

Isawa Shūji, nineteenth-century administrator and music educator in Japan and Taiwan

Sondra Wieland Howe

Independent Scholar, Wayzata Minnesota, USA; Email: howex009@umn.edu

Mei-Ling Lai

Department of Music, National Taiwan Normal University, Taiwan

Lin-Yu Liou

Department of Music Education, Nara University of Education, Japan

Abstract

Isawa Shūji studied in the United States and made major contributions to the development of the music education in Japan and Taiwan. This paper provides a perspective of Isawa's activities based on sources in Japanese, Chinese, and English. Isawa was familiar with Western education and music before he went to the United States. In Massachusetts, he attended Bridgewater Normal School and studied music with Luther Whiting Mason. In Japan, Isawa worked with the Music Research Institute to publish Japanese music textbooks *Shōgaku shōkashū* (1881-84), which combined Japanese traditional music and Western music. In the 1890s, Isawa published *Shōgaku shōka* (1892-93), which continued his combination of Japanese and Western ideas (*wayō secchū*). As Chief of the Education Bureau in Taiwan, Isawa believed that the essential goal of education was to teach Taiwanese people the Japanese language. The Shizangan school was the first national language school. Isawa brought Japanese music teachers to Taiwan and introduced Japanese songbooks. He was influential in developing normal schools and primary schools. Isawa influenced the history of music education internationally as he brought Western songs to Japan, combined Japanese traditional music and Western music in his publications, and brought Japanese songbooks to Taiwan.

Key words: Isawa, Taiwan, Japan, westernisation, *wayō secchū*, Shizangan school

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The Japanese educator Isawa Shūji (1851-1917) wrote a commemoration for Luther Whiting Mason (1818-1896) after his death:

The authentic music, which you composed in Japan, has come to Taiwan, which is right on the equator, and even the locals can sing "Chōchō" [Butterfly] and "Hotaru no Hikari" [Light of firefly]...¹

The "Chōchō" melody was from the American song "Lightly Row," and the original song of "Hotaru no Hikari" was from "Auld Lang Syne." What was the relationship between Isawa and Luther Whiting Mason and why was Taiwan mentioned in this commemoration? This paper will look at these two songs as a representation of how Japanese music education was introduced from the United States to Japan and, in turn, to Taiwan. Isawa Shūji's work will be the major source.

¹ Isawa Shūji, "Meison-shi wo Tomorau" [Commemorating Mason], *Dōseikai Zasshi* [Alumni Journal of Tokyo Music School] (1897), no. 6, p. 44.

Isawa Shūji (1851-1917) was an important international figure who introduced Western music into the schools of Japan and Taiwan. Isawa was familiar with Western music and educational ideas before he studied music education in the United States. He studied with Luther Whiting Mason (1818-1896), who had developed the *National Music Course*, a music textbook series for public schools. Isawa returned to Japan to administer teacher-training programs and develop his ideas on combining Japanese traditional music and Western music in school music textbooks. He then traveled to Taiwan to organize teacher-training programs and promote music education.²

Isawa's work with Luther Whiting Mason in introducing Western music into the Japanese school system has been described by Berger, Eppstein, Howe, and Ogawa.³ Colonial education in Taiwan is discussed by Lin, Tsurumi, and Hsieh.⁴ Kaminuma has written a biography of Isawa.⁵ Isawa's work in Taiwan has been discussed by

Lai, Lee, Liou, and Sun.⁶ This paper will provide a new perspective on Isawa's activities in three countries based on sources in Japanese, Chinese, and English.

Isawa's Training in Japan

Isawa was born in Shinano province (present-day Nagano prefecture), the son of a *samurai*. He was a drummer in a Western-style fife and drum military band. He studied in the local school of his domain of Takatō, learning about the Chinese philosophy of Confucius and Mencius. Isawa studied English with an American missionary and with Nakayama (John) Manjiro, who had lived in Massachusetts in the early 1840s. He then pursued Western studies in Edo (present-day Tokyo) and Kyoto and was selected to study for two years at *Daigaku nankō*, the forerunner of Tokyo Imperial University⁷ (see Table 1).

In 1874, Isawa was the President of the Aichi Prefectural Normal School where he introduced music into the kindergarten curriculum. He commissioned one of his teachers, Nomura Akitari, to collect local children's songs and to write song texts for the kindergarten games which are called *shōka yūgi*. Dr. David Murray,

2. This paper is a revision and expansion of "Isawa Shūji, Nineteenth Century Administrator and Music Educator: Viewpoints from the United States, Japan, and Taiwan," published in the *Proceedings: The 8th Asia-Pacific Symposium on Music Education Research*, July 4-6, 2011 (Taipei, Taiwan: Taipei Municipal University of Education, 2011).

3. Donald P. Berger, "Isawa Shūji and Luther Whiting Mason: Pioneers of Music Education in Japan," *Music Educators Journal* 74, no. 2 (October 1987): 31-36; Ury Eppstein, *The Beginnings of Western Music in Meiji Era Japan* (Lewiston, N.Y.: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1994); Eppstein "Musical Instruction in Meiji Education: A Study of Adaptation and Assimilation," *Monumenta nipponica* 40, no. 1 (Spring 1985): 1-37; Sondra Wieland Howe, "Luther Whiting Mason: Contributions to Music Education in Nineteenth-Century America and Japan" (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 1988); Howe, *Luther Whiting Mason: International Music Educator* (Warren, Mich.: Harmonie Park Press, 1997); and Masafumi Ogawa, "American Contributions to the Beginning of Public Music Education in Japan," *The Bulletin of Historical Research in Music Education* 12, no. 2 (July 1991): 113-28.

4. Maosheng Lin, "Public Education in Formosa under the Japanese Administration: A Historical and Analytical Study of the Development and the Cultural Problems" (Doctoral diss., Columbia University, New York, 1929); E. Patricia Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895-1945* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977).

