

出島—長崎—日本—世界 憧れの旅

サダキチ・ハルトマン(1867-1944)と倉場富三郎 (1871-1945)

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Dejima-Nagasaki-Japan-The World
The Nostalgic Journeys of Sadakichi Hartmann (1867-1944) and
Tomisaburo Kuraba (nee Thomas Albert Glover 1871-1945), Two Men
from the International Settlement

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“If one hadn’t been oneself, it would have been worthwhile being Sadakichi”
— Ezra Pound

Sadakichi Hartmann, second son of a Japanese mother and a German father, born in Dejima, Nagasaki, raised in Hamburg and Philadelphia, lived most of his life in America, becoming a naturalized citizen in 1894. Very early in his career, he paid frequent calls on Walt Whitman, the poet, in Camden, New Jersey, who said of him “I have more faith in Hartmann than any of the boys.” In this paper, I trace Sadakichi’s roots in Japan, his writings about Whitman, and his early days in Boston where he wrote his play ‘Christ,’ the first drama in that city to have become notorious for being ‘banned in Boston.’ For a time in the early 1900s, Sadakichi led a Bohemian life in New York City, working on Alfred Steiglitz’s stylish new magazine called ‘Camera Notes,’ then ‘Camera Work.’ Sadakichi became a leading critic of the new art of photography. In 1901, he published a book called *A History of American Art*. It is the first such history to be published in the United States. In the same period, he also wrote a wonderful book called *Japanese Art*, almost miraculous because Sadakichi had no background knowledge in Asian Art. I want to examine, in my paper, how Sadakichi used a version of his Japanese identity in his works that he self-constructed. I will examine how nostalgia for the Japan of his birth became the basis for his cross-cultural, trans-culturative modernism. That modernism is what led him to Hollywood in the roaring twenties, where he found a place among the great silent film actors, and even appeared with Douglas Fairbanks Sr. in *The Thief of Baghdad* (1924).

Finally, I speak briefly about Tommy Glover (Tomisaburo Kuraba), the son of Nagasaki’s wealthiest foreigner, Thomas Glover, who also went on a

nostalgic journey which formed his cross-cultural identity. But, his was a more gentlemanly solution, and one that did not ever take him away for long from his birthplace of Nagasaki. He certainly never met Sadakichi Hartmann, but I would like to close with some ideas that contrast the idea of the ‘jester’ and the ‘gentleman.’

Dejima, Nagasaki, Japan, the World - Nostalgic Journeys:

Part I: Sadakichi Hartmann (1867-1944) and Tomisaburo Kuraba (nee Thomas Albert Glover 1871-1945) The Background

Nostalgia is a condition of constructed reality built from memory observed at a distance. When one takes up the pieces of fragmentary memory of times past, and/or of a distant birthplace, and then weaves them into the fabric of one’s present life, we call that ‘identity.’ Memory, as I see it, serves to construct identity. A nostalgic journey, whether personal or literary is, thus, a trip back to spirit. I embarked on a journey of creating nostalgia for home similar to that followed by Sadakichi and Tomisaburo, the subjects of this paper. I made a construct of home, a memory, by creating a memory of it in Japan. I became a *ryugakusei*.

And so what we make of the facts of our separate biologies, not the facts themselves, is what is implied by nostalgia. Perhaps with my own nod to the siren call of confession, I want to talk about two men from Nagasaki whose biographical details, as well as what they made of them, are indeed central to who they were. The works they have left behind are all particularly informed by a sense of genetic code, of identity imbedded in their works and deeds. Both men are of mixed Japanese and European blood. Both men by virtue of their parentage had already completed a nostalgic journey in just being born. That is the difference between them and me. They contained the foreign within the familiar. Both men opened their eyes in the international settlement area of Nagasaki, within several years of each other; both were the offspring of European merchantmen and their Japanese paramours. I don’t think their fathers ever met; Carl Herman Oscar Hartmann, Prussian, with Thomas Blake Glover (1838-1911), from Aberdeen, Scotland. Both had found their way to Nagasaki in the freewheeling decade of 1855-1865, before Japan’s Meiji Era, yet after the commercial treaties allowing free trade had been signed with Tokugawa authorities. Both heard about the opportunities awaiting them in Nagasaki from sources in Shanghai where business was booming.

Their sons Sadakichi and Tomisaburo were born with equally inescapable good looks that led them to project the Japanese part of their heritage as their main identity, though, in fact, it was dual.

My intention in this paper is to trace how identity in these two men depended on their choice of the Japanese side of their mixed blood heritage. One of them, Sadakichi, was swept away in his youth and never returned,

while the other, Tomisaburo, made his life in the lively expatriate community of Nagasaki and almost never went abroad save for a brief period of unhappy education in the United States.

