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Abstract: Isawa Shūji (1851-1917), a Japanese educator in the early Meiji period (1868-1912), dedicated his life to the profession of teaching. He was not only a key figure in establishing Japan’s modern educational system, but also a pioneer in modernizing schools in Japan’s first colony, Taiwan. In 1895 Isawa volunteered his services to the Japanese Government-General despite the turbulent state of affairs in the colony at that time. Isawa’s decision to become Taiwan’s first Director of the Bureau of Educational Affairs was strongly influenced by the education he received at Bridgewater Normal School in the United States. This paper focuses on the influence of Isawa’s American experience on his decision to go to Taiwan and on his approach to education there.

Key Words: Isawa Shūji, Japanese education, colonial Taiwan, Bridgewater Normal School, Albert Boyden

Early Japanese Education in Taiwan: The Impact of Isawa Shūji's American Experience

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Introduction

On the first day of June, 1995, a commemoration ceremony was held on Zhishanyan 芝山巖 Mountain in the northern section of Taipei, Taiwan. Besides the former mayor of Taipei, Chen Shui-bian 陳水扁, many other prominent Taiwanese guests and over fifty visitors from Japan were in attendance, having climbed the steep stone stairs to the former shrine to take part in the ceremony. What was being commemorated was the founding of the Shilin Elementary School 士林小國学校 one hundred years earlier during the Japanese colonial era by the school's first principal, Isawa Shūji 伊沢修二, and the monumental role he and the dedicated teachers he had trained played in establishing Taiwan's modern education system.¹

Isawa Shūji (1851-1917) was a pedagogical polymath who, along with other pioneering educators in Japan, was instrumental in shaping the developmental education method that was employed during Japan's dynamic Meiji period (1868-1912). While Isawa's contributions to the development of curriculum in Japan have been examined in English elsewhere,² what has not been analyzed is his lasting legacy as the Director of the Bureau of Educational Affairs 台灣總督府民政局學務部長 in Taiwan. Isawa played a key role in the modernization of Taiwan's school system, introducing the concept of free public education to the island even before it was instituted in Japan. Isawa's plan to

¹ *Shilin guoxiao yibainian jinian zhuanji* 士林國小一佰紀念年專輯 (Centennial Special of the Shilin Elementary School) (Taipeishi Shilinqu Shilin guominxiaoxue, 1995), pp. 215-143. (http://school.naer.edu.tw/book.php?page_id=8)

² See: Mark E. Linicome, *Principle, Praxis, and the Politics of Educational Reform in Meiji Japan* (University of Hawai'i Press, 1995) for a comprehensive analysis of Isawa's pedagogical theories; Benjamin C. Duke, *The History of Modern Japanese Education: Constructing the National School System, 1872-1890* (Rutgers University Press, 2009) for an overview of the role of Isawa and others in Japan's modern educational system; Wing-kai To, "Bridgewater Normal School and Isawa Shūji's Reforms of Modern Teacher Education in Meiji Japan," in *Higashi Ajia bunka kōshō kenkyū* 東アジア文化交渉研究 (Journal of East Asian Cultural Interaction Studies) 2 (2009) for the influence of Bridgewater Normal School on Isawa's educational policies in Japan; and Patricia Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895-1945* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977) for a brief overview of Isawa's contributions to Taiwan's educational system.

implement an egalitarian approach to the education of Taiwanese was also a revolutionary idea during the colonial era of the late nineteenth century. The impact of Isawa's groundbreaking work has been long-lasting; his contributions have not been forgotten even a century later.

To elucidate the dynamic influence of Isawa's experiences in the United States on his implementation of policies for establishing an education system in Taiwan, I have employed a narrative of description and analysis that alternates between the two venues. I believe this juxtaposition highlights the manner in which Isawa directly applied the teaching methods and values he learned while in America to the assignment he undertook of establishing an education system in Taiwan. This approach may provide insight not only into Isawa and his contributions to modern education, but also into the issues of cultural identity in Taiwan.

I. Isawa Shūji³

Isawa Shūji served as director of the Bureau of Educational Affairs between 1895 and 1898 in Japan's first colony, Taiwan. His policies in Taiwan were informed by his experiences at Bridgewater Normal School in Bridgewater, Massachusetts between 1875 and 1877, as well as a year of study at Harvard College from 1877 to 1878. Isawa's expertise in development of language curriculum, music and physical education programs, and education of the deaf were all influenced by his American experience. While in the United States, Isawa had the good fortune to study with eminent educators and innovators such as Albert Gardner Boyden, principal of Bridgewater Normal School; Luther Whiting Mason, the foremost authority in the United States on school music methodology; and Alexander Graham Bell, inventor of the telephone. The humanitarianism, energy, and devotion to higher ideals that these men demonstrated so profoundly impressed Isawa that he strove to emulate them in Asia. Isawa became a pioneer in Japan and Taiwan of modern pedagogy, music, physical education, and correct pronunciation of foreign languages. He was also a strong advocate of egalitarianism, coeducation, and free public education. The following is a brief introduction to Isawa Shūji's life and his achievements before he was assigned as director of the Bureau of Educational Affairs in Taiwan.

³ Romanization used in this paper: Japanese Romanization follows the Hepburn system. The name of Isawa has been Romanized with an "s" rather than a "z," in accordance with his own personal preference. For Chinese Romanization, *pinyin* has been used except in cases of individuals and places whose names are normally spelled with nonstandard Romanization.

A. Isawa's Early Childhood and Education

Isawa was born on June 29, 1851 in Takatō 高遠, Kami-ina County 上伊那, Nagano Prefecture. He was the oldest son of ten children in a low-ranking samurai family. His parents were poor; they often barely had enough to eat. In his childhood Isawa helped the family finances by doing various jobs such as making straw sandals, carving chopsticks, and painting pictures on kites. He also worked alongside his father carrying rice and collecting firewood.⁴

When Isawa was around six or seven, his maternal grandfather taught him to read. At the age of eleven he began studying the Chinese classics and martial arts at Shintokukan 進徳館, the local Takatō domain (*han*) school, competing with students older than himself. He became interested in Western learning at about fifteen years of age, but only had access to Japanese translations of Western books on math, science, and international law. He did well in his studies. In 1867 his *han* recommended him for study at Daigaku Nankō 大学南校, which later became Tokyo University. There he studied English, math, science, and geography. The Meiji Restoration of 1868 ushered in a series of revolutionary changes in rapid succession: the *han* system was abolished, a Ministry of Education was established, and education was made compulsory by 1872. Isawa was assigned to serve in the new Ministry of Education in 1872, and in 1874, at the age of 23, he became principal of Aichi Normal School. The following year he was selected to study normal school education in the United States with Takamine Hideo 高嶺秀夫 and Kōzu Senzaburō 神津専三郎.⁵

There were two state-funded normal schools in the United States at that time: Framingham and Bridgewater, both in Massachusetts. Isawa entered the Bridgewater Normal School's standard two-year program in 1875, and graduated in 1877. He then enrolled in a two-year program at Harvard College, where he studied geology and other science courses, as well as education of the deaf. In May of the following year, when he received word of his father's impending death, he was compelled to curtail his time at Harvard and sail back to Japan.⁶

⁴ Isawa Shūji, *Rakuseki jiden kyōkai shūyū zenki* 楽石自伝教界周遊前記 (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1912), p. 4. The English title of this work is *Autobiography of Rakuseki S. Isawa, or Records of Expedition around the Pedagogical World*. It was compiled in commemoration of Isawa's sixtieth birthday. Hereafter referred to as *Kyōkai shūyū zenki*. 教界周遊前記.

⁵ Ibid., p. 25.

⁶ Morishita Tadao 森下正夫, *Meiji bunka no shihō: Isawa Shūji* 明治文化の至宝: 伊沢修二 (Cherished Treasure of Meiji Culture: Isawa Shūji) (Ina City: Kōtō-cho Toshokan Library, 2009), p. 23.

B. Contributions to Education upon Return to Japan

Once Isawa was back in Japan the Ministry of Education lost no time in utilizing his American experience. He was appointed vice-principal of Tokyo Normal School as well as director of a new physical education training center that he established in 1878 with George Adams Leland (1850-1924) of Amherst University. In 1879 Isawa set up a Music Investigation Committee in the Ministry of Education. He invited Luther Whiting Mason (1818-1896), who had been his music instructor in Boston, to join him in establishing a music program in Japan. In 1881 and 1882 he published two seminal texts on educational theory and practice: *Kyōikugaku* 教育学 (Pedagogy) and *Gakkō kanrihō* 学校管理法 (School Practicum). In 1886, one year after editing the elementary school textbook, *Shōgakkō dokuhon* 小学校読本 (Primary School Reader), he was appointed head of the textbook editorial department in the Ministry of Education. In the following years, he published seven volumes of textbooks for common elementary schools, and established and became principal of the Tokyo Music School. In 1887 Isawa became principal of the Tokyo School for the Deaf-Mute.

C. National Education Association

Isawa's career was not without setbacks. Before Isawa was put in charge of editing Japan's textbooks, schoolbooks were published by private companies. The quality of the texts varied widely. Publishers typically overlaid the English text of imported American textbooks with direct Japanese translations. One such textbook, Marcius Wilson's *The School and Family Primer* (1860), portrayed the lives and activities of American children. Its Japanese reproduction included drawings of American children in Western farm settings or at prayer, scenes that were meaningless to Japanese children.⁷ Isawa believed that the Ministry of Education should be in charge of issuing textbooks, either through a process of vetting textbooks produced by private companies or by issuing them itself. He also believed textbooks should use vocabulary and pictures adapted to life in Japan based on the direct object method, which entailed the following principles: using concrete observations or perceptions when referring to a material object or action; teaching simple ideas before complex ones; and teaching the concrete before the abstract.

Isawa came to this conclusion after touring several prefectures of the country, where he encountered poor rural parents who could not afford the costly and useless

⁷ Ōhira Kōya 大平浩哉, *Kokugo kyōikushi ni manabu* 国語教育史に学ぶ (Learning from the History of Japanese Language Education) (Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Kyōiku Sōgō Kenkyūshitsu, 1997), p. 15; Kogawa Hiroshi 粉川宏 *Kokutei kyōkasho* 国定教科書 (Government-Designated Textbooks) (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1985), p. 19; Marcius Wilson, *The School and Family Primer: Introductory to the School and Family Readers* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1860).

textbooks required by the new compulsory schools.⁸ Isawa resolved to reduce printing costs by importing advanced technology such as the rotary printing press to print books at prices that undercut private sellers.⁹ He also advocated that the vernacular be used in textbooks. Isawa's detractors protested these decisions, and when Isawa's pro-Western patron, Minister of Education Mori Arinori 森有礼 (1847-1889), was assassinated on the day of promulgation of the Meiji Constitution in 1889, Isawa immediately lost his position as textbook editor.

Mori Arinori and Isawa Shūji both believed that in order for Japan to rise from a status they labeled as "third-rate" and underdeveloped, a national spirit would have to be instilled in the people through education, particularly Japanese language education. Isawa believed that the key to building national unity in the modern era was standardization of a national language.¹⁰ To facilitate this end, he used his knowledge of music and visible speech, a type of phonetic notation designed to represent all of the sounds of human language. Isawa compiled Japan's first songbook for elementary schools, (唱歌書 *Shōkasho*) in 1884, which replaced traditional regional music and ushered in an era of Western musical compositions with classical Japanese lyrics. Visible speech was used to teach Japanese citizens the new national language 国語 (*kokugo*) in place of their regional dialects.¹¹

There was a great debate in Japan in the year 1890 over what constituted an ideal education. Isawa and his supporters believed in what they called "nationalist education" 国家主義教育 (*kokka shugi kyōiku*) as opposed to "non-nationalist education" 非国家主義教育 (*hi-kokka shugi kyōiku*).¹² "Nationalist education" meant inculcating loyalty, fealty to the Emperor, and a spirit of self-sacrifice for the nation. Some advocates of nationalist education who were close to Isawa, such as Japan's first Minister of Education, Ōki Takatō 大木喬任 (1832-1899), promoted loyalty and patriotism. Others, such as Mori Arinori, advocated enriching the country and strengthening the military 富国強兵 (*fukoku kyōhei*), while still others, such as Inoue Kowashi 井上毅 (1843-1895), who also served as Minister of Education, argued for bureaucratic government.