5. Hachirō Kaminuma, *Isawa Shūji* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1962).

6. Mei-Ling Lai, "Ri zhi shi qi Taiwan yin yue jiao ke shu yan jiu" [A study of music textbooks in Taiwan during Japanese Rule], *Research in Arts Education* 3 (2002): 39-52; Angela Hao-Chun Lee, "The Influence of Japanese Music Education in Taiwan during the Japanese Protectorate," *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education* 23, no. 2 (2002): 106-18; Lin-Yu Liou, "Guan yu riben ren jiao shi yi lun zhi min di Taiwan gong xue xiao jiao cai zhi zhu wen ti: yi 'zhe zhong' lun ji 'xiang tu hua' lun wei jiao dian" [How Japanese teachers in public elementary schools selected songs/melodies for the *shōka* curriculum during the Japanese colonial period (1895-1945): As viewed from the perspectives of the theory of compromise and the theory of localization], *Formosan Journal of Music Research* 3 (2006): 45-60; Liou, *Shokuminchika no Taiwan ni okeru Gakkō Shōka Kyōiku no seiritu to tenkai* [Establishment and development of school song education in colonial Taiwan] (Tokyo: Yuzankaku, 2005); and Chih-Chun Sun, "Ri zhi shi qi Taiwan shi fan xue xiao yin yue jiao yu zhi yan jiu" [Normal school music education in Taiwan during Japanese rule] (Master's thesis, National Taiwan Normal University, Taipei, 1997).

7. Wing-Kai To, "Bridgewater Normal School and Isawa Shūji's Reforms of Modern Teacher Education in Meiji Japan," *Journal of East Asian Cultural Interaction Studies* 2 (March 2009): 415, www.icis.kansai-u.ac.jp/data/journal02-v1/28_to.pdf, accessed November 28, 2012; and Howe, *Luther Whiting Mason*, 57.

Table 1: Important events in the life of Isawa Shūji.

Isawa's early years in Japan	
1851	Born in Shinano province (present-day Nagano Prefecture)
1860s	Studied at official school of his domain of Takatō Drummer in a Western-style fife and drum military band in Takatō Western studies in Edo and Kyoto
1870	Studied at <i>Daigaku nankō</i> (forerunner of Tokyo Imperial University)
1874-75	Director of Aichi Prefectural Normal School
1875	Published <i>Kyōju shimpō</i> (Modern Teaching Method)
Isawa in the United States (1875-1878)	
1875	Japanese Ministry of Education sent Isawa to the United States
1875-77	Student at Bridgewater Normal School in Massachusetts Studied with Luther Whiting Mason in Boston
1876	Centennial in Philadelphia
1878 May	Father ill, returned to Japan
Isawa's career in Japan	
1878	Chief of the National Gymnastics School (<i>Taiso denshujō</i>)
1879	Music Institute established, a project of the Music Study Committee (<i>Ongaku torishirabe gakari</i>)
1879-81	President of the Tokyo Normal School (<i>Tōkyō shihan gakkō</i>)
1881-84	<i>Shōgaku shōkashū</i> , 3 vols.
1887	President of Tokyo Music School (<i>Tōkyō ongaku gakkō</i>)
1887	<i>Yōchien shōkashū</i>
1890-91	President of the Tokyo School for the Blind and Dumb (<i>Tōkyō mōa gakkō</i>)
1892-93	<i>Shōgaku shōka</i> , 6 vols.
1899-1900	President of the Tokyo Higher Normal School (<i>Tōkyō kōtō shihan gakkō</i>)
1903	Founded <i>Rakusekisha</i> , organization devoted to correct stammering

Isawa's career in Taiwan

1895 May	Isawa appointed Chief of the Educational Bureau in Taiwan
1895 July	Experimental class began at Shizangan
1895 October – April 1896	Isawa's first trip back to Japan
1896 January 1	Six teachers killed in Taiwan
1896 March	First national language school at Shizangan
1896 June 22	Japanese language training institution regulations announced
1896 September – December	Isawa's second trip back to Japan
1896 September 25	National language school regulations announced
1897 July 29	Isawa resigned position as Chief of Education Bureau
1898 August 16	Common (primary) school regulations announced
1899 April 13	Normal school regulations announced

senior advisor in the Japanese Ministry of Education, was impressed with Isawa's work and suggested to Tanaka Fujimaro (1845-1909), Commissioner of Education, that Isawa be sent to the United States.⁸

Western pedagogical books were available in Japan in the 1870s and Isawa became interested in developmental education (*kaihatsushugi*). In 1875 he published *Kyōju shimpō* [Modern Teaching Method], which was a reworking of David P. Page's *Theory and Practice of Teaching* (1847). Page, principal of the New York State Normal School at Albany, advocated music for its utilitarian purpose of building character, maintaining order, and promoting good reading

8. Eppstein, *Beginnings of Western Music*, 25 and Benjamin Duke, *The History of Modern Japanese Education: Constructing the National School System, 1872-1890* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2009), 184-86.

ability.⁹ Since Western books were brought to Japan in the 1870s, Isawa was familiar with many aspects of Western education and Western music before the Japanese Ministry of Education sent him to the United States to study teacher training.

