures than those of its previous home in Brocton, New York. With the death of Harris, his Japanese friend became master of the luxurious and flourishing Fountaingrove estate: 1850 acres of rich farm land on which were four-hundred acres of grapevines and one of America's most successful wineries.

Many came to seek an audience with the respected and affluent "Samurai" of Fountaingrove. The Japanese winegrower hosted friends and admirers from Chicago, New York, London, Germany, India, Manila, Manchuria, Shanghai and Seattle. Fountaingrove wines were sold internationally with sale offices and distribution centers in New York, London, Glasgow, Tokyo and Yokohama. Many of Nagasawa's companions on his trek from Japan to England and America in 1865-68 had returned to their country and became men of high political stature and significant influence.

Only a few people still remember Kanaye Nagasawa, but some confused stories about him still circulate in California and other parts of the world. Most of these stories are too inadequate. The Japanese settling in California in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries quickly became leaders in the state's agriculture. Kanaye was among the earliest and most successful of them. He contributed significantly to the growth of California's world-famous wine industry and made Fountaingrove into one of the state's ten largest wine producers.

His adventures, leading up to the founding of Fountaingrove, and how his adventures related to two other important historical movements, are unique and exciting. As a member of a high Samurai family in Japan he and his associates were affected directly by the upheaval leading to Japan's Meiji Restoration in 1868. It was the surge towards westernization

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that essentially made it possible for Kanaye to move from Japan into Europe and finally to America. Kanaye's relationship with Thomas Lake Harris and the Brotherhood was unusual. The Brotherhood was very representative of other cults and new religious organizations that came out of the fervor of America's great mid-nineteenth century reform era. This occidental religious group, led by the controversial Harris, was strangely enough the entree for the Shinto Samurai, Nagasawa, into America and a sixty-year residency in this, his new country.

CHAPTER I

Fountaingrove

Thomas Lake Harris, founder of the Brotherhood of the New Life, had grown steadily more displeased with the extreme weather they experienced in New York. He discussed with Kanaye Nagasawa and others of the Brotherhood the possibility of moving the “Use”¹ to a more agreeable climate and a place where grapes, the Brotherhood’s most staple crop, of higher quality could be grown. They wished the Harrisites might also have a home of greater comfort while creating for themselves their “heaven on earth”.

Harris said, in his writings, that the move away from Brocton, New York was the result of an act of God. In an unpublished manuscript he explained about the difficulties of work in the occult at Brocton:

“...we were, alas, loaded with incapable and unfit or excellent but very burdensome friends, all received from motives of compassion, but some introduced from a pressure of desire flowing down from the Heavens.”²

He suggests by this that not everything went smoothly in the Brotherhood and that he was hard to please.

Another impetus for the move to California was that a rift had developed between Harris and Laurence Oliphant. Oliphant was a rich and very influential member of the British Parliament. As an ardent follower of Harris, Oliphant was instrumental in getting Kanaye and the other Japanese at Brocton acquainted with the Brotherhood. The Brotherhood owed Oliphant money and liquidating Brocton was the only way to obtain the amount of money needed to pay him. More likely the debt was owed his mother, Lady Oliphant, for she had put up the money that made it possible to purchase the 1500 acres about Brocton.³

The rapid growth of California’s wine industry during the 1860’s and 70’s was well known to the grape men. The Brocton vineyardists read the innumerable circulars and magazines praising the Golden State and were impressed with what they found written about it.⁴ The completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, made the possibility of a trip west more real for the Brotherhood. In the early part of 1875, the decision was made: they would liquidate the Brocton holdings and establish a new colony in California.

The twenty-three year old Kanaye felt himself to be an accomplished vineyardist. The opportunity to plant a new stock of vines in his way, applying all the methods he had learned, appealed greatly to him. Mori’s successor to the post in Washington, D.C. had been Saburo Takagi. Soon after this appointment, Takagi was transferred to San Francisco to become Consul-General for Japan. Kanaye corresponded with Takagi in San Francisco and

1 A term used to denote the mission of the members of the Brotherhood.

2 *The Markham Review*, p. 3.

3 Schneider, *Prophet*, ch.13.

4 Harris wrote a poem expressing his pleasure with the California wine country (date unknown although contents suggest it was written after 1875).

asked for his assistance in locating a farm site in the Bay area.¹

In the middle of February, 1875, Harris, then fifty-two years old, a Mrs. Requa and her eleven-year old son, Kanaye and Arai left for California. Only those "whose states were" sufficiently advanced would be encouraged to move to California. Harris' biographer indicates that Harris was very careful to choose only those people for the move to California that he felt he could trust and that he thought contributed positively to the growth of his Brotherhood. Kanaye was enthralled with the trip, especially when he saw mountains and rivers near Chicago, Omaha, Ogden and Carson City, where they had changed trains. A number of newspaper reporters were in Carson City doing stories on immigrants from the east to the west. Kanaye was flattered by the attention they received.

They arrived by train in Oakland in the spring and were met by Takagi. He had suites reserved for them at the Cosmopolitan Hotel in San Francisco at the corner of Montgomery and Pine Streets. Anxious to get settled in their new home, the group traveled by the Northwestern Pacific railroad north within a few days of their arrival.

At that time the railroad went as far as Cloverdale which was about eighty miles north of San Francisco. They looked at land in and about the city of Healdsburg, but found themselves very pleased at the sight of low, rolling brown hills surrounding the picturesque town of Santa Rosa, fifty-five miles north of the Golden Gate. They took rooms at the Grand Hotel in Santa Rosa and then Harris, Kanaye and Arai set out by carriage to look over the area. Three miles north of Santa Rosa on the road running to Healdsburg, Thomas Lake Harris purchased 400 acres of rolling pasture land. He obtained it for \$50 an acre from a Mrs. Henderson P. Holmes in two separate transactions.² The prophet had brought enough funds to establish his group very comfortably as soon as possible. Kanaye shared Harris's enthusiasm to build their new home.

The building of the first house on the new estate began in July of 1875. First built, however, was a four-room bungalow. Two tents were put up to house equipment. A local contractor and architect, C. H. Bumpus, was engaged to build the permanent structures. Harris spent at least \$40,000 on the first mansion built at the new estate.³ The actual plans for the major buildings at the ranch were drawn by Mr. Cowles, a New York architect who had become a friend to the Harrisite group in the East.⁴ The home of this new venture was named by Harris, Fountaingrove Ranch.

Despite his anxiousness to begin planting the grapevines, Kanaye regarded Harris's wishes as his first duty to satisfy. The Primate desired that his citadel of the West be built first. Three splendid homes had to be constructed to serve the Brotherhood. The Manor house was to be Harris's sanctuary, wherein only he, his wife, Kanaye and a few other chosen members would live. This edifice would house such exquisite treasures of the Brotherhood as rich furnishings, rare books and paintings. These items were being shipped from dealers and other Harrisites to California from all over the world. Next would come

1 Okamura, *Leaders*, p. 385.

2 The first of the two transactions was on April 27, 1875, and the second a short time after. Sonoma County, California, Recorder, Deeds, Book 62, pp. 315-17.

3 *Sonoma Democrat*, July 31, 1875, p. 5.

4 Eikichi Sasaki, personal interview, March 15, 1969. Hereinafter cited as Sasaki, interview. Cowles officially joined the Brotherhood in 1888, *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 13, 1891, p. 10.

the two other houses, the Familistery and the Commandery.¹

The Fountaingrove buildings were constructed of the best local timber. The logs were brought from the Guerneville Mill twenty miles west of Santa Rosa on the Russian River.² Local Italian workers were employed for the work. In November the Manor house was finished. It was a twenty-room English-style sturcture containing a dining room big enough to feast 100 people. Residents of the small town of Santa Rosa were very excited and intrigued by the arrival of this tall, bearded man who kept the company of young, regal Japanese gentlemen. The local newspaper reported “Mr. Harris came from New York...and commenced immediately to erect a residence with surpasses anything in Sonoma County for its architectural beauty and magnificent design... The house stands on a knoll which overlooks the entire valley... J.M. McCoy did the painting; Stanley Neblett & Company, the gas fitting and plumbing, and Parks Bros., the plastering.”³

Ornate fireplaces of cast iron and marble were built in half the rooms and the furnishings were regal. There were over 300 paintings, various rare antiques and furniture and household wares from all over the world.⁴ The house was provided with the latest gas lighting that made the richly decorated rooms glow. “Hot and cold water, marble wash-stands, water closets and bath rooms are all connected with the house, which makes it a little palace within itself.”⁵

The library was to contain 8,000 volumes. Alsire Chevallier, a noted reformer and suffragette visiting the ranch six years later, said of the library:

[I was] delighted with the atmosphere of art and literature...as there were on every hand great stores of elegant volumes, the works of the best writers of every age, some of them very rare and costly.⁶

The Sonoma Democrat said in 1879 that Harris “has undoubtedly the most extensive library in California.”⁷

Kanaye’s contribution to the beauty of Fountaingrove was his landscaping of the site about the three homes. The estate was “embowered and surrounded with a prodigal array of flowers and shrubbery, graveled walks and fountains.”⁸ Harris’ fascination for fountains led in part to his choice of a name for the ranch. Six fountains were built containing gold fish and floating water lilies in large number.⁹ The property itself was made up of rolling hills that swelled from the tree-strewn valley. Great oaks, pines, palm and eucalyptus trees flourished.

To create the sect’s heaven on earth, the natural and glittering beauty of many flowers

1 *Infra*, pp. 34–35.

2 Kawakatsu, notebook, n.p.no.

3 *Sonoma Democrat*, November 27, 1875, p. 5.

4 The auction catalog, *The Fabulous Treasures of Fountaingrove*, published by Butterfield and Butterfield of San Francisco in April of 1948, listed such treasures of the Manor house as: a carved teakwood altar table; a Persian bronze statue, “Gazelle Hunter”, signed Dubucano; carved Louis XV armchair upholstered in brocaded silk velvet; Turkish and Persian rugs, hudreds of pieces of china; a French Buhl Salon piano with ebony case inlaid with red tortoise shell and etched brass scroll and leaf design.

5 *Sonoma Democrat*, November 27, 1875, p. 5.

6 *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 13, 1891, p. 10.

7 *Sonoma Democrat*, January 11, 1879, p. 4.

8 *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 20, 1891, p. 4.

9 *Ibid.*

was a necessity. By 1877, acres of flowers covered the slopes of Fountaingrove. For the cultivation of out-of-season plants greenhouses were constructed: "tall, white—painted cathedrals of glass and color" containing ferns, cacti and exotic blooms.¹

The Familistery was the second house built. It was half the size of the greater house and was located just across the drive from it. The women of the community came to occupy it.² It was white, as was the big house, but less stilted in its furnishings and design.

