MONASH UNIVERSITY

THESIS ACCEPTED IN SATISFACTION OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ON 6 OCTOBER 2000

[redacted]

Sec. Ph.D. and Scholarships Committee

School Songs and Modernity in Late Qing and Early Republican China

Peter Micic
School of Asian Languages and Studies

Submitted in accordance with the regulations
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Monash University
July 1999

I certify that this thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other university, and to the best of my knowledge, it contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Peter Micic

Abstract

Historians have written a great deal about political and social change in China during the 'transitional period'(c. 1890-1911) of the last two decades of the Qing dynasty. The importance of culture, in particular the political and social relevance of fiction as evinced by late Qing intellectuals such as Liang Qichao, has been examined in numerous studies. In the construction of idealised or imagined formations of a "modern" China, the emphasis placed on the function of literary genres such as prose fiction in promoting various social and political goals has been at the expense of other cultural forms such as songs. Songs had an equally important role in facilitating popular expressions of belief and a commitment to modern values. The conspicuous presence of songs in many vernacular newspapers and journals published in China and Japan at the turn of the century are evidence of their cultural importance.

In this dissertation, I focus on the significant role of school songs (*xuetang yuege*) in promoting political and social reform in China during its 'transitional period' and the early years of the Republic. In the Chinese context in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the term 'modernity' was invariably defined as social and political change. School songs not only reflected the *fin de siècle* ambience of China at the turn of the century, they also articulated hopes for political and social transformation. As a widely used means of expression, school songs moved between both oral and print cultures. They could be learned and sung by almost all Chinese, thus enabling large segments of Chinese society to participate in the transmission of political and social ideals.

To the best of my knowledge, this dissertation is the first in-depth study of the development, dissemination and circulation of modern school songs as a vehicle for social and political reform in the late Qing and early Republican China.

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Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in the dissertation and bibliography: Full bibliographical information is in the Bibliography.

BDRC	*Biography Dictionary of Republican China*
CHIME	*Journal of the European Foundation for Chinese Music Research*
CR	*Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*
MGRWXZ	*Minguo renwu xiaozhuan*
MGRWZ	*Mingguo renwuzhuan*
YBSWJ	*Yinbinshi wenji*
YYYJ	*Yinyue yanjiu*
YYZZ	*Yinyue zazhi*
ZGDBKQS (YYWD)	*Zhongguo daibaike quanshu: yinyue, wudao*
ZGDBXQS (JY)	*Zhongguo daibaike quanshu: jiaoyu*
DYCZGJYDX	*Diyici Zhongguo jiaoyu daxi*
ZGJYNJ	*Zhongguo Jiaoyu nianjian*
ZGYYSPZ	*Zhongguo Yinyue Shupuzhi*
ZGYYX	*Zhongguo yinyuexue*

Prelude

The genesis of the dissertation can be traced back to the Winter of 1996 when I was admitted to the musicology department attached to the Central Conservatory of Music in Beijing as a research student. While enrolled in a subject on Chinese Ancient Music, Zhao Yuqing, a postgraduate student in musicology from Jinan in Shandong province showed me a photocopy of Li Shutong's *Little Magazine of Music* (*Yinyue xiaozazhi*). This copy had come from his teacher Sun Jinan who had procured the one surviving issue assumed lost until 1984 when a copy was sent to him by the Japanese scholar Sanetô Keishû. Where this copy was found and how it eventually came into the hands of Sun Jinan was retold by Sanetô in *Yinyue xiaozazhi* (formerly *Shandong gesheng*) in October 1988.[1] His comments are worth quoting at length:

> After the completion of a translation of my book History of Chinese Students in Japan into Chinese by Tan Ruqian, it was published in Hong Kong by the Chinese University Press and in Beijing by Sanlian Bookstore. It was really a great honour that the book created such interest after its publication.
>
> Among readers of my translated work were two individuals who raised similar questions about the book. One was Sun Jinan, a music professor from Shandong; the other, a famous painter and essayist, Feng Yiyin, Feng Zikai's daughter. Both Sun and Feng asked after the fate of Magazine and the whereabouts of a surviving copy. They also asked if I could send them a copy.
>
> I knew that a copy of the magazine was held at the Kyoto Library so I wrote to an old colleague in the Literature Department, and asked him if he could lend it out so that I could make a copy...Professor Shimizu replied to me directly about the status of the magazine. It was a delicate journal 13.5 centimetres long and 9.2 centimetres wide. The first issue contained twenty-five pages. Li Shutong was its editor, date of issue January 20 1906.

Both Sun and Feng's letters to Sanetô are revealing in terms of their mutual discovery of an entry of the *Magazine* in Sanetô's 'List of Chinese Magazines Published in Japan in the Late Qing'. Sun wrote in Chinese:

> I am a professor of contemporary Chinese music history attached to the Fine Arts Faculty at Shandong Normal University. I once read an account of Hongyi fashi's (Li Shutong) studies in Japan and his role as editor of the Magazine but I have never

[1] See Sanetô the *Little Magazine of Music and Me* (1988:12-14).

> been able to track down a copy. After reading a 'List of Chinese Magazines Published in Japan in the Late Qing' in your book which included the year of publication, I was sure that you would know the whereabouts of a copy...Could you tell me the status of the Magazine and I would be indebted to you if you could send me a copy.

And Feng who wrote to Sanetô in Japanese:

> In Chapter Eight, section Seven of your book History of Chinese Students in Japan I noticed on line sixteen in your 'List of Chinese Magazines Published in Japan in the Late Qing' an entry for Li Shutong's Magazine (20 January 1906). After reading this entry, I have taken the liberty of writing to you with the express wish of finding out which library holds an extant copy of the Magazine in Japan. Is it possible to send me a copy? I will pay for all expenses...The Magazine is the earliest published magazine devoted to music in China. If you could inform me on the status of the Magazine and send me a copy, music scholars in this country will be overjoyed beyond measure.[2]

As a beam of sunlight filtered through the classroom window that early winter's morning after class, Sun and I began to discuss the magazine. I can't recall why I should become engrossed in this magazine—perhaps it was because of its small and delicate size or the charcoal sketch of Beethoven as I turned the first page. Sun's enthusiasm for Li Shutong surprised me because at the time he was engaged in research on *guqin* scores, but I later learned that he had rendered the Preface of the *Little Magazine of Music* some years earlier into a somewhat more accessible vernacular style. While I was also pursuing other research projects at the time and learning to play the end-blown *xiao*, I began to make daily trips to the library to inquire about teachers and Chinese music researchers on campus whose interests focused on Western influences on Chinese music in the late Qing and early Republic.

Locating Source Materials

All foreign students, and scholars engaged in fieldwork in China come across all kinds of problems and challenges in collecting primary materials. How one should go about accessing material and making necessary contacts invariably turns out to be a long laborious

[2] Although both these letters were republished in *Yinyue xiaozazhi* in 1988, articles by both Sun and Feng suggest that these letters were written in the early to mid eighties. See Feng Yiyin and Liu Xueyang, "Wo guo zuizao yinyue zazhi zai Ri zhaodao" ('China's earliest music magazine is found in Japan'), *Yinyue yishu* (1984:8-9). Sun Jinan writes in *Yinyue xiaozazhi* (1988:6) that Sanetô sent him a copy of the *Magazine* from Japan in an envelope postmarked 25 August 1984. See also Chen Lingqun (1980) and Lin Ziqing (1995:41-42n.12).

process which can send the most passionate and enthusiastic research student packing. The bureaucratic red tape required to procure a scrap of information or possible lead for one's research is often an emotionally taxing exercise.

At the Central Conservatory, my status was that of a research student. My initial forays into the library catalogues were not an encouraging start. They were in a state of disarray; drawers left open, some placed on top of catalogues, others lying on the floor covered in layers of dust. I thought for a moment that I had walked into a war zone. My efforts to dust off the catalogues were met with considerable embarrassment from the head librarian several days later who apologised profusely and offered to assist and help with my research activities. I had borrowing privileges for scores and books in the conservatory library. Periodicals, magazines, journals and music dictionaries were available for use only in the library's reading room and could not be borrowed out. Records and cassettes were kept in another room on the same floor as the library and reading room, and copies could be made if one supplied blank audio tapes. Unfortunately, there were no recordings of school songs-- at least none were listed in the audio catalogue and I wondered whether recordings were available but restricted or held in private collections. As I made daily visits to the library, the library staff allowed me to roam among the bound periodicals and journals in search of relevant materials. I also made several visits to the Music Institute on campus and had several informal chats with Professor Wang Yuhe who had done some research on school songs and published some of his findings in his *History of Modern Chinese Music* (1985). However, I found Professor Wang somewhat distant and aloof and unwilling to share his views on research questions. While much of my time was spent at the Conservatory, I also made contacts with music scholars and other institutions in the city and took weekly trips to the Beijing National Library.