The 1870s was an intense period of Westernization in Japan when Japanese delegations were sent to the United States and Europe to study, and foreign employees (*oyatoi*) were invited to work in Japan. According to "Proposals for the Establishment of Schools for Primary School Teachers" of April 1872, Japanese educators planned to use Western teacher training programs as a model for establishing Japanese teacher training. Under this plan, Takamine Hideo studied at Oswego Normal School in Oswego, New York; Kozu Sensaburo studied at Albany Normal School in New York; and Isawa was sent to Bridgewater Normal School in Massachusetts.¹⁰ Isawa set sail from Yokohama on July 18, 1875 and arrived in Massachusetts on August 5, 1875.¹¹

Isawa's Education in the United States

Bridgewater Normal School, founded in 1840, was one of the first American teacher-training institutions in the United States.¹² According to Isawa's registration card of September 7, 1875, he intended to study "a little of algebra, geometry, natural philosophy, and moral philosophy."¹³ Albert Gardner Boyden, principal of the school,

said the following about Isawa's two years of study at Bridgewater:

Isaiah had been well trained in the schools of Japan, was a close observer, a clear thinker, and could speak English slowly when he came to the school. By his persistent industry and eagerness to learn, he maintained a high standing in his class work, and became the best thinker in the school. The facility and correctness with which he expressed his thoughts in English was surprising.¹⁴

In 1882-83 he published *Kyōiku gaku*, which was based Boyden's lectures on pedagogy.

At Bridgewater, Isawa learned an American style of physical education (*taisō kyōiku*), which was based on the work of Diocletian Lewis (1823-1886). In 1878, G. A. Leland, a graduate of Amherst College, taught the Lewis method in the Tokyo Women's Normal School, Tokyo Normal School, and the National Institute of Gymnastics. Isawa recommended the Lewis method for Japanese schools, and his opinion was adopted in "Newly Selected Gymnastics," published by the National Institute of Gymnastics in 1882.¹⁵

While a student at Bridgewater, Isawa frequently traveled to Boston to study music with Luther Whiting Mason, who was the supervisor of music in the primary schools of Boston.

... I visited that gentleman's [Mason] home every week on Saturday afternoon and would everytime [sic] be invited for dinner, then receive instruction in singing, be served breakfast the following morning, be accompanied after that to various music schools and libraries . . . and return in the afternoon to Bridgewater Normal School, forty miles away.¹⁶

9. Eppstein, *Beginnings of Western Music*, 21-23; Mark Elwood Lincicome, "Educational Discourse and the Dimensions of Reform in Meiji Japan" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1985), 32-40; and Lincicome, *Principle, Praxis, and the Politics of Educational Reform in Meiji Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995), 38-51. and Shūji Isawa and Kanreki S., ed., *Rakuseki jiden kyōkai shūyū zenki* [The Autobiography of Rakuseki or record of an expedition around the pedagogical world] (Tokyo: Ōzorasha, 1912, 1988), 24-25.

10. Howe, *Luther Whiting Mason*, 57.

11. To, "Bridgewater Normal School", 416.

12. For information on the history of Bridgewater State College, see Arthur L. Dirks, "A Brief History of Bridgewater State College," published by the author, 1996, <http://webhost.bridgew.edu/adirks/ald/papers/bschist.htm>, accessed December 3, 2012; and "Bridgewater State College," <http://webhost.bridgew.edu/dwilson/hist.html>, accessed December 3, 2012.

13. To, "Bridgewater Normal School", 417.

14. "Remarks of Mr. A. G. Boyden, Principal of the Bridgewater Normal School," *Testimonial Given to Luther Whiting Mason on His Departure for Japan* (Boston: Ginn and Heath, 1879), 24.

15. Shuichi Nose, "A Historical Review on the Curricular Adoption of Light Gymnastics into Modern Japanese Physical Education," *Japanese Journal of Physical Education* 28, no. 3 (December 1983): 177-83.

16. Eppstein, *Beginnings of Western Music* (1994), 26-27; and Shūji Isawa, "Meison-shi wo Tomorau" [Commemorating Mason], p.36.

Isawa and Mason studied the textbooks in Mason's *National Music Course* and adapted Mason's music charts for use in teaching vocal music in Japan. Isawa observed children in a Boston elementary school and probably visited the Boston Normal School, a teacher training institution that prepared students to teach in the Boston public schools.¹⁷

Isawa had many educational opportunities in the United States. He took science courses at Harvard. He studied geology as a special student at the summer school of the Lawrence Scientific School. From Alexander Graham Bell (1847-1922), he learned about telephones, lip reading for the deaf, and Visible Speech, a method of pronunciation that could be used in any language. Isawa saw a chart of Visible Speech characters at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition in 1876. He later applied Visible Speech in music education, standardization of Japanese dialects, and as a cure in stuttering.¹⁸

Isawa attended the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition. Exhibits from Japan included works of art and displays on tea and silk production and education exhibits with furniture, maps, schoolbooks, and photographs. Exhibits from Massachusetts included school furniture, textbooks, Mason's music charts, and reports on the Boston public schools. The Philadelphia Exposition provided an excellent opportunity for Japanese educators to learn about American education and for Mason and other American educators to learn about Japan. Tanaka Fujimaro assembled a competent team of educators from Japan to attend the Exposition. They were joined by students Takamine Hideo and Isawa plus Mekata Tanetarō (1853-1926), a graduate of Harvard Law School who supervised the Japanese students in the United States.¹⁹

When Isawa returned to Japan in 1878, he wrote a document to Tanaka entitled "Plan of Megata Tanetarō and Isawa Shūji in the United States for Launching a Project of Music Investigation Regarding School Songs" (*Gakkō shōka-ni mochiubeki ongaku torishirabe-no jigyō-ni chakushusubeki zai Beikoku Megata Tanetarō Isawa Shūji mikomisho*). The first part of the plan, signed by Megata and Isawa, emphasized the importance of music education for schools. The second part of the plan, signed by Megata alone, proposed that Mason, assisted by Isawa, be appointed to establish singing in Japanese schools. Isawa was subsequently appointed Director of the Tokyo Normal School and Mason was invited to Japan as an Instructor of Musics.²⁰

Isawa's Career in Japan

As an education administrator, Isawa held important positions in Japan. As mentioned above, he worked as the President of Aichi Normal School from 1874 to 1875. Also, he was the Chief of the National Gymnastics School (*Taiso Denshujō*) in 1878, President of the Tokyo Normal School (*Tōkyō shihan gakkō*, 1879-81), and President of the Tokyo Higher Normal School (*Tōkyō kōtō shihan gakkō*, 1899-1900). In the area of special education, he was President of the Tokyo School for the Blind and Dumb (*Tōkyō mōa gakkō*, 1890-91) and founded *Rakusekisha* (1903), an organization devoted to correct stammering²¹ (see Figure 1).