The second largest house was the Commandery. All three structures lay at the southwestern-most corner of the ranch, with the Commandery looking directly westward toward the main gate. After a ride of about 400 yards up the curving drive, one came upon the Familistery or "cottage" immediately ahead. To the left stood the Manor house and to the right, the Commandery. It was painted an amber tone and was made entirely of redwood.³

The "Sir Knights", as the male members of the Brotherhood were called, lived in this building. Externally, it was more elaborate than the large house. Nearly ten verandas jutted from each of the three stories.⁴ The Brotherhood had spent over \$300,000 for the land and its improvements. An 1889 history book written about the county in which Fountaingrove and Santa Rosa lay said the following: "No one passes over the highway leading from Santa Rosa to Healdsburg without noticing with great interest the Fountaingrove estate lying in the foot-hills on the east side of the beautiful valley two and one-half miles north of the first named city. Upon a plateau, approached from the highway by an avenue winding its way over an easy and almost uniform grade, stands the palatial residence of Mr. Harris. Near it is the residence of others associated with him, which is also a grand structure...[Mr. Harris] purchased 700 acres of land, 200 acres of which was located on the flats, or what was then swamps, in the valley west of the Healdsburg road and opposite his residence. He soon commenced a system of drainage. Twenty-three miles of tiling fitted 200 acres of this land for a wheat crop, and in 1879 over 53 bushels per acre were harvested.... From the valley the estate reaches over five plateaus to the summit of the mountain known as the 'Vine Mountain', and again as the 'Harris Mountain'. From the Healdsburg road a winding road (passing over one-quarter of a mile to the residence) leads three miles through a succession of vineyards to a mesa on the top of the mountain, 300 acres in extent, from which view of the ocean may be had from the west. On the northeast the estate borders upon a crop of rocks overlooking the beautiful Rincon Valley."⁵

All the structures of Fountaingrove were completed by 1890. Acreage was added to the ranch, and by 1886 it reached its maximum size of 1850 acres.⁶

The building of the winery and the planting of the vines began in 1879. Kanaye had first finished the landscaping and planted a large field of wheat. A number of cows and

1 Wallace L. Ware, *The Unforgettables* (San Francisco: Hesperar Press, 1963), p. 55. Hereinafter cited as Ware, *Unforgettables*.

2 *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 13, 1891, p. 10.

3 Sasaki interview.

4 Much of the descriptive information available on the ranch is in photograph albums dating back to the 1870's. I have accumulated some pictures and one album and others are in the homes of Kosuke Ijichi (Kanaye's grandnephew), Hiro Ijichi (Kosuke's mother) and Eikichi Sasaki (a nephew of Kanaye): all living in the San Francisco Bay area.

5 *An Illustrated History of Sonoma County, California* (Chicago: Lewis Pub. Co., 1889), p. 366. Hereinafter cited as *History*, Lewis.

6 Sonoma County, California, Recorder, Official Records, Vol. 192, pp. 204–208.

horses were purchased. Kanaye became the milker initially and he was responsible for selling milk from the ranch in the Santa Rosa area. By 1882 there were about 65 horses on the ranch. Because of the damage wrought by the phylloxera vine disease in California and particularly Sonoma County, where Fountaingrove lay, the young rancher hesitated to plant his grapes.¹

By 1878–79, however, Kanaye was prepared to attempt the planting. Reports of the State Viticultural Commission indicated that the vines found on hills where there was a more friable soil, which had sedimentary substratum like that at Fountaingrove, had thus far survived the phylloxera attack.² In addition to its excellent geological features, the land chosen lay in a cold belt: an important factor in grape cultivation.³ The soil of Sonoma County was very diversified. The valley land was fertile but not fit for grapevines. The foothills and hillsides, however, had proven to be unsurpassed for grape culture. This was one of the primary reasons why Fountaingrove was chosen.

By 1880 the phylloxera disease existed in Napa, Solano, Yolo, Placer, El Dorado, and Sonoma Counties. It had not hit Santa Rosa yet. Another reason why Kanaye may have risked planting was his faith in recent government studies. A report to the 24th California legislative session in 1881 indicated,

If nothing should be done to check or extirpate the insect (causing phylloxera), the slow progress of the ravages... gives us a large margin of time for vineyards in infected places to continue to be profitable, and leaves the planting of new vineyards in unaffected places safe fields for investments...⁴

A number of Chinese and Italian laborers were employed to plant an initial 400 acres to grapes. Of this 375 acres were specifically for the making of wine and twenty-five for table grapes.⁵ Among the numerous imported and indigenous plants brought to the estate were grapevine slips of “renowned Burgundian, Bordeaux, Champagne, Rhenish and Hungarian varieties”.⁶ Fifty acres of the ranch were used as pasture for cows, and later, horses and pigs. 175 acres were devoted to hay and grain crops.⁷ By 1895 200 acres were planted in olives and other deciduous fruits.

In 1882, the fourth major structure was completed: the winery. Built primarily of stone, it was located a few hundred yards east of the mansions in the midst of the grapevines.⁸ It was a massive structure of three stories and basically of two chambers. It measured 132 by 112 feet, was heated by steam, and was “furnished completely throughout

1 *Appendix to the Journals of the Senate and the Assembly*, 24th legislature 1881, report no. 15, pp. 89, 91. Hereinafter cited as California, 24th legislature.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 91.

3 George Kay, personal interview at Italian Swiss Colony Winery, October 15, 1968.

4 California, 24th legislature, pps. 89–91.

5 I. Deturk, *The Vineyards of Sonoma County*, report to Board of State Viticultural Commissioners (Sacramento: 1893), p. 29.

6 *Fountaingrove Vineyard Company, pamphlet* (Santa Rosa, California: n.p., about 1905), n.p.no. Hereinafter cited as *Fountaingrove*, pamphlet.

7 Honoria Tuomey, *History of Sonoma County, California*, Vol. I (2 vols.; San Francisco: S. J. Clarke Pub. Co., 1926), pp. 585–586.

8 Fountaingrove photo album.

with the best of modern machinery”¹

One floor of the large plant measured 17,000 square feet.² It had a capacity for storing 600,000 gallons, including in part twenty redwood tanks of 3,000 gallons each, eleven redwood tanks of 1,500 gallons and fourteen oak casks of 2,000 gallons apiece.³ Connected to the giant main aging room was the fermentation room. Brewing, storage and loading areas were built in smaller units standing adjacent to the main building.

Other structures at the ranch included two very large barns, one near the main gate and the other northeast of the manor house. The unusual circular red barn still standing and visible to passers-by was built to house the sixty horses purchased by the Brotherhood around 1900.⁴ The second smaller barn near the house burned in July of 1909, only a couple years after it had also been converted from a two-story white building into a round red one like the larger barn.⁵

Arai had become the Brotherhood printer and he was provided with a printing shop. Many of Harris's books and pamphlets were printed at Fountaingrove by Arai. Other out-buildings included a graining house, five smaller barns, two wagon sheds, a pig house, cook's house, a smoke house, three or more bunk houses, a cooper's shop, a sherry house, a boiler room to serve the winery, a fortifying house and a sweet wine house,⁶ an equipment shack, blacksmith shop, carpenter shop and a separate office building to handle winery business.⁷

CHAPTER II

Fountaingrove Wine for the World

Fountaingrove wines were to be produced by Lay, Clark and Company.⁸ This firm consisted of members of the colony all working without salary and with earnest for the "Use". "Use" was the term the Brotherhood used for the mission and responsibility of the members. As members of the cult grew "into more internal and closer conjunction" with one another in their purpose and worked to lift themselves "higher and higher to the Lord", they were satisfying their "use" or were "using".⁹ All work done by the Harrisites was to be considered "using" and not compensable labor.

The testimony of Rober Hart, a member of the group who had come to Fountaingrove in 1885, reads: "The life at Fountaingrove was called the 'Use' life, each one being expected to conscientiously and joyfully perform his tasks...and to perform it after the

1 Fountaingrove, Diagram of K. Nagasawa property, drawn by Price and Silvershield, 1927. This map of the ranch was drawn by the above firm for unknown reasons. It includes actual measurements of all the building. E. Sasaki corroborated. *History*, Lewis, p. 366.

2 Fountaingrove, Diagram of K. Nagasawa property, Price and Silvershield.

3 *History*, Lewis, p. 366. Sonoma County, California, Recorder, Official Records, Vol. 333, pp. 227-228, 423.

4 E. Sasaki explains this unique barn was definitely the work of Mr. Cowles, the Brotherhood architect. Cowles was highly influenced by Russian architecture as the round spire on the barn suggests.

5 Sasaki, interview. *Press Democrat*, July 10, 1909, p. 8:1.

6 These were used most likely for storage and aging.

7 Fountaingrove, Diagram of K. Nagasawa property, Price and Silvershield.

8 Sonoma County, California, Clerk, Civil case no. 20661.

9 Kanaye Nagasawa, Diary, January 21, 1871. Hereinafter cited as Nagasawa, Diary.

manner royal, as by knights and ladies.” All work done by the Harrisites was to be considered “using” and not compensable labor.

Ray P. Clark, Jonathon A. Lay and Kanaye were the principals of the winery firm. Clark was its resident manager; Kanaye was vineyard and brew master. Lay, who superintended the firm’s New York offices, joined the Brotherhood at Brocton and was a professional agriculturist. The arrangement wherein the two older men handled the business end suited Kanaye very well. Still retaining much of the Samurai spirit, he had little taste for bookkeeping and money handling.

The primary distributorship for Lay, Clark and Co. wines —always under the label, “Fountaingrove” —was established in 1892. Headquarters was at 58 Vesey Street in New York City.¹ Its original managers were Robert Hart and James Freeman. The wholesale business was handled through Brownell and Co. at 9 South William Street, also in New York City.² The majority of the wines produced in Santa Rosa were shipped directly to New York for international distribution and sale.³ Agencies were also established through C. W. Pearce and Co. of Glasgow, Liverpool and London. Fountaingrove wines were the first California wines introduced into Great Britain and sold as such, in commercial quantities. San Francisco exports went to Reizo Sano in Japan who arranged sale of the wines in Tokyo, Yokohama and Kobe.⁴

By this time, in the history of winemaking, worldwide, American wines were beginning to compete successfully with French wines of longstanding reputation. *The New York World* (April 28, 1895) commented on samples of Fountaingrove wine: “...and formed the basis of comparison with European wines which redounds so largely in-our favor.” Followers of the “New Life” like Freeman, Hart and Arthur A. Cuthbert, an agent in Great Britain, all served in their separate capacities to benefit the financing of Brotherhood activities. The profits from the Vesey Street operation first went toward overhead.