Sadakichi Hartmann (1867-1944), born in Nagasaki to Carl Oscar Hartmann and a Japanese mother, Sada, died shortly before the end of World War II in Florida where he was visiting one of daughters. He had lived in Banning, California, in a shack of his own making, apparently, where he spent the last years of his life as neighbor to his daughter Wistaria Linton, on the edge of the Morongo Indian reservation.¹

Sadakichi in his last days had been hounded by agents of the American FBI for being of suspect genetic heritage, German and Japanese. There had been many happier days between the two World Wars, however, when Sadakichi had been feted as a great, romantic, exotic Oriental.²

By the age of ten (c.1877), after Sadakichi had been repatriated to Hamburg in Germany, he was enrolled in a military school for boys. Both in Japan and in Germany in these days, the model young boy would have been dressed in a military uniform.³ A newly emergent Germany and a modernizing Japan found equal expressions of 'homeland' in their respective love of variations on the idea of 'uniform,' namely nostalgia as aspiration.

Sadakichi soon left Germany and these ideas behind. He immigrated to Philadelphia where he educated himself in English. His career as a writer, critic, and actor had its big break here.

In the decade 1884-94, visiting Walt Whitman in Camden, New Jersey, across the river from Philadelphia, living in Boston from 1887-89 writing plays and beginning a family that would eventually comprise five children, then camping in New York from 1896-1916, writing critical essays on photography for the first great artist of photography in America, Alfred Stieglitz (1864-1946), then vamping in Hollywood and other California cities during the 1920's and 1930's where he appeared in one great silent film, 'The Thief of Baghdad' (1924) with Douglas Fairbanks Sr., remarried, became a drinking buddy of Hollywood actors John Barrymore and others who lived on Bundy Drive, Sadakichi Hartmann remained a main topic of conversation, was a much sought after companion, and was never ostracized because of his background.

Sadakichi reveled in the fiction of himself as a Japanese literati. Though he had virtually no actual experience of Japan other than having been born there, throughout his life, Sadakichi relied proudly on aspects of his Japanese heritage, not all of them at the same time. Being Japanese aided Hartmann's artistic and critical ideas of modernism, and the exoticism of his looks certainly made his American audience sit up and take notice. Sadakichi cut a very handsome figure.⁴

Tomisaburo Kuraba, nee Thomas Albert Glover (1871-1945), like Sadakichi, was also born in Nagasaki, a few years later, but he was eons away in terms of privilege and future potential. Tomisaburo's father, Thomas Blake Glover was already the richest foreigner living in the city. He had established his fortune in ferrying Japanese silver to Shanghai where it fetched three times the rate in exchange it had cost to obtain the mineral in Japan. Thomas Glover had come to Nagasaki in 1859, age 21, from Shanghai. By 1864, he had built the most magnificent and eccentric house in Nagasaki, on a high bluff overlooking the bay. The house still stands in a specially designated park maintained by the City of Nagasaki called The Glover Gardens. It is known worldwide as Madame Butterfly's house, though the fictional heroine of Puccini's most popular opera or anyone who even remotely resembled her never lived there, nor did Puccini ever make a visit. Glover died in Tokyo before the opera became famous. The City of Nagasaki only in recent years appropriated the locale into its campaign for renewed travel and tourism, and it is 'Butterfly' nostalgia that draws hordes of Japanese tourists to the house every year.

With one brief interlude abroad for study, Tomisaburo Glover-Kuraba never left the glorious Nagasaki house his father had built on the bluff, even when Thomas Glover removed to another mansion he had built for himself in the Shiba Park area of Tokyo. Tomisaburo maintained a gracious presence in the city of Nagasaki through his quiet work as a pillar of the city's merchant society. On the death of his stepmother O-tsuru, Thomas Glover's wife, Tomisaburo dutifully married Waka, the daughter of an English merchant and a Japanese woman, to whom he had been betrothed by his father. Together, they lived peacefully in the Glover Mansion, childless, until the final days of the 'dark valley' of the 1930's. Tomisaburo's major contribution to world culture has yet to be recognized; his efforts to compile the largest hand-drawn illustrated encyclopedia of the ichthyology of Japan, over 800 magnificent sketches of the fishes and other marine life of the seas surrounding Nagasaki that he commissioned from 1912 to 1933.

Tomisaburo's other greatest contribution to the cultural life of Nagasaki is the building of the International Club, a social club where non-Japanese mixed with the locals. This building still stands on what is left of Dejima, the island built in Nagasaki harbor in 1632 to contain the only foreigners to be allowed commerce in Japan for the ensuing two hundred years, the Dutch traders. Tomisaburo started the process of historical conservation and protection in the City of Nagasaki. Today, the tiny island settlement of Dejima is being partially restored by the city in time for the 400th anniversary of official relations between Holland and Japan, which takes place in 2000.