In the area of music education, Isawa was the head of the Music Research Institute (*Ongaku torishirabe gakari*, 1879) that was a project of the Music Study Committee (*Ongaku denshū-jyō*).²² At the Institute, Isawa engaged in several tasks: investigating different styles of music of Japan and foreign countries, publishing school song

17 Ibid., 26-28, 39-44.

18 Komei Go, "Isawa Shūji to siwaho: Rakuseki-sha no kitsuon kyosei jigyo wo chusin ni" [Shūji Isawa and visible speech: Centering on the activities of Rakusekisha's therapy for stuttering], *Journal of Kyoto Seika University* 26 (2004): 145-61; and To, "Bridgewater Normal School", 413.

19 Duke, *History of Modern Japanese Education*, 219-29.

20. Eppstein, *Beginnings of Western Music*, 28-39

21. See Kaminuma, *Isawa Shūji*, 82-91, 89-94, 135-39, 331-39.

22. The Music Research Institute became the Tokyo Music School in 1887. The merger with the Tokyo Fine Arts School in 1949 formed the Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music. See <http://www.geidai.ac.jp/english/about/history.html>.

Figure 1: Isawa Shūji as a young man. Courtesy Luther Whiting Mason Collection, National Association for Music Education Historical Center, University of Maryland.



textbooks for elementary school, improving Japanese folk music, and teaching Western music to the court musicians and Japanese traditional musicians. Isawa described the results in his report which he gave to the Ministry of Education, Japan.²³

From 1881 to 1884, Isawa edited the songbooks *Shōgaku shōkashū* for elementary schools.²⁴ The three volumes of songbooks were published by the Ministry of Education. Three years later, Isawa edited a songbook for

kindergarten, *Yōchien shōkashū* (1887), which was published by the Ministry of Education as well.

After Isawa resigned from all the positions which were connected with the Ministry of Education, he edited and published the *Shōgaku shōka* from 1892 to 1893.²⁵ From these three songbook series, Isawa's point of view and ideals for Japanese music education are revealed.

Isawa's Ideal "Wayo secchū" for Japanese Music Education

When Isawa was working for the Music Research Institute, his writings show that he was interested in combining (*secchū*) Japanese traditional music and Western music.²⁶ Why did Isawa try to combine Japanese traditional music and Western music? In Japanese, the term *secchū* means combining elements of a culture. Isawa used the term *wayō secchū*, the combination of Japanese and Western ideas, to explain his plans for music education. The term *wayō secchū* can be used as a keyword in investigating Isawa's works. It is first important to understand Isawa's early contacts with Western music.

In 1873, Isawa read an English translation from Friedrich Wilhelm August Fröbel's book, *The Child*, and he was very interested in the content. In 1874, he became the president of Aichi Prefectural Normal School. In 1875, he submitted the annual report, *Aichi shihan gakkō nenpō*, to the Ministry of Education, showing progress of the school. In one section of the report, *Shōka kigi wo okosu no ken* (How to promote song and play), he pointed out that *shōka* education was

23. Shūji Isawa, *Torishirabe seiseki shinpōsho* [Report of the Music Research Institute] (Tokyo: The Ministry of Education; 1884, Tokyo: Ōzorasha, 1991), 31-46. An abridged translation was published as *Extracts from the Report of S. Isawa, Director of the Institute of Music, On the Result of the Investigations Concerning Music, Undertaken by Order of the Department of Education* (Tokyo: n.p., [1884]). See Yuji Hirata, "A study on English Version of *The Report of the Music Research Institute, Eigakushi Kenkyū* [Journal of English Historical Study] 39 (2006): 1-17.

24. *Shōgaku shōkashū* [Song Collection], 3 vols., Ongaku torishirabe gakari, ed. (Tokyo: Monbushō, 1881-84).

25. Isawa Shūji, *Shōgaku shōka* [Elementary school songs], 6 vols. (Tokyo: Dai Nippon tosho kabushiki-gaisha, 1892-93).

26. Isawa, *Torishirabe Seiseki Shinpōsho* (Report), 2-5; Lin-Yu Liou, "Mingzhi Chuqi Xiyang Yinyue yingxiangxia zhi riben yinyue jiaoyu de yanjiu – yi 'yinyue quadao gua'de shezhi ji' heyang zhezong lun'wei jiaodian" [A study about Japanese music education influenced by western music in the Meiji era (1868-1912) -- Focus on the establishment of the 'Music Research Institute' and the argument of *Wayo-Secchū*], in Ching-chih Liu and Ming Li, ed. *Papers and Proceedings of the International Seminar on Traditional Music Education in China* (Hong Kong: The University of Hong Kong, 1999), 193-98.

not practiced in Japan, although it would lead to healthy child development. He introduced his teaching materials of *shōka yūgi* (singing and playing), a kindergarten activity. Specific songs are sung with specific games. This was influenced by Fröbel's theories. Isawa used the term *secchū* to show how he combined three Japanese children's songs with Fröbel's theories. There were three teaching plans in Isawa's report, named "Tsubaki" [Camellia], "Kochō" [Butterfly], and "Nezumi" [Mouse].