About \$25,000 a year went to the ranch for upkeep and expense at the winery. The remainder and largest amount continually was channeled into the Brotherhood’s “fund”, watched over by Thomas Lake Harris.⁵

Marketing was vigorous and a bit slanted by the religious fervor felt by members of the Brotherhood. One of the advertising pamphlets Fountaingrove distributed reads: “The use of wine means health, longevity and balanced faculties. Only the ultra-fanatic would assume to controvert the Master of Nazareth, who sanctioned the use of wine.” Lay, who had founded the New York office, had induced Freeman and Hart to assist in managing the

1 Sacramento, California, Supreme Court Clerk, File no. 4647, n.p.no. Hereinafter cited as Sacramento, no. 4647.

2 Fountaingrove, pamphlet, n.p.no.

3 Sacramento, no. 4647. Of the approximately four million gallons of wine shipped from California in 1893, three million went to New York (this is of course totals for the whole state that year). California, *Appendix to the Journals of the Senate and Assembly*, 31st legislature, 1895, report no. 3, p. 13. Hereinafter cited as California, 31st legislature. *The San Francisco Merchant*, March 15, 1889, p. 11, reported Lay, Clark and Co. shipped 4,560 gals. of wine to New York by sea; the June 7, 1889 issue, p. 109 indicated 4,775 gals. of brandy shipped by them and the July 8, 1889 report, p. 141, indicated 2,260 gals of wine shipped to Liverpool.

4 *Fountaingrove*, pamphlet, n.p.no. Sano is mentioned only in this pamphlet. Records concerning his function are likely in Japan or were lost there.

5 Sacramento, no. 4647.

firm there. The 1892 opening saw Freeman as manager, with Hart handling the book-keeping.¹ Surprisingly, Joanthon Lay passed away the next year, on March 15th.²

CHAPTER III

Kanaye's Changing Role

Management of the winery firm became increasingly taxing as it grew and prospered. Kanaye had no choice but to become a serious businessman. Reading about and experimenting with new farming and wine making techniques involved him much of the time. Luther Burbank (1849-1926), the famed horticulturalist, had come to Santa Rosa only two years before Kanaye had arrived. Each soon heard of the other's agricultural interests. The two men were to meet often in the coming years to share mutual fields of interest.³

The Brotherhood had grown also. By the late 1880's the group in Santa Rosa had increased to about twenty. There were a number of Japanese, Chinese and Italian workmen also, but they had no social contact with the followers of the New Life. A photograph of the Brotherhood group at Fountaingrove in the summer of 1887 indicates that the following people were living at the ranch: Miss Mary Babcock, Miss Elinor Clarke, Mrs. Nettie Clarke, Mrs. Emma Parting, Miss Alice Parting (whose fairy name was Alilla), Miss Parthanna H. Clarke (whose fairy name was Grace), T. L. Harris, Miss Edith Parting, Miss Jane L. Waring (whose fairy name was Star Blossom); Miss Gertrude Clarke (whose fairy name was Ahina); a woman named Mary whose last name is not clearly indicated on the photograph, Miss Eusardia Nicholas (whose fairy name was Delight), Mrs. Lucy Hyde, and Arai who is also in the photograph. This large population of women was common for the Brotherhood. At Brocton, New York, of approximately 85 members, 65 were adults and 45 of those were women.

Roy Clark had brought with him to the ranch his wife and two daughters along with one of his sisters-in-law. Elinor, the eldest Clark daughter, a "queenly girl of twenty had charge of the prophet's home."⁴

In 1887 Robert Morris Hart and his wife, Mary, joined the Fountaingrove family. This man was to become the most formidable antagonist with whom Kanaye had ever to associate. James Harris Freeman came in 1892, but for most of his later life served the Brotherhood in New York.⁵ Jane Lee Waring came soon after the death of Mrs. Harris in 1885. Mrs. Harris had been ill for some years and had lost much of her sanity. She passed away on October 1, 1885.

The prophet waited only a short time in mourning before making Miss Waring his wife. Jane Waring brought her personal fortune to the Brotherhood. Herbert Schneider,

1 Hart left the New York office in 1906 and Freeman carried on until its closing in 1919.

2 Schneider, *Prophet*, p. 473.

3 Ware, *Unforgettables*, p. 56. Luther Burbank, *How Plants are Trained to Work for Man*, Vol. VIII: *Trees, Biography and Index* (New York: P. P. Collier & Sons, Co. 1914, p. 248.

4 *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 13, 1891, p. 10.

5 *Supra*, pp. 41-42.

one of Harris's biographers, estimated that Miss Waring was worth between \$250,000 and \$500,000. Schneider also wrote that "She loved and worshipped Harris with a completely self-denying devotion and was his confidant in religious matters and acted for him in directing the affairs of the Use".¹

Kanaye's work in the vineyards and his duties as Harris's private secretary left him little time to socialize with the only other Japanese Harrisite at Fountaingrove, Arai, the printer. In February of 1890 Kanaye turned thirty-eight. Feeling himself to be moving through life all too quickly, he longed increasingly to generate some meaningful relationships.

Despite the respect given him by the brethren of the New Life, the barriers of culture and race stunted the growth of complete friendships for him at Fountaingrove. His need was also intellectual. All desire for a married life had apparently left him by this time. It could have been Harris's influence that affected Kanaye's ideas about marriage, but so little evidence of the religion created by Harris existed at Fountaingrove after the death of the prophet in 1906 that one suspects other causes.

Harris' teachings included an emphasis on the fact that women were much more difficult than men. He wrote in one of his books:

"Woman, by her instinct, is solicitous above all things that she should not be known: She wears the fig-leaves to this day; for there is an occult shame that she does not reveal. As she tends to opulence, she tends more and more to ceremonial; more and more to exclusive privilege; more and more to proprium and to the ways of proprium; more and more to self-inclusion, and thence to inclusion in caste and type: She is in the abyss of self-decoration; a squalid pauper appareled as a queen, and more and more venomous by the quality of her distillations."²

It would appear that Kanaye was in fact a spiritual celibate. However, if this were true, he probably arrived at this philosophical position not only from the influence of Harris.

When, as a boy, he had been trained to become a member of the violent Samurai Kenjinosha, one of the tenets of that organization was that young men were not allowed to have interest in girls. Until training had become adequate, a member of the Kenjinosha could be thrown out of the organization for involving himself with a woman. Kanaye retained much of this Kenjinosha spirit, a strong spiritual and social discipline. When he left Japan he was still young and one of Kanaye's friends saw in him a boy's spiritual purity still manifest. Whatever the explanation, it is a fact that Kanaye did move from the spirit and training of a young Samurai into the closed society and the extreme influence of Thomas Lake Harris.

When, in 1871, his friend Mori had introduced him to the young Sutematsu Yamakawa, he was clearly attracted by her. Later in life he was to testify that in his heart he always carried an image of this girl. He explained, however, that when he first met her she was only twelve years old. By the time he left New York and moved to California, Sutematsu was still very young, aged sixteen. Some sources exist that suggest that he was in fact in love with

1 Schneider, *Prophet*, p. 152.

2 Thomas Lake Harris (*Declarations of the Divine One-Twain*, Fountaingrove Press, 1882), Book II, p. 10.

Sutematsu. This girl, however, upon returning to Japan, married a General Oyama, a member in fact of the same clan from which Kanaye had come, the Satsuma clan. The same sources suggest that he was so hurt by this rejection that he decided at that point to always remain a bachelor.

In 1924, a friend, Shakuma Washizu, questioned Kanaye about the rumors relating to his romantic past. Kanaye indicated emphatically that the stories about him and Sutematsu were untrue. Washizu, in fact, felt that Kanaye might even attack someone who raised the marriage issue again. To Kanaye it was a useless and complicated discussion. Kanaye's family at irregular intervals had, over the years, nagged him about considering having a wife. Sometime in the early 1920's a film was made of Kanaye's life in Japan. It was depicted in that film that Kanaye had a romance while a student in England. The story went on that he had a girl in Satsuma to whom he had promised marriage. But that girl waited and waited for Kanaye and when he did not return to Japan the parents of the girl introduced her to another high-ranking person and in a short time they were married. The producers of this film apparently were unaware of the fact that while Kanaye was in England he was only fourteen years old.

Washizu was a devoted admirer and friend of Kanaye. It is his personal notebook about the life of Kanaye that is a primary resource for this story. Washizu, being anxious to present a story that was readable, had hoped to find that there was some truth to the exciting stories about Kanaye's romances. He reported, however, that the more he studied the stories and after having interviewed Kanaye about them, he felt it had become even more unlikely that the stories were true.

Kanaye had remained in contact with his good friend, Mori. Mori, in 1880, had been appointed Japan's minister to the court of St. James. He stayed in England for six years and maintained contact with Kanaye. In 1886 Mori attained the status of Minister of Education in the first Cabinet of Premier Hirobumi Ito.

In February, 1890, came to Kanaye the devastating news, however, that Mori had been assassinated. As Minister of Education he had thrust a number of reforms upon Japan's educational and philosophical set. A reactionary named Buntaro Nishino struck Kanaye's friend down the very day that Japan's first constitution was proclaimed. The new government, founded on the philosophy of the constitution, was the beginning of Japan's rapid development as a modern industrial and military power.

Kanaye's participation in the development and expansion of Japan as an active world power was developing in about 1890. As a result of his friendship with the Japanese Consul at San Francisco, Sutemi Chinda, Kanaye had become a growing advocate for Japanese immigrants into America. Chinda had been educated in America and spoke English fluently. He and Kanaye worked very closely over the coming years on various immigration projects. The consul introduced Kanaye to Nao Nabekura, a banker at the Shokin Ginko, a Japanese bank in the city. As it turned out, Nabekura was also from Kagoshima, and some stimulating conversations resulted from this new association. Throughout the coming years Kanaye both hosted and was hosted by many Japanese officials from San Francisco, including Japanese naval officers docked at San Francisco.¹

One of Kanaye's goals in maintaining contact with his countrymen in America was to

¹ *Press Democrat*, June 19, July 10, 1909, p. 8; November 29, 1910, p. 2.

maintain his ability to speak the Japanese language. He began to recognize as he established a social relationship with his new Japanese friends on the west coast, that his ability to speak the language had diminished. One day, for example, while at Consul Chinda's home, a Japanese dish was served called "Chawan-mushi". Mrs. Chinda asked that all those present eat before it got cold. Kanaye said in response to her, "I hate to eat Mushi" because he thought warm bugs were being served. In the Japanese language, or at least the Kagoshima dialect of that language, Mushi meant to him "warm bugs". The embarrassment of finding out how wrong he was was an encouragement to him to begin to work harder on his language. By hiring Japanese help at Fountaingrove, Kanaye not only was able to serve his interests as a sponsor of immigrants, but also was able on a regular basis to interact with people who spoke his language. In 1892 he hired his first Japanese farmer, his name was Matsunosuke Tsukamoto. Kanaye had at first hired Chinese then Italian workers and now he was hiring Japanese help.