That's the bigger picture of Sadakichi and Tomisaburo. I admire both of these men because each was able to build a cross-cultural identity and make significant cultural contributions to Japan and the United States based on a

conscious construct, a nostalgic version of their respective Japanese birth-rights. Politics and economics combined to produce equally significant disruptions in both men's lives, which were directly related to the Western halves of their heritages. Both fathers had their hands in the business of building and supplying the military. Both sons rejected this aspect of Western business in Japan.

I confess that I too had connections with the military, both of which I talk as little about as possible. My father was at the Boeing Company and worked on the wing assemblies of the B-29 bombers that destroyed Japan, including the one that finally dropped the A-bomb on Nagasaki. I reject that, but not him. So it was that Sadakichi was taken out of Nagasaki, but it never left him. So it was that Tomisaburo rejected his father's enterprises, but never the father.

The constructed identities of Sadakichi and Tomisaburo are nostalgias based on birth. Both made decisions to abandon genetic duality; in Sadakichi's case for the clear light of exoticism, in Tomisaburo's case for a communality with the citizens of Nagasaki. I admire both of these men for their cultural accomplishments. I suffer when I read of how the twentieth century's indignities of discrimination fell on both their heads, never allowing their nostalgias to last, because it is all so within the realm of possibility today.

Part II: The Cultural Contributions of Sadakichi Hartmann (1867-1944)

Sadakichi's father Carl Oskar Hartmann was one of two partners in the company of Lehmann & Hartmann, and had come, via the Matheson-Jardine offices in Shanghai, as a representative of this English trading company whose task was to explore new opportunities in the free port of Nagasaki. The years from 1855 to 1867 were boom years for Nagasaki, and for Carl Oskar Hartmann. But Sakakichi Hartmann, it was known, had few memories of Nagasaki, and virtually no memory of his mother O-sada, except for the single photograph, which he carried throughout his life.⁵ O-sada must have been a handsome woman with prominent squared jaws and an elongated face that my friends in Nagasaki tell me is called *urizanegao*, characteristically Nagasakiesque. Sadakichi, particularly in his later years, exhibits much of his mother's strong face and jaws in most photos taken of him after about 1920. Sadakichi's youthful photographs such as the one in his German military academy uniform indicate a soft, rounded, more Germanic contour. It appears that one ethnic aspect was prominent in youth, while the truer visage emerged later in his life, and that was most definitely long and square jawed, after the handsome faces one still sees today in Nagasaki. The point I want to make here is that genes, looks, Japaneseness in various guises, was what Sadakichi was most proud of in his background, and in his personality.

This is what people saw in him. This is what he purveyed.

I find Oscar Hartmann utterly fascinating because of the extent to which Sadakichi went to deny his father's background and business interests. In the first place, his German relatives, with the single exception of his aunt in Hamburg, treated him with contempt, while, on the other hand, his father Oscar was a dealer in armaments, failed dealer as it turned out, who sought his fortune in a number of ways, and in a number of places which would not have provided a stable upbringing for a boy with such literary, poetic, proclivities as Sadakichi possessed in such great array. Sadakichi identified his father Oscar as intimately connected with the military. He was sent to military school outside of Hamburg, it seems, from which he was expelled or turned out. One can imagine why. The photo of him in military school shows a sad German boy in a uniform, hardly the Sadakichi of new-worldly fame as the Bohemian King of Greenwich Village, which he became several decades later. But before he left Japan, never to return, as his life determined, he must have known that his father was away most of the time, selling guns to the Japanese.⁶

So, Sadakichi and his brother were sent back to Germany because his father had become involved, through Osaka, with the clans in Wakayama that were holding out against the Tokugawa authorities, and that when the Meiji did finally come, and the power of the Tokugawa central authority began to die out, it also became clear that the Meiji authorities intended to institute a new system of central authority in which centralization of the military, and military procurement, was a part. It is ironic that Sadakichi's father Oscar was doing the right thing, but for the wrong people. Too bad he could not have found his metier among the newly established power barons of the Meiji elite. But such was not the case, and so Oscar left Japan, Sadakichi and his brother Taru were already in Germany, and never went back to Japan, it seems.

Sadakichi runs away from the military academy to Paris. His father disinherits him and sends him away to the care of his philistine relatives in Philadelphia. He arrives in June of 1882, penniless and dependent on his American kin. Sadakichi begins to read, educating himself in the local Philadelphia libraries, and in the used bookstores of the city.

