

*Shōgaku shōkashū shohen: A Study  
and Translation of The First Primary School  
Songbook of 1881 (1)*

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The historiography of music education in modern Japan normally takes as its starting point the publication of *Shōgaku shōkashū shohen* (*The First Primary School Songbook*) by the Music Investigation Committee (Ongaku Torishirabe-gakari) of the Ministry of Education in November 1881.<sup>1</sup> This was the first volume in a three-volume graded series of school songbooks based on American precedents—the second volume appeared in 1883 and the third in 1884—and the quasi-official status of the series made it the model for later songbooks issued by both the Ministry of Education and private publishing companies. *Shohen* was developed through a sort of practical trial-and error process that involved members of the Music Investigation Committee, the committee's teacher trainees, and faculty and pupils at three other institutions: the Tokyo Normal School and its attached primary school; the Tokyo Women's Normal School and its attached primary school and kindergarten; and the primary school of the Gakushūin, or Peers School, in Tokyo (Tōkyō Geijutsu Daigaku Ongaku Torishirabe-gakari 387-400). The significance of *Shohen*, both as part of the first series of music textbooks published in Japan for primary-school students and as a key to understanding what music and poetry have meant to modern Japanese since the Meiji period, is unquestioned (Yamazumi 79-80).

Published studies in English that deal with the songs in the Shōgaku shokashū [Shōgaku] series tend to generalize—sometimes misleadingly—about their place in the school curriculum during the early Meiji period, to focus on documenting the process by which the series (particularly the first volume) was compiled, and to limit detailed analysis of the songs to a discus-

sion of their musical features. My purpose here, therefore, is first of all to indicate the extent to which these tendencies have prevailed in such studies.<sup>2</sup> I will then offer in a second paper an annotated translation of all thirty-three songs in *Shohen*, partly to redress the imbalance that exists between the largely textual and source-oriented nature of Japanese-language studies and existing English-language studies that may, for example, examine modality in considerable detail but refer to the texts of the songs only in passing.

Pre-World War II accounts of the Shōgaku series published in English—with the special exception of *Extracts from the Report of S. Isawa*,<sup>3</sup> published in Japan in 1884 and discussed below—are short and concern themselves almost wholly with extolling the role of American educator Luther Whiting Mason (1818-1896) in establishing a standardized music-education curriculum in Japanese primary schools. Mason was in Japan from March 1880 to July 1882 as a foreign advisor to the Japanese government (*oyatoi gaikokujin*). He worked closely with Isawa Shūji (1851-1917), director of the Musical Investigation Committee, to compile *Shohen* and several other music textbooks (Yamazumi, 80-118; Nakamura 521-22). Ephraim Cutter's brief 1905 article "Japan and Music. The Successful Teaching of an American, Luther Whiting Mason" is one early example of the kind of treatment received by Mason in English. Cutter, working from an unnamed source or sources, describes the process by which the songs in the series were compiled as follows:

As we look over this history, it seems a very wonderful thing that Mr. Mason was given a palace to live in; that he had free access to the homes of the nobility to teach them and tune their pianos; that twice or thrice a week he met with the imperial orchestra and a blind court poet; that when they met, the subject was the selecting the music of the Japanese repertoire for the public schools. Mr. Mason in his publications used music that had been popular for a century; hence he presented only standard authors' compositions. He would play, for example, a psalm tune, music from Mozart. If liked, he would play it again and again until all agreed. Then he would tell the story of Mozart as a com-

poser, and sing the words of true Bible character. He would tell them what they meant. The interpreters would translate to the old blind poet, and at the next meeting the blind poet would bring a copy in Japanese poetry in the same, long or other meter, all ready to be sung. It would then be sung in Japanese, and if satisfactory, adopted. These meetings were kept up for months, until a large collection of Western music resulted, with Japanese verse to fit. (24419)

The notion that a foreign advisor would be given a “palace” in which to live might well give any reader pause as to the validity of Cutter’s report. While perhaps broadly accurate regarding the selection procedure (see the discussion of *Extracts* below), that the result of consultations between Mason and “the imperial orchestra and a blind court poet” might be poetic translations of psalms from the Bible betrays a complete lack of knowledge of the texts of the finished songs, none of which contain explicit Christian messages. It should perhaps be noted that Cutter’s article appeared some six months before the end of the Russo-Japanese War, and that Cutter, a physician who commends Japan as standing “first in the medical department of armies” (24420), seems motivated by partisan support of Japan as a nation—so much so that he takes Mason’s success to be evidence that “Japan forges ahead in her modern march among the nations” (24419).<sup>4</sup> The article is, in short, an encomium that offers little more than a hint of the actual work undertaken by Mason in Japan.