From very early, Kanaye remained quite aloof from the Santa Rosa community. Santa Rosans were aware, however, of his presence, but few knew much about him. When appearing in public he dressed often in fine tweeds and a Stetson hat. He was usually seen sitting erect in the chauffeur's seat of Harris's "old brougham" carriage. The lordly Japanese appeared plump but was very nimble despite his short height. His attorney of later years wrote in his memoirs:

I have never known another human being so possessed of energy and capacity to produce as Kanaye Nagasawa. As a young man his agility was so great that he could jump up a tree and catch three squirrels with his bare hands.¹

Often he would appear in sober black. There was no mistaking his oriental birth with his "round softly beaming face and eyes crinkling with humor".²

Another among the few Santa Rosans who became a close associate of the Japanese vineyardist was Edwin Markham. Like Luther Burbank, Markham was one of America's most talented and contributive men. He was a poet and writer, best known for his poem, *Man With a Hoe*. He was born the same year as Kanaye, 1852, and died only six years after him in 1940. He had attended school in Santa Rosa, became interested in Harris's teachings and joined the Brotherhood shortly after it had set up residence in Santa Rosa. For a time he lived at the ranch and was often in Santa Rosa during his busy lifetime. Kanaye and the poet found each other stimulating company and each called upon the other for advice.³ They shared also the irritations all members of the Brotherhood were forced to endure beginning with the Chevallier affair.

Alsire Chevallier, "an ardent apostle of Christian Science, Mysticism...and women's rights", had become disgruntled with what she said she had observed at Fountaingrove during a visit with Father Harris in 1891. Where she at first found a master of the occult and a "pure and holy spiritual guide", she later declared Harris to be a profound impostor with only the most basic carnal motives.⁴

1 Ware, *Unforgettables*, p. 56.

2 Idwal Jones, "Samurai of the Vines", *Westways*, September, 1938, pp.18-19. Hereinafter cited as I. Jones, "Samurai".

3 Kanaye Nagasawa, letter to Edwin Markham, November 29, 1887. *Press Democrat*, April 14, 1927, p.1.

4 *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 13, 1891, p.10.

Harris's methods were unusual. He taught that the Spirit of Heaven is "inhaled in the ultimate region of the breast". Harris wrote, "It was given me, organically, to experience all these three sorts of respiration. When I respired among the Natural Angels there was a motion imparted to the viscera in the lower portion of the abdomen, but when I was among the Spiritual Angels I respired above this, and there was, when I inhaled, the aura of the Celestial Angels, a most interior breathing higher still, which contained within itself a Divine Voice."¹

Miss Chevallier found willing listeners at the *San Francisco Chronicle*, and that paper energetically carried on a tirade of accusations aimed at the Brotherhood and Harris. The *Chronicle* had previously published articles about the "strange cult" in Santa Rosa and with Chevallier's testimony put together a provoking series of articles that distressed the Brotherhood greatly. Chevallier was an able reformer and lecturer and thus became a serious threat to Harris's image.

Chevallier was prepared to spend years, if necessary, to expose Harris even if she had to go to President Harrison (whom, she believed, would listen to her). In the *Chronicle* she said, "This accursed doctrine of the counterparts is worse than anything ever revealed by the Mormons or at Onieda." She claimed Harris practiced a sexual game in which "many a pure soul" had become hopelessly entangled. She attempted to arouse indignation in the Santa Rosa community but found little support. Fountaingrove's neighbor had never seen evidence of anything discreditable at the ranch. Harris and Nagasawa both were considered to be at least adequate citizens. The local paper came out to say:

While the Democrat does not deny or affirm any of the charges made against Mr. Harris and his associates...it does know that they have maintained a quiet and orderly existence in this community for many years.²

In the February 27, 1892 issue of *the Sonoma Democrat*, Santa Rosa's leading newspaper, a long list of local merchants appeared who endorsed Harris and expressed disagreement with Chevallier.

The attack on the Santa Rosa colony was soon international news.³ Friends and supporters of the prophet were distraught over the attack. The old leader of the Brotherhood decided it would be best for him and his new wife to leave Fountaingrove. In February of 1892, he and Mrs. Harris left the ranch and went to New York City.⁴ He placed control of the estate and winery in the hands of his friend and secretary, Kanaye.

CHAPTER IV

Samurai of the Vines

The Primate's removal was to Kanaye like the departure of his last close relative. Although he would see Harris at least once again before he died, the separation apparently

1 Schneider, *Prophet*, p. 21.

2 *Sonoma Democrat*, January 30, 1892, n.p.no.

3 *Sonoma Democrat*, January 30, 1892, n.p.no. A reprint appeared here of an interview with C.W. Pearce in Glasgow. Pearce, a sincere follower of Harris's expressed a strong concern for the Chevallier attack.

4 *Morning Call*, March 4, 1892, n.p.no.

had a deep effect on Kanaye's life pattern. With Harris about as teacher, father and advocate of spiritual training the Japanese winemaker had available to him time filled with enrichment. His toil in the vineyards and long hours of reading in the great library could only satisfy part of his needs.

When, at age fifteen, Kanaye had met Harris he was in fact overwhelmed by the old prophet. When in later years, however, he was interviewed by friends like Washizu, it was apparent that in some ways Kanaye had rejected Harris as a personality. Kanaye was and always remained impressed by Harris' diligence. He learned Harris' religion but enlightenment meant a different thing to Kanaye than it did to Harris. He respected the man as an intellect and as a leader in his particular philosophy. Kanaye, in the traditional sense, was a Japanese Samurai. The Samurai did not study men in the same way that Harris did. For example, Kanaye never attended church and he explained that the experience of going to a church service did not clean a person. He pointed out that instead of listening to sermons he would rather try to make harmony about himself in other ways.

The same year that Father Harris left Fountaingrove, the winery burned. Had it not been for its stone walls the damage might have been irreparable. Kanaye frightened the workers at the ranch as they attempted to fight the fire. Kanaye found the fire amusing in some ways for suddenly the alcohol had become fuel instead of beverage. He recalls himself looking at the fire and saying, "Alcohol now becomes a fireball, flying, flying, flying," and he laughed. James Freeman was sent by Harris from New York City to assist in the rebuilding.¹ He and Kanaye enjoyed a busy visit, for the work was completed in six months and Freeman returned to New York. The making of wine was resumed immediately. In 1893 the crop of grapes amounted to 1,500 tons. The wine on hand that had survived the fire, including the bottled wine and that in smaller barrels, totaled over 500,000 gallons.² The new wine cellar was quite large. It was excavated from the hill and built of basalt. Oak casks within were capable of storing 1,000,000 gallons of wine.

At an average yield of 145 gallons of wine per ton of grapes, Fountaingrove had a potential of 217,000 gallons in production for 1893. The cost of producing a ton of grapes was about nine dollars at this time. The grape grower got about fifteen dollars a ton. The grapes yield about 150 gallons per ton. One year old wine, then, sold for about twenty cents a gallon. Apparently much of what was stored from previous processing had not been destroyed in the fire. 91,130 gallons of wine and 3,060 gallons of brandy were shipped overland from Santa Rosa winemakers in 1893.³ Fountaingrove's contribution to this shipment was likely about ninety per cent.

The winery was threatened again with fire in 1909 when the barn burned, situated only 500 ft. away. The foreman at that time, George Craig, lost his home, also, a small cottage near the barn. One hundred men fought the blaze but 100 tons of hay in the barn made it a great blaze. Twelve carriages were stored there. Some were saved, among which was the old Brougham used by Harris and which had been used since then to transport

1 Dovie, letter to Partings, July 6, 1892. Sacramento, no. 4647.

2 I. Deturk, "The Vineyards of Sonoma County", report to the Board of State Viticultural Commissioners (Sacramento: 1893), p. 29.

3 California, 31st legislature, p. 20.

distinguished visitors to Fountaingrove.¹

Fountaingrove was in the midst of California's most active grape-growing country. In 1880, there were about 7,000 acres of bearing vines and at least 3,000 more not yet bearing in Sonoma County alone. That year 2,189,000 gallons of wine were produced in the state: 200,000 gallons of it in Santa Rosa.²

Harris had taught and encouraged his wine merchants to advertise that Fountaingrove wines had "sustaining and vitalizing qualities, and their use promotes health, invigoration, strength and longevity."³ How these amazing properties were made manifest is not known, but after a person drank sufficient amounts of the wine, one doubts whether he would care very much. It was added, the wines

enrich the blood and nourish the brains, and medical testimony establishes the fact that Fountaingrove wines revive and restore exhausted nervous energy in a marked manner: they are the best ally of true temperance.⁴

From the first time wine was sold and served by the Brotherhood at Brocton, it was sold as having qualities allowing the drinker to call upon an untapped but "existent ability to organic openness to the pure Breath of God."⁵

Claret, the dry, purplish-red wine made primarily from the red Bourdeaux grape constituted 75 per cent of the wine sold by Lay, Clark and Co.⁶ White wines were not yet a popular drink in America. The Fountaingrove label was found on other dry red wines such as Cabernet and Burgundy, on dry white wines like Golden Chasselas and Flower of Fountaingrove, on dessert and sweet wines like Malaga, Tokay and port, and on brandies such as Blackberry and Cognac grape.⁷ Kanaye attempted to put together some Champagne in 1894, but it was never marketed under his label.⁸

Shortly after the departure of Harris, some administrative changes took place at the ranch. Jonathon Lay had gone to the New York office, and the winery operation took on the new name, Fountaingrove Vineyard Company. By January of 1900 Ray Clarke had become a problem for Harris. The Primate dismissed Clarke from the Brotherhood because, according to the Primate, "His low animal quality had caused him to gather about him as natural associates horse racers and a low class of the people of the countryside."⁹ Kanaye had complete charge of the operation. It was at this time that he made a seemingly rapid conversion from Brotherhood worshipper to entrepreneur.

He began to visit frequently wineries throughout Sonoma and Napa counties.¹⁰ As part of an effort to become more active in California's growing wine industry, he entered his

1 *Press Democrat*, July 10, 1909.

2 Of the major wine districts in 1880: Sonoma had 10,000 acres of vines; Los Angeles, 5,700; San Francisco, 3,000; El Dorado, 1,150. California, 24th legislature, pp. 19-20, 29, 42.

3 *Fountaingrove*, pamphlet.

4 *Ibid.*

5 Schneider, *Prophet*, p. 168.

6 Sasaki, interview.

7 A Fountaingrove advertising pamphlet also lists: Mt. Zinfandel; Hock; Riesling; Gutedel; Traminer; Sauterne; Port Special; Sherry; Sherry Special; Sherry, dry, Old Vintage; Cherry and Cognac Grape, Special Brandies.