Sadakichi took to America in a big way. It at least was a unified country, if young, unlike his native Japan or his father's country, Germany. It had a mentality. It had a work ethic. It had a feeling of freedom to become anything one wanted. The most formative event of Sadakichi's career was to be his conversations with Walt Whitman, the grey old man, his eminence the poet of *Leaves of Grass*. In 1884, Sadakichi made his first visit to Walt Whitman in Camden, N.J., across the river from Philadelphia. Sadakichi would have been 17 or 18 years of age. He was to make many visits to Whitman. Sadakichi Hartmann's "*Conversations with Walt Whitman*" was published in 1895,

after Whitman's death. The executor of Whitman's estate did not delight in Sadakichi's incisive, by now almost legendary, quips about the great man, so much so that he tried to stop its publication. In addition, the piece contains satire, and points mercilessly to the foibles of prominent members of the arts community who were still living at the time. Perhaps because of its scandalous nature, all critics bemoaned that the conversations Sadakichi records never happened, or that they contained such blatant inaccuracies as to make them completely bogus. I have read this short work. It is most certainly more accurate than contemporary reports would have it. Walt Whitman was blunt, was known to excoriate members of the artistic community whom he considered inferior to himself, particularly those from the moneyed classes. There is a ring of truth to Sadakichi's account:

“There was nothing overwhelming to me in Whitman's face, but I liked it at once for its healthy manliness. It seemed to me a spiritually deepened image of contemporary Americans: an ideal laborer, as the Americans are really a nation of laborers. Above all else I was attracted by the free flow of his grey hair and beard, and his rosy complexion, Boucher-like, only healthier and firmer in tone. Of his features the large distance between his heavy eyebrows and his bluish grey eyes, (calm and cold in their expression) denoting frankness, boldness, haughtiness, according to my physiognomical observations, particularly interested me.”⁷

Sadakichi's early observations of Whitman denote qualities that he most admired and emulated. Whitman's genes seem transformed into Sadakichi's face; identification equals fusion. Later on in this same essay, Sadakichi remarks about the beauty of Nagasaki, as if to impress on Whitman how deeply his birth in Nagasaki influenced his worldview. When Whitman asks Sadakichi what he wants to do with his life, this is how the conversation proceeds:

“At that time I was stage-struck, and of course mentioned my intention to devote myself to the histrionic art; I contemplated a special study of Shakespeare's fools (though I was rather too tall for them···).

Whitman (shaking his head): ‘I fear that won't go. There are so many traits, characteristics, Americanisms, inborn with us, which you would never get at. One can do a great deal of propping. After all one can't grow roses on a peach tree.’

I spoke of Japan, of the beautiful bay of Nagasaki though I did not know much about it from personal recollection.

Whitman: ‘Yes, it must be beautiful.’

On leaving he gave me a proof sheet copy of “After all Not to Create Only,” saying paternally: ‘Read it over six or eight times and you may un-

derstand it.”⁸

Brief though this exchange is, Sadakichi tells us that the man and mentor’s advice to him is to take the essence of America, not its look, to perfect his personality freely in his own image. After all, Whitman was known to have been his best publicity agent, and sold his publications directly from his house, rather than through this publisher. It is amazingly appropriate that Sadakichi reports that Whitman gave him a copy of the poem “After all Not to Create Only,” because it contains Whitman’s idea of the essence of the American spirit. Whitman’s message to Sadakichi is in the first three lines:

‘After all, not to create only, or found only,
But to bring, perhaps from afar, what is already founded,
To give it our own identity, average, limitless, free;’⁹

Disregarding Whitman’s advice to stay off the stage, Sadakichi decided to be an actor, or to at least delve into the life of the theatre. It was a fascination that never left him. Sadakichi Hartmann was to write the first American drama, ‘Christ’(1893), to contain full frontal nudity, but in many other ways as well, the play is a forerunner of modernity.¹⁰

In ‘Christ’ (1893), which Sadakichi calls a dramatic poem in three acts, Jeshua (his calling of Jesus) is at the cottage of his sister Magdalen, when the pilgrimess Hannah appears. She begins to have strange feelings that send her into a reverie. Here is the section which caused the a major scandal in the Press:

“(HANNAH enters.) Strange feelings have come over me. I hardly know myself. (*Breaks a lily and plucks out the stamens.*) (Pause)

BOTH (as before). The chaos of our childlike dreams has merged into unsatisfied desires. Our love is poisoned by heart-corroding thoughts, and the mysteries of creation have become the temptation in our Eden-like dream. (*Their voices falter, tears fall from their eyes, profound sobs convulse their throats. JESHUA kneels at HANNAH’s feet, lowers his head in bitter supplication, and weeps. She looks at him with an expression of indescribably sadness, her whole body trembles, then the sunshine breaks through the clouds, an angelic smile glides over her face, and the drapery unveils itself from the divine beauty of her body. Music—HANNAH hastily arranges her drapery, which formed a background to her denudation.*)

JESHUA. Your nakedness was a prayer! (To Ellosar the poet, who enters.) Soon you will hear from me. The mission of my life begins this very hour. (MOTHER MARIA enters the garden, and converses with HANNAH.)