...Today, we are following the theories of famous specialist in education such as Mr. Fröbel and others in western countries, and combining the theories with our country's traditional children songs to make few songs...²⁷

When Isawa returned to Japan in 1878, his first position in music education was working for the Music Research Institute (1879) in addition to serving as principal of the Tokyo Normal School. Isawa was responsible for Luther Whiting Mason's appointment to teach in Japan 1880-82. In 1881, the Ministry of Education formally appointed Isawa as head of Music Research Institute where he started two projects: researching Japanese and foreign music and developing music education in the primary school attached to the Tokyo Normal School and the kindergarten attached to the Tokyo Women Normal School. By 1882, he was also researching materials for a national anthem and selecting melodies and poems for textbook publications.²⁸

Isawa continued to pursue his ideas for combining Japanese music and foreign music. The textbooks of primary schools, *Shōgaku shōkashū* (1881-84), mentioned above, include ninety-one songs. The songs are mostly

composed in a western music style, in major and minor modes, and only twelve songs used Japanese traditional modes or melodies. Therefore, Isawa was only partially effective in combining Japanese lyrics and music with Western notation and theory. Isawa's major achievement was encouraging the Ministry of Education to establish the Tokyo Music School and he became the first president.²⁹ The songbook, *Shōgaku shōkashū*, includes the famous song "Chōchō" (Butterfly) and "Hotaru no Hikari" (Light of firefly).³⁰ "Chōchō" uses the lyrics from "Kochō," a *shōka yūgi* song sung in the Aichi Prefectural Normal School. The melody for "Chōchō" is the German song, "Hänschen klein," which was introduced to Isawa when he worked with Luther Whiting Mason in Boston³¹ (see Figures 2 and 2a).

Yōchien shōkashū (1887) contains twenty-nine songs, and twenty-seven songs are composed in the major mode. "Chōchō" was also included. There are only two songs in *Yōchien shōka* that are in a Japanese mode. "Kazakuruma" (Pinwheel) is composed in the *ritsu* mode.³² This song was composed in 1877 and appears in *Hoiku shōka* (1873-77), a school songbook created by court musicians. "Kazoeuta" (Counting Song) is composed in a Japanese folk music mode (*zokugaku*). It is an original composition by Isawa. *Yōchien shōka* has the same tendency as *Shōgaku shōkashū*, most of the song's melodies are western.

27. Yasuto Okunaka, *Kokka to ongaku: Isawa Shūji ga mezasita Nihon Kindai* [Nation and music: Isawa Shūji's goals for modern Japan] (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 2008), 102-16; and Shūji Isawa, "Aichi shihan gakkō nenpō" [Annual report of the Aichi Prefectural Normal School] (1875), *Monbushō daini nenpō* [The Second Annual Report of the Ministry of Education], 363. See Okunaka, *Kokka to ongaku*, 107.

28. Isawa and Kanreki, *Rakuseki jiden kyōkai shūyū zenki* [Autobiography], 71-80.

29. Tōkyō geijutsu daigaku hyakunen shi hensan yiyinkai, ed., *Tōkyō geijutsu daigaku hyakunen shi -- Tōkyō ongaku gakkō hen dai 1 kan* [Centennial of the Tokyo College of Fine Arts -- History of the Tokyo Music School, vol. 1] (Tokyo: Ongaku no tomosha, 1987), 285-86.

30. In the textbooks of *Shōgaku shōkashū*, "Hotaru no Hikari" was named as "Hotaru" (Firefly).

31. Tomoko Toyama, "Yōchien shōka kotohajime" [The Beginning of Kindergarten Song], *Tōyō ongaku kenkyū* [Journal of the Society for Research in Asiatic Music] 43 (1978): 1-51; Okunaka, *Kokka to ongaku* [Nation and music], 112; Isawa and Kanreki, *Rakuseki jiden kyōkai shūyū zenki* [Autobiography], 24; Hiroshi Yasuda, *Shōka to iu Kiseki 12 no Monogatari -- Sanbika to Kindaika no Aida de* [The 12 story of Shōka's miracle -- Between hymns and modernization] (Tokyo: Bunshun Shinsho, 2003), 43-56.

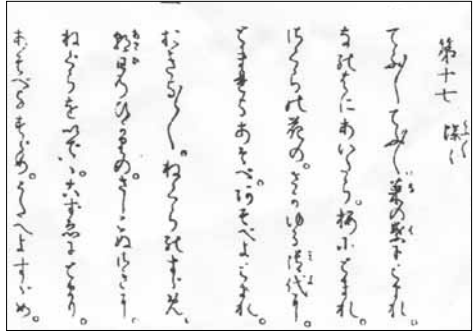
32. Isawa explained the notes of the *ritsu* mode as "Re, Mi, (Fa), Sol, La, (Si), Do" in his song textbook, *Shōgaku shōka*, vol.2.

Figure 2 and 2a: Music and text for “Chōchō”. *Shōgaku shōkashū* (1881-84), Song no. 17. Textbook owned by the National Diet Library, Japan.

Figure 2



Figure 2a



According to the preface of volume one of Isawa's series *Shōgaku shōka* (1892-93, 6 vols.), he mentioned that he selected songs “from both ancient and modern periods as well as from countries in the East and West. Most of the modes of songs were major scales, *Ritsu* mode of Japanese court music, and the first mode of Japanese folk music. The composers of volume one were all Japanese. But in volume two, western compositions were gradually added.

Shōgaku shōka “combined” Japanese and Western musical ideas in various ways. Isawa devoted several pages to introduce the modes of Japanese traditional music and explained their genres and note structures, and he also described Western tonality. He included the names of composers, when possible. All the songs are written in Western notation and the following combinations are found in the textbook series:

1. Japanese traditional mode, traditional melody, and Japanese lyrics (ex. “*Eddenraku*”).
2. Japanese traditional mode, Japanese composer’s original melody, Japanese lyrics (ex. Isawa’s work).
3. Japanese composer’s original Western style melody, Japanese lyrics (ex. Koyama Sakunosuke’s work).
4. Western composer’s original melody with Japanese lyrics (ex. Mendelssohn’s work).

5. Western melody with Japanese lyrics (ex. anonymous composer).

Shōgaku shōka has a good balance between Japanese and Western music elements. For Isawa, these textbooks probably were his ideal of “combining” styles.