A similarly laudatory approach is adopted by Osbourne McConathy in two articles he published in 1937. The first concerns itself mostly with summarizing Mason’s pedagogical activities in the United States, but it devotes a paragraph to the “profound impression” Mason’s work had in Japan, such that “to this day, Western music in Japan is known as the ‘Mason song’” (“Luther Whiting Mason” 27)—a claim I have yet to see substantiated in any Japanese-language source. McConathy also extravagantly asserts that during the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95, morale among soldiers and citizens alike benefitted from “singing the patriotic and folk songs which Mason had

taught” (27). There is no mention of what these songs might have been, and once again corroboration from Japanese-language sources is lacking. In his second article, McConathy offers a few more details about Mason’s work, asserting that Mason, having discovered that the Japanese scale resembled the Scotch pentatonic scale, “gathered together a number of Scotch songs and had the Japanese poets set patriotic words and poems of home and family to these melodies,” and that Mason “transcribed a large number of their favorite old songs into our notation” (“Mason Song” 20). No examples are provided. McConathy then repeats his earlier claim that the effect was such that “the Japanese people called the new music the ‘Mason Song,’ and it is known as such even to this day” (20). It would appear that McConathy uses the phrase “Mason song” because it came up in a conversation he had with Isawa’s former colleague Megata Tanetarō when Megata visited the United States during the First World War (“Mason Song” 22), but otherwise the basis for making the claim is obscure. McConathy worked directly with Mason, and his articles are useful for obtaining a certain amount of biographical information, but McConathy relies heavily on hearsay, neglects the role of Mason’s Japanese collaborators, and generalizes broadly about the content of the actual texts.

More balanced (corrective, perhaps) evaluations of the Music Investigation Committee’s textbook project are to be found after the end of the Second World War. The first major postwar study in English of the Music Investigation Committee’s educational mission was Kōichi Nomura’s “The Beginnings of Music Education,” a chapter from a longer section on “occidental music” in Toyotaka Komiya’s *Japanese Music and Drama in the Meiji Era*, which was published in 1956 as a translation and adaptation of a book written by Japanese scholars and critics. Nomura performs the essential task of drawing attention to the central role played by Isawa role as the director of the Music Investigation Committee, including his supervision of the music-textbook project. A substantial amount of space in Nomura’s chapter is devoted to quoting and summarizing documents produced by Isawa (referred to throughout as “Izawa”) in his capacity as director, chief among them

Isawa's 1879 "Plan for the Study of Music" (464-70). Despite the document-based approach, which provides clear evidence for assessing Isawa's motivation, the musical and textual aspects of the Shōgaku textbooks receive only cursory treatment. The reader is informed merely that the songs "consisted of Western pieces of music to which Japanese words were set; others were new pieces made by selecting existing *gagaku* or koto melodies" (472) and that, regarding *Shohen* in particular, "half the contents were foreign songs, and the other half were composed by Mason and various Japanese" (480). This "half-half" characterization is quite erroneous, as we shall see, but later scholars have sometimes uncritically repeated the assertion (Malm 268; May 57), along with Nomura's careless misstatement ("Beginnings" 481) that the ninety-one-song series contains ninety-two songs (Miller 112).<sup>5</sup> The titles of only three songs from *Shohen* are mentioned by Nomura—"Chō-chō" ("Butterflies"), "Utsukushiki" ("Darling Child"), and "Hotaru" ("Fireflies")—and he remarks simply that the "high quality" of the melodies and words is what has allowed them to remain popular (480). Although it can be surmised that Nomura draws upon Endō Hiroshi's groundbreaking 1948 Japanese-language study *Meiji ongaku-shi kō* (*A Study of the History of Meiji-Period Music*) and possibly the archives of the Tokyo University of Fine Arts, no sources are cited anywhere in the chapter, severely hampering confirmation and further research. The reader is basically asked to accept everything on faith and is in any case no closer than before to a clear description of either the music or the texts of *Shohen* and its companion volumes.

Elizabeth May, in her 1963 monograph *The Influence of the Meiji Period on Japanese Children's Music*, forthrightly acknowledges that she lacks the ability to understand Japanese, and that she has conducted her research only within the United States (ix). Consequently, she relies on Cutter, McConathy, and Komiya (especially Nomura's chapter) for most of her information about the collaboration between Isawa and Mason, although she scrupulously notes that inaccuracies likely exist in those sources (50, 57). May does, however, briefly summarize for English-speaking readers *Extracts*, which is an English-language abridgment of Isawa's 1884 report *Ongaku torishirabe*

*seiseki shinpōsho* (May, *Influence* 61-62).<sup>6</sup> *Extracts*, when considered alongside the Japanese original, constitutes the most detailed and reliable primary-source summary of the activities of the Music Investigation Committee from 1881 to 1884. Only seven pages of the seventy-seven-page English version, however, explicitly discuss school music, and within those pages, only two paragraphs describe the policy behind the compilation of the Shōgaku series:

Music suitable for the purpose is selected from Japanese and foreign works, the accompanying words being partly original, and partly adapted from foreign sources. The harmonizing of Japanese music is intrusted to the teachers of the Institute and some foreign musicians. When the words are to be adapted from original sources, they shall be carefully analysed, and changes shall be made wherever necessary; while the words of original songs shall be composed in such a metre as to suit the style of music to be adopted.