8 Dovie, letter to Kanaye Nagasawa, December 3, 1894.

9 Schneider, *Prophet*, p. 488.

10 I. Jones, "Samurai", pp. 18-19.

wines in competition. Running against a number of California's 832 vineyards in the California red wine, Cabernet Sauvignon class, Fountaingrove took second place at the 1893 State Wine Exhibit at San Francisco's Midwinter Fair. Only eleven of the state's wineries attempted to meet the competition by sending representatives.¹

At the University of California, College of Agriculture at Berkeley, an agricultural experiment station had been established in 1887. One of its largest responsibilities was research in grape production. Requests were sent all over the state for cooperative efforts by vineyardists. In response to a request for experimentation on a new Burgundy brewing yeast, Kanaye volunteered his services. Samples of Fountaingrove wine treated with the yeast were returned to the experiment station in June of 1896 after eight months of treatment in the Santa Rosa winery.²

Reading about and experimenting with new farming and wine making techniques took much of Kanaye's time. But he occasionally delved into other pursuits. In 1895 he took up cattle and horse breeding. He worked with Arabian, Percheron and Thoroughbred stock.³ When a nephew, Kosuke Honda, came to visit him from Japan, Kanaye gave him a number of specially bred cows and horses. Honda owned some race tracks in Korea, and the horses that Kanaye had imported from Africa and Europe were of excellent quality for racing. Kanaye told his nephew the animals might contribute substantially to the improvement of Honda's Korean ranch stock.⁴

The enterprising California Samurai imported 10,000 mulberry tree seedlings and a gross of silk worms from Japan in 1897. His silk-making venture was successful, but he discontinued it a short time after the first silk was made. Kanaye's silk experience was probably the first attempted in California. He produced a large amount of silk and its quality was as high as many Japanese silks. In 1902 the new Japanese consul, Ueno, was excited to see the quality of Kanaye's silkworm venture and encouraged Kanaye to send some of his silk to Kyoto to have some kimonos made by Kyoto Nishijin, the famous silk clothing manufacturer. This, in fact, was done and Kanaye kept on display in his home for many years one of the kimonos made from his silk.

He found great pleasure working with his hands. "He was eternally hoeing, dressing, making grafts and peering at them through a small magnifying glass he carried with him."⁵ The vineyards he had placed with such care placed Fountaingrove among the country's largest producers.

In 1889, when Fountaingrove still had 400 acres of bearing vines, few others had more. Italian-Swiss Agricultural Colony, located about twenty miles north of Santa Rosa, had 600 acres bearing. Natoma Vineyards in Sacramento County had 1,250; San Gabriel Vineyards near Los Angeles had 640; Bourne, W.D., in St. Helena had 600. Fountaingrove was yet among the ten largest in the state and would remain so for some time.⁶

1 This fair opened in San Francisco on April 7, 1893. California, 31st legislature, p. 82.

2 Regents of the University of California, report of the Viticultural Work During the Seasons 1887-93 (Sacramento: 1896), n.p.no.

3 Honoria Tuomey, *History of Sonoma County, California*, Vol. II (San Francisco: S. J. Clarke Pub. Co., 1926), p. 586.

4 Kawakatsu, notebook.

5 I. Jones, "Samurai", pp. 18-19.

6 California Board of Viticultural Commissioners, *Directory of Grape Growers...* (Sacramento: 1891), n.p.no. Thus, Kanaye's ranch was one the nation's top ten producers, for all the largest vineyards then were in California.

CHAPTER V

The Master of Fountaingrove

In 1896 Kanaye's world was pleasantly invaded by other Japanese friends. Tomoki Ijichi, a son of Kanaye's sister, Mori, arrived at Fountaingrove anxious to see his uncle. Tomoki explained he could recognize Kanaye's need for companions in his letters. Tomoki needed to say no more. He became a permanent resident of the estate and lived in the office and eventually took charge of brandy distillation.¹

Kanaye's parents had passed away by this time, 1896, but he had a number of relatives still in Japan. Yanosuke Akahoshi, his adopted brother, had a son, Tetsuma. He had become by inheritance a rich businessman and owned a large cattle ranch in Korea. At Kanaye's death, Tetsuma's brothers and sisters and another niece, Hisa Sasaki, were the only members of the Isonaga family left.² Long and frequent talks with Tomoki about Kagoshima encouraged Kanaye to make his long overdue, first trip home after thirty-two years abroad.

In 1897 Kanaye and Arai and Tomoki embarked at San Francisco and sailed for Japan. The Ijichi family met him at the boat in Japan and expressed pleasure with the fact after so many years he still spoke good Japanese. His friends and relatives made quite a fuss over him the man known in Satsuma as the "Grape King".³

Arai returned to Japan with Kanaye. He had become Kanaye's closest Japanese friend in California and with Kanaye had spent twenty-two years at the Fountaingrove community. He was an ardent student of the Harrisite Christianity and he had prepared himself overtime for a mission in his native Japan. When he and Kanaye left in 1897 Arai took with him very few personal possessions. His life thereafter was seen by some as a testimonial of a man living as a voluntary slave of Christ.

Just prior to Kanaye's arrival the head of Kanaye's family, Kaishu Isonaga, called a family meeting. Present were Yanosuke, Kanaye's only living brother, Kosuke Honda, a nephew of Kanaye, and other members of the family. The family presumed that because Kanaye had been gone from Japan for so many years, it would be necessary to use an interpreter. It was quite a surprise for them to see that he spoke good Japanese. In fact, one of the reasons why he was unable to speak good Japanese with his friends in San Francisco was that the Kagoshima dialect that he spoke was unlike the dialect of most of his friends. Kaishu had become the head of the family and was residing in Korea. He was a nephew of Kanaye's. Even though Yanosuke Isonaga was the eldest member of the family in Kagoshima, he was not the successor to the position of family head. The eldest son of the family is the successor and Kaishu was the son of Kanaye's brother, Yakuro. Yakuro was the eldest son of Magoshiro, Yakuro's and Kanaye's father. Yanosuke was the first to meet Kanaye as he arrived in Yokohama Harbor. Kanaye recognized Yanosuke immediately and

1 Sasaki, March 15, 1969.

2 The reader will recall that Isonaga was Kanaye's true family name. Sonoma County, California, Clerk, last will and testament of Kanaye Nagasawa, filed March 5, 1934.

3 Hiro Ijichi, personal interview, October 25, 1968.

they both cried.

In California he was often called “Prince” and “Baron” Nagasawa, but although he knew all the titles to be unwarranted, he received pleasure from being called “Grape-King” in his native Japan. Many felt he had returned to obtain a wife, but he assured them he was much too busy for such things.¹ His trip had been prompted, however, not only by a wish to see his home again. Some important economic considerations had also brought him.

As was mentioned above, Kanaye obtained from the Japanese Department of Agriculture his mulberry trees and silk worms on this trip. His primary business venture was much more large-scale, however: he wished to borrow two million dollars. In conjunction with Thomas Lake Harris, still residing in New York City, Kanaye had devised a plan for a Japanese colony to be established under the auspices of the Brotherhood in Mexico.

Three and one-half million dollars were required in total for the development on 2500 square miles of land. The colony was to be near the village of Topolobampo in Sinaloa province on the Gulf of California. One of the early Japanese immigrants into Mexico by the name of Enomoto had arrived in that country in 1899. He had obtained a loan of \$100,000 in Japan to establish a business in Mexico. After a short time apparently his business failed in such a way as to leave the Japanese loan agents very uncomfortable. There was some connection between the loan agent Enomoto had used and those Kanaye had contacted for his loan. Kanaye found them very unreceptive to participating in any investment ventures in North America. This is the last we hear of the Topolobampo immigration site.²

Although Kanaye found himself under considerable pressure to consider the possibility of returning home with a wife, he was able to fend off the encouragements of his family. So much so, that he said it was the last time his family ever mentioned the subject again. He was concerned, however for his nephew, Tomoki. He saw that the young man was clearly open to the idea of having a wife. Kanaye became responsible for the selection of a woman for Tomoki to marry. It was traditional in Japan that elders would choose the spouse of young men. From the Umeda family in Kagoshima Kanaye selected a woman named Hiro. Before Kanaye and Tomoki returned to America, Tomoki and Hiro Umeda were married. It was not possible at this time, however, to arrange for Hiro's immigration into California. It was in fact to be a number of years before Hiro and Tomoki were able to live together as man and wife.

Upon disembarkation at Yokohama Harbor Kanaye watched as his family, waving at the dock, faded gradually as the boat moved further and further out to the sea. Kanaye had struggled for many years between his early upbringing as a Samurai and his new experience as an American. It is very difficult for those other than Samurai to understand the spirit of that group of people, ancient in the history of Japan. As Kanaye watched his native Japan fade into the west, he thought again about the experiences of Samurai in Japan particularly during the early struggle for the Meiji Restoration. To understand better the commitment and style of the Samurai it is valuable here to recount the details of one of many famous incidents in Japan that tells the story of the Samurai spirit.

1 Ijichi interview.

2 Schneider, *Prophet*, n.p.no. Kawakatsu, notebook.

On February 15, 1868 a detachment of French landed at the ancient Japanese capitol of Osaka. The provocation is not clear but for some reason the French began to harass residents of the city, ransacking and over-running the town. Captains of the Tosa clan Samurai came to defend the city but the French escaped them. One Frenchman took the Japanese Navy flag and others fired guns at the Japanese, angering and embarrassing the Samurai. The French ran to their small boat and began rowing toward their ship. The Japanese fired on them and killed some of the men. The French Ambassador, located in Japan at that time, was angered by the deaths of his countrymen and demanded that the Tosa Captains and their soldiers be given capital punishment in front of the French Navy. The Tosa clan additionally was asked for 150,000 dollars to be paid to the families of the French Navymen and also the Ambassador from France demanded that both Japan's foreign minister and the daimyo of Tosa come to apologize to the Captain of the French ship. The French conceded that possibly to meet all the demands was too much of an affront to the Japanese. The Ambassador announced, therefore, that they may choose three of the demands and not satisfy the other two. After some negotiation there was an agreement that the Captains of the Samurai and their men would in fact be required to commit seppuku before the French Navymen. Seppuku was the ancient method of suicide that was often declared as a penalty for insubordination. The convicted essentially was responsible in seppuku for taking his own life. Also it was agreed that the 150,000 dollars would be paid and that the Tosa daimyo would make a formal apology to the French ship.

The Tosa Captains asked their governments to allow their soldiers to go free and that they, the two of them, be the only ones required to commit seppuku. The government felt that at least sixteen of the thirty-nine soldiers should be required to participate in the capital punishment also. All of the soldiers went to the Shinto shrine in Osaka and picked up the Kuji (fortune sticks) that would determine which of the men would receive the great honor of being allowed to participate in the seppuku. Because of the high station of Samurai in Japan, automatically two of the Samurai lieutenants were chosen to be among the first to participate in the ceremony. A few men volunteered but this was not accepted although highly respected. To die by one's hand in seppuku in Japan was a great honor and although it was punishment in this case, it was still considered one of the greatest honors a man could participate in. In fact, the majority of the soldiers had no last name nor did they wear the traditional silk kimono because they were so low in social class but they had been given, as they saw, this special kindness of being allowed to participate in the ceremony. After the men were chosen they were awarded a silk kimono and special sandals because of the great honor they were about to experience. These soldiers without the last names were not Samurai like the two captains and the two lieutenants. It was the first time in their life that they had been able to wear the silk kimonos. Seppuku, or as it is also known, hara kiri, was the mode of death instead of being beheaded like low class criminals usually received.