Advocates of a non-nationalist education were influenced by Western notions of liberalism, humanitarianism, and personal ethics. According to Isawa, advocates of

⁸ Isawa, *Kyōkai shūyū zenki*, p. 124.

⁹ Ibid., p. 167.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 180.

¹¹ Lafcadio Hearn, *A Japanese Miscellany: Strange Stories, Folklore Gleanings, Studies Here and There* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1901; New York: ICG Muse, Inc., 2001), p.117; Isawa Shūji, "Shiwahō ni tsuite" 視話法について (On Visible Speech) in *Isawa Shūji senshū* 伊沢修二選集 (Isawa Shūji Anthology) (Nagano City: Shinano Kyōikukai, 1958), p. 772.

¹² Isawa, *Kyōkai shūyū zenki*, p. 173.

non-nationalist education included the Christian teacher, Uchimura Kanzō 内村鑑三 (1861-1930), who refused to pay respect to the Emperor as stipulated in the Imperial Rescript, as well as scholars who made the unique claim that the Emperor was a “drifter from Thailand.”¹³

Isawa and his supporters viewed this trend as a threat to the national interests of Japan. After Mori’s death, accordingly, Isawa established the National Education Association 国家教育社 (*Kokka kyōikusha*) in 1890 with the express purposes of “fostering the spirit of loyalty and patriotism,” “explicating and implementing the principles of national education,” “writing commentary on the Imperial Rescript on Education,” and explaining the nature of Japan’s constitution.¹⁴ The organization drew over 5000 like-minded people the first year.¹⁵ Alarmed at the popularity of this independent group, government officials tried to prevent the Association from convening. In 1893, a row between the Association and the government resulted in further government pressure to disband the group. Isawa and his supporters advocated promulgating a law requiring government funding for education. Also, a difference of opinion between Inoue Kowashi and Isawa on the nature of vocational education soured relations between the government and the Association. Government officials warned that Isawa was meddling in political affairs. As a result of the government’s disapproval of the activities of the National Education Association, the number of participants in the Association fell off sharply, eventually leading to its dissolution.¹⁶

Japan prevailed over Qing China in the first Sino-Japanese War in 1895 and Taiwan was subsequently ceded to Japan. Isawa saw this as a welcome opportunity. This time he believed he could realize his vision of education unencumbered by political dissenters at home. As representative of the disbanded National Education Association, Isawa approached Kabayama Sukenori 樺山資紀 (1837-1922), the future first governor-general of Taiwan, and showed him a book on Mandarin language training that Isawa had been writing based on the visible speech method. Impressed, Kabayama

¹³ Ibid., p. 187; Kaminuma Hachirō 上沼八郎, *Isawa Shūji* 伊沢修二 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1962), pp. 153-54.

¹⁴ Isawa, *Kyōkai shūyū zenki*, pp. 185, 188.

¹⁵ Hara Hirao 原平夫, *Isawa Shūji to Isawa Takio* 伊沢修二・伊沢多喜男 (Isawa Shūji and Isawa Takio), vol. 1, *Kami-ina kindai jinbutsu sōsho* 上伊那近代人物叢書 (Kami-ina Series on Modern Biographies) (Ina City, Nagano Prefecture: Ina Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1987), p. 84; *Kyōkai shūyū zenki*, pp. 182-83.

¹⁶ *Meiji bunka no shihō: Isawa Shūji*, pp. 46-48. Inoue Kowashi and Isawa held opposing opinions concerning vocational education. Inoue believed that vocational education should provide simple skills that could be used immediately in daily life. Isawa, on the other hand, thought that vocational education should entail development of fundamental skills that would enable students to become leaders in their fields in the future. See: Kaminuma Hachirō, *Isawa Shūji*, p. 187.

granted Isawa permission to become director of the Bureau of Educational Affairs in Taiwan. Not only was Isawa assisted by four of the members of his National Education Association, he was now free to implement in Taiwan the educational strategies he had learned in the United States and that he believed were imperative for creating a modern nation state.¹⁷

II. Impact of the Bridgewater Normal School on Isawa

The principal of Bridgewater, Albert Boyden, was an influential role model in the formation of Isawa's notions of leadership skills, devotion to education, and religious doctrine. Boyden and Bridgewater Normal School also influenced Isawa's views on the role and importance of school facilities, coeducation, the arrangement and content of curriculum, and the issue of funding for public education. These points will be examined in detail below.

A. Horace Mann and Bridgewater Normal School

During the mid-1800s, the United States experienced many changes in education as a result of the spread of political rights, urban population growth, demands of the working classes that had recently gained the right to vote, and endowment of education by grants of land from the US government. Horace Mann (1796-1859), who served as Secretary of the newly-formed Board of Education in Massachusetts from 1837, was instrumental in promoting free public education. Underlying his educational policies was a belief in the perfectibility of humanity through adherence to moral law. Horace Mann believed that education could help individuals discern the ethical demands of natural law, thus facilitating a responsible and moral citizenry. He founded the first two state-funded normal schools in America, Bridgewater and Framingham, in the state of Massachusetts. The schools grew steadily in spite of fierce opposition from taxpayers, religious groups who sought to promote their own schools, and private landholders.

B. Albert Gardner Boyden and Isawa Shūji

From 1860, just prior to outbreak of the Civil War, Albert Gardner Boyden (1827-1915), himself a graduate of Bridgewater who had acted as assistant to the school's first and second principals, became the new principal of the school. He served in that post

¹⁷Yamamoto Kazuyuki 山本和行, "Taiwan sōtokufu gakumubu no jinteki kōsei ni tsuite" 台湾総督府学務部の人的構成について(Personnel Composition in the Taiwan Government-General Bureau of Educational Affairs), *Kyoto Daigaku daigakuin kyōikugaku kenkyūka kiyō* 54 (2008), pp. 86-87.

for forty-six years, and was succeeded by his son, who was principal for the next twenty-seven years. Albert Boyden was principal when Isawa Shūji was sent by the Japanese Ministry of Education to study at Bridgewater. Boyden was a strong, charismatic man who advocated that teachers should love their work and be willing to sacrifice. He was described as a “man of strong religious feeling, pure character, an unflinching devotion to principle, with a real, heroic abnegation of self.”¹⁸ He is also said to have had a power over pupils that is seldom attained. The secret of his authority has been attributed to the fact that he expected of himself the same high standards that he sought in his pupils.¹⁹

Boyden’s charismatic power was not lost on Isawa. Speaking of Principal Boyden and his impact, Isawa said:

...his charismatic disciplinarian education was famous....[He improved the behavior of the students through] force of character and the power of his personal presence....The power of his moral discipline was a great and awesome thing. Today as our country initiates [modern] education, it’s not that there isn’t anyone like Mr. Boyden, but he seemed so noble to me. Bridgewater Normal School often implemented the truth of education. Everything from the teaching methods to discipline had the ring of truth about it. It was this that became our goal when we returned to Japan.²⁰

Immediately after arriving in Taiwan, Isawa emulated Boyden’s “heroic abnegation of self.” In the midst of a pitched battle in northern Taiwan between some inhabitants of the area and Japanese soldiers attempting to subdue local resistance, Isawa literally had to sidestep corpses as he wandered through a still-smoldering Taipei in search of a suitable locale to set up a school.

Having studied Mandarin Chinese, Isawa assumed he would be able to communicate directly with the local people. He soon discovered, however, that the predominant spoken languages of Taiwan were variants of the Min 閩 (Holo) and Hakka 客家 dialects and various aboriginal languages, which were unintelligible to Mandarin speakers. Isawa then set about looking for someone who could interpret for him through English, the only language he had in common with any Taiwanese. A wealthy English-speaking tea merchant, Li Chunsheng 李春生, eventually introduced Isawa to Pa Lian-tek 吧連德, who was able to speak Holo and English.²¹

¹⁸ Arthur Clarke Boyden, *Albert Gardner Boyden and the Bridgewater State Normal School: A Memorial Volume* (Arthur H. Willis: Bridgewater, Mass., 1919), p. 20.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Isawa, *Kyōkai shūyū zenki*, pp.33, 35.

²¹ When Isawa first arrived in Taiwan, he met Taiwanese businessman Koo Hsien-jung 辜顯榮,

Li Chunsheng and Pa Lian-tek told Isawa it would be hopeless at that time to try to set up a school in central Taipei. They guided him to an area north of the city, in the mountains of Shilin 士林 called Zhishanyan 芝山巖 (Shizangan), where many literati lived. Warned that it was also a den of bandits, Isawa's determination reflected the influence of his former mentor, Albert Boyden, as he responded with characteristic aplomb: "They said it was dangerous, but I told them, 'so what if it is. If I were worried about my life I wouldn't have come at all.'"²² Isawa decided to open his school in a two-story temple that had been inhabited by a lone Buddhist priest. He called the building Shizangan Gakudō 芝山巖学堂 (Shizangan Academy). As soon as Isawa decided on the locale, he and Pa Lian-tek began recruiting children of local literati to become students at the new school.

Six Japanese educators in the Bureau of Educational Affairs agreed to become the colony's first Japanese language teachers under Isawa. The head teacher, Katori Michiaki 梶取道明, who accompanied Isawa from the first day at Shizangan, was joined by Sekiguchi Chōtarō 関口長太郎, Ihara Junnosuke 井原順之助, Nakajima Chōkichi 中島長吉, Katsura Kintarō 桂金太郎, and Hirai Sūma 平井数馬. The twenty-one initial students at Shizangan Academy were divided into three levels of classes based on results of an entrance examination. Their ages ranged from fourteen to twenty-eight years.²³

who had opened Taipei's city gates, letting in the Japanese soldiers in an effort to quell the chaos that had erupted on news of Taiwan's cession to Japan. Koo introduced Isawa to a Christian tea merchant, Li Chunsheng 李春生, who helped Isawa hire Pa Lian-tek 吧連德, as his main interpreter. Pa Lian-tek, whose father was German (surnamed Brandt) and whose mother was from Amoy, had graduated from a high school in Hong Kong and could speak English and the Amoy dialect, which was similar to Taiwanese. See: Shinohara Masami 篠原正巳 *Shizangan jiken no shinsō* 芝山巖事件の真相 (The Truth about the Shizangan Incident) (Tokyo: Wameikai Jimusho, 2001), pp. 101-4; Ka Tokuzō (Ke Desan) 柯德三, *Bokoku wa Nihon, Sokoku wa Taiwan* 母国は日本、祖国は台湾 (Japan My Motherland, Taiwan My Fatherland) (Tokyo: Seiunsha, 2005), pp. 26, 34.

²²*Taiwan kyōiku enkakushi* 台灣教育沿革誌 (Chronicle of the History of Education in Taiwan), (Tokyo: Taiwan Kyōikukai, 1939; 1982), pp. 11-12.

²³Katori Akimichi 梶取道明 was 37. He had been a tutor of Japanese *waka* poetry in the imperial palace. He left his wife, three sons, and two daughters in Japan to take up his post in Taiwan. See: Tsai Chin-tang 蔡錦堂, "Ribon Shankouxian Qiushi yu Jiqu Daoming zhi mu: Zhishanyan liushi xiansheng zhi bei" 日本山口縣萩市與梶取道明之墓: 芝山巖六士先生之碑 (Yamaguchi Prefecture, Japan and the Grave of Katori Akimichi: Gravestones of the Six Zhishanyan Teachers) in *Taiwan jiaoyushi yanjiuhui tongxun* 23 (October 2002), p. 11. Sekiguchi Chōtarō 関口長太郎, 36, had taught for eighteen years in Japan. Recently widowed, he had entrusted his four-year-old child to a friend in Japan before going to Taiwan. Katsura Kintarō 桂金太郎, 26, had taught in elementary schools in Japan. Nakajima Chōkichi 中島長吉, 25, had studied Mandarin before being assigned to Taiwan. Ihara Junnosuke 井原順之助, 23, had originally wanted to become a journalist and enjoyed studying languages. During the short time he was in

Instruction of the first term began in July and ended in October, when seven students, including all six from the top class and one from the middle-level class, became the school's first group of graduates.