In addition to my research activities in Beijing, I made short trips to Tianjin, Shanghai, Hangzhou, and Shenyang. Li Shutong's birthplace in Tianjin (an hour and a half

coach ride from Beijing) took me to the Tianjin Museum of History (founded in 1952) where I had earlier made contact by phone with Xu Fengwen, a thirty-two year old curator attached to the museum. Xu went out of his way to secure obscure sources for me and to point me in useful directions. As part of its exhibitions, the Museum had a wax works of famous figures in modern Tianjin including Sun Yat-sen, Li Darui, Zhou Enlai, Li Hongzhang and Li Shutong. From Xu I learnt that Tianjin was building a memorial hall for Li scheduled to open on the anniversary of his 120th birthday in the year 2000. I also learnt of Yang Changhe, a retired worker in his sixties who lived in the former residence of Li Shutong. While explaining my interest in Li Shutong to Yang on one visit to his home he showed me a scrapbook containing newspaper articles and clippings on everything to do with Li which he started compiling in 1983. Yang had also been on a pilgrimage of sorts around China collecting information and material on Li and had published some of his findings in local newspapers and regional history journals in Tianjin.[3] Yang generously allowed to me browse through the contents of his scrapbook and offered to make photocopies of relevant material. On subsequent visits to Tianjin both Xu and Yang enthusiasm for my research was overwhelming and they continue to furnish me with material that might be relevant to my research.

The serendipitous nature of data collection can be illustrated through my efforts to track down a copy of a *Complete Collection of Songs by Li Shutong—The Dharma Master Hongyi* [*Li Shutong—Hongyi fashi gequ quanji*] (1990) at the Central Conservatory in Beijing where I was studying. I sought the help of several Chinese post-graduate students to locate this song anthology which I assumed could be easily found in the library archives or in a private library. There were no leads and several scholars on campus seemed rather reluctant to help. One Sunday morning, several week later I was browsing through a bookstore on Wangfujing in the heart of the city when I came across a book entitled *Li Shutong Shi Quanbian* [*Complete Poems of Li Shutong*](1995) edited by Xu She. This meticulously

[3] See for example, Yang (1989), (1997a), (1997b), (1997c).

researched book on Li's poems and miscellaneous writings also contained a section on the lyrics of Li's songs and it was here that I stumbled across a reference to the *Complete Collection of Songs* and a publisher—the Shanghai Music Publishing House. When I rang this Publishing House the next day they informed me that they had one last copy and two cassette tapes accompanying the anthology. I was bound for Shanghai on the train (some twenty hours from Beijing) several weeks later. Arriving at the publishing house in early May, I was told that there was no copy available but they had a surplus of tapes available in their audio-visual technical unit. After talking with several editors about my research I discovered that one of them had a copy at home which he was willing to pass on to me. By that early afternoon I had procured a copy. While I was in Shanghai I made a visit to the Shanghai Conservatory Library to inquire about two other school song "composers" born in that city—Zeng Zhimin and Shen Xingong—but even after another visit to the library I was making very little progress.

From Shanghai I made a three hour trip by train to Hangzhou with the specific purpose of visiting Dinghui Temple situated in Hupao Park where the thirty-eight year old Li Shutong took his vows to become a Buddhist monk in 1918. In 1992 a Li Shutong memorial hall was officially opened in the grounds of the temple. Part of a thumbnail sketch of Li 's life was carved in English on an upright stone tablet in front of the hall: 'b. tianjin in a rich family of Zhejiang origin. Father was a businessman dealing with salt and monetary affairs...the earliest who had introduced oil painting, piano and Western music and drama into China'. What struck me in particular about this introduction was the claim that Li had introduced the piano and Western music to China (which totally ignored the missionary influence)—a claim that I heard repeated several times to me by Yang Changhe and others in Tianjin.[4]

[4] Missionary influences on Chinese music in the late Qing are conspicuously absent or overlooked in the literature published in the People's Republic. Tentative signs are appearing now that this situation is changing. There are several young Chinese music scholars documenting the roles played by foreign missionaries and their contributors during this period. See for example, Tao Yabing (1994:154-245).

It was during my short stay in Hangzhou that I came across two volumes of Li Shutong's letters in a bookstore situated on the fringes of the West Lake. These two volumes were not published in Hangzhou but by the Inner Mongolia People's Publishing House in Holhot. In late May and early June I was at the Shenyang Conservatory paying a visit to my *dizi* teacher Kong Qingshan and took the opportunity to discuss my research with several scholars. At both formal and informal levels, I gauged from several scholars that school song songwriters were not seen in the same light as some other early prominent pioneers of Chinese music in the early decades of this century such as Xiao Youmei and Zhao Yuanren. When I mentioned Li Shutong to one music historian he quickly dismissed him as 'a jack of all trades.'[5] Xiao and Zhao were composers who wore that badge of authenticity, originality, while school songs were seen as blatant imitations or simply arrangements of pre-existing tunes, void of any degree of originality or creativity. That school songs are deemed as excessively derivative, simple and monotonous by many music scholars has undoubtedly done very little to advance research in this area and contributed significantly in shaping a dominant stereotype among many Chinese music scholars in the establishment. [6]

Older Chinese scholars have also carried out research in this area. Wang Pu, for example, who works at the Research Institute attached to the Central Conservatory of Music in Beijing cites the contributions of both Timothy Richard and Calvin Mateer in his article 'The Rise and Establishment of School Music Courses at the End of the Qing dynasty and Beginning of the Republic Period', published in *Zhongguo Yinyuexue* (1997:57-73). Wang Yuhe's revised *Zhongguo jindai yinyueshi* includes a brief mention of missionary influence (1994:17-18). A number of research topics include the influence of Christian hymns music on minority groups in Yunnan province (Yang, 1990:82-88); Christianity and Western art music (Gao, 1994:76-84); music source materials from the Bible (Chen, 1997:92-106) and missionary influence on "school songs" documented in Qi Shi and Pei'an (1990). See also Zhou Xiaojing "Jisujiao yinyue yanjiu" (Studies in Christian Music), *Zhongguo yinyue nianjian* (1996:190-194). However, despite a growing interest among mainland scholars on the role and influence of missionaries on Chinese music, there is as yet no systematic treatment or calls within the music establishment to re-examine the role of foreign missionaries in music in the late Qing or early Republic. A number of mainland Chinese contributors in Wakeman & Wang *China's Quest for Modernization* (1997) have begun to write extensively in English on the significant role and influence of missionaries in the nineteenth century. While none of the mainland contributors write specifically on music, this excellent volume of essays demonstrates a significant collaboration between Chinese and Western s scholars and augurs well for future research.

[5] *Ta shenme dou gao...Ta shige zajia.* Interview May 25 1997.