ELLOSAR. People, nowadays, believe only in signs and wonders.

JESHUA. Then I will stoop to do them.

ELLOSAR. Oh, that I could always stay with you!

JESHUA. You could forget yourself, but not your art.

ELLOSAR. Oh, my beloved art!

JESHUA. Fair for a day.

ELLOSAR. Fair for ages to come! Art eternizes whatever is beautiful; each idea by purity composed has right to breathe the vital air. Inspirations of color, sound, or thought will yet survive when the pyramids have fallen to ruins, and the temple of Jerusalem no longer lifts its golden dome against the azure of the timeless sky.

JESHUA. May be, but to what end?

ELLOSAR. To beautify—to beautify!”¹¹

The nakedness, the lights and music, the drapery point to techniques that had been used, not to scandalous effect at all, in the dances of Louie Fuller in the Paris Expo of 1900 and which delighted the poets and writers of Europe. Mixing the senses, synesthesia practiced by the Symbolists, is at the core of Sadakichi's play. America was simply not ready for such, particularly when it was cast on the same stage with the primary icon of Christianity. Notice also that Christ takes the primary function of words to be purely aesthetic, not functional, as his poet Ellosar reminds him. No, no. America was not ready for the Word of God as symbolic. Sadakichi had introduced a modern technique (lights and nudity), and a modern idea (canonical text as literature) to the American stage. The result was scandal, arrest, and a messy trial.

Sadakichi's real calling, however, was his life as a journalist, a critic, and a Bohemian bon vivant with a New York sense of style, a European flair, as a newly fashioned oriental icon, an aficionado of free love, socialism, emancipation, and as an artist of new forms of literature and the arts.

While his plays failed, Sadakichi Hartmann wrote copiously on the subject of photography in his New York years. His essays on photography written in the last decade of the 19th century and the first two decades of the twentieth, have been recently re-published with a critical introduction.¹² His main concern in these articles was to introduce America to photography as an art, and to establish himself as its best critic. He was the first to do so in America. It is beyond the scope of this paper to deal with particular aspects of Sadakichi's critical writings on photography, but many times he uses concepts of Japanese painting to help establish photography's modernity.

As an art critic, Sadakichi Hartmann wrote the first book on Japanese Art in America, *Japanese Art* (1904). His chapter on the influence of Japanese Art is intended to explain to the American reader the reasons behind the current rage for Japonisme in Europe:

“European artists have equaled the Japanese in clever grouping, vigorous action, force of expression, passion for form and color, and even in sketchy

figure delineation without the appliance of shadows, but they have never reached that unlimited suggestiveness which even the most insignificant Japanese picture-book contains. This suggestiveness had conquered modern art.

It came at the right time. Too much philosophy had been written in Europe; everything, from the most commonplace to the most sublime, had been collected, catalogued, commented upon, raked up merely for the sake of raking up barren knowledge. It now became necessary to remove the dust and cobwebs that had settled on it, and infuse new life by purifying, remodeling and developing that heap of knowledge. And what could accomplish this better than Japanese art? Its influence was everywhere felt. It called forth, for instance, the short story literature, in which Anderson, Turgenjew (sic), Verga, and the modern French and Scandinavian writers are masters,—a tendency toward brevity and conciseness of expression, which suggests a good deal more than it actually tells. Its law of repetition with slight variation, we can trace in Poe's poems, the work of the French symbolists, and above all else, in the writings of Maurice Maeterlinck, that quaint combination of Greek, medieval, and Japanese art reminiscences.”

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Sadakichi wrote other books as well in this period. They deal with establishing a reputation for American painting and sculpture: *A History of American Art* (1903), *Shakespeare in Art* (1901), *The Construction of Painting* (1909), *The Whistler Book* (1910), *The Construction of Landscape Painting and Portraiture* (1910), and *Modern American Sculpture* (1918).

Sadakichi Hartmann also wrote screenplays in Hollywood, and even appeared in the great silent film 'The Thief of Baghdad (1924),' with Douglas Fairbanks Sr. in which he played a magician. The film also starred two other major Asian faces, Anna May Wong (1905-1961) as a Mongol princess, the gloriously beautiful Chinese-American who starred in many other Hollywood films, and Sojin (Kamiyama Sojin (1891-1954)) who played the role of Anna May Wong's brother, the Mongol Prince. Among Kamiyama's last films was Kurosawa's *The Seven Samurai (Shichinin no samurai)* (Toho, 1954) where he starred with Toshiro Mifune. Sadakichi's was one of the first Asian faces in cinema.