After the first term concluded in October, Isawa decided to take two of his top students, Ke Qiujie 柯秋潔 and Zhu Junying 朱俊英, with him back to Japan to showcase the success of his language program in Taiwan and to recruit more Japanese teachers for the Shizangan Academy and other Japanese language schools Isawa planned to have built throughout the island. Isawa introduced his students at a gathering of the former members of the National Education Association in Tokyo. In Isawa's speech to the Association members, he gave special recognition to Ke Qiujie. Isawa explained that before Taiwan was ceded to Japan, Ke had mastered the Chinese classics and learned telegraphy, which was then a leading-edge technology requiring some knowledge of English. Isawa remarked that Ke Qiujie's example showed that Taiwanese could become nearly fluent in Japanese in a mere three-month period, and that Ke had told Isawa that the Japanese language was much easier to learn than Western languages.²⁴ Isawa's point was that it was not difficult to teach Taiwanese to master the Japanese language because the two cultures and languages were so similar. He concluded his speech with an appeal for more Japanese to become instructors in Taiwan to make good Japanese citizens of Taiwanese.

Those who are to work as teachers in Taiwan must be willing to devote themselves fully to the cause....this is not easy work. The climate is bad, and pestilence is widespread....To make the people of Taiwan into Japanese we should not resort to military force. We are educators, and educators must instead expend immense energy and have the utmost dedication to their cause.²⁵

Isawa also advertised in Japanese newspapers between October and December, 1895 for potential teachers. He offered teacher training and instruction in the Taiwanese language; free room, board, and clothing; and good pay. There were no limitations on the age of the recruits. Applicants were expected to pass an examination before being

Taiwan, he dedicated himself to studying the Taiwan Min (Holo) dialect. Hirai Sūma 平井数馬, 17, had also studied some Mandarin before serving under Isawa. See: Shinohara Masami, *Shizangan jiken no shinsō*, pp. 259-84. Also see: *Shizanganshi* 芝山巖誌 (Chronicle of Shizangan) (Taiwan Kyōikukai, Mogura Shobō, 1976), pp. 27-29. The Taiwanese students in the top class were: Ke Qiujie 柯秋潔, Pan Guangzhu 潘光楮, Chen Zhaoluan 陳兆鸞, Pan Guangming 潘光明, Pan Naiwen 潘迺文, and Pan Guangkai 潘光楷. The top student of the second-tier class was Zhu Junying. See: *Shizanganshi*, p. 9.

²⁴ Isawa Shūji, "Taiwan no Kyōiku" 台湾の教育 (Education in Taiwan) in *Isawa Shūji senshū*, p. 586.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 588.

accepted.²⁶ The examination entailed translation of vernacular Japanese into classical Chinese, and demonstration of an ability to pronounce the fifty sounds of the Taiwan Min dialect. Eventually, forty-five Japanese from all over Japan were selected by the Ministry of Education to become teachers in Taiwan. A further thirteen applicants were selected to work in the Bureau of Educational Affairs office in Taiwan.

In January, 1896, Isawa's resolve was challenged by a dramatic turn of events. While in Tokyo, he received a telegram informing him that an uprising led by the Shilin bandits, about whom Isawa had been warned, resulted in the massacre on New Year's Day of Isawa's first six teachers. Shocked by the news of this loss, Isawa cried all night after receiving the telegram.²⁷ He learned that even when his teachers were warned the previous evening of an impending attack, they remained dedicated to their teaching duties and would not be deterred by rumors of danger.

Since Isawa was still in the process of vetting new recruits in Japan when the tragedy struck, he hesitated to inform the new group of teacher applicants of the massacre. Ultimately, however, he told them the truth, saying that he would understand if any of the applicants decided against going to Taiwan. In spite of the massacre, he contended that after burying the dead, his work of teaching must continue. Perhaps inspired by Isawa's own resolve, all of the applicants agreed to work under him to replace the teachers who had died.²⁸

C. Religiosity and Moral Education

Years earlier, when Isawa was attending Bridgewater in Massachusetts, the school was charged with religious zeal, the ideal of which was service. The spirit of the students

²⁶ Go Kōmei 吳宏明, "Nihon tōjika Taiwan no Nihonjin kyōin" 日本統治下台湾の日本人教員 (Japanese Educators in Taiwan during the Japanese Colonial Era) in *Nihon kyōikushi ronsō—Motoyama Yukihiko kyōju taikan kinenronbunshū* 日本教育史論叢—本山幸彦教授退官記念論文集 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1988), pp. 239-40.

²⁷ Isawa, "Taiwan kyōiku ni taisuru konjaku no kan" 台湾教育に対する今昔の感 (Impressions of Taiwan Education Past and Present), in *Isawa Shūji senshū*, p. 651.

²⁸ The massacre of the first six teachers is called the Shizangan Incident 芝山巖事件. The teachers were not simply killed, but were decapitated and in some cases, disemboweled in the most gruesome manner. There are many conflicting theories on motivation for the killings. With loss of his initial teachers, Isawa had to begin teacher training sessions singlehandedly all over again. For accounts of the incident, see: *Shizanganshi*, pp. 15-30, 34. Shinohara Masami *Shizangan jiken no shinsō* pp. 167-254; Jenine Heaton, "The Initial Stage of Japanese Language Education in Colonial Taiwan: Isawa Shūji and Shizangan Gakudō" 日本台湾統治初期の教育—伊沢修二芝山巖學堂, *Higashi Ajia bunka kanryū* 東アジア文化還流 2.2 (July 2009), pp. 75-92; Jenine Heaton, "In the Aftermath of the Shizangan Incident: The Fates of Pan Guangsong, Ke Qiujie, and Isawa Shūji" 日本統治時代における芝山巖事件の余波—巻き込まれた3人の運命, in *Ajia bunka kōryū kenkyū* アジア文化交流研究 5 (2010), pp. 563-76.

was that of loyalty to the school leaders and the school principles. Bridgewater produced students who were instrumental in “shaping America’s destiny, for her graduates always [carried] into the world that type of culture which is known to be peculiarly fine and spiritual.”²⁹

At Bridgewater, daily devotional exercises of Bible-reading, singing, and prayer were mandatory. Arthur Boyden was an ardent Christian. His religiosity was evident even at mealtime, when he would offer prayers before eating. On Sunday evenings students were expected to congregate in Boyden’s parlor, where they would sing Christian hymns. Boyden believed that any teacher of competent ability and good morals would begin the school day with “the reverent reading of the Word of God.”

He would teach “reverence for God, His name, and His word. He trains his pupils to obedience, to rightful authority, to truthfulness, honesty, industry, punctuality, order, cleanliness, neatness; to the observance of the Golden Rule: to good behavior. The will of the pupil is under constant training, his conscience is under daily enlightenment. The moral power of a well-ordered school is very great.”³⁰

Isawa took notes on the lectures he heard at Bridgewater Normal School and later organized these lectures into his two seminal texts on pedagogy, *Gakkō kanrihō* 学校管理法 and *Kyōikugaku*. *Kyōikugaku* was based entirely on lectures given by Albert Boyden at Bridgewater. The first volume of the text treated phenomenology, the direct object method, creativity, and reasoning. The second volume explored human emotions, and particularly, child psychology. The text also explained the fostering of patriotism through study of history and music, nutrition, clothing, sanitation, and physical exercise. The text contains a section on development of children’s character as well. In the section, Isawa states that the main purpose of Boyden’s moral training was to teach children to show mercy and kindness. Students were expected to use those qualities to be patriotic and serve their country sincerely, to show respect for their elders, and to be filially obedient.³¹

Isawa’s Japanese explanations closely parallel the directives given at Bridgewater by Boyden. In Taiwan, Isawa used instruction in the Japanese language to instill a unique blend of Japanese Confucian ethics with the religious values taught by Boyden. The list of virtues used for ethics in Taiwan, illustrated through stories, are nearly identical to those taught by Boyden: good manners, obedience, honesty, industry, cleanliness and

²⁹ Boyden, *Boyden*, pp. 145-46.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

³¹ Isawa Shūji, *Kyōikugaku* (Tokyo: Toshokankai, 1882; 1980), p. 39.

hygiene, public spirit, promotion of the common good, empathy, and charity.³²

Regarding his ethics course in Taiwan, which focused initially on good behavior, order, and cleanliness, Isawa commented:

What was of most necessity in Taiwan was the teaching of manners....Taiwanese know absolutely nothing of courtesy....For example, in the morning, when they file in front of the teacher, they just stand there not saying a word. They never say “Good morning” or “Hello.” Even when they run into someone they know, they just look at each other and grin. They don’t even bow....When they entered our school they had poor manners, and it was quite a problem trying to teach them some. We started with teaching them how to enter and leave a room, and how to sit properly. Then we had to teach them not to spit or eat in the classroom....It was only after we taught such etiquette that they were ready for us to teach them the meaning of the Imperial Rescript.³³

The Imperial Rescript, which was promulgated in 1890, stressed the bonds between the Emperor and his loyal subjects, and stated the goals of education as the cultivation of loyalty, filial piety, and service to the state.³⁴ Isawa and the other members of the National Education Association were in general agreement with the Imperial Rescript. The Rescript, however, did not mention religion. One of the reasons that the National Education Association was eventually disbanded was because government officials such as Minister of Education Inoue Kowashi considered Isawa’s belief in the relationship between religion and education to be in violation of the principle of separation of state and religion.³⁵

In 1895, shortly after conclusion of the first term at Shizangan Gakudō, Isawa traveled to Tainan to visit Reverend Thomas Barclay (1849-1935), a Scottish

³² *Shizanganshi*, p. 51; Shirayanagi Hiroyuki 白柳弘幸, “Shokuminchika Taiwan ni okeru shūshinka kyōiku” 植民地下台湾における修身科教育 (“Moral Education in Colonial Taiwan”), in *Taiwan jiaoyu yanjiuhui tongxun* 臺灣教研究會通訊 31 (February, 2004), p. 24. (140.109.185.220/pdf/eduhis31.pdf).

³³ Isawa Shūji, “Taiwan kōgakkō setchi ni kansuru iken” 台湾公学校設置に関する意見 (“Opinions on Establishing Public Schools in Taiwan”), in *Isawa Shūji senshū*, p. 615.

³⁴ Shirayanagi Hiroyuki, “Shokuminchika Taiwan ni okeru shūshinka kyōiku,” p. 24; Isawa, *Kyōkai shūyū zenki*, p. 185. The twelve points of the Imperial Rescript were: 1) filialness toward parents; 2) love of siblings; 3) marital harmony; 4) trust among friends; 5) mindfulness of one’s own language and behavior; 6) philanthropy; 7) studiousness and application of effort in one’s occupation; 8) cultivation of knowledge and skills; 9) improvement of character; 10) work for the public good; 11) obeying laws of maintenance of public order; and 12) striving earnestly for the country with utmost courage. See: *Nihon kisoku zensho* 日本規則全書 (Complete Works of Japan’s Rules and Regulations), (Tokyo: Hakubunsha, 1894), pp. 490-91.

³⁵ Isawa, *Kyōkai shūyū zenki*, p. 199.

Presbyterian missionary who by that time had already spent twenty years proselytizing in Taiwan. Barclay was one of several missionaries who had arrived in Taiwan during the Qing dynasty, when the island was known as a land of disease, headhunting, and rebellions. Familiar with Barclay's work even before arriving in Taiwan, Isawa greatly respected Barclay and other resident missionaries for their pioneering efforts in education, medical care, and theological training under such adverse conditions. After listening to Barclay's advice, Isawa began formulating his approach to the task of teaching language and instilling religious devotion.³⁶

Isawa's concept of religion involved reverence for the Japanese emperor in substitution for the Christian God. After his return to Japan from the United States in 1878, Isawa became a powerful proponent of syncretizing Japanese religiosity and nationalism. Isawa believed that Japan differed from other nations in the "uniqueness of the mystery of its imperial throne," and that the nobility of the Emperor's reign on earth and in heaven was due to the unbroken nature of the imperial line. Isawa stated that Japan's ruling system was a source of envy on the part of other nations, since they could not hope to emulate it.³⁷

Isawa desired to "have the sacred virtues of the Emperor permeate abroad, and make virtuous the peoples in other lands."³⁸ He explained to the parents of his potential students at Shizangan Gakudō that since Taiwan had become a part of Japan in perpetuity, he had come not to wage war, but to make them all "good citizens of imperial Japan" through the study of the Japanese language.³⁹ He felt that Taiwanese should be allowed to be "conferred with the Imperial Rescript because the Japanese Emperor is truly benevolent" and "because the Japanese people are the descendants of the gods."⁴⁰ Although many of his peers felt the people of Taiwan could not be taught the Imperial Rescript, Isawa was convinced that Taiwanese belief in Confucian ethics lent itself to mastery of the Imperial Rescript, which was comprised mainly of Confucian values.