[6] In the history of modern Chinese music in this century, school songs have often been denied musical status because of this reliance on borrowing and arranging pre-existing melodies and because the

Back in Australia and Monash University in early July 1997, the process of sifting through material that I had collected seemed daunting at first. Despite the amount of material that I had collected in China, I was aware of significant "holes" in my research that needed to be followed up on my return. I scoured libraries in Australia via the Australian Bibliographic Network (ABN) and the Australian National CJK Service for possible leads. Books and materials not available in Victoria were accessed through interlibrary borrowing which generally took up to three weeks from signing forms to receiving a notification letter in the mail. Books and material were obtained through inter-library loan from the National Library of Australia, Australian National University, Griffith University, the University of Queensland, the University of Sydney. I also procured a dissertation by David Sheng entitled *A Study of the Indigenous Elements in Chinese Christian Hymnody* (1964) through UMI Dissertation Services. While not directly relevant to my topic, this meticulous work which I became aware of after 'surfing' the Christian Archive at the Hong Kong Baptist University Library filled in embarrassing lacunae in the chapters that follow. Other resources in locating material include:

1. Bibliography of Asian Studies.
2. Bibliography of Chinese Studies
3. 'Publications' in *Chime*, Journal of the European Foundation for Chinese Music Research, 1991-1995.
4. 'Current Bibliography on Chinese Music', *Association for Chinese Music Research* (*ACMR*), Music Department, University of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1991-1997.
5. *International Journal of Music Education*
6. *Council for Research into Music Education*

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notions of 'creativity' and 'innovation' are purportedly absent. Huang Youdi's reference to these songs as 'second-hand goods' (*ershouhuo*) aptly describes how some Chinese music scholars dismiss

7. *Chinese Education*

8. *Chinese Education and Society*

9.E-mailing scholars engaged in researching in school songs and their "composers" as well as Chinese music scholars whose interests are in late Qing and early 20th century Chinese music.

10. Network Databases and Information Services:

10.1. The Music Index on CD-Rom. A Subject-Author Guide to Music Periodical Literature, 1979-1995.

10.2 Asian Studies WWW Monitor.

10.3 Uncover.

In light of the paucity of material on the subject, I felt it necessary to make contact with a number of Chinese music colleagues around the globe as early as possible who might be able to help me locate material for my research. Two scholars in Hong Kong, Liu Ching-chih (Lingnan College) and Lam Ching Wah (Hong Kong Baptist University) were especially helpful. In was with some difficulty that I was able to locate and procure a book entitled *Shen Xingong*: *The Father of School Songs*, co-edited by Shen Qia, a mainland music scholar and Shen Xingong's grand nephew and Hsu Tsang-houei (Xu Changhui), a Taiwanese music scholar, published in Taiwan in the early 1980s. This seminal work has been invaluable in my research on school songs.

Methodological Issues

In this dissertation, I will focus on the role of school songs in promoting political and social reform in China during its 'transitional period' and the early Republic. I will also examine the origins and development of these songs, consider the complex interactions and eclectic influences that shaped the works of school song songwriters and discuss specific musical characteristics. Below are some of the methodological concerns that have shaped this study:

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the genre. See Liu Ching-chih (1992:8).

1. In compiling biographical information on school song songwriters", numerous books and essays have guided me. Cross-referencing details, dates and events often revealed discrepancies between one or several sources and the "facts" were often contradictory. Shen Qia's and Lin Ziqing's chronological biographies (*nianpu*) of Shen Xingong and Li Shutong respectively are well documented with ample biographical references, but offer no justification of the methodological assumptions used in shaping the final product. [7] Others sources told a colourful tale and sometimes even took on melodramatic proportions. A case in point is the somewhat garbled and fanciful accounts of Li Shutong's "romances". Wherever possible, discrepancies and contradictory accounts of details and events gleaned from several sources are noted in footnotes.
2. While this study focuses on Zeng Zhimin, Shen Xingong and Li Shutong, an effort has been made to locate other school song songwriters" who were perhaps as actively engaged in writing songs, but to date have been poorly documented in Chinese music books on the subject.
3. Many of the questions addressed in this study have been influenced by a number of disciplines including cultural theory, sociology, (ethno)musicology, as well as specific areas of interest in Chinese studies and studies of Western popular music. The object of my study is clearly inter-disciplinary and has required research across these disciplines.

Source Materials

Source materials that include the words "*Xuetang yuege*" in their titles and other items that discuss the genre are generally very short (ranging from one to approximately ten pages). Many authors have borrow from a 'fixed repertory' of material while others have repeated and paraphrased earlier writings. Substantial accounts that have provided information on the genre are found in Zhang Jingwei (1985a; 1985b; 1985c), Wang Yuhe (1985:14-25), Wu Zhao, Liu Dongsheng (1985:317-326), Liu Ching-chih (1986:25-58). Sun

[7] In the *nianpu* the subject's "life" is arranged by date with quotations provided from the subject's own writings as well as others. In some cases, amplifying footnotes with quotations are provided. On

Jinan, Zhou Zhuquan (1993:399-410), Chen Bingyi (1991:85-90), Xia Ye (1991:97-100), Zhao Houqi (1995:131-138), Luo Chuankai (1995:25-32), Xu Shijia (1997:40-55) and Wang Pu (1997:57-73). All these authors with the exception of Wang Pu discuss the repertory and musical style. Zhang Jingwei's work "Lun xuetang yuege" (On School Songs) submitted as part of a M.A. thesis at the Chinese Academy of Arts in Beijing in 1981 and subsequently published in a collection of M.A. theses edited by the Graduate School at the Chinese Academy of Arts in 1983[8] is by far the most comprehensive study of the genre and its broader political, social and cultural significance. Zhang (1985b) concentrates on four key figures in the school song movement, namely, Liang Qichao, Zeng Zhimin, Shen Xingong and Li Shutong. Presumably, Liang is included here not for his compositional output (several of Liang's patriotic poems were set to music), but for his advocacy on the value of music in political reform. Judging from several studies on school songs by scholars published in the People's Republic where references sources are provided, Zhang's work represents a significant benchmark in the field. Wang Pu provides a detailed discussion on the development of music education in the late Qing and early years of the Republic. Wang Yuhe, Wu Zhao and Liu Dongsheng, Liu Ching-chih, Xia Ye and Zhao Houqi also include musical examples. The most extensive research on one school song songwriters", namely Shen Xingong, is found in Xu Changhui and Shen Xia (1988). These authors provide a well-documented and comprehensive study of Shen and his musical activities. Short yet substantial entries of school song "composers" are found in Chen Bingyi (1991) and Wang Yuhe (1992). While Shen Xingong and Li Shutong loom large in the source materials, others are conspicuously absent. There is no mention, for instance, of Zeng Zhimin in Wang Yuhe (1985;1992)—although Wang's revised 1994 edition contains a section on Zeng (1994:31-33)—Wu Zhao & Liu Dongsheng (1985) or Sun Jinan & Zhou Zhuquan (1993). Chen Bingyi includes a two-page entry on Li Huaxuan who appears nowhere else in the literature.

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nianpu see Dennis Twitchett (1962::37) and Wang Gungwu (1976:199).

[8] "Lun xuetang yuege" was also published in 1985 in the Beijing-based journal *Cikan*, issues 1-3.

Studies of school songs in a specific region or locality are rare. Hou Ruiyun and Zhang Jingwei (1986:90-94) provide a biographical sketch of the poet and reformer Li Jianhong, a native of Dali in Yunnan and his school song activities. One page articles on Li Jianhong and school songs are included in Zhang Xuedian (1983).

Qian Renkang (1990:83-90) has written the most thorough account of the origins of school songs from both Chinese and Western sources. Admittedly, this meticulous study examines the work of only one school song "composer"—Li Shutong—providing a collection of some seventy-six songs. Although Xu Changhui and Shen Qia include a selection of thirty-two songs by Shen Xingong, details on the provenance of texts set to pre-existing tunes is thin and sketchy. In compiling musical examples and songs from the school song repertory, many authors have repeated the same examples. Both Qi Shi and Pei'an (1990), Xu Changhui and Shen Qia provide the most thorough collections of musical notation for this study. In the case of Li Shutong, Qi Shi and Pei'an's anthology includes songs that belong to the period after he became a Buddhist cleric and are therefore strictly speaking not school songs. Other examples have been taken from other song book anthologies (Koo T.Z. 1928;Yang Xiaolu and Zhang Zhentao 1990).

The problem of collecting school songs across diverse sources is augmented by the inadequate reference data on school songs in Chinese language sources. Wang Yuhe's figure of 1,400 school songs composed during 1892-1912, for example, remains dubious since no evidence is provided for this claim (1992:2).

Included in source materials are also working papers delivered in Chinese at international conferences and seminars that to the best of my knowledge have not been published or translated in English-language music journals. Two such papers to which I have not been able to gain access were delivered at the 31st World Conference of the International Council for Traditional Music held at the Cultural Centre in Hong Kong from July 3-9, 1991: Dai Jiafang 'School Songs and the Spread and Transfiguration of Western Music in China'

and Kelina Kwan 'The Universal Hymn of Praise: The earlier reception of Western style in Chinese music'. There are also several Chinese sources that I have not read and have yet to locate either in the People's Republic or elsewhere. I include these in the Bibliography with an asterisk after the author's name.