Most of the music referred to is constructed on the major scale which is considered to be best adapted to the schools from an educational point of view, although the minor scale is rather prevalent in some classics of Japanese music. (45)

Perhaps further description was thought unnecessary for English-speaking readers.<sup>7</sup> But even the Japanese version of the report simply supplies without explanation printed versions of the ninety-one songs in the series (Izawa 160-278); no textual analysis is forthcoming in either version. May herself devotes very little space to the Shōgaku series, asserting without support that in *Shohen*, “secular texts were set to twelve hymn tunes” (*Influence* 46), and accepting Nomura’s characterization of the melodies in *Shohen* as half Western and half Japanese (57). She then pithily states that “the texts were all Japanese poems” (57) before disposing of the second and third volumes in a single short paragraph on the same page. May is, in fact, more interested in examining Isawa’s 1892-93 six-volume Shōgaku shōka (Primary School Songs) series than in discussing the earlier three-volume series, and most of

the rest of her book contains what might well be the first detailed musical analysis in English of Meiji-period school songs, those from this second series (63-83). Before commencing her analysis, however, May offers one general observation about the texts of Meiji school songs:

The texts of the Meiji *shōka* are not Western influenced, so far as I can ascertain. They have, however, two stern purposes: the inculcation of the young with the tenets of Confucian morality and the spirit of intense nationalism. There are, to be sure, songs about the beauties of nature, animals, and flowers, but even these are likely to have a pious twist. (64)

Coming as it does immediately after an epigraph consisting of a song text (in *tanka* form) written by Dowager Empress Shōken on the topic of “Loyal Subjects,” this judgment might seem compelling. Yet it is no more than a generalization supported by a total of sixteen song texts (fifteen of them from the second Isawa series). And I, for one, have trouble discerning the Confucian or nationalistic import of the following texts:

Melon grower of Koma-no-Watari,  
Worrying about his melons being stolen,  
Watching over them day and night,  
Has just fallen asleep,  
Making a pillow of a melon. (70)

Rabbit, rabbit,  
Why do you leap?  
I leap when I see  
The harvest moon. (72)

Looking down  
 From the high mountain,  
 melons and eggplants  
 Are all in full bloom. (73)

Clearly, something other than morality or nationalism is at work in these three examples, at least. And surely a more complete account of the actual texts is necessary before one can fully accept a generalization as sweeping May's (especially considering that there are 158 songs in the six-volume Shōgaku shōka series).<sup>8</sup>

William P. Malm's "The Modern Music of Meiji Japan," which was published in 1971, is probably the introduction to Meiji-period music most familiar to American graduate students of my generation. Regarding school music, however, Malm is dismissive of the attempt by the Music Investigation Committee to use court musicians and poets as "major consultants on tunes and texts," which he thinks led to the adoption of melodies and words beyond the comprehension of children (269), and he arrives at the unjustifiable conclusion that "the Japanese public school repertoire has remained basically unchanged in style since the Meiji period" (275). The texts of the Shōgaku series receive no analytical treatment at all, and Malm unaccountably gives the full title of *Shohen* as both *Shōgaku shokashi shōden* and *Shogaku shokashi shoden* (263, 268). This carelessness makes one wonder just how closely he examined the collection. In fact, the titles of just two songs in *Shohen* are mentioned ("Utsukushiki" and "Hotaru," the latter mistakenly given in the modern form "Hotaru no hikari" ["The Light of Fireflies"]), and then only to identify their Western sources (268). Even allowing that Malm's intent is to survey the entire range of Meiji-period music in a single chapter, his treatment of school songs is brusque and, at times, belittling.

Ury Eppstein's 1985 article "Musical Instruction in Meiji Education" represents an attempt to document more thoroughly than Nomura the process by which the Shōgaku series was compiled. Eppstein clearly benefits from his access to Japanese-language sources, especially Endō's *Meiji ongaku-shi kō*

and archived materials at the Tokyo University of Fine Arts, many of which were collated and published in 1981 by the Tōkyō Geijutsu Daigaku Hyakunen-shi Henshū Inkai (Editorial Committee for the Centenary History of the Tokyo University of Fine Arts) as *Tōkyō Geijutusu Daigaku hyakunen-shi: Tōkyō Ongaku Gakkō hen (Centenary History of the Tokyo University of Fine Arts: The Tokyo School of Music)*. Like Nomura, Eppstein focuses on the key role played by Isawa, who was only twenty-four years old when he was sent by the Japanese government to study education and science in the United States in 1875.<sup>9</sup> Eppstein cites primary sources when describing Isawa's involvement with Japanese music education before and after his return to Japan in 1878, including, for example, the proposal Isawa co-wrote just before leaving the United States that encourages Vice Minister of Education Tanaka Fujimaro to explore the feasibility of teaching music (specifically singing) in Japanese schools (8-10).<sup>10</sup> As Eppstein notes, after Isawa was appointed director of the Music Investigation Committee in October 1879, he produced a "Plan Regarding Music Investigation" that set out three specific goals for the committee: 1) to compile and compose suitable materials for primary-school music classes, integrating the best elements of both Eastern and Western music; 2) to train the teachers necessary to conduct these classes; and 3) to introduce the new music into the schools (22).<sup>11</sup>