At Bridgewater, in order for teachers to instill "right thinking," they were expected to know each pupil as an individual, and to be conversant with various methods of knowledge acquisition.⁴¹ The direct object method, with its emphasis on

³⁶ Ibid., p. 213.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 176.

³⁸ Yamamoto Kazuyuki, "Taiwan sōtokufu gakumubu no jinteki kōsei ni tsuite," p. 86.

³⁹ *Taiwan kyōiku enkakushi*, p. 12.

⁴⁰ Isawa Shūji, "Shinbanzu jinmin kyōka no hōshin" 新版図人民教化の方針(Policies for Enlightenment of the Populace in the New Territory), in *Isawa Shūji senshū*, pp. 640-41.

⁴¹ Albert Gardner Boyden, *History and Alumni Record of the State Normal School, Bridgewater, Mass., to July, 1876* (Boston: Noyes and Snow, 1876), pp. 128-29. Hereafter referred to as *History of Bridgewater*.

phenomenology, was utilized to inculcate perception of objects through the senses. Training of the senses was thought to require “right habits of observation, of thought, of feeling, [and] of action.”⁴² A highly organized approach was used to achieve these purposes, including oral teaching by question and answer. By using a topical method of arranging the subjects to be taught and reviewed each day of the school week, both teacher and student knew exactly what lessons were to be covered and in what order.

Teacher training at Bridgewater was conducted in a model school that simulated an actual school. In the early years at Bridgewater, normal school teacher trainees were sent to the model school in the neighborhood as teacher interns to practice teaching to local children.⁴³ Later, students at Bridgewater were themselves compelled to play the role of children while each teacher trainee practiced teaching the class.⁴⁴

The purpose of the instruction at Bridgewater was to “send out teachers who shall love and respect their profession, and who shall be capable of independent thought and action” regardless of how low a salary they received. In 1870, five years before Isawa arrived, the Secretary of the Board at Bridgewater remarked of the school’s graduates: “By their professional enthusiasm and devotion to their calling, they have inspired the great body of teachers with a like spirit and have aroused them to earnest efforts to improvement in their work.”⁴⁵

Isawa noted that Christian teachers in Asia often sacrificed themselves for their work, as had happened in the Kucheng Massacre in Gutian 古田, Fujian Province in 1895 when British missionaries were killed by Chinese. In this context, Isawa believed that Japanese educators could only truly be considered successful if they dedicated their lives to the Emperor in a manner similar to the selfless Christian missionaries in Gutian.⁴⁶ When his six initial teachers were all massacred on January 1, 1896, Isawa said of their refusal to seek safety in the midst of an uprising against the Japanese:

If we sacrifice ourselves in a national disaster, we become people who by our actions demonstrate the Japanese national spirit toward Taiwan’s students. On another day, we will stand at the podium and say: Look! Japanese gave their lives to demonstrate their humaneness; we are a people who have since ancient times safeguarded righteousness.⁴⁷

⁴² Ibid., p. 129.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 35.

⁴⁴ Boyden, *Boyden*, p. 143.

⁴⁵ Boyden, *History of Bridgewater*, pp. 134-35.

⁴⁶ Isawa Shūji, “Taiwan no Kyōiku,” in *Isawa Shūji senshū*, p. 595.

⁴⁷ Isawa, *Kyōkai shūyū zenki*, p. 219.

This theme of sacrifice for the cause of educating Taiwanese was to be repeated yearly in commemoration ceremonies for the six “martyred” teachers, as well as for subsequent teachers who lost their lives from illness or violence in what came to be called the Shizangan *seishin* 芝山巖精神 or “Shizangan spirit.”⁴⁸

D. Isawa's Views on Colonialism in Taiwan

When Taiwan became a colony of Japan in 1895, officials in the Japanese government had not yet articulated a formal approach to colonial education or governance of the island.⁴⁹ Debate on the issue generally consisted of three major competing arguments: the laws and governance of Taiwan should differ from those in Japan proper; a discriminatory policy should be adopted; Taiwan should be treated as an extension of Japan.⁵⁰ Other colonial models at the time included those of England, France, Holland, and Germany. England's educational policies in India between 1850 and 1917 had produced a literacy rate of a mere ten percent of the population.⁵¹ The French

⁴⁸ *Shizanganshi* pp. 92-101. Isawa believed that the Shizangan spirit was also evident in the first and second groups of teachers who replaced the initial six who were massacred. A Japanese shrine 神社(*jinja*) was erected at Shizangan, which is located on a mountaintop, and Shinto ceremonies were conducted annually in the memory of those individuals, both Japanese and Taiwanese, who had given their lives to education.

⁴⁹ Isawa Shūji, “Taiwan no gakuji”台湾の学事(Educational Affairs in Taiwan) in *Taiwanron* 台湾論 (Discourse on Taiwan), ed. Huang Wen-shiung 黃文雄 and Jiang Xuben 江旭本 (Tokyo: Takushoku University, 2002), p. 215.

⁵⁰ Isawa, “Shinbanzu jinmin kyōka no hōshin,” in *Isawa Shūji senshū*, pp. 632-33. In May, one month before Isawa arrived in Taiwan, he gave a speech on his ideas about the state of Taiwan's educational system based on hearsay: “Although we cannot say that they are illiterate savage tribes, if viewed from the perspective of education, they have sunk to the limits of ignorant and foolish animals. For some reason, the Emperor in his benevolence toward this place has granted these pitiable savage people to be placed under the imperial control of our country. They cannot receive great happiness in life by living nearly like animals. This is a natural result of living without education.... In the eastern part of Taiwan there are already aborigines who, in terms of education, are superior to residents in the west. The aborigines were under Dutch rule for a while, and with their dull brains, they use Romanization for their daily written language. This is all because of training by Christian missionaries, and even today educators in Taiwan continue to be missionaries. For this reason, the first thing we must do to develop education in Taiwan is to introduce Japanese, and to replace the complex Chinese script [used in classical Chinese education] with *katanaka* to strive to communicate as quickly as possible and then gradually engage in developing their minds.” See: Isawa Shūji, “Taiwan kyōikudan”台湾教育談 (Conversation on Education in Taiwan), in *Isawa Shūji senshū*, pp. 570-71. Once Isawa actually arrived in Taiwan and interacted with local literati, his estimation of education there increased dramatically and he came to believe that Taiwanese were in no way inferior to Japanese, as is discussed below.

⁵¹ Latika Chaudhary, “Economic History of Education in Colonial India,” Hoover Institution, Stanford University (economics.ucr.edu/seminars/spring07/ped/LatikaChaudhary5-6-07.pdf), p.

colony of Algeria provided the Japanese with an example of colonial education designed only for the French residents as opposed to the native population.⁵² Isawa cited the examples of the French in Annam (central Vietnam) and the Dutch in Java as failed attempts at colonization.⁵³ Isawa elucidated his own views of colonial Taiwan as follows:

The first approach is to advocate our own national language and customs in education. The second approach is to use their language and customs as a means to our own ends. The third approach is to blend our ways and theirs to become one country amidst our differences. The first method creates autonomy; the second creates a provisional “other-ism”;...the third is literally understandable from the name, *konwa shugi* 混和主義 (“blending-ism”)...It’s safe to say that most of the people who live in Taiwan are almost the same kind of people as Japanese....I have never found anything about the average Taiwanese to be inferior to average Japanese....It’s just that we are a few decades ahead in importing Western civilization and evolving in a myriad ways...⁵⁴

Isawa advocated the third approach of blending the two cultures as a means to achieve assimilation, and devised his educational program accordingly. He divided his educational objectives into two general categories: urgent tasks and work toward a permanent educational system. He identified four urgent tasks: philosophical exchanges; informing average Taiwanese of the Japanese concept of respect for education; the necessity of emphasizing the relationship between religion and education; and the need to observe human nature and customs. His long-range vision called for treating Japanese and Taiwanese languages equally. He first wanted to teach the Japanese language to Taiwanese, then to have his Japanese instructors learn Taiwanese. He also called for respect of Taiwanese religion and observance of local customs in order to win the hearts and minds of the Taiwanese through education.⁵⁵

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⁵² Andrea Smith, *Colonial Memory and Postcolonial Europe: Maltese Settlers in Algeria and France* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2006), p.111. Gotō Shinpei 後藤新平, who served as civil administrator in Taiwan from 1898 to 1906, studied in Germany, where scientific colonialism was then in vogue. Gotō’s experience in Germany resulted in a shift in colonial policy in Taiwan after Isawa’s return to Japan.

⁵³ Isawa, “Shinbanzu jinmin kyōka no hōshin,” in *Isawa Shūji senshū*, pp. 633-37. Also see Isawa, “Taiwan no gakuji,” in *Taiwanron*, pp. 222-24.

⁵⁴ Isawa, “Shinbanzu jinmin kyōka no hōshin,” in *Isawa Shūji senshū*, pp. 32, 638-39.

⁵⁵ *Taiwan kyōiku enkakushi*, pp. 7-8.

E. School Facilities

Shortly before Isawa Shūji arrived at Bridgewater, the Massachusetts legislature had approved several bills to improve Bridgewater Normal School facilities, including the building of a boarding hall and new classrooms, steam heating for the buildings, and equipment for art instruction. A new chemistry laboratory was added the year Isawa arrived. These achievements came after much opposition and debate.

The new boarding house was well-furbished, complete with gymnasium and reading room. Each room was occupied by two students and had individual closets, carpeting, furniture, and gas lighting. Men roomed at one wing of the building while women were in the other. Arthur Boyden, who oversaw all construction and furnishings, resided in the house with his family and boarded with the students. One graduate from 1883 fondly remembered that the school was like one great family of young men and women living together with the teachers and principal under one roof. Teachers were located strategically on each upper floor while the head of the household and his family occupied a suite on the first. Students called Mr. and Mrs. Boyden “Pa and Ma Boyden,” and Mr. Boyden was revered as a “great father.”⁵⁶

At Bridgewater, Boyden also taught courses on school management during the period Isawa attended, 1875 to 1877. Isawa’s book, *Gakkō kanrihō* 学校管理法 besides being based on Isawa’s own personal experience, was also informed by notes he took on lectures delivered by Boyden, which included Scottish educational theories. *Gakkō kanrihō* is a manual for establishing and managing schools. It details everything from school construction and materials used in making blackboards to student seating arrangements.

Two decades later in Taiwan, Isawa sought to replicate the physical arrangement of the Bridgewater school. Isawa brought in Western desks, chairs, and even blackboards for classrooms. At Shizangan Gakudō, Isawa had an office built at the back of the second floor that doubled as a bedroom. The boarding house was at the east side of the downstairs of the building, where both teachers and students resided.⁵⁷ Teachers and students also ate their meals together in the small building. By having teachers and students live in the same building, as at Bridgewater, Isawa sought to foster a family-like atmosphere while he taught Japanese manners and customs to Taiwanese students. He sought to create an immersion course in Japanese that expedited the students’ acquisition of the language. As at Bridgewater, the constant interaction between teachers and

⁵⁶ Boyden, *Boyden*, p. 143.

⁵⁷ *Shizanganshi* p. 8.

students created strong bonds.⁵⁸

Shizangan Gakudō was the first of fourteen Japanese language schools 国語伝習所 (*kokugo denshūsho*) that Isawa commissioned to have built throughout the island. By 1898, *kokugo denshūsho* were established in Tamsui 淡水, Keelung 基隆, Hsinchu 新竹, Yilan 宜蘭, Taichung 台中, Lukang 鹿港, Miaoli 苗栗, Yunlin 雲林, Tainan 台南, Chiayi 嘉義, Fengshan 鳳山, Hengchun 恆春, and Penghu Island 澎湖.