As the soldiers marched down the street with their sandals, called the geta, the sound of the sandals striking the pavement was a joyous experience for them and it took away any questions of why they were to die or their sadness about it. Two hundred soldiers were assigned to protect the group of eighteen as they marched to the Myokoji Temple in Sakai part of Osaka. The date was February 23, 1868. Upon reaching the Temple the two

captains turned to their men and assured them that the attack on the French was their idea and that the soldiers could feel free of any responsibility and that they felt it was unfair for any of them to have to die except for themselves. They told the soldiers of their appeal to let all of the soldiers go and how it had been turned down and reduced to the sixteen. It is apparent that because of the great honor of seppuku that the captains may not have been sad for the loss of the men but possibly because they were forced to share this honor with the many low class soldiers in their band.

The captains nevertheless thanked the soldiers. The guards surrounding the eighteen admired what they heard and felt that this would be a great memory to keep in their hearts, being present at this capital punishment. One of the captains, Nishimura, at the request of the crowd wrote a poem essentially saying that life was worth as much as “a drop of dew in the wind but that he was worried for the future of his country.” Just as the captain finished his poem the sky over Osaka became very dark and a heavy rain shower fell. The eighteen soldiers celebrated with food and wine and the seppuku ceremony was postponed for four hours as they waited for the rain to stop.

Captain Nishimura was invited to commit seppuku first. Representatives of the governments of Satsuma, Choshu and Kumamoto were all present. The soldiers present as guards came from at least five clans. Watching was the French Ambassador and about twenty of the French sailors. The captain, about aged twenty-five, approached his place of execution, a small platform raised a few inches about the ground. He sat down and greeted the crowd loudly saying to the French that he was dying for his nation, not for the French.

Using a short dagger he stabbed his stomach from the left to the right and up and down. Then he reached in, grabbed hold of his innards, and attempted to throw them to the French. The Kaishakunin, the assistant in seppuku, then, as was traditional, took a Samurai sword and attempted to cut off the captain's head. He had to swing twice and yet still the head did not fall off. The captain was still alive and he spoke once more saying, “I am not yet dead.” The Kaishakunin hit him the third time and finally the head did come off. The Japanese watching were very impressed, the French, however, were frightened, their faces turning pale and the faces turning away. The second captain, a man of twenty-four, had to stab himself twice to get deep enough and the assistant got off his head in just one try. When the fourth man finished his seppuku, the assistant had to hit his neck seven times before the head would come off. While the other soldiers waited for execution, they were not upset or nervous, only waiting in anticipation of their opportunity to participate in this great honor.

After eleven men had been executed and while the twelfth was about to start, the Frenchmen ran away yelling, “No more—enough, enough.” The twelfth man was stopped by Japanese officials and the remaining nine were saddened because they could see that they were not going to be able to participate in the seppuku. The Japanese officials went to the French boat to negotiate some more. The French asked the Japanese pardon the remaining nine soldiers. They did so and the nine were left ashamed. One soldier was so distraught that he bit his tongue and smashed his testicles and nearly killed himself, but friends helped him and he survived. He was Hashizume, the twelfth man, who was stopped before he could commit seppuku.

The eleven who had died were buried at the Hojuin Temple which was next to the

Myokoji Temple. Even as late as 1924, when Shakuma Washizu passed on this story, members of the Tosa community still honored with flowers and incense the soldiers who died in the Myokoji incident. Washizu obtained the story from the biography of Shojiro Goto who had been a member of the Japanese Diet. Like Kanaye, Washizu was aware of the way of the Japanese Knight, the Samurai. When Washizu recorded the results of his interviews with Kanaye in the early 1920's, he indicated that he and Kanaye had shared an appreciation for the meaning behind the Myokoji incident. As Kanaye returned to America after his first visit to Japan in thirty-two years he mused about how little his American friends understood of the Japanese and of his own heritage.

At Fountaingrove once again the indefatigable "Grape King" got quickly back to work. His primary business associates were George F. King and Wallace Ware, Sr. King owned King's Royal Grocery at Fourth and "A" Streets. It was Santa Rosa's first "super" market. He had met Kanaye the night of the disastrous fire at the Commandery. He and other volunteers had come in the middle of the night to fight the blaze. The beautiful structure was a complete loss.¹

The Commandery burned in 1910. As the story goes, an elderly gentleman was sitting reservedly in a restroom of the Great House reading a newspaper. He was alone there for by this time all other male members of the Brotherhood had left Fountaingrove. He fell asleep, fell over and spilled a burning oil lamp onto some nearby window curtains. The inadequate fire-fighting facilities of those days were little help. This, the largest house on the estate, burned to the ground and was never restored. The old man, Mr. Cowles, apparently escaped unharmed. As one will recall, Mr. Cowles was the architect responsible for the building of this beautiful house.²

King became Kanaye's business agent and served as an invaluable financial advisor. Wallace Ware and Wallace Ware, Jr., after his father's death in 1914, were the attorneys for Fountaingrove during the entire fifty-nine years of Kanaye's residence there.

At the turn of the century, Thomas Lake Harris was a tired man of seventy-seven years. He arranged to turn over control of his worldly holdings to the few active members of his cult. At the suggestion of Mrs. Harris, Fountaingrove ranch and the Vineyard Company were sold by Mr. Harris for a fraction of their worth to the members of the Brotherhood in Santa Rosa and two residing in New York. For \$40,000, Kanaye, Miss Eusardia Nicholas, Miss Margaret Edith Pating in Santa Rosa, and Robert and Mary Hart in New York became the sole owners.³

Kanaye was in fact the master of Fountaingrove. The changeover could not have come at a better time. The polished Japanese gentleman was at his prime, being now forty-eight years old. Some who met him were assured by his princely manner, confident aloofness and prodigious knowledge of viticulture, that he had been educated in the finest schools and likely raised among royalty. He in fact only attended Cornell University in New York for a semester in 1870 before Harris advised him to remove himself from the stifling false worldliness the Prophet felt the young Japanese was being exposed to in the college. Harris

1 Grace King, personal interview, October 5, 1968.

2 Hiro Ijichi interview, October 25, 1968.

3 Sonoma County, California, Clerk, Civil case no. 20661.

attempted to, however, provide him with as complete an education as he could.¹ The presence of his beloved nephew and his recent visit to Japan now coupled with this gift of elegance and position caused a rebirth of Kanaye's spirit.

The recent trip to Japan had been his second and it took place sometime around 1910. On this trip, his brother, Yanosuke Akahoshi presented him with a Samurai sword that he said had been owned by a Shogun. In later years he was often known to draw the large, two-edged sword from its glass case in the manor house and brandish it about in the manner of a battling Samurai to intrigue his guests.

A reporter from the *Dearborn Independent* was present once when Nagasawa brought out the sword. He saw what he guessed were remnants of Kanaye's Samurai heritage in the way he withdrew the blade from its scabbard. He pulled it with a quick, vigorous movement as he might have done in his youth when he was willing to decapitate an enemy. It was only a little thing showing, but it was a momentary awakening of the Kenjinsha spirit. Anybody else would have withdrawn the sword slowly, cautiously, the reporter felt.²

More frequently now he was traveling about to enjoy and renew old acquaintances. George Shima, the "Potato King", of the Central Valley of California, another very successful Japanese farmer, received Kanaye at his home often.³ In an unending attempt to learn more about his trade he observed other winemakers while traveling about the state.

Kanaye visited wineries in Sonoma and Napa Counties. He was seen often walking proudly into various winery offices, dressed formally, and most often puffing on a cigar. If he still felt suspicious and alone in Caucasian California he was not showing it in the early 1900's. He was frank in conversations but humble and gentle in his relations with others. Kanaye drove around in a Franklin automobile which broke down in 1909. In 1911 he bought a Buick for \$4,000 and according to relatives he never bought another car.

Kanaye learned more traveling in the famed Napa Valley and in the Asti area than from any other single source on winemaking. The Asti pioneers were the founders of what became the Italian Swiss Colony Winery. Kanaye said the Asti people had come from many backgrounds to create the agricultural community as Asti, but had become experts in viticulture.

The Fountaingrove master vineyardist was quoted by an interviewer to have said that "Most of the Asti growers had plied the trade of barbering like Andrea Sbarboro and Fugazi, the banker; though Rossi was a chemist. Jacob Schram, of Napa, had been a barber at St. Helena, but he was brought up in the Johannisberg Vineyards in Germany. There was a grower! I visited with him in the late '70's, shortly after Robert Louis Stevenson wrote of him in *Silverado Squatters*."⁴

1 Nagasawa, diary, January 7, 21, 23. 1871.

2 *Dearborn Independent*, August 27, 1927, p. 3.

3 George Shima (Ushima) was probably America's most successful Japanese truck farmer. In the Sacramento Valley, he was, by 1910, farming 8,720 acres mostly of potatoes. Yamato Ichihashi, *Japanese in the United States* (Stanford: Stanford U. Press, 1932), p. 183. Hereinafter cited as Ichihashi, *Japanese*. Shima and Kanaye frequently met in San Francisco at purebred horse auctions, for each fancied and raised horses. Sasaki, interview.

4 I. Jones, "Samurai", pp.

CHAPTER VI

A Japanese in California

California had, by 1900, an increasing number of Japanese farmers: Kanaye Nagasawa and George Shima among the most prominent. In 1890 California had 1,099 Japanese in residence.¹ By 1900 there were 10,151, and by 1910, 41,356 had come to live in the "Golden State".² The Japanese population of the whole country in 1910 was 67,744; thus California had become ostensibly the home of Japanese in America.³

In 1909 there were 39,000 Japanese engaged in farming throughout the country. Six thousand of them were farm owners rather than farm laborers.

Thus some of the Japanese who had started to work on farms in the 80's and 90's began to emerge as tenant and independent farmers in the late 90's.... They not only attained this position first in California, but they have developed independent farming here to a degree unwitnessed in any other state.⁴

Kanaye had been a pioneer in this immigration movement. Although not the first of his race to come to America, in 1867 when the young Kanaye arrived in Boston there were probably less than thirty of his countrymen in the United States.⁵ In 1870 there were 73 here; in 1880, 401 and in 1890, 2,292.⁶ Between 1890 and 1915, Japanese immigration went rampant and as reported above, two-thirds of them settles in California.