Once Mason arrived in Japan in March 1880, the Music Investigation Committee immediately began setting Japanese words to the musical pieces supplied largely by Mason from the music charts, textbooks, and songbooks he had brought with him or had previously been sent from the United States.<sup>12</sup> Since Eppstein's focus is on Isawa, his discussion of Mason is limited to a description of the distinctive music charts Mason had created for classroom use in the United States (15-17), a reproduction of the English version of the employment contract that Mason signed (18-20), and an excerpted letter that Isawa sent to Mason not long after his arrival in which Isawa regretfully informs Mason that the songs must incorporate Japanese elements and not rely solely on English (34-35).<sup>13</sup> According to Eppstein, Isawa—as the supervisor of the music-textbook-project—eventually felt com-

pelled to shift from an initial policy of totally rejecting the elements of traditional Japanese music to a somewhat awkward compromise based on an awareness that at least some aspects of traditional Japanese music had to be respected. Eppstein refers to this shift in motivation as “Izawa’s dilemma” (31-34), attributing it to a nationalistic turn in the government’s educational policy after 1879.

Despite pointing out this change in policy, Eppstein somewhat paradoxically defends Isawa from the charge leveled by critics in the 1890s that the Shōgaku series represented “a period of indiscriminate adoption of Western music” by asserting that a close examination of the series reveals otherwise (36). It must be said, however, that this defense lacks persuasive force since Eppstein himself offers only a short account of the tonality of the songs in the series that indicates overwhelming Western influence:

Of the thirty-three songs included in the first volume, no less than thirty are from Western sources; seventeen of the songs are taken from Mason’s National Music Charts and National Music Reader series published in Boston before his appointment to Japan. All the melodies are provided with Japanese texts. In the second volume, thirteen out of the total of sixteen songs are in Western tonality; all except one song are in major keys. All the Western-style songs, with one exception, are from identified Western sources. The third and final volume contains no less than forty-two songs, thirty-seven of which are in Western style. (35)

Eppstein offers this description without further support or explanation—a detailed examination of the series is “a topic outside this study” (35)—so it is not completely clear whether Eppstein has performed the tonality analysis himself or is relying at least partly on other sources. But here we at least have a firm overall count of the Western sources of the songs in the series. As for the textual content of the songs, although Eppstein clearly implies that Isawa was concerned with imparting a moral and nationalistic message, only the last two songs of *Shohen*—out of the total of thirty-three—are said

to have “overtly moralistic” themes (30). This would seem to call into question May’s earlier generalization about pedagogical intent, but Eppstein ends the discussion at this point: no other songs from any of the three Shōgaku songbooks are identified or described. As a result, the compilation process has been documented—Nomura with the obligatory footnotes, as it were—but very little concrete information about the songs is on offer.

In his 1994 monograph *The Beginnings of Western Music in Meiji Era Japan*, Eppstein extends the time frame of his earlier article—roughly 1875-84—to encompass the years around the beginning of the twentieth century. This allows him to situate the publication of the Shōgaku series in the context of a general movement in music education that culminated in the publication between 1900 and 1902 of *Kyōka tekiyō yōnen shōka* (Childhood Songs for School Use), a ten-volume series of music textbooks edited by Tamura Torazō (1873-1943) and Nōsho Benjirō (1865-1936).<sup>14</sup> According to Eppstein, who apparently regards Tamura as the more important partner, Tamura “put into practice an idea that Isawa had preached enthusiastically but never really practiced—achieving a compromise between traditional Japanese music and Western music” (127). Musically, this compromise was effected through the adoption of a simplified version of traditional Japanese tonal elements (125). Textually, the easy-to-follow vernacular lyrics of the *Kyōka tekiyō* series reflected the influence of the *genbun-itchi* (unification of written and spoken language) literary movement, which advocated “a simple style approximating the spoken language” (81).<sup>15</sup> Eppstein, in other words, contrasts the two songbook series with the aim of demonstrating that the latter series more effectively incorporates a traditional Japanese sensibility, signaling a key difference from both May and Malm.