In addition to teaching Taiwanese students, Isawa resolved to bring Japanese education to Taiwan's aboriginal tribes. During the Japanese period, many of the aboriginal tribes were reputed to be fierce warriors, and thus unapproachable. In Hengchun 恆春, near Pingtung 屏東 at the southern tip of Taiwan, however, several tribes had interacted with Japanese twenty years earlier when a Japanese expedition landed in the area in the 1870s.⁵⁹ In 1895 it was this confederation of tribes under Pan Wenjie 潘文杰 that submitted peacefully to Japanese soldiers. The Japanese head of the local government office, Sagara Nagatsuna 相良長綱, ventured into Hengchun to find out if the tribes under Pan Wenjie would consent to receiving Japanese education and to becoming loyal imperial subjects. The fact that Sagara Nagatsuna approached the aborigines unarmed won Pan Wenjie's respect and consent. The school that Isawa subsequently established there—the first aboriginal school in the island—was located in a makeshift hut. In spite of the paucity of building materials, Isawa endeavored to ensure that the school bore some resemblance to the Western norm: stakes were pounded into the ground, and planks placed on top to create makeshift desks.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Shinohara Masami, *Shizangan jiken no shinsō*, p. 122.

⁵⁹ See: James Davidson, *The Island of Formosa Past and Present* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1903), pp. 123-69. Davidson's account is based on first-hand reports by an American journalist, Edward House, who accompanied Japanese soldiers on the "Formosa Expedition," a retaliatory effort by the Japanese government for the beheading in 1871 of Ryūkyūan sailors who were shipwrecked in Hengchun 恆春, off the southern coast of Taiwan. The aborigine confederation in Hengchun was impressed by instances of Japanese valor, restraint, and the lavishing of gifts upon them by Japanese officers. According to Davidson, the aborigines became so friendly with the Japanese soldiers that they pleaded with them to stay indefinitely. This positive experience with Japanese soldiers probably accounted for their favorable response to Nagatsuna's inquiries about willingness to receive Japanese education. The friendly reaction of the tribes under Pan Wenjie was in contrast to that of aboriginal tribes in other areas of Taiwan, particularly in the mountainous regions and in the north.

⁶⁰ Isawa, *Kyōkai shūyū zenki*, pp. 254-55; Matsuda Yoshirō 松田吉郎, "Taitō kokugo denshūsho ni tsuite" 台東国語伝習所について ("A Study on Taidong National Language Learning School"), *Gakkō kyōikugaku kenkyū* 学校教育学研究 11 (1999), p. 54.
<http://repository.hyogo-u.ac.jp/dspace/bitstream/10/32/768/1/AN100700980110006.pdf>

F. Coeducation

When Isawa Shūji enrolled in the 86th class of Bridgewater Normal School as Shuje Isawa from Tokei, Japan on September 7, 1875, he was one of fifty-nine students—forty-one of whom were young women. Except for two students from Burma and Isawa, all were from the US east coast or Canada. It was the first year in the school's history that a student from Japan had been enrolled.⁶¹ Isawa found the style of education at Bridgewater to be dramatically different from what he had received in Japan. Isawa recounted:

The strangest thing of all to me was that young men and women were educated together. Men from the ages of 18 to 23 and women from 16 to 20—that is, young gentlemen and ladies—were not only brought together to be educated in the same classrooms but were actually housed in the same boarding hall with just a wall between them! The fact that the teachers and principal thought nothing of it at all, and that nothing untoward happened, seemed quite bizarre to me, having been educated in a purely Asian environment.⁶²

Twenty years later, when Isawa introduced coeducation to public schools in Taiwan, it was the Taiwanese who felt such education to be bizarre. Isawa went to great lengths to entice Taiwanese parents to permit their young daughters to attend Shizangan Gakudō. Isawa implored the male literati around Shizangan to send their daughters to school. The men with whom he spoke said they themselves did not mind if their daughters attended, but it was their wives who were firmly opposed.⁶³ Upper middle-class Taiwanese girls at that time traditionally spent several years preparing for marriage by learning embroidery and sewing. Many had had their feet bound in accordance with the then-prevalent Chinese custom, and typically were preoccupied with looking after younger siblings. It was not considered necessary for them to become literate.⁶⁴

Isawa encountered great difficulty in changing these attitudes until he eventually devised a plan that brought some success; he decided to sponsor an exhibit of girls' handicrafts after returning from a trip to Japan. While in Japan, he visited girls' vocational, normal, and peerage schools, and asked the students to donate their handicrafts. He brought back to Taiwan various paintings, compositions, handmade flowers, embroidery, and other handiwork that had been made by the Japanese girls. He

⁶¹ Boyden, *History of Bridgewater*, p. 159.

⁶² Isawa, *Kyōkai shūyū zenki*, p. 27.

⁶³ Isawa, "Taiwan kyōiku ni taisuru konjaku no kan," in *Isawa Shūji senshū*, p. 656.

⁶⁴ Kō Ikujo 洪郁如, *Kindai Taiwan Joseishi* 近代台湾女性史 (A History of Women in Modern Taiwan), (Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 2001), p.83.

arranged for these to be displayed at an exhibit for Taiwanese women that Taiwanese men were not allowed to attend. According to Isawa, Taiwanese women were so impressed by the sewing skills of the Japanese girls that they soon agreed to allow their daughters to attend Shizangan Gakudō. Moreover, some Taiwanese girls were allowed to attend a separate Japanese school for girls that opened a year after promulgation of the Taiwan Public School Decree of 1898. Isawa then devised a method of teaching that combined traditional sewing skills with instruction in reading and writing of the Japanese language.⁶⁵ It was remarkable that Isawa was able to recruit any coeds at all, for it was still dangerous at this time for girls to go to school. Disgruntled members of society would at times kill anyone found with Japanese books, and the sound of gunfire competed with the recitation by the girls of their lessons. Japanese teachers still required the protection of soldiers to escort the girls to and from school.⁶⁶ In spite of the tremendous effort Isawa poured into coeducation, however, the number of girls attending school persistently remained lower than that of boys.⁶⁷

III. Curriculum

At Bridgewater, Isawa gained knowledge of the Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841) method of dividing the school day into one-hour segments per subject. Besides an explanation of tracking (the assigning of students to courses according to ability), Isawa's *Gakkō kanrihō* contains numerous examples of class scheduling. Isawa employed both systems during his tenure in Taiwan.⁶⁸ *Gakkō kanrihō* includes expositions on topics such as moral obligations of teachers and students; traits required of teachers, such as discipline, cleanliness, morality, and dedication; merits and demerits of corporal punishment; the writing of course descriptions; and recording procedures for report cards.

At Shizangan Gakudō, Isawa followed closely the principles enumerated in *Gakkō kanrihō* for course content and teacher training.⁶⁹ He incorporated the American system of assessment of students' academic progress and the issuing of report cards, requiring all teachers in Taiwan to submit a report card for each student in which details of conduct

⁶⁵ Isawa, "Taiwan kyōiku ni taisuru konjaku no kan," *Isawa Shūji senshū*, pp. 656-57.

⁶⁶ *Shizanganshi*, p. 62.

⁶⁷ Patricia Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895-1945* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977), p. 148.

⁶⁸ Isawa Shūji, *Gakkō kanrihō* 学校管理法 (School Practicum) (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1882, 1981), pp. 18-20, 38. For a description of the book by Isawa in his memoirs, see: Isawa, *Kyōkai shūyū zenki*, pp. 297-98.

⁶⁹ Isawa, *Kyōkai shūyū zenki*, p. 300.

and scholastic achievement were reported to school principals on a periodic basis.⁷⁰ Isawa also adopted Boyden's policy of requiring teachers to visit the homes of pupils.⁷¹ Adapting the policy he observed at Bridgewater of waiving tuition for students who promised to become teachers in the state of Massachusetts after graduating, Isawa instituted in Taiwan a policy of paying students who were willing to attend school or waiving food and lodging fees, and helping graduates find good-paying jobs.⁷²

In the normal schools that Isawa established in Taiwan, teachers were expected to be instilled with patriotism and a strong sense of morality, and to be paragons of dignity who preserved order and followed rules. To cultivate a spirit of teaching appropriate for the students of Taiwan, educational principles were based on the Imperial Rescript. Teachers were expected to learn pedagogy and school management as summarized by Isawa from the lectures he had received at Bridgewater.⁷³

A. Language courses

At Bridgewater, three general areas of education were considered the most important: intellectual, moral, and physical education. The curriculum for the two-year course included reading, English grammar, composition, orthography, geography, arithmetic, US history, the theory and art of teaching, music, hygiene, moral education, and calisthenics.

English language instruction at Bridgewater constituted an important part of the curriculum, since schoolhouses across the United States at the time focused mainly on the basics of reading, writing, and arithmetic. The most commonly used language textbooks in primary schools in the United States after the Civil War were the *McGuffey's Readers*. *McGuffey's Readers*, a series of instruction books first published in 1836, contained reading exercises that became progressively more difficult from the first through the sixth grades. Beginning with articulation, inflection, and oral reading skills, the texts were composed of excerpts from such luminaries as Daniel Webster, Shakespeare, Lyman Beecher, and other well-known figures of the Western canon.⁷⁴ Although selections in

⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 267, 272-27, 275-27.

⁷¹ Boyden, *Boyden*, p. 131.

⁷² Ka Tokuzō (Ke Desan), *Bokoku wa Nihon, Sokoku wa Taiwan*, pp. 31-32. Ke states that Isawa gave ten *sen* 錢 per month to students to study in his schools, and that after graduating from Shizangan Academy Ke Qiujié was paid ten *yen* per month to teach. This seems to have been twice the salary of other students. Ke Desan's portrayal of the three generations of the Ke family vividly demonstrates how Isawa's policies differed from those of later education administrators in Taiwan.

⁷³ Isawa, *Kyōkai shūyū zenki*, pp. 263-64.

⁷⁴ *McGuffey's Sixth Eclectic Reader* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1879), for example, contains excerpts from the following sources: "Speech before the Virginia Convention" (Patrick

the books were generally secular, they stressed religious reverence, respect for parents, and virtues such as honesty, courage, and thrift.

Teachers trained at normal schools such as Bridgewater used the *McGuffey's Readers* in elementary schools throughout the country. The readers had been compiled to meet the needs of national unity, and provided common cultural literacy to a country attempting to address the challenges of a sudden growth in immigration, westward expansion, and illiteracy in the postbellum South. Isawa's subsequent preoccupation with promotion of a standardized national Japanese language reflected in large part the exposure he received at Bridgewater to this national imperative.

The Japanese Ministry of Education, which had dispatched Isawa to the United States, expected him to study all of the required subjects at Bridgewater, as well as report on aspects of the school that differed from those in Japan. Isawa was a dedicated student and managed to obtain above-average grades despite the cultural and language barriers. He encountered two major difficulties during his time at Bridgewater:

One was that I couldn't sufficiently manipulate the language. Although I started studying foreign languages from the age of 18, first I learned Dutch, and later when I went to Tokyo, I studied English from a Japanese teacher who had originally studied Dutch and learned English later. I ended up with an extremely distorted English pronunciation, with the result that people in America had quite some difficulty trying to make out just what I was trying to say....The other problem I had was music. I couldn't do it at all....One day the principal summoned me and said, "It looks like you just don't have any talent for music. It's not surprising, though, since you are a Japanese from the Far East, and the musical meter in your country differs greatly from ours. I will make an exception in your case and exempt you from taking music."...I was so disappointed that I cried for three days.⁷⁵

Isawa was able to improve his articulation of English through a chance discovery. The Philadelphia Exposition of 1876 that marked the US centennial was held the year

Henry); "The Memory of Our Fathers" (Lyman Beecher); "War" (Charles Sumner); "Speech of Paul on Mars' Hill" (Bible); "God is Everywhere" (Joseph Hutton); "God's Goodness to Such as Fear Him" (Bible); "The Puritan Fathers of New England" (F.W.P. Greenwood); "Necessity of Education" (Lyman Beecher); "The Quarrel of Brutus and Cassius" (William Shakespeare); "Political Toleration" (Thomas Jefferson); "Massachusetts and South Carolina" (Daniel Webster); "Objects and Limits of Science" (Robert Charles Winthrop); "Franklin's Entry into Philadelphia" (Benjamin Franklin), and many others of similar tenor. The selections are in addition to an introduction that contains sections on articulation, inflection, accent and emphasis, dramatic reading, and gestures.