Throughout his life, it is possible to identify Isawa's experiments in “combining” two or more factors. As a young man, he was influenced by the education methods of Fröbel, so he learned that music education should be creative and intellectual. He recognized that music education should be appropriate for the Japanese child’s environment, so Japanese music education needed to Japanize Western music. Unfortunately, Isawa’s textbooks in the 1890s were not successful, because the melodies and lyrics were too difficult for children. Nevertheless, he left a model for school songs: Japanese composer’s original Western style melody and Japanese lyrics with western notation. After his textbooks were published, the Ministry of Education edited new textbooks, *Jinnyō shōgaku shōka*, where all the songs are by Japanese composers.³³

33. Tōkyō geijutsu daigaku hyakunen shi hensan yiyinkai, ed., *Tōkyō geijutsu daigaku hyakunen shi* [Centennial of the Tokyo College of Fine Arts], 285-86.

Isawa's Career in Taiwan (1895-97)

Taiwan served as a colony of Japan for fifty years under the terms of the 1895 Treaty of Shimonoseki. During the early years of Japanese rule, Japanese education policy in Taiwan mainly followed the colonial practices of Western colonial powers. This section of the paper will report on Isawa's work and influences in Taiwan.

Early in 1895, Isawa was a delegate from the Society for State Education (*Kokka kyōiku sha*) in a group that visited the emperor in Hiroshima where Kabayama Sukenori (1837-1922) was stationed. Kabayama was unofficially recognized as Governor-General designate of Taiwan during that time. Isawa found an opportunity to present his idea of "state education"³⁴ and his educational plan in Japan's first colony to Kabayama.³⁵ Kabayama must have favored Isawa's proposal, because Isawa was appointed as Chief of the Education Bureau by the Taiwan Government-General (Japanese colonial administration) on May 21, 1895, and he accompanied Kabayama to Taiwan on June 16, 1895.³⁶

Isawa's Education Plan and Practice in Taiwan

After his arrival, Isawa immediately proposed his plan for the colonial education on June 20. In his proposals, Isawa divided the education plan into "emergency activities" and "permanent activities". The "emergency activities" outlined intensive programs to train both Japanese and Taiwanese as Japanese language teachers and to teach Japanese, whom he hoped would become clerks in the colonial administration. The "permanent

activities" included the establishment of a Japanese language school and normal schools.³⁷ Isawa believed that the essential part of colonial education was to teach Taiwanese people the Japanese language. Thus, the success of the education program depended on providing a large supply of Japanese language teachers.

The Education Bureau soon moved to Shizangan, a small town about three miles north of Taihoku (present-day Taipei), due to the hostility toward the Japanese around the administration's headquarters at Taihoku. Isawa relocated the office in a ruined temple and started his first school.³⁸ The beginning of the language school was very difficult; Isawa had to recruit teachers from Japan and to look for students for his experiments. The experimental class started with six Taiwanese students on July 26, 1895, and increased to twenty-one students in two months.³⁹ Since there were no texts for teaching Japanese for foreigners, Isawa and the teaching staffs had to prepare the instruction materials for the experimental class. They compiled a Japanese language instruction manual and sent a thousand copies to the administration offices.⁴⁰ They also studied local languages (*Hoklo* dialect), paying particular attention to pedagogical, commercial, and military vocabularies, in order to compile a local language book for teaching Japanese to acquaint with the local language.⁴¹ Besides, Isawa composed and arranged songs (or chants) to help

34. Isawa believed that all schooling must serve the needs of the state. In 1890 he organized the Society for State Education which campaigned unsuccessfully for the public financing of education. See Kaminuma, *Isawa Shūji*, 159-62.

35. Kaminuma, *Isawa Shūji*, 205-06; and Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education*, 14.

36. Taiwan Education Association, 10-11; Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education*, 14; Sun, "Ri zhi shi qi Taiwan shi fan xue xiao yin yue jiao yu" [Normal school music education in Taiwan during the Japanese rule], 6.

37. Taiwan Education Association, 10-11; Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education*, 14; Sun, "Ri zhi shi qi Taiwan shi fan xue xiao yin yue jiao yu" [Normal school music education], 6.

38. Taiwan Education Association, 6-9; Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education*, 14-15; Tomoko Fujimori, "The Education of Shizangan School, 1895-1896: An Analysis Based on the School Operation, Teaching Approach and Learning Activities," *The Bulletin of Society for the History of Education in Taiwan* 11 (September, 2009): 9-10.

39. Taiwan Education Association, 156; Fujimori, "Education of Shizangan School," 22.

40. Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education*, 14-15.

41. Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education*, 15; and Fujimori, "Education of Shizangan School," 12-13.

the students learn Japanese and to aid students with stuttering problems.⁴²

The Shizangan School lasted about nine months until the first national language school was established on March 31, 1896 (see Figure 3). It was divided into a normal department with three attached schools and a language department.⁴³ The normal department trained teachers from Japan and was the beginning of the normal school system. The subjects of the normal department followed Isawa's plan, including civics, education, Japanese, Chinese, Taiwanese, geography, history, arithmetic, bookkeeping, natural science, singing, and gymnastics.⁴⁴

The first attached school was the original Shizangan School. Each of the three attached schools accepted different ages of children based on the local situation. The courses required at the attached schools were civics, reading, composition, handwriting, arithmetic, singing, and gymnastics.⁴⁵ The language department was divided into two courses, namely the Taiwanese language course and the Japanese language course. The Japanese language course began with fourteen Japanese language-training institutions, opened in different parts of the island.⁴⁶ These institutions offered a short-term training course and a four-year program, the latter one for children of ages eight to fifteen, with courses including Japanese, Chinese calligraphy, composition, and arithmetic. Instruction in geography, history, singing, gymnastics and sewing were also available.⁴⁷