Much of the material in *Beginnings* dealing with the compilation of the Shōgaku series comes directly from Eppstein’s earlier article and need not be summarized again. The chief addition that pertains here is a section titled “The Songbooks of the Music Investigation Committee,” which contains Eppstein’s analyses of individual songs in the series (93-122). In this section, Eppstein combines a discussion of the tonality of the songs in the Shōgaku

series with the identification of their Western sources. The relative proportions of Western tonality given for all three volumes are exactly the same as in “Music Instruction.” In the case of *Shohen*, Eppstein identifies the sources of sixteen Western-based songs (93-104), meaning that fourteen Western-based songs remain unsourced. As for the other two volumes, Eppstein only sources eight of the twelve Western-based songs in the second songbook (108-10) and eleven of the nineteen Western-based songs in the third volume (113-16). This incomplete tabulation is hardly satisfactory, but the lopsided proportions both in terms of tonality and source are what allow him to set up the Isawa-Mason series as a foil for the Tamura-Nōsho series.<sup>16</sup>

Unfortunately, Eppstein again omits any detailed textual discussion of the songs and simply doubles down on his earlier assertion of their didactic intent: now “most songs” in the series are said to exhibit a “heavy moralistic character” (67) and, more generally, “birds, insects or flowers were frequently made use of as a thin disguise for the presentation of moralistic ideas in an allegoric manner” (81). Eppstein, it is clear, is echoing May in this respect. Translations of Shōgaku songs in are limited to three examples—one of them partial—all from *Shohen* (83). Thus, even granting Eppstein’s overriding concern with tonality, a reader looking for concrete support for Eppstein’s characterization of the texts will be disappointed.<sup>17</sup> One must content oneself with the knowledge that at least Eppstein has corrected or revised the misleading impressions given by earlier English-language studies about the monolithic nature of Meiji-period school songs and the relative percentages of Western and Japanese sources in the Shōgaku series.<sup>18</sup>

One other major twentieth-century English-language study that both considers the issue of tonality and at least touches on the content of the songs in *Shohen* is Sondra Wieland Howe’s *Luther Whiting Mason: International Music Educator*, which appeared in 1997. Howe’s careful research means that we are unlikely to learn much more factual information about Mason from English-language sources than she has provided in this biography.<sup>19</sup> Howe, however, apparently has only a limited ability to deal directly with sources in Japanese.<sup>20</sup> This is unfortunate because so much of Mason’s work in Japan

has been documented by Japanese scholars, particularly with regard to the activities of the Music Investigation Committee and Mason's collaboration with Isawa. A detailed consideration of song texts is also necessarily precluded. Howe's description of the texts of the Shōgaku series, for instance, occupies only about a page and a half of text (103-04) and essentially recapitulates Eppstein. Her complete account of the song texts in *Shohen* runs as follows:

The texts are often about nature: spring, butterfly, firefly, rain and dew, hazy moon. Some are about places in Japan: Sumida River and Mount Fuji. Several are about Japan and its royalty: "Our Land of the Rising Sun" (no. 16), "The Imperial Reign" (no. 23), and "The Precious Imperial Palace" (no. 30). The last two songs, "Song of the Five Virtues" (no. 32) and "The Five Confucian Principles of Morality" (no. 33), seem too complex for the lower grades of elementary school. These two moralistic songs were added by the Music Study Committee at the last moment. (103)

Five sentences is brief indeed as a description of the songs in the first volume of the series, especially since several of the songs continue to enjoy near-universal familiarity in Japan today—as Howe is clearly aware (103). Howe's description of the texts in the second volume of the series occupies a single sentence (103), and her description of the texts in the third volume consists of just two sentences (104). As with Eppstein, the emphasis is on examining the musical features of the songs, while the texts themselves merit little more than categorization under an abbreviated list of topics.

May, Eppstein, and Howe are the English-language studies most often cited when other scholars discuss *Shohen* and its companion volumes.<sup>21</sup> As we have seen, textual considerations are subsidiary to musical and historical matters in all three. It is worth noting that the same approach continues to characterize more recent English-language discussions of the topic: there is general agreement about the decisive impact of Western music and about