⁷⁵ Isawa, *Kyōkai shūyū zenki*, pp. 27-29.

after Isawa's arrival in the United States. While accompanying Assistant Minister of Education Tanaka Fujimaro 田中不二麿 to the Exposition, Isawa came across a written system he had never seen before, "visible speech," a phonetic notation for teaching the deaf to speak. Isawa was impressed and felt that if even the deaf could be taught to speak properly using this system, perhaps he could benefit from it as well to master English pronunciation.⁷⁶ At the Exposition, Isawa learned that visible speech had been developed by an internationally-known authority on elocution and speech, Alexander Melville Bell, father of Alexander Graham Bell, inventor of the telephone. When he learned that Graham Bell lived in nearby Boston, Isawa immediately visited Bell and requested that Bell help him to improve his deplorable English pronunciation. Although Graham Bell was busy experimenting with hearing devices, he had a connection with Bridgewater through his father-in-law, Gardiner Hubbard, a member of the Bridgewater school board. It was Hubbard who had invited Graham Bell to Massachusetts to teach visible speech to deaf students, including Hubbard's daughter, Mabel, who eventually married Graham Bell.

Bell readily agreed to teach Isawa the physiological speech system. The hundreds of symbols devised by his father represent every sound in the human language. Isawa described the experience:

One time we worked on visible speech every day for an entire week without sleeping. He [Bell] was wonderful at the piano, so when we became tired, he would play clear and sonorous songs to help us recover. As a result of this hard work, I was able to become understandable when I spoke....Not only was I able to correct my English pronunciation with this method, when I was working in Taiwan, I depended on visible speech to teach Japanese to the people there.⁷⁷

In Taiwan, Isawa used visible speech to teach Japanese to Taiwanese, and to teach his Japanese teachers the Taiwanese Southern Min (Holo) language. He compiled two textbooks for Taiwanese conversation and pronunciation. In addition to a modified version of visible speech, Isawa developed an intricate representation of the eight tones of the Holo language. He describes the language sessions that he required of his Japanese

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 37.

⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. 37-38. For accounts of Isawa's participation in Alexander Graham Bell's experiments with the telephone, see: Wing-kai To, "Bridgewater Normal School and Isawa Shūji's Reforms of Modern Teacher Education in Meiji Japan," pp. 413-14. For an account from the Bell Telephone Company on the same subject, see: "Each in His Dearest Tongue," in *Bell Telephone Magazine Quarterly* XVI (1937), pp. 178-86. On the relationship between Gardiner Hubbard and Alexander Graham Bell, see: W. Bernard Carlson, "Entrepreneurship in the Early Development of the Telephone: How Did William Orton and Gardiner Hubbard Conceptualize this New Technology?," *Business and Economic History* 23. 2 (Winter 1994), pp. 162-63.

teacher trainees to learn Taiwanese:

I never taught [Japanese teacher trainees] Taiwanese conversation first. I would only have them try to say the fifteen vowel sounds in Taiwanese, as well as the eight tones. From morning till night it was “pa-a, pa-a, pa-a, pa-a.” The eight tones of Taiwanese are not something that you can master immediately after listening to them for just a short while....For twenty-one days I had the teacher trainees practicing “pa-a, pa-a” from morning to night. Only then could they manage the eight tones. After that I taught them for forty days the most important things they would need to be able to say in the classroom.⁷⁸

In Taiwan, Isawa gave his lectures in English, which his interpreter, Pa Lian-tek, rendered into Taiwanese.⁷⁹ Utilizing his previous experience of translating, editing, and modifying American textbooks for Japanese students, Isawa and his assistants, including some of his best Taiwanese students, employed the visible speech method as well as Pestalozzi's direct object technique of first teaching concrete ideas and simple vocabulary that Taiwanese would find familiar.

Through trial and error Isawa and his assistants compiled a manual adapted to the circumstances in Taiwan. The text, *Nihongo kyōjusho* 日本語教授書 (Japanese Language Manual), listed Holo Taiwanese vocabulary words with their Japanese *katakana* translations in short, simple sentences.⁸⁰ After they had mastered simple vocabulary words, students were expected to link sentences together to form short conversations. Eventually the frequency of use of Taiwanese characters decreased and Pestalozzi-style question and answer sessions using only *katakana* took their place. Finer points of Japanese grammar, such as proper usage of respect language, were reviewed frequently to ensure mastery, a method advocated by Bridgewater principal Albert Boyden.

The final text in the process of teaching Japanese in Taiwan was the same common school manual used in Japan, *Nihongo kyōjuhō* 日本語教授法 (Methods in Teaching Japanese). Notes to the teachers on grammar instruction in the text were based on principles of English grammar. These initial texts and manuals, developed and refined

⁷⁸ Isawa, “Taiwan kyōiku ni taisuru konjaku no kan,” in *Isawa Shūji senshū*, pp. 652-53.

⁷⁹ Shinohara Masami, *Shizangan jiken no shinsō*, p. 143.

⁸⁰ Kokufu Tanetake 国府種武, *Taiwan ni okeru kokugo kyōiku no tenkai* 台湾における国語教育の展開 (Developments in National Language Education in Taiwan) (Taihoku: Dai-ichi Kyōikusha, 1931), pp. 66-71; Go Kōmei 呉宏明, “Isawa Shūji to shiwahō: Rakusekisha no kitsuon kyōsei jigyo o chūshin ni” 伊沢修二と視話法～楽石社の吃音矯正事業を中心に (Isawa Shūji and Visible Speech: Focusing on Rakusekisha's Stuttering Therapy Business), in *Kyōto Seika Daigaku kiyō* 京都精華大学紀要 26 (2004), pp. 146-51.

by Isawa, became the foundation for later textbooks used by Japanese educators in Taiwan.⁸¹

B. Music

At Bridgewater, instruction in music grew in importance under Albert Boyden. Besides daily devotional exercises that included singing and prayers, each school day (five per week) ended with singing. During the last quarter of the term, the twenty-minute general exercise session also consisted entirely of singing. Singing classes expanded to include sight reading, choral music, and methods of music teaching.⁸² Students also gathered every Sunday evening in Boyden's parlor to sing Christian hymns. The singing of these hymns left deep and lasting impressions on graduates of the school. One woman, who graduated in 1885, remembered, "To sing such hymns together for two years could do no other than prejudice our young lives in favor of truth, beauty, service, holiness and God."⁸³

Given the importance of music in the curriculum, Isawa endeavored to overcome his lack of musical ability even though Boyden had exempted him from taking the mandatory course. During the time he was at Bridgewater, Isawa learned that a famous music educator, Luther Whiting Mason, lived in nearby Boston.⁸⁴ Isawa went to visit Mason and requested to study music under Mason's direction. Mason readily agreed to Isawa's request with the result that Isawa visited Boston every Friday for music lessons. During the daytime, Mason would first take Isawa to see the schools in the area, and in the evening he would teach him singing, sometimes with the piano accompaniment of Mason's daughter. On evenings when it was too late for Isawa to return to Bridgewater, he would spend the night at Mason's house. As a result, by graduation Isawa was able to sing just as well as most of his American peers.

Referring to the Japanese students who went to study abroad, Isawa stated:

⁸¹ Sugi Fusanosuke 杉房之助, *Nit-Tai kaiwa shinhen* 日臺會話新編 (Japanese-Taiwanese Conversation, New Edition), (Taihoku: Hakubundo, 1899), p. 1.

⁸² Boyden, *History of Bridgewater*, pp. 125-26.

⁸³ Boyden, *Albert Gardner Boyden*, p. 144.

⁸⁴ Luther Whiting Mason is considered the founder of school music methodology. His *National Music Course* (1870) was the prototype for all methods that followed it. Use of his music books became universal in the United States for generations. See: Edward Bailey Birge, *History of Public School Music—In the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Music Educators National Conference, 1928), pp. 102-3.

I wasn't the only Japanese who couldn't do music. We had all been brought up among the flashing of swords and fire of cannon, and received not one whit of an education in music or art, so we certainly couldn't sing. The fact that we were incapable of developing refined artistic sentiments was seen as evidence that we were culturally inferior to people from other nations. This was why I definitely wanted in the future to add singing to the school curriculum throughout Japan.⁸⁵ ...I was even told that Japanese can't appreciate beauty because we are an inferior race. We are despised by civilized peoples because of our lack of artistic training....artistic education is important, and music education is the most important of all.⁸⁶

Such insults so rankled Isawa that after he returned to Japan, he convinced the Ministry of Education to invite Luther Mason to Japan to help establish a music program in Japanese schools. When Mason arrived in Japan, he found that there were no musical instruments, no song books, and not even a word in Japanese to represent the concept of singing. Isawa and Mason were eventually very successful in establishing music education in Japan despite these handicaps. Realizing that Scottish songs often were compositions of few notes, a system that resembled the pentatonic scale of traditional Japanese music, Mason adapted such songs to be used in Japanese music instruction. Japanese lyrics were written for the foreign songs. According to Isawa, even the national anthem, *Kimigayo* 君が代, was based on a melody of few notes by the British composer, Samuel Webbe, with lyrics from the classic Japanese work, the *Kokinshū* 古今集.⁸⁷

Isawa compiled Japan's first songbook in 1884, which contained *Kimigayo*, *Hotaru no Hikari* 蛍の光 (using the melody of *Auld Lang Syne*), *Chōchō* 蝶々 (based on *Lightly Row*), *Miwataseba* 見渡せば (based on *Hush, My Babe*), and *Sumera Mikuni* 皇御国 (*The Country of the Emperor*, lyrics by Isawa). To these were added songs composed solely by Japanese, such as *Yamato Nadeshiko* 大和撫子 (*Accomplished Japanese Woman*). Isawa also wrote *Kigensetsu* 紀元節 (*Empire Day*) and *Tenchōsetsu* 天長節, the latter a song commemorating the Emperor's birthday.⁸⁸ A strong strain of

⁸⁵ Isawa, *Kyōkai shūyū zenki*, p. 29.

⁸⁶ Ibid, p. 71.

⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 73, 85. Although Isawa attributed the original to Samuel Webbe, it is generally accepted that John William Fenton, the bandmaster of Britain's Tenth Foot Regiment, which was in Japan in 1868 during the Meiji Restoration, composed the original score. See: "British Soldier Who Wrote Japanese National Anthem Honoured," in *The Telegraph* (October 14, 2008). <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/3192637/British-soldier-who-wrote-Japanese-national-anthem-honoured.html>

⁸⁸ Isawa, *Kyōkai shūyū zenki*, pp. 82-83.

patriotism and loyalty can be discerned in Isawa's lyrics. *Kigensetsu* was sung in schools throughout Japan from 1889 until the end of the Pacific War in 1945, while *Sumera Mikuni* was sung at celebratory ceremonies. Besides Isawa's compositions, the lyrics of many songs by other Japanese composers were designed to instill loyalty to the Emperor and the country, respect for traditional Japanese sensibilities, and Confucian values.⁸⁹ Singing was emphasized for ensuring correct pronunciation of the newly standardized language. Isawa also thought singing provided a vehicle for implementing visible speech, and facilitating the mental and physical development of children.⁹⁰

After becoming director of the Bureau of Educational Affairs, Isawa decided to introduce singing to Taiwanese students as well. The first songs taught at Shizangan Gakudō in 1897 were those Isawa had introduced initially to Japanese students: *Kimigayo*, *Hotaru no Hikari*, and *Sumera Mikuni*.⁹¹ Isawa noted that Taiwanese students particularly liked singing and seemed to be far superior at it than their peers in Japan proper.⁹² Japanese songs were used in Taiwan, as in Japan, for national holidays, school graduation ceremonies, and other festive occasions. Through singing in Japanese about the empire and Japanese culture via songs composed with Western meter, Taiwanese children were inculcated with a Japanese national identity and allegiance to the emperor. At the same time, they were also exposed to modern music with Western meter from the initial stage of Japanese education.