In the 1930's, Sadakichi becomes an intimate in the circle of Hollywood actors known as The Bundy Drive Boys that included John Barrymore, Gene Fowler, W.C.Fields, and John Decker. I find in a review of Gene Fowler's book *Minutes of the Last Meeting* (1984) that Bundy Drive was the Studio/home of John Decker, in what is now notorious Brentwood, California of OJ Simpson fame. Perhaps the neighborhood has always been on the edge. John Decker was an artist with Hollywood actor friends. The Bundy Drive boys were a

rude, urbane, witty, vicious, caustic, loyal, intrepid, and hard living (read hard-drinking) group, and Sadakichi was their prime delight. In this era, Sadakichi worked on a long manuscript called *Esthetic Verities*. This has not been published. It is known that Sadakichi had asthma, drank, and often acted the buffoon at these Brentwood Bundy Drive parties.¹⁴

Sadakichi Hartmann spent the WWII years living as an eccentric in a clapboard shack next to his daughter Wistaria Linton, which he called “Catclaw Siding.” He moved to this location in Banning, California, on the edge of the Morongo Indian Reservation, in 1923, and remained there until shortly before his death in 1944 when he was in his late seventies. He died while on a visit to another daughter, Mrs. Dorothea Gilliland, by his first marriage, in St. Petersburg, Florida.

The only book in Japanese on Sadakichi Hartmann remains one published in 1972 by Ota Saburo called *Rebellious Artist-Bohemian of the World-Life of Sadakichi (Hangyaku no geijutsuka—sekai no bohemian=Sadakichi no shoogai)*. Almost all of Sadakichi’s books of art history and criticism are out of print and nearly forgotten, yet his influence has been remarkable on the those artists who strove to forge an identity for American art, drama, photography, painting, and sculpture. Though exiled to the hinterlands of California, Sadakichi continued to correspond with America’s cultural elite until his death in 1944. Among his letters are eight addressed to Ezra Pound on the subject of poetry and the arts, also kept in the Special Collections Library of the University of California at Riverside.

Part III: The Cultural Contributions of Tomisaburo Kuraba-Glover (1871-1945)

In an era when mixed children whose mother was Japanese and whose father was not a Japanese citizen had no hope of legitimizing their existence through inheritance of name and property, Tomisaburo Kuraba was far luckier than Sadakichi in claiming the Japanese part of his identity. Tomisaburo’s father Thomas Glover saw to it that Tsuru, his Japanese wife, was made official. Though Tsuru lived her last days with the senior Glover in Tokyo, arrangements were made in Nagasaki for a new family register (*koseki tohon*) to be established in the name of Kuraba, a Japanized rendering of the name Glover. Being a married woman, and thus lacking a family register in the name of Glover, Tsuru was officially registered in the same Kuraba named document to which Tomisaburo had been attached. Tomisaburo was twenty-three years old when his family name became officially recognized. As a convenience, Tsuru was registered as his mother, though, in fact, she was his stepmother.

In this way did Tomisaburo remain a loyal member of the Nagasaki busi-

ness establishment as well as a respected and active member of the Nagasaki foreign community, at least until the 'dark valley' of 1930's militarism pitted his native ancestry against his Scots genes.

In the same year that Tomisaburo officially became a Kuraba, 1899, he joined in the establishment of the "Nagasaki International Club" (*naigai kurabu*), the first such association meant to bring the foreign community into social contact with the Japanese community in Nagasaki. Also in 1899, the boundaries of the foreign settlement, beyond which non-Japanese nationals were not allowed to buy or rent property, were abolished, thus marking the beginning of a truly international era for the city which held historic first place in the list of Japanese cities in which Europeans and other Asians had lived and carried on business since the sixteenth century. Tomisaburo and his friend and employer, Frederick Ringer, joined in financing the construction of a new building to house the International Club. It opened its doors in 1904. In the busy days when business once again flourished in the port of Nagasaki after the end of the Sino-Japanese War, the club, though an expensive all-male establishment, provided the best face the city put forward to visiting dignitaries from abroad. The club sailed through the difficult days of the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-05, witnessing the repatriation of some 1400 Russian prisoners of war, under the command of Anatoly Stessel, defeated by General Maresuke Nogi, back to Vladivostok. La Scala, Milan, in 1904, heard the first performance of Puccini's opera 'Madama Butterfly.' In his later years as director, Tomisaburo was known to have masqueraded as Pinkerton for the club's annual masked ball. Tomisaburo acted the part of the perfect English gentleman, even to aping Pinkerton in the opera that made Nagasaki a famous name, basking in the light of a mixed identity that was acceptable in this era of brisk business and diplomacy. The International Club of Nagasaki survived into the 1930's with Tomisaburo as its leading personality. Everything about the club reflected Tomisaburo's taste and experience of the West; the two story wooden building was in the colonial style known throughout Asia, while every detail of the mantelpieces on the fireplaces in each room, on the broad second story veranda, of the large staircase with its polished banisters, to the marble washrooms, gave an impression of impeccable Meiji taste. Tomisaburo's designs included a boardroom, a reception salon, a library, a dining room fitted with European tables and chairs, a billiard room, and a bar.