the overriding concern of the Music Investigation Committee with what might be called the moral indoctrination of Japanese schoolchildren. General surveys that reflect these judgments, however, are disappointingly derivative and may contain careless errors (Galliano; Wade).<sup>22</sup> One commendable recent attempt to deal with some of the issues that have been raised here is Richard C. Miller's 2004 doctoral dissertation *Music and Musicology in the Engineering of National Identity in Meiji Japan: Modernization Strategies of the Music Investigation Committee, 1870-1900*. Miller is careful to note the Pestalozzian elements in Isawa's pedagogical approach and devotes a section of his third chapter specifically to *Shohen* (67-108). Yet this section is dedicated almost entirely to a discussion of sources and modality (in that respect, it serves as a useful assessment of Eppstein's 1994 analysis). Miller provides convenient tables that clearly identify all relevant Western sources for the songs in *Shohen* (78-80) as well as the songs' distinctive musical features (82, 84). But regarding content—viewed through the lens of inculcating morality—Miller limits his discussion to just three songs (“Hotaru,” “Miya no tamai” [“The Imperial Palace”], and “Gojō no uta” [“Song of the Five Constants”]). With regard to these three songs, Miller differs from previous scholars in that he explicitly points out the ambiguities involved in transferring Confucian ideology to Japan, where reverence for the emperor could be used to formulate a specifically Japanese sense of modern identity (108-09). That is, Miller recognizes that certain cultural complications arise even when making the argument for moral education. This is a suggestive argument to make, but it is applied to only about ten percent of the total number of songs. A text-based equivalent to Miller's tables—if such were available—would surely aid in exploring the cultural complications produced in songs that are less obviously ideological in purport.

Clearly, the absence of a complete translation of any of the volumes in the Shōgaku songbook series must be considered an obstacle to an English-speaker's awareness of the series as an articulation of the modern sense of Japanese identity. One should not have to rely on assertion alone to identify moral qualities that are supposed to inhere in the texts, and one must also

be willing to acknowledge that the texts encompass social and cultural values that are hardly monolithic in their affects. In this respect, it is certainly pertinent to note that Japanese historians consider Isawa's 1879 appointment as principal of Tokyo Normal School to have heralded "the golden age of developmental education" in Japan, and that even as late as 1882, Isawa's treatise *Kyōiku-gaku (Education)* affirmed the imagination as "a legitimate source of new knowledge" (Lincicome 57, 64). In other words, as has already been suggested in connection with Miller's dissertation, the humanism of Rousseau and Pestalozzi was implicated in the music-textbook project no less than the nationalism of Mori Arinori (1847-1889), Isawa's superior after Mori was named Minister of Education in 1885. These implications might be teased out more effectively than they have been.

But first things first. The primary basis on which the textual content of the songs in the *Shōgaku* series can be discussed is the texts themselves. With very few exceptions, English versions of these texts do not yet exist. The second part of this study will offer complete translations of all thirty-three songs in *Shohen*, thereby helping to close this gap and perhaps contributing to a more fully informed and nuanced discussion of this seminal series of music textbooks.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> The colophon of *Shōgaku shōkashū shohen* gives November 1881 as the publication date, and this was, in fact, when notification of publication was submitted to the Home Ministry. However, printing was delayed at the last minute so that changes could be made to three of the songs (no. 3, no. 20, and no. 22), and the actual printing and distribution of the first 3,000 copies of the finished textbook took place in April 1882 without revising the colophon. See Saitō et al. for a description of the circumstances behind the delay (98, 622-24). Both Izawa [sic] (*Yōgaku* 160) and *Extracts* (46) give April 1882 as the date of the Music Investigation Committee's first publications. Based on the colophon, this paper takes 1881 as the publication date, but some scholars prefer 1882. Henceforth the abbreviated form *Shohen* will be used.
- <sup>2</sup> I emphasize "published" because there are at least two important unpublished studies in English to which I have not been able to obtain direct access. The first of these is Osborne McConathy's typescript biography "Luther Whiting Mason and

His Contribution to Music in the Schools of Three Continents,” which can be accessed only from the Special Collections in Music archives at the University of Maryland. McConathy worked closely for a time with Mason—who is discussed in the following paragraph—but had no knowledge of Japanese. His two short published articles on Mason from 1937, described below, contain numerous problems that call his reliability into question. McConathy’s interest is in any case mostly biographical, and I would expect no significant effect on my own analysis. The second study is Hirofumi Ogawa’s unpublished DME dissertation *Early Nineteenth Century American Influences on the Beginning of Japanese Public Music Education: An Analysis and Comparison of Selected Music Textbooks Published in Japan and the United States*, U of Indiana, 2000. Ogawa’s dissertation is available neither through ProQuest nor the University of Indiana’s IUScholarWorks website. I have relied on Miller and other published materials by Ogawa (which will be discussed more fully in the second part of this study) for my understanding of Ogawa’s work.

