Bridgewater Normal School and Isawa Shuji’s Reforms of Modern Teacher Education in Meiji Japan

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Shuji Isawa was sent by the Ministry of Education in Japan to study at Bridgewater Normal School in Massachusetts from 1875 to 1877 and at Harvard University from 1877 to 1878. He was one of the famous intellectuals who tested the telephone with Alexander Graham Bell and translated ideas of evolution into Japan. Through his studies with Boston public school music teacher Luther Whiting Mason, Isawa was instrumental in introducing new curriculum for the teaching of music, physical education, and special education for elementary schools in Meiji Japan. Isawa’s life highlights the complex process in the negotiation between traditional and modern or East and West in his quest for learning. His writings in the 1880s demonstrate his efforts of integrating Japanese and western educational curriculum, while his later studies of Chinese language and culture show his ambivalence towards East Asia especially as an educational official in colonial Taiwan in 1895.

Through studies of Isawa’s records at Bridgewater State College, a recent visit to his birth house in Ina, Nagano and attendance at the Isawa music festival in October 2007, as well as meeting with a fourth-generation descendant of Isawa in Tokyo, this paper is a preliminary study of the relationship between history and memory in Isawa’s legacy in both Japan and the United States.

Keywords: education, normal schools, music, US-East Asia relations, westernization, national identity

Introduction

In an historical address delivered on November 2, 1911, in Boston, Massachusetts, Alexander Graham Bell recounted the role of Japanese language as the first foreign language sent by the telephone. He said,

“By 1877 or the end of the year 1876, a rather interesting incident occurred. I had among my students at Boston University a young Japanese student named Isawa. He came to me for the purpose of studying the pronunciation of English. Of course, when he heard about the telephone he became very much interested. He said, “Mr. Bell, will this thing talk Japanese?” I said, “Certainly, any language.” He seemed very much astonished at that, and said he would like to try it. Mr. Isawa went to our end of the circuit and I stood at the other. He talked in Japanese and I reported the result to him. “Yes, certainly, it talks Japanese, but unfortunately I don’t understand the language.” He was not quite satisfied with that and asked permission to bring two Japanese friends (Kaneko and Komura) who were then studying in Harvard College. They came and talked successfully through the telephone; so that Japanese was the first foreign language to be spoken
over the telephone.”

This student who first spoke on the telephone was Isawa Shuji (1851-1917) who witnessed the great tides of technological transformation in Gilded Age America after the Civil War in the 1870s. Not only did Isawa meet Alexander Graham Bell, he also attended the Philadelphia World Fair of 1876 and, among other Meiji intellectuals, translated Thomas Huxley’s Origins of Species later after he returned to Japan from Massachusetts. Isawa did not study at Boston University as mistakenly reported by Bell, but he was a student of Bridgewater Normal School from 1875 to 1877, to be followed by a year of study at Harvard University from 1877 to 1878. Under the tutelage of Principal Albert Gardner Bodyen who headed the school from 1860-1906, Isawa also compiled his studies of education based on Boyden’s lectures at Bridgewater Normal school. But Isawa eventually left his education in American Normal schools while the other students were sent to study sciences and law. Under the Meiji period, Isawa, along with Takamine Hideo and Kozu Senzaburo, were sent primarily to study teacher education in American Normal schools while the other students were sent to study sciences and law. Under the tutelage of Principal Albert Gardner Bodyen who headed the school from 1860-1906, Isawa also compiled his studies of education based on Boyden’s lectures at Bridgewater Normal school. But Isawa eventually left his most important contributions in introducing western music for the education of children in Japanese schools through his study with longtime Boston Public School music teacher Luther Whiting Mason. In addition, Isawa also learned about physical education and visible speech for the deaf during his study at Bridgewater. Isawa was instrumental in founding the Tokyo Music School which later became a part of the Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music. While Isawa was involved in the work of compiling textbooks for the Music Investigation Committee in 1879, he also developed an interest in the pronunciation of Chinese language and the reform of Japanese language. After the Sino-Japanese War, Isawa became the first educational official in the civil administration of the colonial government of Taiwan from 1895-97. While his policy of Japanese language administration of the colonial government of Taiwan from 1895-97. While his policy of Japanese language

1) The Alexander Graham Bell Family Papers, Speech by Alexander Graham Bell, November 2, 1911 - (Series: Article and Speech Files, Folder: "Pre-Commercial Period of the Telephone", 1911, Library of Congress)


education in Taiwan was controversial, he was universally praised for his role of teaching visible speech in developing special education for the deaf. He died in 1917 and was remembered in his hometown in Takato town in Nagano prefecture as an educational icon.