In 1843 Manjiro Nakahama was brought to Fairhaven, Massachusetts. Manjiro was the first reported Japanese to have made it to America. A ship had rescued him in mid-Pacific. The Captain took a liking to him and encouraged him to enter schooling in New England. Manjiro was an adventurer, however, and ended up in the gold fields of California in 1849.

In 1851, one year before Kanaye's birth, Manjiro returned to Japan. He landed in Kanaye's home town, Kagoshima. Shimazu, Lord of Satsuma clan, had Manjiro tried for leaving his country unlawfully. His good reports of America, however, caught attention in Kagoshima and he was soon released. Apparently he had a significant influence on Japanese attitudes towards Americans.⁷

By 1920, eighty-five percent of the Japanese in the United States were in California.⁸ Of four million acres of irrigated farm lands in the state, by 1919 nearly 500,000 acres were held "under control of corporation, owned outright or leased" by Japanese.⁹

Californians recognized the Japanese as devoted, hard-working farmers. They exhibited a definite trend toward land ownership and land control. And, in a very short time they

1 California, *Census Returns of the State of California, 1890* (Sacramento: 1892), p. 3.

2 U. S., *General Report and Analysis... 1910*, Vol. I (Washington, D. C. 1913), p. 157. Hereinafter cited as U. S., *General Report, 1910*.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 784.

4 Ichihashi, *Japanese*, p. 178.

5 The first recorded Japanese to visit America was a young student who was brought to Fairhaven, Mass. by a ship captain in 1843.

6 U. S., *General Report, 1910*, p. 784.

7 Foster Rhea Dulles, *Yankees and Samurai*, (New York: Harper & Row Publ., 1965, pp. 46-48).

8 California State Board of Control, *California and the Oriental*, report to Governor Wm. D. Stephens (Sacramento: June 19, 1920), p. 8. Hereinafter cited as California S.B.C., *Oriental*.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 47.

had come to develop many of California's important agricultural centers. From 1915 to 1917, thirty-five per cent of all the grapes produced in the state were grown by them. Eighty-five per cent of such crops as celery, berries and asparagus were raised by Japanese in the state.¹

Fountaingrove was the recognized leader in production of grapes by a Japanese. The other owners of Fountaingrove were no longer recognized as responsible for its great success. Eusardia Nicholas, one of the five, died in 1903.² With the Harts in New York, that left only Kanaye and Miss Parting at the ranch. The widow of an East Indian coffee planter, who had died in 1818, the latter had little interest in the affairs of the estate. Alsire Chevallier had included as one of her accusations in 1892 that Mrs. Parting was the sole funder of Fountaingrove at that time. Chevallier's point was that Harris was only a hustler, and he used to his advantage rich women like Mrs. Parting.

Everyone in the California and Santa Rosa community assumed Kanaye to be the primary figure of the company. With the death of Jonathon Lay in March of 1893, Robert Hart had his hands full running the New York offices of the winery firm.³

CHAPTER VII

The Passing of a Prophet and a Legacy

In 1904, Kanaye received word that Harris was growing weak and desired to see his Japanese friend. Leaving the ranch operation to Tomoki, Kanaye traveled to Florida where the dying prophet was visiting. It was at this time Kanaye learned the details of the Brotherhood's trust fund. It consisted of nearly \$130,000. The fund, created primarily from the profits of the Fountaingrove Vineyard Company and from donations, was to be placed under the control of Mrs. Harris upon the death of the prophet.⁴

She was, at her discretion, to use the money to satisfy the needs of the remaining Harrisites. Harris expressed the wish that upon the passing of his wife, Kanaye should take charge of the fund. Jane Harris gave Kanaye a letter attesting to the fact that this was the wish of her husband.

The Primate died in New York City two years later.⁵ Feeling more affinity for Fountaingrove than for New York, and devoid now of Harris's reassuring presence, Mrs. Harris and the Harts came to Santa Rosa. They left control of the Vesey Street office in James Freeman's hands.⁶ In three years, however, the friendship between Kanaye and the last remaining principals of the Brotherhood of the New Life went sour.

1 Japanese Agricultural Association, *The Japanese Farmers in California* (San Francisco: 1918), p.1. Hereinafter cited as Japanese, *Farmers*. I was not able to find names of other Japanese grape farmers. This is probably because most were laborers or tenants rather than land owners.

2 Sonoma County, California, Clerk, Civil case no. 16031.

3 *Ibid.* Schneider, *Prophet*, p. 477.

4 Sacramento, California, Supreme Court Clerk, File no. 4647. Hereinafter cited as Supreme Court, no. 4647.

5 Thomas Harris, cremation urn, United States Cremation Co., LTD., Fresh Pond, New York, March 26, 1906.

6 Supreme Court, no. 4647.

An argument ensued over business matters that got out of hand. The Harts and Mrs. Harris packed up and moved to San Diego. In a fit of rage, Robert Hart declared he had no further interest in the Fountaingrove Vineyard Company nor the ranch. He wished to leave the headaches to Kanaye.¹ And headaches there were! Just about the time of Harris's death the *phylloxera vasatrix* had moved into Kanaye's vineyards and was siphoning off the life of hundreds of acres of vines.

This native American insect had been first discovered in California in 1873. It was then found rotting small plots of grapevines just two miles north of the town of Sonoma, but it did not become a serious problem in Santa Rosa (or at least at Fountaingrove) until 1906, although both towns were in the same county.²

The *phylloxera* had been for decades the most destructive recognized enemy of the grapevine. But, although it was an American insect, winemakers in the United States did not consider it a serious threat until long after it had killed millions of acres of vines in other countries like France in the late 1860's.³

It had followed the curious path from the Eastern United States to Europe and back again to the Pacific Coast of America.

Kanaye felt confident, apparently, that the pestilence would not reach him for some time, if at all, when he did his planting in 1878. Sonoma was nearly twenty miles from Santa Rosa. Although early studies did result in the kind of optimism exhibited by Kanaye, by 1908 thousands of acres of vines in California had been ruined. Evidence is conflicting about how many acres Kanaye had at this time, but all were wiped out.⁴

Replanting of a newly discovered vine resistant to the *phylloxera* was begun immediately.⁵ The greatest number of new vines planted came from Dr. Bioletti at the University of California experimental station. Some were obtained by James Freeman in France and forwarded to Fountaingrove.⁶ During the three years it took for the new vines to grow to maturity, Kanaye purchased grapes from local farmers and carried on business as before, but naturally at high costs. By 1911 he had 400 acres of vines bearing again.⁷

Margaret Edith Parting died in 1911 at the ranch. Kanaye had every reason to assume he was sole owner of Fountaingrove.

As one of the state's top agriculturalists, Kanaye attained various honors for his leadership in the field of viticulture. He served on the Board of Advisors of the then active Japanese Agricultural Association with such men as George Shima and S. Yoshida, President of Sacramento's Nippon Bank. The Association wrote in its report of 1918:

1 It is probable that the disagreement concerned the trust fund and the actual use for which it was intended. Little evidence, however, exists to explain the true circumstances leading up to the argument.

2 California, 24th legislature, p. 90.

3 Regents of the University of California, report of the Viticultural Work During the Seasons 1887-93 (Sacramento: 1896), p. 375.

4 E. Sasaki recalls 800 acres of vines were ravaged, but Kanaye's own testimony 25 years later indicated he had no more than 500 acres. Supreme Court, no. 4647.

5 *The Alta California*, July 24, 1880, n.p.no., reported the discovery of a resistant vine, but later reports of the State Viticultural Commission conflict with this. The actual date of the discovery comes sometime after 1900.

6 Sasaki, interview. George Murphy, interview, October 1, 1968.

7 *Ibid.*

By his indefatigable zeal and industry [Kanaye] converted the wilderness into a land flowing with milk and honey, and today his wines command the highest prices in the markets of London and Paris. Truly, he is one of the best examples of Japanese farmers in California.¹

In San Francisco plans were being finalized for one of the country's most elaborate international fairs. The Panama-Pacific International Exposition was to be held there beginning in February of 1915. It was to commemorate the completion of the Canal at Panama the previous year. Invitations were issued to all countries, particularly those affected by the opening of this new route between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

Each of the nations participating were asked to send experts from their universities, science laboratories, corporations and schools of art. Kanaye was asked to serve on the Exposition Jury of Awards. Although a resident of the United States, the California Samurai had been included on the list of Japanese experts at the Exposition by the Commissioner-General of Japan.² Five hundred leading men and women in the fields of art, science, education, industry and agriculture served on the jury of judges.³

Kanaye had been chosen for two reasons: first, his expert knowledge of wines; secondly, the good impression he made upon Americans of the industry, high ability and cordiality of Japanese people. Emperor Taisho of Japan presented Kanaye with a commemorative medal, the *Order of the Rising Sun*, in the same year. This was one of the first medals of this importance ever presented to a subject of Japan outside of the Empire. The Emperor had announced his betrothal and in honor of this event, 200 of the medals were distributed world-wide. In the opinion of a relative, the wine judging and the medal were Kanaye's two most prized memories.⁴

[End]

1 Japanese, *Farmers*, p. 9.

2 He still retained his Japanese citizenship.

3 Frank Morton Todd, *The Panama-Pacific International Exposition*, Vol. IV (5 vols.; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1921), p. 383. Kosuke Ijichi, personal interview, October 25, 1968. Hereinafter cited as K. Ijichi, interview.

4 K. Ijichi, interview.

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Harris, Thomas Lake. Ledger. 1868-1883 passim. This is an uncompleted expenses ledger that refers little to Nagasawa but gives some indications of his position in the colony. In Gaye LeBaron's private file.

Hart, Rober Morris. Testimony. N.P.: N.D. This declaration by Robert Hart indicates the quality of his devotion to T.L. Harris. It also serves as fair descriptive information about the prophet. At Edwin Markham Archives.

Hayashi, Takeji. Proposed study paln: Story of Arinori Mori and Osui T. Arai. Sendai, Japan: about 1960. Hayashi has apparently completed this work but all efforts to contact him or find his book failed. In Terry Jones private files.

Isonaga, Magoshiro. *Satsumahan no Kaikoroku* (Memoirs of Satsuma Clan), 1865. Mrs. Hiro Ijichi has these records passed down to her through the family. Magoshiro kept his own records of the activities of the Satsuma clan and a few pages were copied and retained by Kanaye's brothers. These pages refer particularly to the group of Nineteen and is likely the only list available in Japanese. In Hiro Ijichi private files.

Kawakatsu, Masayuki. *Kanaye Nagasawa no Jijoden* (Biography of Kanaye Nagasawa), Unpublished notebook, 1933. Kawakatsu, now deceased, was a banker in San Francisco. He became acquainted with Nagasawa and soon after began writing this story of the winemaker. He based his study on three sources: 1. Interviews with Kanaye. 2. The Isonaga memoirs. 3. The serialized biography of Kanaye written for the *Nichi-Bei Times* in 1925-26 by Bunzo Washizu. The notebook is written in the Japanese brush writing mostly of the older "kanji" style. Because Kanaye passed away before this notebook was finished, Kawakatsu presented this piece of art to Mrs. Ijichi and this single copy remains in her home today.