- 3 The complete English title is *Extracts from the Report of S. Isawa, Director of the Institute of Music, on the Result of the Investigations Concerning Music, Undertaken by Order of the Department of Education*. Because of the length, I have shortened the title in the text and will refer to it henceforth as *Extracts*.
- 4 The final paragraph of Cutter’s brief article contains a gap of unknown length between the last line of the left column of the article and the first line of the middle column in the three-column layout (24420). This broken paragraph is likely the result of an editing error.
- 5 May accurately states that the Shōgaku series contains a total of ninety-one songs (*Influence* 65), but she repeats Nomura’s error regarding the number of songs in the second volume: seventeen instead of the correct sixteen (57).
- 6 *Extracts* does not identify an individual author or translator, but as the English title suggests, Isawa was responsible for the final format. See *Ongaku torishirabe seiseki shinpō yōryaku eibun genkō* for the relevant primary materials; a precise chronology of the early stages of the English manuscript is difficult to establish. May possibly learned of *Extracts* through works by Francis Piggot and Noël Peri (*Influence* 61). She apparently examined a microfilm copy held by the Library of Congress (LCCN permalink: lccn.loc.gov/84105553).
- 7 May quotes a passage from *Extracts* that she characterizes as a description of the music-textbook compilation process (*Influence* 56-57). The quoted passage, however, actually comes from a later section of *Extracts* dealing with “improving” popular music (*Extracts* 61-77), where “popular music” specifically means koto and *nagauta* music. This “improvement project” of the Music Investigation Committee was separate from the music-textbook project, and the outcome was the English-language *Collection of Japanese Koto Music*, with which Mason had no direct connection (see the collection’s anonymous “Preface,” which lists the nine Japanese participants).

- <sup>8</sup> May has also published a journal article with same title as her monograph. Aside from a section at the end describing a 1963 symposium in which May was a participant, the article is basically an abridged rearrangement of her monograph.
- <sup>9</sup> Eppstein mistakenly gives Isawa's age at the time he was sent to the United States as twenty-six, both in "Music Instruction" (6) and in his later *The Beginnings of Western Music in Meiji Era Japan* (26). Isawa was born on 30 June 1851, and his voyage to the United States aboard the *City of Peking* took place in July and August 1875, meaning that he had just turned twenty-four (Kaminuma 57-62, 330-31; Morishita 17-19, 90). Eppstein also puzzlingly gives Isawa's name as "Izawa" in the text of his article but uses "Isawa" when quoting the documents which he is said to have written ("Music Instruction" 13, 24). Despite the precedent set by Nomura and (in Japanese) by Yamazumi (Izawa, *Yōgaku* 1 [the second title page]), the correct reading of the characters used to write Isawa's name is "Isawa." This reading was used consistently by Isawa himself when writing in English, as should have been obvious from the materials that Eppstein perused at the Tokyo University of Fine Arts. Kaminuma's standard biography of Isawa, which Eppstein does not cite but which was published more than twenty years before "Music Instruction," contains the correct reading on both the title page and the first page of the main text. According to Morishita, the reading "Isawa" was standard in Takatō, the former town in Nagano Prefecture where Isawa was born, in contrast to the reading "Izawa" commonly used in Tokyo (5). Since "Isawa" can also be found in other sources Eppstein cites (*Extracts; May, Influences*), one wonders why he did not pursue the matter. Eppstein's *Beginnings* silently corrects the reading.
- <sup>10</sup> Isawa's co-author was Megata Tanetarō, supervisor of Japanese students in the United States and nominally Isawa's superior. Eppstein notes that the proposal had two parts, a short report signed by both Isawa and Megata, and a detailed commentary dated twelve days later and signed only by Megata ("Music Instruction" 9). Eppstein's transcription of the report carries the date "8 April 1879" (10), but this is an error for 8 April 1878; Eppstein's *Beginnings* silently corrects the date (28).
- <sup>11</sup> Eppstein errs in stating that Isawa became "Director of the Tokyo Normal School" in March 1878 ("Music Instruction" 17). Isawa became an administrative assistant (*yatoi*, implying an irregular position) at the school in June 1878, vice principal in November of the same year, and principal in March 1879 (Kaminuma 82-83; Morishita 29). In addition, Eppstein puzzlingly states that Tanaka Fujimaro, vice minister of education at the time, reluctantly approved a plan to establish a "Music Instruction Center" in November 1879 ("Musical Instruction" 18). Since the Committee to Investigate Music was established the previous month, this statement seems contradictory. I plan to address this discrepancy, along with other factual and textual issues related to the music-textbook project, in a future paper. Minor errors abound in English-language studies of the project.