C. Other academic courses

Besides Japanese language, Isawa and his colleagues taught reading, arithmetic, calligraphy (semi-cursive script), geography, and moral education. In 1897, calisthenics were added to the curriculum. When common schools 公学校 (*kōgakkō*) for Taiwanese students were established in 1897, science, bookkeeping, and Japanese history were also added.

Initially, reading consisted of traditional Chinese curriculum, including the *Sanzi Jing* (Three-Character Classic), the *Four Books* (*The Great Learning*, *Doctrine of the Mean*, *Analects*, and *Mencius*), as well as the *Five Classics* (*Classic of Changes*, *Classic of Poetry*, *Classic of Rites*, *Classic of History*, and the *Spring and Autumn Annals*). Isawa could not dispense with these requisites of a classical Chinese education as Taiwanese literati felt that memorization of these texts was indispensable for entry to the scholar-gentry class. The texts were taught as classical Chinese at first, but later

⁸⁹ Hara Hirao, *Isawa Shūji*, *Isawa Takio*, pp. 60, 84-92.

⁹⁰ Isawa, "Shiwahō ni tsuite," in *Isawa Shūji senshū*, p.772; Isawa, *Gakkō kanrihō*, p. 96.

⁹¹ *Shizanganshi*, p.48.

⁹² Isawa, "Taiwan kōgakkō setchi ni kansuru iken," in *Isawa Shūji senshū*, p. 624.

Taiwanese students were compelled to read the words and sentences in Japanese order as *kanbun* 漢文. Isawa soon eliminated the teachings of Mencius from the curriculum since Mencius emphasized that citizens should have the right to overthrow corrupt kings. Isawa believed that this concept undermined the Japanese notion of an unbroken and unchallengeable imperial line, the ostensible superiority of which he wished to instill in Taiwanese.⁹³

Isawa also introduced arithmetic to the curriculum in public schools in Taiwan. Before Isawa's tenure as director of the Bureau of Education, mathematics was taught only at the small number of private Christian schools on the island. Traditional local schools for the literati 書房 (*shufang*), small Chinese private schools) and *shuyuan* 書院 (larger private academies), which taught Chinese classics as preparation for taking the Chinese civil service examination, did not teach mathematics. Indeed, students who attended such schools were taught that arithmetic was only needed for bookkeeping, and was not something that scholars should learn. Isawa believed that this emphasis on the traditional Chinese classics accounted for an apparent lack of analytical ability and logical thinking, two areas that had been emphasized at Bridgewater as necessary components of a modern education. He attributed instances of banditry and local fighting to the spread of rumors that resulted from a lack of rational, scientific reasoning.⁹⁴

As soon as Isawa opened Shizangan Academy, he began teaching Western style simple addition and subtraction, the multiplication tables, simple division, operation of the Japanese-style abacus, and the traditional number system used by Taiwanese merchants.⁹⁵

⁹³ Isawa, "Taiwan kōgakkō setchi ni kansuru iken," in *Isawa Shūji senshū*, pp. 619, 621-22. Mencius also taught that anyone could become king if he were qualified. This ran counter to Isawa's view on the superiority of the unbroken imperial line of Japan, the legitimacy of which obviously was based on heredity and not ability. Isawa thought the writings of Mencius should be avoided to prevent Taiwanese from opposing reverence for the Japanese Emperor Meiji, a concept that underpinned his educational program. Isawa, *Kyōkai shūyū zenki*, p. 253.

⁹⁴ Traditional schools for the literati included 1,707 *shufang* in Taiwan in 1898, with a total of 29,876 male and 65 female students. These numbers grew progressively smaller as the Japanese educational system became more attractive to students and their parents. See *Taiwan kyōiku enkakushi*, pp. 984-86. For Isawa's views on the detrimental effect of the lack of scientific and mathematical training in traditional schools in Taiwan, see: Isawa, "Taiwan kōgakkō setchi ni kansuru iken," in *Isawa Shūji senshū*, p. 621.

⁹⁵ Isawa thought that Taiwan's indigenous numbering system resembled Roman numerals, and noted that it was printed on sacks of sugar. See: Isawa, "Taiwan Sōtokufu gakuji jikō hōkoku 台灣總督府學事事項報告 (Report on Taiwan Government-General Educational Matters), in *Isawa Shūji senshū*, p. 576. Actually, it was derived originally from "Suzhou numerals," which consisted of rod numerals that were a variant of those used in the Southern Song period (1127-1279). A mathematical shorthand, they were used for accounting and bookkeeping until recently in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao. See: Jōchi Shigeru 城地茂, "Taiwan ni okeru

Isawa also observed that while Taiwanese students could write superb classical Chinese compositions, most had little understanding of modern science. For instance, in answer to an essay question on the cause of the sound of thunder, most students answered that there was a big bird or some other animal in the sky that made the noise and caused lightening. Isawa concluded after reading these essays that much effort would be required to dispel superstitions and foster scientific reasoning.

While teaching geography, Isawa realized that Taiwanese students had no accurate knowledge of the location or size of Japan. Isawa decided to emphasize similarities in geography between Taiwan and Japan. He likened the Tamsui River in Taipei to the Kamogawa 鴨川 River in Kyoto, and noted that both Taipei and Kyoto were surrounded by mountains on three sides. He compared Taichung with Tokyo, as both cities were situated on plains, and likened Yushan 玉山 (Mt. Morrison), Taiwan's highest mountain, to Mt. Fuji.

In terms of the teaching of history, Isawa emphasized historical ties between Japan and Taiwan:

As for history, it is well-known that Taiwan was never a land or people that belonged to Qing China. In the distant past it belonged at one time to Japan, but the Dutch came and cheated us and seized it. Later, Japanese pirates 頭 (*kashira*) and Koxinga were there. We tell them that the Qing court took it after that. It is imperative that we drill into the Taiwanese that Taiwan and Japan have had an unbroken bond since time immemorial.⁹⁶

D. Physical Education

Gymnastics at Bridgewater consisted of outdoor sports and calisthenics developed by Dio Lewis (1823-1886). Lewis had studied at Harvard University, earning a degree in homeopathy. He developed 225 movements that he deemed necessary to exercise all parts of the body, the calisthenics for which he described in his book, *The New Gymnastics for Men, Women, and Children* (Boston, 1864). He believed that exercise should be enjoyable, practical, and require a minimum of equipment. He devised a series of games involving beanbags, balls, dumbbells, clubs, wands, and rings. His regimen was used at Bridgewater when Isawa Shūji was there, and so impressed Isawa that Isawa introduced Dio Lewis's exercises to schools in Japan in 1878. Isawa wrote of the experience:

Nihontōjika no shuzan kyōiku”台湾における日本統治下の珠算教育 (Abacus Education in Taiwan during Japanese Colonial Rule) in *Taiwan ōyō Nichigo kenkyū* 台湾応用日語研究 (2003), pp. 1-23.

⁹⁶ Isawa, “Taiwan kōgakkō setchi ni kansuru iken,” in *Isawa Shūji senshū*, p. 623.

First, I had to think of terms to describe the equipment. Of course, there were names for the equipment in English, but it was not an easy matter to translate them into Japanese. I called a club a “lever stick” (*konbō*; 棍棒); a wand a “spherical rod” (*kyūkan*; 球竿); and a dumbbell I literally called “mute bell” (*arei*; 哑鈴).⁹⁷

In 1876, while Isawa was in the United States, he was witness to the bitter contest between Rutherford B. Hayes and Samuel J. Tilden in the election for president. The Democratic Party, still riled at the abuses of Reconstruction after the U.S. Civil War, used civilian militias such as the Redshirts to intimidate voters. Although America then was ostensibly a country without a standing army, Isawa was impressed that American civilians could quickly be transformed into soldiers. Apparently unaware of the lingering animosity between North and South, he attributed Americans’ ability to organize militias quickly to physical education programs in schools, which Isawa thought responsible for instilling the patriotic spirit that he witnessed. He noted that during the 1876 election, average citizens could quickly be assembled to form militias that could readily perform ceremonies after practicing for only one week in an open field. They would then greet the presidential candidate by marching with pine torches in place of weapons. Isawa added that when he learned that U.S. musical instrument makers could easily convert their instrument factories into munitions factories, he concluded that Japan should incorporate the same type of physical education program to create a strongly loyal, patriotic citizenry that could be mobilized when necessary. Isawa believed that this was also another reason to promote music.⁹⁸

In 1897 Isawa introduced physical education accompanied by music into the curriculum in Taiwan. The main exercises used at this early juncture were called *seitonhō* 整頓法 (standing straight) and *sayū kaiten kōshin* 左右回轉行進 (turning movements). These terms were Isawa’s translations of the free gymnastic exercises developed by Dio Lewis.⁹⁹ Physical education was a new concept in Taiwan, and parents were often dubious about its purpose. With the opening of common schools, these exercises were

⁹⁷ Isawa, *Kyōkai shūyū zenki*, p.52.

⁹⁸ Isawa Shūji, “Kokka kyōiku no honshi to gunjinteki seishin no yōsei” 国家教育ノ本旨ト軍人の精神ノ養成 (The True Aims of National Education and Cultivation of a Martial Spirit), in *Isawa Shūji senshū*, pp. 539-40.

⁹⁹ Kishino Yūzō 岸野雄三, ed. *Shōgakkō futsū taisō* 小学校普通体操 (Regular Physical Exercise in Elementary Schools) in *Kindai taiiku bunken shūsei, dai-ichi ki* 近代体育文献集成第一期 (Collected Documents on Modern Physical Education, First Stage), vol. 9, *Taisō* 体操 II (Physical Exercises, II) (Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Sentā, 1871-1882; rpt. 1982), pp. 2-7, 13-14.

supplemented with martial exercises for boys 兵式 (*heishiki*) and recreational games 遊戯 (*yūgi*) for girls.¹⁰⁰ The martial exercises that Isawa introduced were based on a text on Japanese elementary school martial exercises 小学校兵式体操書 (*shōgakkō heishiki taisōsho*) that was published in 1887. The martial exercises were comprised of squad formation, standing at attention, and marching. This alarmed many Taiwanese parents, who believed the purpose of the exercises was to turn their children into soldiers.¹⁰¹ In spite of parents' reservations, the children themselves began to enjoy physical exercise, especially when it was accompanied by music.

E. Free Public Education

In the state of Massachusetts in the mid-1820s, free public schools that could systematically prepare teachers were considered “the first step toward a reform...of popular education.”¹⁰² After over a decade of persistent effort on the part of several educational reformers, the Massachusetts legislature established a board of education, which in turn recommended passage of a law providing for the establishment of normal schools. Funds raised by private individuals were matched by the state legislature for the building of schools and training of teachers. Later expansion by the school required periodic appeals to the legislature for more appropriations.¹⁰³ The Board of Education elected by ballot some of their members to become “Visitors” who were to inspect the schools once per term to ensure administration of the Board's rules.¹⁰⁴ As a result of this arrangement, Bridgewater and other normal schools were highly successful at producing qualified teachers.

Isawa's experience at Bridgewater made him a firm believer in universal public education, and after his return from the United States, he argued for its implementation in Japan. The Japanese economy was not yet able to sustain this kind of expense, however, and Isawa encountered resistance to his idea that the state should pay for compulsory education. Even Minister of Education Mori Arinori believed that local governments, private donors, and parents should be responsible for financing education rather than the state.

¹⁰⁰ Isawa, *Kyōkai shūyū zenki*, p. 291.

¹⁰¹ Isawa, “Taiwan kōgakkō setchi ni kansuru iken,” in *Isawa Shūji senshū*, p. 624; Matsuoka Hyō 松岡彪, *Shōgakkō heishiki taisōsho* 小学校兵式体操書 (Book of Elementary School Martial Exercises), in *Kindai taiiku bunken shūsei, dai-ichi ki* 近代体育文献集成第一期, vol. 15, *Heishiki taisō* 兵式体操 (Martial Exercises) (Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Sentā, 1887; rpt. 1982), pp. 1-35.

¹⁰² Boyden, *History of Bridgewater*, p. 9.

¹⁰³ Boyden, *Albert Gardner Boyden*, p. 40.

¹⁰⁴ Boyden, *History of Bridgewater*, p. 14.