At the same time, Tomisaburo kept up his many contacts with the Japanese community of Nagasaki, and continued to act as a member of the Board of Directors of the Mitsubishi Shipping Company.

All was well until Tomisaburo was moved from his home, the eccentric and handsome mansion atop the hill in Minami Yamanote, Nagasaki, built by his father in the 1860's, to a less conspicuous but old foreign house at the foot of

the hill, a number 9, in 1939 when the house was requisitioned by the Mitsubishi Shipbuilding Company. Thomas Blake Glover had established the repair yard directly below the mansion on the hill for the repair of Russian ships early on in his entrepreneurial career, seen it transformed into a facility capable of building ships as well as repairing them, then seen the Mitsubishi Company establish the largest military shipbuilding yard in Japan, to which he was appointed as a member of the Board. Now that same Mitsubishi that his father had helped gain a foothold in Nagasaki turned on Tomisaburo because the yard was too visible from the hilltop to be permitted in times of great secrecy, and literally put him under house arrest. Meanwhile the Japanese Imperial Navy was building the largest warship in the world, the Musashi, in the yards Glover had turned originally into a shipbuilding works at the turn of the century.

Waka died in 1943, and Tomisaburo was found hanged in the upstairs bedroom of number 9, ten days after the A-bomb fell on the Urakami area of the city, destroying its Catholic cathedral and all buildings within a radius of several miles. His body joined the thousands of others that remained unburied in the rubble and aftermath of the bomb. His greatest achievement, the “Atlas of Fish Species in the Waters off West and South Japan” (*Gyorui zufu 1933*), a compendium of the fishes and marine life of Japan, survived, as did the house, the Glover mansion atop the hill, as well as the old club house on Dejima. Today, they have all been restored, thanks to a resurgence of affection for Tomisaburo among the families with whom the Glovers associated as friends for more than a century.¹⁵

Endnotes

1 Wistaria Linton donated all of her father's manuscripts, photographs, and personal memorabilia to the Special Collections Library of the University of California at Riverside. Photos appearing in these Endnotes are Courtesy of the Riverside Special Collections on Sadakichi Hartmann. I include a photo here of Sadakichi at the Banning shack in his last years. Notably, Sadakichi affects more of his European heritage in this photo than the Japanese side so prominent in photos taken during his maturity. The true mixture of ethnicity is most visible, thus, in childhood and old age, while the chosen identity appears forcibly on the path of his nostalgic journey.



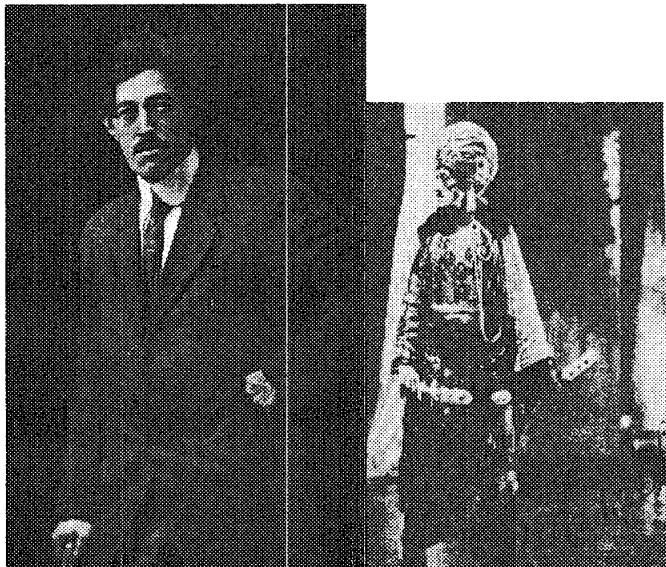
2 A caricature by Gene Fowler, one of Sadakichi's Hollywood friends, best illustrates this era when the Bohemian side, refracted through a constructed Japaneseness, is in full sway. Courtesy of Special Collections, University of California, Riverside Library.