In English, there is a paucity of materials on the genre. However, the following sources have been useful. Brief entries on the genre and musical repertory are provided in Liang Mingyue (1985:138-140). While Isabel Wong does not include the words "*Xuetang yuege*" they are briefly touched upon under the heading of 'songs for the masses' and 'revolutionary songs'. Godwin Yuen provides a comprehensive overview of representative school songs songwriters (Zeng Zhimin, Shen Xingong and Li Shutong) in 'Introduction of Western Music (Chapter Five) in his Ph.D thesis *Stylistic Development in Chinese Revolutionary Songs* (1988).

Very few commercial recordings of school songs exist. While at the Central Conservatory of Music in Beijing, I found no entries for song titles or school song songwriters on the computer or card catalogues for audio music tapes. A large number of entries appear under 'revolutionary songs' as a possible lead but the card catalogues and computer entries contained very little information concerning the original recording or rerelease recordings. Names of composers and/or performers were also often omitted. As mentioned earlier, I purchased two tapes of songs which accompanied Qi Shi and Pei'an's anthology of Li Shutong's songs. in Shanghai in 1997.[9]

In addition to written source materials, much of this study is based on informal interviews and conversations. Performances of school songs are by no means a regular occurrence and are usually confined to special anniversaries. Performances of Li Shutong's

[9] *Li Shutong—Hongyi fashi gequ ji* *Li Shutong—Hongyi fashi fojiao gequ xuan* jointly produced by the Shanghai Buddhist Association and the Shanghai Conservatory of Music in 1990 to celebrate Li Shutong's 110th anniversary. Details of these recordings are found in 'Selected Discography'
Performed by the Shanghai Musicians' Association Chamber Choral Society under the direction of Ma Geshun.

songs in Tianjin, for example, have coincided with important anniversaries and have been written up in local newspapers. The scheduled opening of a memorial hall in Tianjin, as mentioned earlier, to celebrate Li Shutong's 120th anniversary will undoubtedly include a series of live performances.

Goals and Significance of the Study

There has been to date no serious or systematic study of the origins or development of school songs, let alone case studies of their social influence, reception or their musical characteristics. Research remains relatively neglected in both English and Chinese. The present study is in many respects, an attempt to address this neglect. This study addresses a number of issues including encounters between China and the West, notions of authenticity and originality in composition, preservation and development of Chinese music, influences that shaped the works of school songs, Western-style new schools and music education, notational systems, the press, nationalism and nation-building. These issues will be addressed in this study, but it is clear, however, that several of these topics are worthy of substantial in-depth analysis in their own right. The present study is thus an attempt to clear the ground for these more specific future endeavours. In doing so, I hope to contribute to contemporary scholarship on Chinese music, especially in relation to broader social, political and cultural issues in the late Qing and early years of the Republic.

Organisation of Chapters

Chapter Two begins by discussing Chinese music in the mid-nineteenth century and then provides an overview of the influx of Western music into parts of China in the late Qing. I use 'parts of China' here to highlight that the influx of Western music alongside Western ideas and concepts was neither sudden nor total. Evidently, the Chinese in coastal cities such as Shanghai, Ningbo, Xiamen and Tianjin were exposed to outside influences and the presence of foreigners more than cities and provinces in China's hinterland. It should come as no surprise that Shanghai became a key centre in the development of the school song

movement in the early part of the century. There were those who learnt about Western music while studying or working abroad. Others were exposed to Western music without going abroad through attending missionary or modern schools. Others still neither went abroad or attended missionary nor modern schools, but came into contact with Western music through foreigners —missionaries, merchants, teachers, advisers, instructors and so on—who were not all demographically situated in major coastal centres. With regard to music, school song songwriters" continued to draw from traditional Chinese music but also modelled their compositions on Protestant hymns and other foreign melodies. On the one hand, schools songs were products of political and social change in the late Qing and early Republic; on the other, they provided a precedent and foundation for the subsequent development of modern Chinese music in the twentieth century.

Chapter Three looks at models and sources of inspiration that guided music reform and modernisation in the late Qing period. Guidance came from a number of sources. Missionaries and their Chinese converts played a key role in Chinese educational reform. Support for a model of modern reform also came from Japan, especially after the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1995). Japan's success in reform was admired and sought after by Chinese officials, gentry and reformers alike and was clearly evident in imperial edicts and regulations and at the turn of the century, as well as education inspection tours and students sent to Japan, the employment of Japanese teachers in China's new schools and the translation of Japanese textbooks. This chapter also discusses the role of the press as a potent weapon in providing educated Chinese with a forum for political and social change as well as stimulating and accelerating a great national need and urgency for modernisation.

Imperial edicts and regulations anticipated reform in education, but the pressing issue of how these institutions and their programs were to be financed and supported with trained teachers and textbooks was invariably left to the initiative of individuals. Treating singing or music as optional subjects as an imperial edict stipulated in 1902 along with

handicrafts and drawing suggests that such subjects were not essential or compulsory to the school curriculum. Notwithstanding the lack of qualified Chinese music teachers, music and singing were often subsumed under *ticao* (callisthenics) and as the writings of many reformers reveals, were also incorporated into 'moral training classes' (*xiushen ke*). In part, this might have been an attempt to deflect criticism from educators who did not regard singing or music to be important enough to warrant separate tuition. Chapter Four examines a number of school music courses that were implemented in the late Qing and early Republic. This chapter also looks at the creation of a Textbook Bureau attached to the Board of Education, surveys attempts to find an appropriate national anthem for the new Republic among the many musical compositions (including school songs) that were submitted to the Ministry of Education but never quite made the grade and the publication of music song books, textbooks and the procurement of musical instruments in schools. Chapter Five begins by examining the political, social and cultural messages implicit in school song texts. The compositional process of *tianci* in relation to issues of authenticity and originality will also be examined.

Chapter Six provides an account of how three influential school song "composers"—Zeng Zhimin, Shen Xingong and Li Shutong—dealt with issues of music reform. Like other reform-minded Chinese, they were deeply concerned about the fate of the country and sought to provide answers to such questions as the need for a national culture. Reformers acknowledged that to succeed along the path of reform it was necessary not only to accommodate the presence of the West, but to acquire the knowledge and skills necessary to transform China into a modern nation. At the same time, this did not necessarily translate into wholesale Westernisation, nor did it pose a potential threat to Chinese tradition. In the case of music reformers such as Zeng, Shen and Li it is difficult to know exactly how each of them perceived Western culture *vis-à-vis* their own, but if their works are any indication, they were concerned with both continuity within their own music tradition as well as change.

They were not attempting to salvage Chinese music from the purported incursions of Western music, but rather borrowed, integrated and employed whatever disparate music elements were at their disposal from both foreign and Chinese sources. It was reformers such as these, the 'creative minority' to borrow Schwartz's expression,[10] who considered it almost natural to involve themselves in some kind of borrowing and integrating of both Chinese and Western musical elements. In short, they could be aptly defined along the lines of Theodore Zeldin's definition of a 'modern person', who, 'without denying his past, sees no reason why he should be a slave to it.'[11]

Chapter Seven examines the role of school songs as an instrument of propaganda in promoting political and social ideals. It begins by defining the term "propaganda" which Chang-tai Hung argues in the Chinese context 'carries a more positive connotation than its English counterpart' (1994:9). By 'positive connotation', the term *xuanchuan* is devoid of the pejorative and negative overtones which the English word has taken on in the twentieth century. Chang's definition of the term is relatively neutral meaning 'to spread ideas or information'. The chapter then examines music as a vehicle for instilling various political and social goals and mobilising citizens to action and discusses the emergence of music journals and the proliferation of music societies.