- <sup>12</sup> Some doubt exists as to the date of Mason's arrival in Yokohama. Nakamura notes that *The Japan Daily Herald* and *The Japan Weekly Mail* give 1 March 1880 as the date when the *City of Peking* docked at Yokohama, while *The Japan Gazette* and *L'Echo du Japon* report the date as 2 March (502). According to Isawa, Mason "was engaged as instructor of music" on 2 March (Isawa 11; *Extracts* 5). Nakamura appears to accept 2 March as correct (489, 503), but Howe, for example, opts for 1 March (*Mason* 75).
- <sup>13</sup> Isawa's letter to Mason (presumably a draft or copy) has been reproduced in full in Tōkyō Geijutsu Daigaku Hyakunen-shi (93-94). Eppstein's article notes, in a rather diffuse and elliptical fashion, that at least some of Mason's music charts preceded him to Japan ("Music Instruction" 10-14, 15-16, 25). Work in English by May, Malm, Koyama, Harich-Schneider, and Hartley is mentioned by Eppstein, but mostly in passing; citation of these sources is limited. Endō is clearly the primary Japanese-language source, although a number of other scholars are cited.
- <sup>14</sup> Eppstein mistakenly transcribes Nōsho's name as "Nassho" in *Beginnings*, another error based on an alternative reading for the Chinese characters used to write personal names. Dealing with possible alternative readings is frustrating for scholars working with Japanese-language materials; the internet has reduced the potential for embarrassment on that score, although perhaps it might be used more frequently.
- <sup>15</sup> Eppstein refers readers to Nanette Twine's "The Genbunitchi Movement: Its Origin, Development, and Conclusion" for more detailed information about the *genbunitchi* movement. That article has since been superseded by Twine's *Language and the Modern State*.
- <sup>16</sup> The extent to which Eppstein is relying on Japanese sources for his identifications is not entirely clear, although he does cite Endō repeatedly. A comprehensive list of sources available in Sakurai Masato et al.'s *Aogeba tōtoshi: maboroshi no genkyoku hakken to Shōgaku shōka shū zenkiseki (With Reverent Respect: The Discovery of a Missing Original and the Complete Story of Shōgaku shōkashū)* will be incorporated into the translations in the second part of this study, but also see Miller (78-80).
- <sup>17</sup> The three songs are "Miwataseba" ("Wherever Eyes Roam"), "Utsukushiki," and "Hotaru." Eppstein's translations will be discussed in conjunction with the translations I provide in the second part of this study.
- <sup>18</sup> Gerald Groemer's contemporary book review takes Eppstein to task for failing to refer to two major Japanese studies of Meiji-period music that were published not long before Eppstein's own monograph: Nakamura's *Yōgaku dōnyūsha no kiseki (Accounts of the Pioneers Who Introduced Western Music)* and Nishizawa's *Nihon kindai kayō-shi (History of Popular Song in Modern Japan)*. Groemer is perhaps unduly severe in charging Eppstein with neglecting Nishizawa, whose subject is actually quite broad in scope and whose monumental work extends to a total of

nearly 4,000 pages of text in two volumes, not to mention an additional 956-page volume of source materials and a short supplementary booklet. Nakamura's chapters on Mason (403-553), on the other hand, constitute the most comprehensively researched study of Mason's activities in Japan based on both English-language and Japanese-language sources. It is too important not to have at least been mentioned by Eppstein, even granting the proximity in publication date.

- <sup>19</sup> Besides consulting the unpublished manuscript by McConathy mentioned earlier and Kenneth Hartley's published (i.e., copyrighted) doctoral dissertation on Mason, Howe has examined Mason's various National Music Reader songbooks, viewed a microfilmed version of *Extracts*, corresponded with Japanese scholars, and visited Mason's birthplace to confirm the date of his birth. Hartley's dissertation is based entirely on English-language sources and relies heavily on McConathy's unpublished manuscript and Nomura's chapter in Komiya (whom Hartley mistakenly cites as "Toyotaka," using Komiya's first name). Hartley cites Nomura's "half-Western, half-Japanese" characterization of the sources of *Shohen* ("Study of the Life" 37-38), but otherwise the Shōgaku series goes unexamined.
- <sup>20</sup> Howe credits several informants for providing her with translations of Japanese texts (*Mason* xi-xii), and her list of Japanese references is relatively short and includes English translations (159). Howe has more recently collaborated with two colleagues on an article about Isawa (Howe et al., "Isawa Shūji"), but a single-author symposium paper published just before that article appeared does not suggest great familiarity with the literature on Mason and Isawa available in Japanese (Howe, "American Music in Japan").
- <sup>21</sup> Mention should perhaps again be made of Harich-Schneider's *A History of Japanese Music*, but as Eppstein remarks, Harich-Schneider treats the topic of the relation between Japanese and Western music with "excessive brevity" (*Beginnings* 9). She in fact has nothing to say about the texts of the Shōgaku series.
- <sup>22</sup> Galliano continues to use the reading "Izawa" for Isawa's name, misspells Mason's name twice (30, 57), is rather relaxed with respect to citation, and sometimes fails to keep historical dates straight, even mistaking the founding years of both Waseda University and Keio University (109). Wade, in turn, relies heavily on Galliano for her description of the work of the Music Investigation Committee rather than on the more circumspect research of May, Eppstein, and Howe (which is puzzling because Wade is a professor at UC Berkeley, where May also taught). Wade follows Galliano to the extent that she even continues to use the spelling "Izawa." Yet another specialist in music education can, within the space of two pages, misspell the name of Megata Tanetarō (Ogawa, "Music as a Tool" 206), identify the Massachusetts town of Bridgewater as part of Boston (206), and promote Mason in status by calling him "superintendent of the Boston public schools" when he was the superintendent of music for Boston primary schools (207).

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