**Takato, Aichi, and Tokyo**

Born in 1851 in the town of Takato (Ina city) in Nagano which is famous for cherry blossoms viewing today, Isawa was quite typical of the Bakumatsu generation who studied traditional Confucianism and Dutch Learning prior to the Meiji Restoration and was exposed to the United States with the advent of Meiji reforms. The birth house of Isawa in Takato is now an important historical property with a stele inscription which marked his achievement as a famous educator. Isawa studied the ideas of Confucius and Mencius in his local clan academy Shintokukan which was founded in 1860. Learning in Takato has been noted earlier for the role played by Sakamoto Tenzan (1745-1803), a samurai, and has been encouraged since then. The Takato Clan School was first established by Naito Yorinao, the last feudal load of the Takato Clan, in 1860 but because of financial difficulties was housed in an unused building in the castle grounds specially renovated to serve as a school. In today’s Takato town, statues of five sages of Confucianism as well as a chart about the layout of the school are still displayed prominently. The Literature and Martial Arts faculties produced many eminent scholars and statesmen in their time.

Isawa was attracted to Dutch Learning at the age of sixteen through the translation of books relating to military and science. In 1869 he studied English with an American missionary as well as the legendary Nakayama (John) Manjiro who was the first Japanese to live in the town of Fairhaven in Massachusetts from 1841 to 1843. As one of the top students in Takato domain he was recruited to represent his locality to study at the southern College of Tokyo for two years which later became the University of Tokyo. Several major developments propelled further interest in learning from the West after Isawa finished his studies in Tokyo in 1872. The Iwakura mission was dispatched to Europe and the United States for almost two years which included many notable intellectuals such as Fukuzawa Yukichi and Mori Arinori who went on to promote western ideas in education in the movement of promoting Civilization and Enlightenment. Tanaka Fujimaro (1845-1909), a member of the Iwakura delegation, together with the American educator David Murray who arrived in Japan in 1873, directed the implementation of the Education Order of 1872 and surveyed the state of education throughout the country in order to extend the primary education system. In 1874 Isawa became the director of the Aichi Prefectural School and was responsible for introducing new school curriculum there. Isawa already commissioned one of his teachers to compile Japanese version of the American school songs and such writings by social theorists Herbert Spencer and educator David Perkins Page on the Theory and Practice of Teaching had become

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6) See the biographies cited in footnote #2.
An opportunity came in the next year when the Ministry of Education decided to send sixteen students to the United States, of which three would focus on the learning of teacher education in Bridgewater, Massachusetts, as well as Albany and Oswego, New York. Isawa Shuji and Takamine Hideo would subsequently become leaders of reforming elementary education in Meiji Japan. On July 18th, 1875, Isawa set sail from Yokohama to Massachusetts and arrived there on August 5, 1875 which would connect the history of Bridgewater Normal school to an important chapter of modern education in Japan.

Bridgewater and Harvard: Learning from Boyden, Mason, and Bell

Bridgewater Normal School was founded in 1840 as the second oldest institution for training teachers in the United States. By the time when Isawa Shuji went to Bridgewater, it was led by Albert Gardner Boyden, the third Principal who transformed Bridgewater Normal School through his long tenure from 1860 to 1906. From their first meeting in 1875 until Boyden’s death in 1915, they remained close to each other in transforming teacher education in their respective countries. On the 75th anniversary of Bridgewater’s founding, celebrated in 1915, Isawa included greetings from Japan stating that “I have the honor to congratulate you on your seventy-fifth birthday, as your only son in the land of the Rising Sun.” Boyden was the assistant to two earlier Principals Nicholas Tillinghast and Marshal Conant and the School grew from 67 students to more than 300 under Boyden’s leadership. In a memorial volume published in 1919, it outlines some of his ideas of Normal School as

“first, for the inspiration of its students with the spirit of the true teacher; second, for leading its students through the philosophical, scientific, and pedagogic study of the public school curriculum; third, for leading its students through the broader educational study of men, body, and mind; fourth, for leading its students to make a practical study of children under intelligent suggestion; for the leavening of public sentiment with higher ideals of public education.”

Among his reforms and accomplishments in the 1860s and 1870s were construction of a new building and enlargement of building facilities, beginning and extension of new courses of study including the advanced


course, development of semi-annual exams, and introduction of dormitory life.¹⁰ His educational creed became the backbone of Isawa’s published work of Theory and Method of Teaching in 1882. Mark Lincicome, Miho Hashimoto and others have explained the seminal work of Isawa on developmental education based upon Boyden’s lectures.¹¹

In his autobiography, Isawa expressed concern about himself as being slightly older than the other classmates as well as the dormitory as housing both male and female students. He was also frustrated with his own English pronunciation and singing skills.¹² In his registration card that he signed on September 7, 1975 in Bridgewater, Isawa signed that he also intended to study “a little of algebra geometry, natural philosophy and moral philosophy”.¹³ At that time he brought a number of school textbooks published by the Ministry of Education to Bridgewater, which focused on the topics of moral philosophy, geography, and linguistics/calligraphy. These books were later donated to Principal Boyden and afterwards his wife gave this to the town library after Boyden’s death. In his autograph signed before graduation, Isawa cited the Chinese classical philosophy by writing:

“The path of duty lies in what is near,
And men seek it in what is remote,
The work of duty lies in what is easy.
And men seek for it in what is difficult.”