Chapter Eight addresses issues of preserving elements of Chinese music in the process of fostering a national music (*guoyue*). While the concept of musical change is pertinent to the discussion, it is not my purpose here to survey the varied definitions and application of terms employed to describe the process such as acculturation, assimilation, synthesis or syncretism. The varied responses to musical change and cross-cultural influences in the late nineteenth century ranged from partial abandonment or impoverishment of "traditional" Chinese music to various reformulations of music styles and practices, musical syncretism, Westernisation and modernisation. Such music processes underscore

[10] *China and Other Matters* (1996:273n8)
[11] Theodore Zeldin (1990:201).

broader cultural issues concerning "tradition" and "modernity". In the late nineteenth century, "tradition" and "modernity" were often couched within the framework of the *tiyong* formula ('Chinese learning for fundamental principles, Western learning for application'). This formula offers a useful perspective on music reform in the late Qing and early Republic by focusing on the interactions of Chinese and Western music that may be referred to as diversely nationalistic in their political intentions. The final chapter concludes with a summary of the findings of this study.

Acknowledgments

Many people across the globe have shared their ideas, support and friendship during my Ph.D candidature. In the People's Republic, thanks are due to Zhao Yuqing, who was a postgraduate student at the Central Conservatory of Music in Beijing when I was doing research in 1996-1997, Kong Qingshan and Chen Bingyi at the Shenyang Conservatory, Xu Fengwen and Yang Changhe in Tianjin for their help and the sharing of ideas on Li Shutong. I am also grateful to Chris Meakin who accompanied me to Hangzhou and provided timely support and friendship, to Bruce Gordon Doar and Susan Doar in Beijing, to Bell Yung at the University of Hong Kong for clarifying issues on text-setting in Chinese vocal music and to Lam Ching-wah at the Hong Kong Baptist University.

At Melbourne University, Elaine Jeffreys and David Stokes have shared much of their valuable time and editorial expertise with me throughout the dissertation writing process and to Bick-Har and Lo-Pei in the East Asian Library. At Monash University, I am grateful to Reis Flora, Aline Scott-Maxwell and Joel Crotty from the Music Department for comments on my work. Dennis Kishere in the Asian Studies Library helped in tracking down material. Warren Sun, presently attached to the Contemporary China Centre in Canberra was a constant source of help and encouragement. I would also like to thank Robert Irving for his patience and time on the finer points of using a personal computer and to Mark Harrison for his encouragement and timely editorial comments in the final stages of writing up. At the National Library of Australia I would particularly like to thank Andrew Gosling for taking the time to show me the London Missionary Society Collection and Wan Wong, senior Chinese Librarian in the Asian Collection for her help and guidance.

Gloria Davies, my supervisor, has guided my research from the beginning. She has been my most trenchant critic providing a constant source of encouragement and patience when my writing seemed little more than a pile of bricks. She has also been patient in seeing the dissertation through its many revisions, stripping and clearing away what was not

essential, or as Janet Malcolm accurately put it, 'a throwing off of impurities'[12], giving more coherence and force to my thinking.

Lastly, a heartfelt gratitude to my mother Rose Stanton as well as Kong Qingshan, his wife Cheng Xiaomei, Kong Fang and Kong Xin at the Shenyang Conservatory of Music for their support and encouragement throughout my fieldwork, dissertation and writing, allowing me to retain my sanity over the last few years.

Research for the dissertation was supported by a Monash postgraduate scholarship. Research in China was supported by a Monash Asia Institute travel grant and a twelve-month grant provided by the National Asian Languages Scholarship (NALSS) in Canberra.

[12] Janet Malcolm, *The Silent Woman: Sylvia Plath and Ted Hughes* (1994:5).

Rominization and A Note on Translation

The *pinyin* rominization system is used throughout the dissertation, with the exception of few words (Confucius, Peking opera) that have become familiar to Western readers. Romanised Chinese terms are italicised throughout.

All translations of passages quoted from Chinese sources and of titles, terms and expressions are my own unless indicated otherwise. Where I have found pre-existing English translations of texts and songs which differs from my own reading of the original Chinese text, I have made changes to the translation where I have deemed them necessary noting differences in the footnotes. Translations of songs that differ significantly from my own are provided in full in the footnotes.

I.

Introduction

This is a study of school songs (*xuetang yuege*) in the late Qing and early Republic as a vehicle for promoting social, political and educational reform. The use of music as a ideological tool is hardly a modern phenomenon in China. Its efficacy for promoting and inculcating Confucian ideals in the interests of the reigning dynasties has been recorded time and again in the dynastic histories of imperial China.[1] As the name suggests, these songs appeared with the establishment of new Western-type schools called *xuetang* (lit: "study halls") and were to be sung in the classroom as well as at other public gatherings. The majority of texts were easily comprehensible and written in the modern vernacular well before Hu Shi (1891-1942) wrote his proposals for the establishment of a new language and concomitant emphasis on creating a new literature in 1917. The use of music for the purpose of propaganda in the late Qing and early Republican period was linked to the rise of the periodical press and the growing importance of educated Chinese as important 'intellectual articulators' of social and political change.[2] Like fiction, drama and poetry, these songs

[1] The political importance of music in China is amply illustrated in music historiography from the earliest historical sources on music dating from the fourth to the second century B. C. E. These include the *Guo Yu* [*Narratives of State*], a fourth century compilation, the *Zhou Li* [*Rites of Zhou*], dating from the third century B. C. E, and by the early Han in the *Book of Rites* (*Liji*), the *Huainan Zi*, a miscellany compiled under the direction of Liu An, Prince of Huainan (178?-122 B. C. E.), *Book of Han* (*Hanshu*) and the *Chronicles of History* (*Shiji*). For a detailed discussion on the philosophical views of music by Confucius, Mencius and Xunzi and the *Book of Music* [*Yueji*], with translations into the vernacular and annotations see Ji Liankang (1983; 1980a). For discussions found in the *Huainan Zi* see Qin Yongzheng & Wei Li (1989: 25-27).). A recent study on Xun Zi and ritual music can be found in Cook (1997:1-38). While the literati's views on music—at least from what we read in the official histories—has largely been dictated within the framework of Confucianism, there are philosophical views which reject Confucian moralistic principles of music. These include the writings of Laozi, Mozi and Zhuangzi. Philosophical views by Zhuangzi and Laozi are found in Zheng Zuxiang (1996: 55-56). For a comparative study of early musical ideas of the Confucian and Taoist schools see Ye Chuanhan 'The Musico-Aesthetical Implications of "Dayin Xisheng" (translated by Xia Zukui), Guo Nai'an (1989: 42-56). On Zhuangzi see Wu Yuqing, 'The Idea of Zhuangzi's "Music of Heaven" (translated by Kenneth J. Dewoskin), (ibid: 57-76).

[2] This expression is taken form Frederick H. Tenbruck 'The Cultural Foundations of Society'. His comments on the role of intellectuals as agents of change are relevant to our discussion of reformers in the late Qing and early Republic. He writes: 'Significant or marked changes in life-styles and convictions mostly come about by movements in which the name and wake of some idea lead people

provided a template for diagnosing the ills of the present order, offering disparate solutions to 'saving the nation' (*jiuguo*) as foreign powers were ready to 'carve up China like a melon' (*guafen*) and the empire appeared to move ever closer to extinction (*wangguo*). School songs were not composed ostensibly to demonstrate the creativity and compositional skills of the composer or for his artistic expression. Judging these works on purely musical criteria and artistic expression without considering circumstances peculiar to the period in which they were written greatly distorts the aims and intentions of their creators.

To be sure, the lyrics and reception of these songs cannot be separated from the music. Even though we might want to stress the political and social dimensions of these songs, we cannot direct attention away from the importance of the music, which as Robert Walser has acutely observed 'enacts through patterns and gestures of sound a dramatic, episodic, dynamic experience, at once concrete and ephemeral'. (1993:40). With regard to school songs, it could be argued that the music is more important because through many of their declamatory phrases and march-like rhythms, a particular mood is evoked, enabling both performer and audience to share the same experience.[3] '[M]usical codes are the primary bearers of meaning', writes Walser, 'lyrics, like costumes and performers' physical motions, help direct and inflect the interpretation of meanings that are most powerfully delivered, those suggested by the music'(1993:40). In this respect, it could be argued that music further reinforced the political and social texts of school songs thereby allowing larger segments of Chinese society to gain access to the message of reform than the writings of any late Qing and early Republican reformers.