3 I remember being photographed in a sailor middy and shorts when a child, and the school uniforms which still prevail in certain Japanese secondary schools carry on this model. Sadakichi as a schoolboy in Hamburg Courtesy of the University of California, Riverside, Special Collections.



4 Sadakichi as Sidney Allan in 1916, and Sadakichi as the magician in Douglas Fairbanks' 'The Thief of Baghdad' (1923) Courtesy of University of California, Riverside, Special Collections.



5 The only remaining photograph of O-sada, the one Sadakichi carried on his person for his entire life. Courtesy of Special Collections, University of California, Riverside.



6 The real story which I believe Sadakichi never completely knew is this: The Lehmann-Hartmann Trading Company of Nagasaki became importers of Prussian-style Army rifles called Zundnadelgewehr, developed by Johann Nikolaus von Dreyse (1787-1867), for use by the Prussian Army. Lehmann-Hartmann and their company had managed to obtain orders from the clan head in Wakayama to find someone to instruct their forces in the Zundnadelgewehr rifle. Lehmann-Hartmann managed to contact a fellow German who

worked for the production company there. They wrote Koppen about this position in 1867, and signed him to a contract to come to Japan to teach the Wakayama people how to use these rifles. Koppen left Germany at the end of 1868 with 3000 rifles and bullets, arriving in Kobe on June 29th of 1869. Koppen went on to Wakayama in November. Because the Meiji government was in the process of initiating a program of military conscription, Lehmann-Hartmann, with Koppen, signed a contract with the Wakayama han and its emerging potential under the new government.

In 1870-71 the Franco-Prussian War broke out. The Prussians won an easy victory over the French. The prestige of the Prussian military machine increased in the eyes of the Japanese, but by 1871, the particularly well-trained army of Wakayama had been ordered to disband, and be reconstituted under the new system of Prefectures under centralized governmental control. This meant the end of the monopoly that Lehmann-Hartmann had maintained over the training of Wakayama troops. Koppen had returned temporarily to Germany, and on his return to Wakayama, he found that his contract had been cancelled. He was forced to return to Germany, taking with him the remaining salary in his financial contract. The Lehmann-Hartmann connection to Koppen and the Prussian rifle so in demand in Japan is interesting, and likely accounts for why both Lehmann and Hartmann disappear from the Nagasaki records after Koppen arrives in Osaka in 1869. By then, the Lehmann-Hartmann Trading Company had moved its offices to Osaka, or Kobe perhaps, and Sadakichi had been sent home to Hamburg. When Koppen found his contract with the Wakayama authorities cancelled, neither Lehmann nor Hartmann found it profitable to remain in Japan. We know that Koppen went back. It seems, from other records, that Hartmann also returned to his native Germany, perhaps to Hamburg where his two sons, Sadakichi and Taru were in the care of his elder brother. After Jan. of 1869, we hear no more about Lehmann. The above information was gained from articles by Araki Yasuhiko provided through the courtesy of Mr. Honma of the Nagasaki Prefectural Library, Archives Section.

7 Knox, 1976, 67.

8 Ibid., 68.

9 The remainder of the first stanza reads:

‘Not to repel or destroy, so much as accept, fuse, rehabilitate;
To obey, as well as command—to follow, more than to lead;
These also are the lessons of our New World;
—While how little the New, after all—how much the Old, Old
World!

...

Long, long, long, has the grass been growing,
Long and long has the rain been falling,
Long has the globe been rolling round.’

From *Song of the Exhibition*, Applied to The Centennial, Philadelphia, 1876. Published in 1871 under the title of “After All Not to Create Only.” Whitman, 1900, 441-50.

10 Much of the information about Sadakichi’s early years in America is contained in

Ota, 1972.

11 Hartmann, 1971a, 148-49.

12 See Hartmann, 1991.

13 Hartman, 1971b, 160-61.

14 Most of the information I have culled and placed here comes from the article published in 'Books at UCR, A Quarterly Bulletin of Acquisitions and Collections at the Library of the University of California, Riverside, 1973.' The article was written by Prof. George Knox. Unpublished.

15 I am indebted to the sections from Tada 1991 concerning Tomisaburo's hand in building the International Club, and for other information on the Glover family in general. See Burke-Gaffney 1995 for a poignant survey, in English, of Tomisaburo as a man who could not take sides, an appropriate appellation for a man who was more comfortable with his identity than was the society in which he chose to live. The western side of this persona was a nostalgia. One can see this in Tomisaburo's style, the way he looked and the things he built and/or had made. I include here two engaging photographs of Tomisaburo, one as a young man in his uniform as a student at the Gakushuin (Peer's Academy) and another as a pillar of Nagasaki society. He was a very mild and gentle man. Courtesy of the Nagasaki Public Library Collections.



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