In another autograph album he wrote,

“The learned men’s ink and martyr’s blood are equally valuable in the sight of god” (Your Oriental friend, Shuje Isawa, Chikuma, Japan).¹⁴

These records from the archives of Bridgewater State College reveal the influence of traditional Chinese Confucian scholarship that characterized Isawa’s youth from his learning in his local clan academy in Takato to his educational administration in Aichi Prefectural Normal School assigned by the Ministry of Education. His interest in Chinese and Japanese language would pave the way for his learning of music and visible speech and mark his career in his later years, although the inspiration would first come from the Boston public school music teacher Luther Whiting Mason (1818-1896) and the Scottish American inventor Alexander Graham Bell (1847-1922).

Isawa’s learning of music from Mason would turn out to be the impetus to the introduction of western music

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¹² see 伊澤修二君運営祝賀会編 Isawa Shūji-kun Kanreki Shukugaka compiled, 明治時期の音楽教育, Rakuseki jiden kyōkai shūyū zenki; and 敦伊澤先生記念事業会編 Ko Isawa Sensei Kinen Jigyōkai compiled, , Rakuseki Isawa Shūji Sensei (東京 : 大空社Tōkyō : Ozorasha, 1988).
¹³ Isawa’s registration card to Bridgewater Normal School in 1875, (Archives and Special Collections, Maxwell Library, Bridgewater State College).
¹⁴ Isawa Shūji’s autograph album, (Archives and Special Collections, Maxwell Library, Bridgewater State College).
into Japanese school songs (Shoka) movement from the late 1870s over the next decade. As the supervisor of music education and a public school music teacher in Boston for more than 15 years before meeting Isawa, the Maine native Mason was in the process of developing several Music Readers, instruction manuals, and music instruction charts for school children. In some of his later writings, Isawa recounted how he visited Mason’s house in Boston every Saturday afternoon and studied music with him, and then be invited to dinner and breakfast in the next morning, and then be escorted to various music schools and libraries, and returned to Bridgewater on Sunday afternoons.” Isawa stated that “I thought how blessed and fortunate were the things of this world, for this man (Mason) would make my unhearing ears hear and unsinging voice sound.”

Luther Whiting Mason later joined a successive group of American advisors and scholars who travelled to Japan in developing cultural exchange. This group would include such luminaries as Edward Sylvester Morse in archaeology and anthropology, Ernest Fernollosa in Art, and Lafcadio Hearn in Literature. Mason was invited to teach music in Japan from 1880 to 1882 and his book, The National Music Teacher (1872), was translated into Japanese in 1883. After Isawa returned to Japan in 1878, he had earlier proposed the introduction of music education in schools with the help of Megata Tanetaro, the supervisor of Japanese students in the United States. Isawa and Megata submitted a report to the Ministry of Education, recommending the formation of the Ongaku Torishirabe Gakari [Music Investigation Committee], which was to function as an institute for teacher training and preparation of teaching materials, and music curriculum development. This Music Investigation Committee was founded in 1879, and changed the name to Tokyo Ongaku Gakko [Tokyo Music School] in 1887. The strategy to accomplish the integration of western music with traditional Japanese music scores was to write new song textbooks. The first song textbook was Shogaku Shokashu [Primary Songbook], published by the Ongaku Torishirabe Gakari [Music Investigation Committee] (1881, revised in 1883 and 1884). This textbook was followed by Yochien Shokashu [Kindergarten Songbook] and Chuto Shokashu [Junior High School Songbook]. In short, Isawa strove to assimilate the best of traditional and modern Japanese songs, with those songs used in American and European schools.