Mori, Arinori. Letter to Kanaye Nagasawa. April 8, 1871. This rare example of letters to Kanaye indicates the strong devotion Mori felt for his friend. At Edwin Markham

Archives.

Nagasawa, Kanaye. Diary. 1894. Although few entries appear in this single year diary, it gives some indication of Kanaye's daily routine. In Gaye LeBaron's private files.

Nagasawa, Kanaye. Diary. 1871. This is a very complete description of life at Brocton. It is probably the only contemporary record of its type. Nagasawa discusses more the others than himself but a great deal is available about his interpretations of his own lot also. In Eikichi Sasaki private files.

Nagasawa, Kanaye. Letter to Edwin Markham. November 29, 1887. In Edwin Markham Archives.

Nagasawa, Kanaye. Textbook. 1871. This is a notebook Kanaye used for his studies and includes notes on history, political science, geography, and mathematics. In Eikichi Sasaki private files.

Wilne, Marcus K. Letter to Terry Jones. May 19, 1969. Mr. Wilne was a librarian in the city of Aberdeen, Scotland. He answered a letter I wrote the City of Aberdeen requesting corroboration of the fact Nagasawa attended the Gymnasium school there. In Terry Jones private files.

VI. Public Documents

California. *Appendix to Journals of Senate and Assembly*. 24th legislature, 1881. Report no. 15 is that of the first annual report of the Board of Viticultural Commissioners. At Santa Rosa Public Library.

California. *Appendix to Journals of the Senate and Assembly*. 25th legislature, 1883. Report no. 2 is the second annual report of the B. S. V. C. At Santa Rosa Public Library.

California. *Appendix to the Journals of the Senate and Assembly*. 31st legislature, 1895. Report no. 3 is the biennial report of the B. S. V. C. At Santa Rosa Public Library.

California. *Appendix to the Journals of the Senate and Assembly*. 35th legislature, 1901. At page 136 begins the Transactions of the California State Agricultural Society. At the Santa Rosa Public Library.

California. *Appendix to the Journals of the Senate and Assembly*. 42nd legislature, 1917. Pages 1-4 of second report includes report of B. S. V. C. At Santa Rosa Public Library.

California. *Census Returns of the State of California*. 1890. Sacramento, 1892. At San Francisco Public Library.

California. *Reports*. Vol. 218, 1933. (p.685—Hart vs. Nagasawa). At Sonoma County Administration Center Law Library.

California. *Statutes of California and Amendments to the Codes*. 38th legislature, 1909. 40th legislature, 1913. 45th legislature, 1923. At California State Library at Sacramento.

Sacramento, California. Supreme Court Clerk. File no. 4647. This is the complete trial transcript of the Hart vs. Nagasawa civil action that ended at the State Supreme Court. At California State Supreme Court Clerk's office at Sacramento.

San Diego County, California. Recorder. Powers of Attorney. Book 15 (pp.31,34,37,38).

Sonoma County, California. Clerk. Civil cases. File nos. 16031, 20661, 18252, 18253, 18256, 18603, 18875.

Sonoma County, California. Clerk. Last Will and Testament of Kanaye Nagasawa. Filed

March 5, 1934.

Sonoma County, California. Clerk. Probate. File no. 11886.

Sonoma County, California. Clerk. Register of Limited Partnerships. Vol. 1, 1874-1959, no. 237.

Sonoma County, California. Recorder. Bonds and Agreements. Book T (p. 250).

Sonoma County, California. Recorder. Death Certificates. no. 53. Deaths 1934 (p. 214).

Sonoma County, California. Recorder. Deeds. Book 20 (p. 411). Book 62 (pp. 315-17). Book 198 (p. 193). Book 367 (p. 302). Book 370 (p. 234).

Sonoma County, California. Recorder. Official Records. Vols. 83 (p. 497), 192 (pp. 204-08), 197 (pp. 158-63), 234 (pp. 45-47). 284 (pp. 283), 300 (p. 353), 322 (pp. 398-400), 333 (pp. 227-28, 423), 335 (pp. 246-48), 380 (p. 220).

Sonoma County, California. Tax Collector. Assessment Roll No. 6 (pp. 58, 109), 7 (p. 90).

U.S. Commissioner-General of Immigration. *Annual Report, 1908*. Washington, D.C.: 1908.

U.S. General Report and Analysis. Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910. Vol. 1. Washington, D.C.: 1913.

VI. Interviews

Ijichi, Hiro. Private interviews at home of Kosuke Ijichi. October 25; November 20, 1968, *et al.*

Ijichi, Kosuke. Private interviews at home of interviewee: 673 Amador, Richmond, California. October 25, November 10, 1968, *et al.*

Kay, George. Private interview at Italian Swiss Colony Winery, Asti, California. October 15, 1968. Mr. Kay worked at the Fountaingrove winery in the early 1950's. He was able to offer interesting criticism of the winery operation and physical plant.

King, Grace. Private interview at home of interviewee: 1930 Alderbrook Ct., Santa Rosa, California. October 5, 1968. Miss King is one of the two remaining children of George F. King.

Murphy, George. Private interview at office of interviewee: Murphy, Brownscombe, Gleason, Keegan Attorneys. 200 E Street, Santa Rosa, California. October 1, 1968. Murphy was an intimate of Wallace Ware and his law partner. He made frequent visits to Fountaingrove and assisted Ware in the defense of Nagasawa during the Hart trial.

Oka, Yuki. Private interview at the home of interviewee: 5519 Bennett Valley Road, Santa Rosa, California. November 18, 1968. Miss Oka grew up at Fountaingrove. Her father worked at the winery.

Sasaki, Eikichi. Private interview at home of interviewee: Berkeley, California. March 15, 1969, *et al.*

Personal History of Kanaye Nagasawa

A. D.	Japanese Calendar			
1852. 2. 20.	<i>Kaei</i>	5. 2. 1.		Hikosuke Isonaga is born. Father is Magoshiro Isonaga; Mother, Fumi Isonaga (b. 1811.6.18. (Japanese Calendar <i>Bunka</i> 8.4.28.) d. 1891 (<i>Meiji</i> 24) 10.18., second daughter of Kanzaemon Matsumoto at <i>Shimomarata-cho</i> , Kagoshima).
1865. 2. 13.	<i>Genji</i>	2. 1. 18.		He, together with other 14 students of <i>Kaiseisho</i> school, is given an order to go to study in England. All are given new names. Hikosuke Isonaga changes his name into Kanye Nagasawa.
1865. 2. 15.	"	1. 20.		They leave Kagoshima, the capital city of <i>Satsuma</i> .
" 2. 16.	"	1. 21.		They reach <i>Hashima</i> , <i>Kushikino</i> , a small fishing village about 60 miles west of Kagoshima.
" 4. 15.	"	3. 20.		The S.S. Australian of Glover & Co. due at Hong Kong, having sailed from <i>Nagasaki</i> the day before, calls at <i>Hashima</i> to pick up the students.
" 4. 17.	"	3. 22.		They go on board the ship and sail from <i>Hashima</i> .
" 4. 21.	"	3. 26.		Arrive at Hong Kong. Change their hair style and clothes into Western ones. Transfer to another ship.
" 4. 29.	"	4. 5.		They sail from Hong Kong.
" 5. 5.	<i>Keio</i>	1. 4. 11.		Arrive at Singapore. (1865. 5. 1. <i>Genji</i> is changed into <i>Keio</i>).
" 5. 8.	"	1. 4. 14.		Arrive at Penang.
" 5. 15.	"	1. 4. 21.	"	Galle.
" 5. 22.	"	1. 4. 28.	"	Bombay. Transfer to another ship.
" 5. 24.	"	1. 4. 30.		Sail from Bombay.
" 5. 31.	"	1. 5. 7.		Arrive at Aden.
" 6. 8.	"	1. 5. 15.	"	Suez. Leave from there for Alexandria by train.
" 6. 9.	"	1. 5. 16.		Arrive at Alexandria. Board the ship S.S, Delhi and sail on the same day.
" 6. 12.	"	1. 5. 19.		Arrive at Malta.
" 6. 16.	"	1. 5. 23.		Arrive at Gibraltar.
" 6. 21.	"	1. 5. 28.		Arrive at Southampton early in the morning. Arrive in London at night and settle there.
" 7. 29.	"	1. 6. 7.		They visit Britannia Iron Works at Bedford, accompanied by Dr. Williamson of London University, etc..
" 8. 19.	"	1. 6. 28.		Nagasawa leaves London for Aberden. Lodges in

- Glover's home, Braehead, Bridge of Don. He enters a private school, the Gymnasium, at Chanonry, Old Aberdeen. T. Blake Glover himself is one of the graduates of the school.
1866. 6. 22. Nagasawa's name appears on the prize list of the Gym in the Aberdeen Free Press.
1867. 6. 21. Nagasawa's name again appears in the Aberdeen Free Press.
- " 7. ? . Nagasawa returns to London from Aberdeen.
- " 8. ? . Nagasawa, with five other students—Yoshida, Same-shima, Mori, Ichiki, Hatakeyama—departs from England for Harris' Colony at Amenias, New York, U.S.A..
1875. 2. ? . Kanaye Nagasawa and Harris leave New York for California.
- " 7. ? . Work begun on first structures at Fountaingrove.
- 1892 2. ? . Harris and his wife leave Fountaingrove permanently and Kanaye Nagasawa becomes master of ranch and winery farm.
1897. ? . ? . Kanaye Nagasawa makes first trip home to Japan since his departure in 1865.
1900. ? . ? . Harris sells Fountaingrove to Kanaye Nagasawa and four others.
1906. 3. 26. Harris dies.
1910. ? . ? . Kanaye Nagasawa's second visit to Japan.
- " 8. 1. *Meiji* 43. 8. 1. Nagasawa's registered name and address, "Hikosuke Isonaga, 21 *Arata-cho* (now *Shimoarata-cho*) Kagoshima-shi," is changed into "Kanaye Nagasawa, 53 *Arata-cho*, Kagoshima-shi."
1916. 9. 17. Kanaye Nagasawa nearly dies from ruptured appendix.
1917. ? . ? . Kanaye Nagasawa's third trip to Japan.
1920. 1. ? . 18th amendment to U.S. Constitution—Prohibition—goes into effect.
1923. ? ? Kanaye Nagasawa's fourth and final trip to Japan.
1931. 2. ? . Robert Hart's trial attempting to take control of Fountaingrove.
1934. 1. ? . 18th Amendment repealed.
1934. 3. 1. Kanaye Nagasawa's death at 9 in the morning, at Santa Rosa, Sonoma, California, U.S.A..