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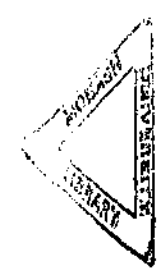
to associate or otherwise provide groups with new ideas and orientations. *Marked changes in values rarely occur without intellectual articulators'* (my emphasis). See Tenbruck (1989:32).

[3] Robert Walser's 'Rhythm, Rhyme, and Rhetoric in the Music of Public Enemy' (1995-193-194) and '*Beyond the vocals*: Towards the Analysis of Popular Music Discourses' (Chapter Two) in *Running With the Devil: Power, Gender and Madness in Heavy Metal* (1993) have been very influential in reinforcing my own attempts to articulate the importance of music *vis-à-vis* the text or lyrics. Apart from Walser's important contributions in articulating the crucial role of ' the music', Shepherd and Wicke have argued that musicology 'has been remarkably unsuccessful in putting forward concepts and theories capable of explaining the attraction of music for people in their everyday lives, and the

Although the word *xuetang* has a long history in the Chinese language,[4] it gained currency in the mid nineteenth century with the founding of the Foochow Naval School in 1866 (Borthwick, 1993:169n69). The term soon became synonymous with educational reform formulated in memorials and edicts. As well as the word *xuexiao* (school) reintroduced into modern Chinese from the Japanese (*gakkô*) [5] in the late nineteenth century and increasingly used from the early 1890s onwards to refer to European schools, the term *xuetang* was employed to refer to Chinese Western-style schools.[6] However, in 1912 the Ministry of Education officially changed the term *xuetang* to *xuexiao* and *jiandu* ('supervisor') and *tangzhang* (lit: the head of *xuetang*) became *xiaozhang* (Png, 1964:79). The word *yuege*, (lit: 'music and song') in contrast, can be traced back to at least the Han dynasty to denote songs accompanied by music and also served as an all-encompassing term for songs.[7] In the late Qing and early Republic, the primary meaning of *yuege* remained unchanged, but the word became inseparably linked to Chinese modern schools.[8]

Apart from *yuege*, the terms *changge* (lit: 'to sing songs') and *yinyue* also appeared in memorials and new school regulations in the early part of the century. Although the term



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power and influence it appears to have over them' 'The Problem of Affect and Meaning in Music' in *Music and Cultural Theory* (1997:7).

[4]In the latter part of Emperor Jing's reign in the Western Han (206 B.C.E.-24 A.D.) and the early reign of Guangwudi in the Eastern Han (25-220 A.D.), *xuetang* became associated with Wen Weng (?-?), a highly esteemed promoter of education in the Kingdom of Shu of the Three Kingdoms. An imperial edict issued by Emperor Guangwudi singled out the Kingdom of Shu as a model for education. Schools in the Kingdom of Shu and elsewhere became known as Wen Weng xuetang. See Galt (1951:229), *Cihai* (1979:1126) and *Hanyu Dacidian*, vol, 4 (1989:247).

[5] Masini (1993:210) states that the term *xuexiao* was already used by Mencius and employed by Guido Aleni in *Zhifang waiji* ['Records of the Places Outside the Jurisdiction of the Office of Geography'], Hangzhou 1623 and Fan Shouyi in his *Shenjianlu* ['My Observations'], ca. 1720 'to refer to the European school system'.

[6]The word *xuexiao* has a long history in the Chinese language. Masini (1993:211). Masini refers to these loans as 'graphic loans'. As Liu writes these 'graphic loans' referred to 'classical Chinese character compounds that were used by the Japanese to translate modern European words and were introduced into modern Chinese' (Liu, 1995:331). In Lobscheid's *English and Chinese Dictionary* (1867), the entry for 'school' includes the following: *shufang*; *shuguan*; *xueguan*; *xuefang*; *xuetang* and *xuexiao*.

[7] *Hanyu Dacidian* (Luo, Zhufeng, 1989: 1295). Judging from the references of the word in this dictionary, *yuege* was not an all-embracing term for any song, but referred to specific kinds of songs performed at the court.

[8] According to Li Quanmin (1989:776) the word gradually lost currency in the school system by the early 1920s and was replaced by music (*yinyue*).

changge had long been in common usage in both China and Japan, in the late nineteenth century, Chinese reformers borrowed the term from the Japanese to refer specifically to music classes (*yinyue ke*) in primary schools (Gu, Mingyuan, 1990:423; Xu, Shijia, 1997:40). In its Japanese context, the term *shôka* referred to singing as part of the elementary school curriculum as stipulated in the Regulations for Education promulgated in 1872 (Epstein, 1994:19) and was clearly intended as a tool for moral education. There are striking parallels between the emphasis on the moral content of school songs in the Japanese school system in the early 1870s and the importance of such songs as an ideological tool as stated in imperial Chinese edicts of the 1890s and in essays published in vernacular journals at the turn of the century. The Japanese employed songs within the school as a means of inculcating moral education and promoting social and political change in the wake of the Meiji Restoration. The Chinese in turn, borrowed the concept as part of their own reform program.

The emphasis on the moral and didactic use of these school songs is aptly illustrated by another term, *jiaoyu changge* ('educational songs') used in the title of a collection of songs by Zeng Zhimin in 1904 and used by Li Shutong as a subheading in his *Little Magazine of Music* [*Yinyue xiao zazhi*] (1906). In two songs introduced as 'educational songs', Li uses *jiaoyu changge* specifically to alert readers to the didactic character of two songs—My Country' and 'Spring Carnival Race'.

Clearly, Li's use of the term 'educational songs' emphasised the importance of text and music as a means of promoting and propagating social and political change which extended far beyond the confines of the school classroom. In this context, the term school songs is misleading insofar as it suggests that they were only sung within China's modern schools. Initially intended for use within the classroom to promote and inculcate various political, social and educational goals, performed by students in unison (*qichang*) with or without musical accompaniment, they were increasingly used at a number of public venues to express a number of national concerns of the time such as the threat of foreign aggression,

the need for patriotism and the urgent task of building a modern nation. In many respects, they were the harbinger of 'songs for the masses' (*qunzhong gequ*) and 'revolutionary songs' (*geming gequ*).

Many of the concerns for political and social change among reformers in the late Qing and early Republican periods demonstrated a strong inclination to generate something new and innovative that would catapult China into the modern world. This often manifested itself in terms of an awakening, suggesting that there were agitated not passive voices from disparate ideological stances expounding solutions to the question of Chinese culture and modernity. The notion of 'waking up' as Fitzgerald writes:

> resonated nicely with the co-discovery of the self and the nation because both were conceived as awake, or more specifically self-conscious. In fact the awakening of the self supplied the metaphor for the awakening of the nation...The metaphors for the awakened nation were often as not heroic members of the animal kingdom: the Chinese nation was frequently likened to an awakened lion, tiger and, sometimes, dragon, which had been rudely awakened from its peaceful sleep to find its progeny under threat.[9]

The awakening of the self and the nation implied a shared aspiration among many Chinese intellectuals to usher in the dawn of a new era (*xin shidai*) . What exactly was "old" and "new" was by no means a closed issue. With regard to music, a reform-minded composer did not necessarily produce innovative works, and by the same token, a composer working within the confines of the Chinese musical tradition might produce something that is considered radical. What school song "composers" such as Zeng Zhimin and Li Shutong demonstrated in their writings and musical works was that the "old" and the "new" were complementary qualities rather than conflicting polarities. Indeed, predating the efforts of May Fourth radicals who 'conceived the past as a monolithic barrier to progress',[10] late

[9] John Fitzgerald, 'The Invention of the Modern Chinese Self' (1993:32). Elsewhere Fitzgerald writes that in the early Republic '[i]nterests groups, study societies, and political factions of many different persuasions impressed the word "awakening" on their mastheads'. (1996:30).
[10] Theodore Huters, 'Ideologies of Realism in Modern China: The Hard Imperatives of Imported Theory' (1993:169n7).