The Music Education Isawa Established in Taiwan

Isawa taught "Singing" (*shōka* course) and other subjects. The textbooks for "Singing" included *Shōgaku shōkashū* (1881-84), *Yōchien shōka* (1887), and *Shōgaku shōka* (1892-93). Songs including "Kimigayo" [National Anthem], "Chokugo Hōtō," "Kigensetsu," "Chōchō," "Hotaruno Hikari," and "Masuguni Tateyo" [Standing Straight] were taught by Isawa.⁴⁸ These textbooks were used later in the colonial schools by many Japanese teachers. *Shōgaku shōkashū* (1881-84) and *Shōgaku shōka* (1892-93) were listed as required texts for the teaching certification examination.⁴⁹ It was believed that Isawa taught many songs for national ceremonies in the classroom. The ceremony songs were much emphasized for the purpose of colonial policies (or assimilation policies). Isawa's idea for music education was carried out in the school program. The purpose of the "Singing" course in school was for moral education and a tool for learning the Japanese language.⁵⁰

During his two-year position in Taiwan, Isawa returned to Japan several times to recruit additional teaching staff and educational bureau officials, and he sought funds for his plan. On his first journey back to Japan,⁵¹ he spent five months (from October 29, 1895 to April 1, 1896) recruiting additional workers, and he brought back thirteen educational bureau officials and thirty-six

42. Liou, *Shokumintika no Taiwan ni okeru Gakkō Shōka Kyōiku no seiritu to tenkai* [Establishment and development of school song education in colonial Taiwan], 14; and Fujimori, "Education of Shizangan School," 18.

43. Taiwan Education Association, 156; Lin, "Public Education in Formosa", 33-34.

44. Taiwan Education Association, 246-50.

45. *Ibid.*, 707-12.

46. *Ibid.*, 166-67.

47. *Ibid.*, 166-67; Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education*, 16; and Lin, "Public Education in Formosa", 34.

48. Liou, Lin-Yu, "How Music Education in Taiwan Moved away from Traditional Taiwanese Folk Music in the Japanese Colonial Period (1895-1945): An Analysis Based on *shōka* Texts," *Tongyang Umak* [Journal of the Asian Music Research Institute] 27 (2005): 106-07.

49. Lai, "Taiwan yin yue jiao ke shu yan jiu" [A study of music textbooks in Taiwan], 51.

50. *Ibid.* 39; Liou, *Gakkō Shōka Kyōiku no seiritu to tenkai* [Establishment and development], 34-36; and Sun, "Ri zhi shi qi Taiwan shi fan xue xiao yin yue jiao yu" [Normal school music education in Taiwan during the Japanese rule], 10-11.

51. Isawa accompanied the Prince Kitashirakawa Yoshihisa's coffin returning to Japan on October 29; the Prince died of malaria in Tainan, Taiwan. He was the first member of the Japanese imperial family known to have died outside of Japan. The death of the Prince was not announced until his coffin arrived Tokyo. See Kaminuma, *Isawa Shūji*, 223; Isawa and Kanreki, *Rakuseki jiden kyōkai shūyū zenki* [Autobiography], 215.

teachers. Isawa went back to Japan the same year in September, and he came back with seventy-one workers on December 15, 1896.⁵² He also brought well-trained music teachers and some musical instruments to Taiwan. In a letter to Isawa dated December 20, 1895, Nakajima Chokicki⁵³ suggested that music could be a course added to the Japanese language school program and he asked Isawa to bring music instruments back to Taiwan.⁵⁴

Another teacher, Takahashi Humiyo, a graduate of Tokyo Normal School, was recruited by Isawa during his second trip to Japan. Takahashi taught in Taiwan 1896-1906 and 1907-1911. He was the only music teacher at the national language school and the attached primary school. He not only established the music teaching pedagogy in the school, but also composed school songs and wrote articles about music teaching. He was considered the most influential music teacher in Taiwan.⁵⁵ Takahashi's songs were included in the school song collections published by the Taiwan Government-General in 1915, 1934, and 1935.⁵⁶

52. Sun, "Ri zhi shi qi Taiwan shi fan xue xiao yin yue jiao yu" [Normal school music education in Taiwan during the Japanese rule], 12-15.

53. Nakajima Chokicki (1870-1896) graduated from Tokyo Normal School in 1892. He was an expert on linguistics, including English, French, and German. Later he was interested in the Chinese language and served as a translator in the army. He came to Taiwan with the military and worked for the Education Bureau as a language teacher. He also compiled a military song book. See Liou, *Gakkō Shōka Kyōiku no seiritu to tenkai* [Establishment and development of school song education], 22-24.

54. Ibid., 12; Liou, *Gakkō Shōka Kyōiku no seiritu to tenkai* [Establishment and development of school song education], 22-24.

55. Sun, "Ri zhi shi qi Taiwan shi fan xue xiao yin yue jiao yu" [Normal school music education in Taiwan during the Japanese rule], 15-21; Liou, *Gakkō Shōka Kyōiku no seiritu to tenkai* [Establishment and development], 73-80.

56. There were two sets of official music textbooks published during the Japanese rule (1895-1945). The first set was published in 1915, containing forty-six songs in one volume, which was designed for the first to six year classes; the second set was published in 1934 and 1935, consisting of six volumes with 105 songs in total, one volume for each year class. The content analysis of both music textbooks can be found in Lai, "Taiwan yin yue jiao ke shu yan jiu" [A study of music textbooks in Taiwan], 42-48; and Liou, *Gakkō Shōka Kyōiku no seiritu to tenkai* [Establishment and development], 121-179.

Figure 3: The upper photo is the location of the early Shizangan School. The lower photo is Isawa Shūji. Characters on the right side say "the founder of our school." Characters on the left side say "Mr. Isawa Shūji." The Centennial Celebration Album of Shilin Elementary School, 1995, p.19.