Two decades later, free public education in Japan continued to be a low national priority as the country focused on rail, waterworks, and other facilities necessary for rapid industrialization. Defense was also seen as indispensable to the modernizing nation state. In 1897, for example, Japanese government expenditures suddenly increased nearly 2.5 times the figure of the previous year as investment was poured into expansion of military and naval armaments.¹⁰⁵

The administration of Taiwan was initially an expensive project for Japan. In 1896, the year after gaining possession of its first colony, the Japanese national government subsidized the budget of the Government-General in Taiwan by nearly seven million yen.¹⁰⁶ The following year as much as 14 million yen was appropriated for the civil administration of Taiwan. Government-General expenditures, however, reflected Japan's priorities of showcasing infrastructure projects and quelling resistance from the local population: only 260,000 yen—less than two percent of the total budget—was appropriated in 1897 for education.¹⁰⁷

In contrast, Isawa viewed such an approach as expedient and believed that the emphasis on military force was counterproductive. He maintained that if educational opportunities were developed to treat Taiwanese with respect and as equals, they would naturally wish to become good subjects of the Japanese Emperor and not rise up against the Government-General. He also advocated that discriminatory educational policies be avoided in Taiwan.¹⁰⁸

Isawa traveled to Tokyo in April, 1897 to appeal for more funding for education in Taiwan. He won approval from the Diet and the assent of Colonial Affairs Minister Takashima Tomonosuke 高島鞆之助 for the proposal to build more common schools on the island. While in Tokyo, he also arranged for Taiwanese students to travel to Japan in July to see firsthand the rapidly modernizing nation that now controlled their homeland. The students were taken to Kansai, Tokyo, and Nikko before returning to Taiwan in September, favorably impressed with what they had seen in Japan.¹⁰⁹

By 1898 Isawa had overseen the building of seventy-six accredited common schools (*kōgakkō*) that offered free education throughout the island, but the number was still too small to accommodate the growing need.¹¹⁰ Isawa decided that the most efficient

¹⁰⁵ Juichi Soyeda 添田 壽一, *The Economic Journal*, Royal Economic Society: Vol. 11, No. 43 (September, 1901), p. 435.

¹⁰⁶ Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan*, p. 17.

¹⁰⁷ Isawa, "Taiwan kōgakkō setchi ni kansuru iken," in *Isawa Shūji senshū*, p. 609.

¹⁰⁸ Kaminuma, *Isawa Shūji*, p. 235.

¹⁰⁹ Machida Norifumi 町田則文, "Taiwan sōtokufu kokugo gakkō" 台湾総督府国語学校 (Taiwan Government-General National Language Schools), in *Taiwanron*, p. 233.

¹¹⁰ *Taiwan kyōiku enkakushi*, p. 408.

and least costly means for expanding education was to transform *shufang* and *shuyuan* into Japanese schools by incorporating a Japanese language curriculum into the traditional Chinese course instruction. This strategy had the added benefit of replacing teachings about the Chinese emperor in the *shufang* and *shuyuan* with lessons on the Japanese emperor.¹¹¹

In 1898 Isawa submitted his proposal to the Government-General in Taiwan in which he specified five projects he deemed necessary to address the growing need for schools: establishment of two additional Japanese language schools (*kokugo denshūsho*) to bring the total to sixteen throughout the island; building of more elementary schools for Japanese children; creation of more public schools for Taiwanese (*kōgakkō*); upgrading of existing second-tier courses at Japanese language schools to convert them into formal public schools; and the building of two more normal schools to train Taiwanese teachers.¹¹² Here, too, the experience at Bridgewater, especially in terms of model schools and public schools, is evident:

There are now three affiliated schools 付属学校 (*fuzoku gakkō*) in the Japanese language schools. Of these, two will be renamed “model public schools.” The term “public schools” is new. In English they use the term “public schools.” I will take these model public schools and make them the base for Taiwan’s public schooling.¹¹³

By 1898, however, fiscal policy planners in Tokyo had realized that the country could no longer afford many of the colonial projects the government had been financing. The Diet slashed funding to the Government-General in Taiwan by four million yen, or almost 30 percent. The civil administrator of Taiwan, Mizuno Takashi 水野遵 (1851-1900), earmarked most of the remaining ten million yen for issues he decided were most pressing, such as increasing police security and improving public hygiene. The result was that Isawa’s education-related projects were appropriated just 300,000 yen for the fiscal year, which meant that the increases he sought in teaching staff, normal schools, and common schools could not be supported.¹¹⁴ Further, he learned that for fiscal year 1899, Mizuno planned to increase education funding by only 100,000 yen. Such a small increase meant that affiliated schools would have to be closed, and there would be no

¹¹¹ Isawa, “Taiwan kōgakkō setchi ni kansuru iken,” in *Isawa Shūji senshū*, pp. 611-12.

¹¹² Isawa, “Taiwan kōgakkō setchi ni kansuru iken,” in *Isawa Shūji senshū*, p. 609.

¹¹³ Ibid. Free public schools were established in Taiwan in 1898, two years earlier than in Japan. See: Yorita Michio 寄田啓夫, ed. *Nihon no kyōiku no rekishi to shisō* 日本の教育の歴史と思想 (History and Philosophy of Japan’s Education) (Kyoto: Minerva Shobō, 2006), p. 78.

¹¹⁴ Isawa Shūji, “Nogi sōtoku ni teishutsu shita gushinsho” 乃木総督ニ提出シタ具申書 (Written Report Submitted to Governor-General Nogi), in *Isawa Shūji senshū*, p. 628.

teaching jobs for graduates of the new schools.¹¹⁵

Alarmed, Isawa appealed to Civil Administrator Mizuno, who responded that he saw no need for more Japanese language schools. He believed that the existing schools already served the purpose of normal schools. Isawa countered that the length of term in the language schools was no more than six or seven months, while normal school programs generally should last at least two years (as they did at Bridgewater). Isawa contended that it was imperative for common schools to be established as quickly as possible throughout the entire island of Taiwan.

The irreconcilable difference of opinion between Mizuno Takashi and Isawa Shūji on budget priorities led Isawa to submit an appeal to Governor-General Nogi Maresuke 乃木希典 (1849-1912) to reconsider the importance of education. Even though Isawa's appeal included the Diet memorandum he had received in 1897 indicating approval of his proposal for expansion of common schools, Nogi turned down the appeal. Isawa decided he had no recourse but to resign from his post, which he did on July 29, 1898.¹¹⁶ Civil Administrator Mizuno also submitted his resignation as a result of the conflict.

Conclusion

Although Isawa's tenure in Taiwan was short, it had a lasting legacy. Convinced that Japanese language instruction was the key to public education in Taiwan, Isawa laid the groundwork for establishing sixteen Japanese language schools, a girls' public school, three normal schools, five schools for Japanese children, as well as schools for aborigines. He also compiled several language texts before leaving the island. To achieve these feats, he recruited energetic Japanese teacher trainees and talented Taiwanese students to learn each other's languages. The results of Isawa's energy and devotion mirrored the greatest achievement of Albert Boyden at Bridgewater Normal School. Boyden believed that "teaching is the subtle play of the teacher's life upon the pupils' life, in which the best life of the teacher flows into the life of the pupil..." and that the teacher's "life is to be tributary to the great stream of life that is flowing on into the generations which are to come."¹¹⁷

Following the role model of his mentor, Isawa inspired nearly 250 Japanese and Taiwanese teacher trainees to follow in his footsteps.¹¹⁸ Some of his students, such as Yamaguchi Kiichirō 山口喜一郎 (1872-1952) and Ogawa Naoyoshi 小川尚義

¹¹⁵ Kaminuma Hachirō, *Isawa Shūji*, p. 251.

¹¹⁶ Isawa, "Taiwan kōgakkō setchi ni kansuru iken," in *Isawa Shūji senshū*, pp. 627-31.

¹¹⁷ Boyden, *Albert Gardner Boyden*, pp. 131, 136.

¹¹⁸ Go Kōmei, "Nihon tōjika Taiwan no Nihonjin kyōin," in *Nihon kyōikushi ronsō—Motoyama Yukihiro kyōju taikan kinenronbunshū*, p. 242.

(1869-1947), became prominent educators in their own right. Yamaguchi adapted the teaching methodology of Francois Gouin (1831-1896), who advocated a practical approach to foreign language instruction based on teaching vocabulary and grammar through a short series of related actions. Yamaguchi employed this pedagogy effectively in Taiwan for the decade after Isawa's departure.¹¹⁹ Yamaguchi taught the Japanese language for another four decades in Korea and Manchuria after his tenure in Taiwan. Isawa's student, Ogawa Naoyoshi, became a leading specialist in the Taiwanese Holo and aboriginal languages, as well as the author of several dictionaries.

Ke Qiujié (Ka Shūketsu, 1872-1945) was perhaps Isawa's most accomplished Taiwanese student. After graduating from Shizangan Academy, Ke taught the Taiwanese Holo language to Japanese teacher trainees, and with his Japanese colleagues translated numerous language texts used in Taiwan. Highly recommended by Isawa, Ke also became a lecturer of Taiwanese at Takushoku University in Tokyo, thereby becoming the first Taiwanese to teach at a Japanese university. He in turn sponsored many Taiwanese students in Japan who later became prominent in various fields.¹²⁰ Ke Qiujié was a dedicated educator who believed that the true purpose of education was improvement of the individual as a human being regardless of language or nationality.

Ke Qiujié unhesitatingly became a Japanese citizen, and spent his entire life becoming assimilated. In his will, he requested that he be buried in accordance with Japanese customs. At the same time, however, he was proud to be Taiwanese, entreating his son and grandchildren never to forget their native language.¹²¹ Ke Qiujié required them to study the Chinese classics, and to use Japanese outside the home, but Taiwanese inside the home.¹²² Ke Qiujié is symbolic of the success of Isawa's assimilation policy, which allowed Taiwanese to become bicultural as well as bilingual.

Historian Patricia Tsurumi summarized the ideals and success of Isawa's approach in her seminal work on Japanese colonial education in Taiwan.

¹¹⁹ Kimura Muneo 木村宗男, "Yamaguchi Kiichirō no Nihongo kyōjuhō ni tsuite" 山口喜一郎の日本語教授法について (On the Japanese Language Pedagogy of Yamaguchi Kiichirō), in *Waseda Daigaku gengogaku kyōiku kenkyū kinen ronbunshū* 早稲田大学言語学教育研究記念論文集 (Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku gengogaku kyōiku kenkyūsho, 1973), p. 237.

¹²⁰ Ka Tokuzō, *Bokoku wa Nihon, Sokoku wa Taiwan*, pp. 77-78. Examples of individuals sponsored by Ke include Kō Ensei 黃炎生 (Huang Yansheng), who graduated from Tokyo University and later became a lawyer, and To Sōmei 杜聰明 (Du Zongming), who received a Ph.D. in pharmacology from Kyoto University and later established the medical school at Taihoku Teikoku University 台北帝国大学 (Taiwan National University).

¹²¹ Ibid., p. 139.

¹²² Ibid., p. 91.

Izawa's mind was capable of imagining young Taiwanese rising to the top of the Japanese educational pyramid and making their way into the ranks of the elite that governed the empire...Izawa was never a gradualist who believed education facilities should be available only to those who could pay for them or be deliberately limited to avoid producing overeducated natives. It was because he refused to accept any but the highest priority for education that he finally quarreled with his superiors and was forced to leave Taiwan.¹²³

In spite of his short tenure, there is growing awareness in Taiwan that Isawa's emphasis on education had a lasting impact. Besides the centennial held at Shilin Elementary School, similar ceremonies have been held at many other elementary schools throughout Taiwan to commemorate the modern education system Isawa Shūji introduced.¹²⁴

¹²³ Patricia Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan*, pp. 43-44.

¹²⁴ See: *Bainian laoxiao* 百年老小 (Schools that are One-Hundred Years Old) 國家教育研究院 Guojia jiaoyu yanjiuyuan (National Institute of Educational Resources and Research, 1995). For Isawa's role as principal of Taiwan's first public elementary school, refer to the commemorative book available at: http://school.naer.edu.tw/book.php?page_id=8&book_id=218, pp. 45-55.