Qing reformers invariably referred to this period (ca. 1890-1911) as a 'transitional period' (*guodu shidai*).[11]

This 'transitional period' saw the emergence of many professional groups of political reformers who responded to a number of needs peculiar to this period. In an essay published in *Qingyibao* in June 1901, Liang Qichao (1873-1829) compared the transitional period to the transformation of the primordial fish (*kun*) in the Northern Ocean to a roc (*peng*), a bird of enormous size who soars into the sky to a height of ninety thousand *li* and then flies for six months to the Southern Ocean.[12] In this story, originally from Zhuangzi (Book One, 'Wandering At Ease' [*Xiao Yaoyou*]), the roc spreads its gargantuan wings across the sky and contrasts its enlarged perspective of the world with the small perspectives of the cicada and turtledove.[13] For Liang, China's transition into the "modern" world was like the fish *kun* changing itself into the giant bird *peng*. In the process, China would enlarge its own "restricted" and "small" perspective of the world and become a nation among other foreign countries. During this transitional period, Liang emphasised the need for using fiction, drama, poetry and music to promote the goals of reform and to strengthen China through the creation of a modern culture. Many of the political reformers in this transitional period were trained in the Confucian classics and had studied abroad in Japan. They were actively involved in organising study societies, newspapers and journals both in Japan and at home which provided a lobby for discussing and disseminating a wide range of political and social messages. Many music reform policies that began as blueprints to be submitted to societies for deliberation ended up published in political journals and magazines. It is regrettable,

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[11] The term *guodu shidai* came into modern Chinese from the Japanese *katoki* which was used by Japanese intellectuals to describe the period of modernisation on the wake of the Meiji Restoration. See Willcock (1995:2). Liang Qichao used the term as early as 1901 in an essay entitled "Guodu shidailun" (On the Transitional Period). See Li Huaxing and Wu Jiaxun (1984:166-171). Martin (1973:206) writes that Liang's essay 'depict[ed] the whole of Chinese society as a transformation after several thousand years of stagnation.'

[12] "On the Transitional Period" (*Guodu shidailun*). Quoted in Li Huaxing & Wu Jiaxun (1984:167).

[13] See 'Enjoyment in Untroubled Ease' [*Xiao Yaoyou*]. See James Legge, *Tao Te Ching and the Writings of Chuang Tzu* (1891:212-214). See also Brian Lundberg 'A Meditation on Friendship' in Roger T. Ames (ed.), *Wandering At Ease in the Zhuangzi* (1998:214).

however, that much of the music reform policies published in journals and magazines did little more than reiterate in the broadest terms the significant role of study societies and their proposals for music reform. What music policies were discussed and implemented, how closely, if at all, members communicated with teachers (foreign or Chinese) at new schools and whether music societies had their own in-house newsletters or magazines remains largely unknown.

Participation in political and social reform was initially confined to those who could read and write (i.e. the educated elite), and their disparate voices contributed immensely to the dissemination of political and social ideas in the late Qing and early Republic. With access to a growing number of newspapers and journals and a 'new style of writing' (*xin wenti*) championed by Liang Qichao in his journalism,[14]Chinese intellectuals had unprecedented opportunities to promote and debate issues of reform and exercise influence on a reading public preoccupied with the country's destiny. Thus, fiction, poetry, drama and music in this period became tools that could galvanise its citizens into political action. "Art for art's sake" had no place for these reformers; the relevance of pursuing literature and the arts was not a leisurely pastime for the cultivation of a small educated elite, but as a medium by which reformers could promote, instil and inculcate various political and social goals.[15]

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[14]This 'new style of writing' was an attempt to replace the archaic Tongzheng style of writing prevalent in Qing documents and the press with a vernacular style called *baihua* ('plain language'). As De Francis has observed the term *baihua* came 'to represent a variety of substyles that can be defined by the degree to which they have incorporated elements from classical Chinese on the one hand and everyday speech on the other. Apart from some continuation of writing in the purely classical style...there is often considerable incorporation of classical elements—stereotyped phrases, truncated terms, even classical constructions—into what is ostensibly a vernacular piece of writing '. (1984:244).

[15] This is not to suggest that reformers were unanimous in Liang's political appropriation of the "arts". Wang Guowei, for instance, vociferously rejected the politicization of literature as a tool to promote various social and political goals. In his "Wenxue xiaoyan" he called literature 'a playful enterprise' and Liang's politicised literature as 'bread and butter literature' See "Wenxue xiaoyan"(Incidental Remarks on Literature), trans. by Kam-Ming Wong in Denton (1996:90-95). David Der-wei Wang has argued that the utilitarian function of fiction as proposed by Liang was frowned upon by 'late Qing elite writers'. He writes: '[D]espite the lip service paid to fiction's "power of incalculable magnitude", late Qing elite writers never concealed their condescending attitude toward it. They endorse fiction only insofar as it changes the mentality of the common folk' (1997:24). What some Chinese intellectuals thought of Liang's didactic role of fiction recalls the cicada and turtledove laughing at the giant bird *peng* soaring 90,000 *li* into the sky in the aforementioned story from Zhuangzi 'Wandering

Many educators and reformers discussed the relevance of music and its efficacy in moulding the character of the Chinese people. This group included a number of influential reformers who envisaged music as part of their reform program such as Liang Qichao, Kang Youwei (1858-1927), Luo Zhenyu (1866-1940) and Wang Guowei (1877-1927). Other reformers who introduced new ideas and approaches and contributed to lively debates on music reform included Fei Shi (1884-1959), an influential figure in introducing the Japanese school music system to China at the turn of the century; Tang Hualong (1874-1918), a leading proponent in establishing a constitutional monarch in China and equally vocal in emulating the Japanese school music system; Li Jianhong (1875-1926), who enrolled at the Toyko School of Music in 1904 and promoted music reform in journals based in Tokyo; Xiao Youmei (1884-1940), a music educator and composer who had studied piano and singing in Japan and later continued his studies in Germany in the early years of the Republic; Shen Xingong (1870-1947), founder of the Music Study Society (*Yinyue Jiangxihui*) in Toyko in 1902; Zeng Zhimin (1879-1929), an active member of this Society as well as a prolific writer on music reform and translator; and finally, Li Shutong (1880-1942), a writer, painter, calligrapher, poet, actor, songwriter and influential music educator who became a Buddhist cleric in 1918 adopting the name *Hongyi fashi* (The Dharma Master Hongyi). While these individuals wrote on music reform and some such as Li Jianhong wrote school songs, Shen Xingong, Zeng Zhimin and Li Shutong loom large in the literature on school songs and have virtually become synonymous with the genre.

To be sure, there were many other educators and reformers attached to new Western-type schools (*xuetang*) and Christian colleges, as well as indigenous institutions such as

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at Ease'. 'I fly when I am inspired, and stop when I collide with the elm tree. Often I merely fall to the ground, not being able to reach a branch. What would anyone travel 90,000 miles to the south for?' (Quoted in William A. Callahan ''Cook Ding's Life on the Whetstone' in Roger T. Ames (ed.), *Wandering at Ease in the Zhuangzi* (1998:178). While Liang used the story of the giant bird in describing China's transition, I have found no references of *peng* being used by other reformers (satirically or otherwise) as metonymy for Liang Qichao. It should be noted that there were clearly Chinese intellectuals who did not fit neatly into either an overt politicization of the arts or pursuing the "art for art's sake" paradigm.

academies (*shuyuan*), community schools (*shexue*) or charity schools (*yixue*) and private academies (*sishu*) who played an important part in music reform in the late Qing and early Republican period. Here missionary educators, foreign teachers and advisers, both from the West and Japan played key roles in introducing Western music into China. However, their efforts and contributions were never fully acknowledged despite the significant influence of missionaries such as John Fryer, Ernst Faber and Timothy Richard in introducing Western ideas and concepts into China and the many Chinese reformers who sought them out for help and guidance (Borthwick, 1983:46). Although the indirect influences from Protestant hymns and foreign melodies is amply illustrated in many school song compositions, these sources of musical inspiration have tended to be concealed. Writing in his preface to the *Anthology of National Songs* in 1905, Li Shutong, for example, acknowledged the contributions of Zeng Zhimin and Shen Xingong for 'introducing Western music into China' (quoted in Lin Ziqing, 1995:35). The missionary influence, as noted in the Preface, has also been downplayed by contemporary Chinese music scholars. The extent to which Shen Xingong's musical ideas and inspiration were derived from his time teaching at St. John's University in Shanghai in the mid to late 1890s where music was an important part of extra-curricula activities, remains unclear in accounts of his life.