Unfortunately, Nakajima and five other officers of the language school were attacked and killed on the New Year's Day of 1896 while Isawa was on his first return trip to Japan. It was the most serious event in the early years of the language school. A national ceremony was established on February first for the six education officers, and ceremony songs were composed for the occasion. A song titled "Six Education Officers" was included in the school song collections published by the Taiwan Government-General.

Isawa resigned his position as Chief of the Education Bureau in July 1897 when his education budget was cut by the Taiwan Government-General. He was upset because

Figure 4: *Kigensetsu*, composed by Isawa Shūji in 1893. *Kōgakkō shōka shū* [Common school songbook], 1915, pp. 44-45.

The image shows a page from a 1915 common school songbook. On the left side, there is a musical score for a song titled '紀元節' (Ji Gen Setsu). The score is written in G major and 4/4 time, with lyrics in Japanese. On the right side, there is a vertical list of lyrics for various chapters, including '第一章' (Chapter 1) and '第二章' (Chapter 2), with the title '紀元節' at the top.

other sections in the colonial budget had been favored over his own. However, he remained as an educational consultant to the Taiwan administration until he was appointed principal of Tokyo Higher Normal School in 1899.⁵⁷ At the end of 1897, a total of thirty-four Japanese language-training institutions were in operation, which indicated that Isawa's plan was expanding.⁵⁸ Although the common school system was established in 1898 and the normal school in 1899, both after Isawa resigned from the Education Bureau, he had an important influence on the development of the normal school system and common school system,⁵⁹ because both school systems were based on Isawa's educational plan in Taiwan. He was the first teacher to provide music instruction in Taiwan and his plan was to establish the music curriculum in the normal schools and common schools. Although Isawa spent only two years in Taiwan, yet he had a long-term plan for the direction of education in the colony. His influences are shown in the system of schools, curriculums, students, teachers and administrators.

57 Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education*, 16-18.

58 Lin, "Public Education in Formosa", 34-35.

59 Common school is a translation of public school for the primary level.

The first attached school was the former Shizangan School, which is known as Shilin Elementary school now. In the history of the Shilin Elementary school, Isawa Shūji was considered the founder of the school. A ceremony song, *Kigensetsu*, composed by Isawa in 1893, was sung by the school children every year to celebrate the coronation of Emperor Jimmu on February 11. *Kigensetsu* was included in the school song collections published by the Taiwan Government-General in 1915, 1934, and 1935, and also the *Ceremony Songs* published by the Taiwan Government-General in 1934 (see Figure 4).

Conclusion

Isawa Shūji was a significant international figure in music education as he transmitted educational ideas and school songs from the United States to Japan and Taiwan. Isawa studied Chinese philosophy and the pedagogy of David Page before traveling to the United States to study pedagogy at Bridgewater Normal School and American music textbooks with Luther Whiting Mason in Boston. He took science courses at Harvard, learned ideas on speech from Alexander Graham Bell, and was exposed to international ideas at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition.

In Japan, Isawa held many important positions in education. As head of the Music Research Institute (*Ongaku torishirabe gakari*), he worked towards combining Japanese traditional and Western music (*wayō secchū*) in the publications of school music textbooks *Shōgaku shōkashū* (1881-84) and *Yōchien shōka* (1887). He further pursued his ideas of combining Japanese and Western music in his *Shōgaku shōka* (1892-93). As Chief of the Education Bureau in Taiwan, Isawa transmitted his international ideas and Japanese songs in his plans for colonial education. He founded the Shizangyan school with its normal department and attached schools and taught singing, using songs from Japanese textbooks. He brought Takahashi Humiyo, a Japanese music teacher, to Taiwan, and Takahashi's songs were included in the Taiwanese song collections of the twentieth century. Although Isawa was only in Taiwan a short time, his work laid the foundation for the establishment of the primary school system and normal schools in Taiwan.

All in all, Isawa played an important role not only in the establishment of the music education system in Japan and Taiwan, but he also brought significant influence to the music culture of both places. Japan and Taiwan's music education has, to a large degree, westernized through Isawa's effort and learning from the United States. He had, therefore, brought a hybrid and unique nature to the music cultures of Japan and Taiwan. Up to the present day, the songs he had introduced in the early twentieth century are still being sung frequently. Today, "*Chōchō*" and "*Hotaru no Hikari*" remain popular in Japan whereas in Taiwan the song titles were changed to "*Xiao Mi-Feng*" (Little Bees) and "*Li-Ge*" (Farewell Song) respectively. The history and development of these songs illustrate the entanglement of an international figure's life and thoughts in Japan, Taiwan, and the United States.

Sondra Wieland Howe is an independent scholar and a piano teacher in the United States, in the state of Minnesota. She is the author of *Luther Whiting Mason: International Music Educator* and numerous articles and book reviews in academic journals. Dr. Howe is on the Editorial Board of the *Journal of Research in Music Education* and the *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education* and pursues research on the history of music education, women in music, and music education in Meiji Japan.

Mei-Ling Lai taught music education at National Taiwan Normal University in Taiwan for 20 years before retiring in 2008, although she continues as a part-time faculty member. Dr. Lai has made presentations to numerous national and international conferences. She is actively involved in school curriculum reforms and development in Taiwan, and her writings have been published in national and international journals. Dr. Lai is a board member of the Asia-Pacific Symposium on Music Education Research and has served as the co-chair of the 4th International Symposium on Assessment in Music Education in April, 2013.

Lin-Yu Liou is the Associate Professor of the Department of Music Education, Nara University of Education, Japan. She is the author of *Shokuminchika no Taiwan ni okeru Gakkō Shōka Kyōiku no Seiritsu to Tenkai* [The Establishment and Development of School Song Education in Colonial Taiwan]. She is interested in comparative studies of music education and music culture especially between Japan and Taiwan, especially during the period of Meiji to the middle of Showa, i.e., 1870s to 1950s. She has published many articles related to the field in various academic journals in Japan, Taiwan and China.