One aspect that is often overlooked in discussing Isawa’s contributions is the introduction of gymnastics in Japanese schools. Albert G. Boyden, principal of Bridgewater Normal School, first introduced the new
gymnastics theories originated by Dio Lewis in 1860. In 1878, G. A. Leland, who was a graduate of Amherst College and later became a gymnastics instructor, came to be employed by the Ministry of Education, to teach the Lewis’ new gymnastics system at Tokyo Normal School. Shuji Isawa led the newly founded Gymnastics Institute in 1879 and recommended Lewis’ ideas to Japanese schools. His opinion was adopted in the text *Newly Selected Gymnastics* published by National Institute of Gymnastics in 1882.\(^{18}\)

In the introduction of this paper, I have quoted Alexander Graham Bell’s appreciation of Shuji Isawa in testing the operation of the telephone. Long after Isawa returned to Japan and reformed music education there and introduced educational reforms in the new colony of Taiwan, Bell visited Japan and paid a visit to Isawa. The Takato Historical Museum has preserved a rare photograph of Alexander Graham Bell and his wife standing with Isawa and his brother and relatives when Bell visited Isawa in Japan in 1898.\(^{19}\) Bell was an inspiration for Isawa for leading the Tokyo school for the deaf and the blind. In addition to compiling school songs, he was able to combine the teaching of school songs to improve speech. He founded the Rakusekisha in Tokyo in 1903, a new society for teaching thousands of deaf-mute and stuttering correction. In the history of special education, Isawa also played a pivotal role in modern Japan.\(^{20}\)

**China, Taiwan, Assimilation, and Pan-Asianism**

While Isawa’s reforms of music education, physical education, and special education attempt to integrate western methods with Japanese culture, his later years of educational administration in Taiwan and studies of Chinese and Japanese language also demonstrate his ambivalence towards the Chinese tradition. His efforts of requiring Taiwanese subjects of the empire to learn Japanese and introduce songs in Taiwanese Normal schools from 1895 to 1897 could be conceived as a Pan-Asian ideology of assimilation and cultural hegemony.\(^{21}\) In China a simultaneous effort was made to establish a standard national pronunciation for the ideographs, to analyze the national pronunciation in terms of its basic sounds, and finally to adopt a set of phonetic symbols to represent these basic sounds. This movement in early Republican China inspired Isawa for the study of the correct pronunciation of Japanese and Chinese in his last few years of his life.\(^{22}\) Similar to Fukuzawa Yukichi,

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19) Archival collection from Takato History Museum, Ina city, Japan.
Isawa had turned more to the development of a Pan-Asian culture in reaction to the West by the late Meiji and early Taisho period. For the early reformers of the Meiji generation, the roles of westernization and Japanization were not totally incompatible. For Isawa, knowledge from China, Japan, and the West all provided cultural resources for promoting education and modernity in developing a moral and strong nation-state.

**Conclusion**

To what extent was the legacy of Isawa a history of Civilization and Enlightenment (bunmei kaika) or Rich Country Strong Military (fukoku kyohei) as represented by the slogans of the Meiji reforms? In our studies of intellectuals, there is a tendency to focus on upper elites than education for the populace. The reform of developmental education such as music and physical education for school children and the introduction of new ideas of serving the deaf and the blind are some of Isawa’s strongest contributions that have sometimes been overlooked. In this short paper I have briefly examined his traditional upbringing of classical scholarship, his learning of the west with Boyden, Mason, and Bell, his prominent role in music education and school administration, and his last phase of spreading his educational theories through Pan-Asianism and “linguistic imperialism”. This paper is an ongoing project to revisit the archival materials relating to Isawa in Bridgewater State College and explore the commemoration of Isawa in Takato town in Nagano, Tokyo, Taiwan, and Bridgewater. Bridgewater has recently joined the commemorative activities for Isawa and encouraged grassroots exchange visits of citizens of Takato (Ina city) and Bridgewater. From the historical birth house and statues of Isawa and the annual music concert in Takato and Ina city performed by the students from the Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music where Isawa was one of the founders, the memories of Isawa live on. Yet the role of Isawa as a pioneer in his experiences in the United States, Tokyo, and Taiwan deserve further studies. His life exemplifies the complex borrowing, rejection, and appropriation of Japanese, American, and Chinese cultural traditions and modern transformations. While his songs about military marches and emperor worship as well as his colonial policy in Taiwan remain controversial, Isawa’s contributions still far outweighed his shortcomings. His story is an important example of intercultural exchange between Japan and the United States.

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23) The birth house of Shuji Isawa in Takato town was renovated as a historical property and opened for visit since 1979. A stone stele was moved from the old castle park to the birth house documenting his achievements. More records of Isawa have been preserved in the Kami Ina Library, the Takato town Library, the Takato History Museum, and the Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music in Tokyo. Since 1987 after the centennial anniversary of the Tokyo Music School an annual music festival has been held in the town of Takato and most recently in Ina city after Takato was merged under Ina in 2004. There is a statue of Isawa on the campus of Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music in Ueno Park, Tokyo and another one outside the Takato public library today. Several exhibitions have been held in the Min-On Music museum in Tokyo and the Takato Historical Museum in the last two years. Bridgewater has recently launched a new initiative in developing grassroots exchanges with Ina city and commemorating the contributions of Shuji Isawa. The author has visited several of these sites and a forthcoming study will address the current legacy of Shuji Isawa in Japan.
in the late 19th century.