The compositional processes in writing school songs involved either 'setting words to an existing tune' called *tianci* (lit: 'to fill in words') or writing both the lyrics (*zuoci*) and the song (*zuoqu*; *zuoge*). The setting of words to pre-existing melodies (*jiuqu tianci*) has a long history in Chinese vocal music. The process has not only been employed in traditional narrative music, but in this century has continued to be widely practised in 'songs of the masses' and is prominent in Chinese pop and rock music.[16]

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[16]Pop(ular) music in Chinese is rendered as either *liuxing yinyue* and/or *tongsu yinyue*. While these two genres are often used interchangeably by fans, the music industry, music critics and others, distinctions are clearly made. Rock music in China is referred to as *yaogun*, *yaogunyue* (terms also used to refer to rock music West).

The term composition in its most literal sense simply means 'the action of putting together or combining'[17] and it is appropriate to think of this definition when considering the compositional processes of school song songwriters. For reformers such as Zeng Zhimin, Shen Xingong and Li Shutong who all studied music in Japan and demonstrated a competent understanding of the basic materials of music theory, their reliance on *tianci* was to all intents and purposes deliberate and highlighted the social and political dimensions of the genre. Whether it be an original composition or an arrangement of a tune, the finished product did not result in complex harmonic and rhythmic complexities, but in the combination of appropriate lyrics and music for the purposes of creating a particular mood. In other words, the success of a school song was measured by the extent to which political and social goals were effectively dramatised through the text and the music which embodied for many, the collective dreams of a nation in the making.

The sources of pre-existing tunes were taken from either Western music—many of them gleaned from Japanese songbooks that based much of their tunes on Western sources—as well as traditional Chinese folk music. Some of these tunes, particularly if they became popular, were set to a number of different texts by different authors, and in some cases, some tunes were set to different texts by the same author (Luo, 1995:25). Many of these songs have their provenance in Christian hymns that Protestant missionaries brought to China in the mid to late nineteenth century. Hymns were recognised by these missionaries as an important instrument of proselytization for teaching Christian ideals and the Gospel. In the five treaty ports of Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningbo and Shanghai, men such as Rev. W.C. Burns, the first missionary sent by the Presbyterian Church of England, R.S. Macklay of the American Methodist Society, C.Hartwell of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, R.H. Graves and M.W. Farham laboured untiringly to produce hymn books in Chinese dialects. One of the first standard Chinese hymn books was compiled by J.

[17] Entry for 'composition' in *Oxford English Dictionary* (second edition, vol. III), Oxford: Clarendon Press (1989:624).

L. Nevius, published in Shanghai in 1862 entitled *Songs of Praise to the True God* [*Songyang zhenshen ge*], (Sheng, 1964:84). As well as including Western hymns, missionaries also incorporated Chinese folk songs and tunes built on a pentatonic scale. [18]

Both Protestant missionaries and reform-minded Chinese in the late Qing and early Republic were interested in songs insofar as they were able to use them to promote and further their own respective goals. Protestant missionaries drew upon a large number of sources: indigenous hymns based on ancient tunes, folk songs, Buddhist chants or original compositions by Christians, both Chinese and foreign, as well as hymns incorporating the music of a particular region or locality that could be used to win adherents and spread the Gospel. Fitting new religious lyrics to popular tunes did not simply advertise the new faith. The compositional process gave Protestant missionaries and their Chinese converts the license to become songwriters by turning pre-existing songs into a powerful means of disseminating their religious faith. Many Protestant hymns, in turn, were borrowed by school song songwriters who also turned songwriting into a powerful means to promote and instil various political and social goals.

[18] The five-note scale *kung*, *shang*, *jiao*, *zhi* and *yu* in Chinese music can be traced back to antiquity, are intimately associated with cosmological foundations of the universe. The five notes correlated with the Five Elements (water, fire, wood, metal and earth). *Gong* represented earth, *shang* (metal), *jiao* (wood), *zhi* (fire) and *yu* (water). These five pitches also had 'symbolical associations'. See Needham (1962:157). While these five pitches in ritual music had 'symbolism' and were intimately bound up with a ruler who sought to be in harmony or 'in tune' with the cosmos, it is grave error to assume that all Chinese music is pentatonic. Hexatonic and heptatonic scales also have a long tradition in China. See Needham (1962:163-176); He Luding (1983:132-154); Yang Yinliu (1986:305-319) and Rong Shisheng (1998:123-129). Although many "traditional" and "folk" European melodies are anhemitonic pentatonic, that is, a five-note scale with no semitones, it is this scale which in often characteristically dubbed by western listeners as "exotic", "Asian", "Oriental". Pentatonism has been explored by many Western art music composers such as Puccini, Debussy and Ravel and in popular music genres as well. In China in the late nineteenth century, many hymn books incorporated pentatonic Chinese tunes (eg: Timothy Richard's *Little Hymn Book* [*Xiao Shipu*, 1885]) not in the pursuit of an "oriental" flavour, but to find 'simple tunes which would be readily assimilated by a Chinese congregation' (Louise S. Hammond , *Chinese Recorder*, March 1920). Quoted in Sheng (1964:396). In one hymn book simply titled *Pentatonic Tune Book* compiled by Mrs. Couling of the English Baptist Mission in Shandong Province in the mid 1890s , well-known Western tunes were arranged by omitting the fourth and seventh degrees of the scale. One such tune was 'Silent Night'. Sheng argues that the reason behind this practice and the inclusion of Chinese tunes in Christian hymns 'was purely a matter of expediency, not an appreciation of Chinese culture.' (1964:397).

In the absence of a large and representative compilation of school songbooks and hymnals in the late nineteenth century and the early years of the Republic, it is impossible to ascertain the extent to which song sources drew upon, overlapped and complemented each other. However, from Qian Renkang's study of music sources of Li Shutong's songs and from a selective list of indigenous hymn from Chinese hymnals published prior to *Hymns of Universal Praise* (1936) found in Sheng (1964:534-557), we know that the borrowing of tunes did take place. We have some idea of how school song songwriters became acquainted with Western tunes through a number of channels including contact with foreigners and missionaries in China, copies of songbooks that circulated among Chinese readers and materials provided by Chinese who had spent time overseas either as students or working in diplomatic missions. No one, however, knows the total number of school songbooks that were published and circulated in schools and elsewhere at the turn of the century and in the early years of the Republic. We also know very little of the distribution networks of these songs. Apart from the circulation of published songbooks and anthologies that could have many readers—Christians converts, "progressive" scholars among them—were song sheets or song booklets available at public rallies and other public assemblies? Were they simply passed around or sold at such venues? Were they printed with the music as well? If so, how many could actually read music?

The ready availability of source material facilitated the production of school songs since there were many pre-existing music forms to select from in setting new reform-minded lyrics. While many school songs extracted sections (*duanluo*) from working songs (*haozi*) and *shan'ge* (lit: 'mountain songs'), they were not necessarily appropriate for the school classroom (Luo Chuankai (1995:26). Many involved in setting texts to pre-existing tunes were not adequately equipped for the task and Zeng Zhimin and other music reformers were critical of Chinese who were 'cannibalising' both the music and text in the process. This was also a major concern for Protestant missionaries as well. Discussions and debates became a

regular feature in the *Chinese Recorder* from the early 1890s and 'prescriptions' on writing hymns often appeared in the Preface of hymnals. For school song songwriters, the task of a competent text-setter included among other things, the skill to express proper rhythm, rhyme and phrasing. In other words, the aim was to combine melodic eloquence with soul-stirring texts. According to Luo (1995:26) some of the early school songs that successfully complemented pre-existing melodies and text include Shen Xingong's text setting of 'Jasmine' (*Molihua*) renamed 'The Butterfly and the Swallow' (*Die he Yan*) and Li Shutong's setting of the tune *Laoliuban* renamed 'Ancestral Land' (*Zuguo*).

A school song songwriter was foremost a reformer and educator whose goals and aims were not necessarily motivated by artistic or musical excellence, but generated by perceived political and social priorities. Many were influenced by prominent reformers at the turn of the century such as Liang Qichao and others who wanted to use fiction, drama and music to reform Chinese society. These reformers were not solely engaged in writing songs (or professionally trained) and were often involved in numerous political activities leaving little time for improving the artistic quality of their works. Xu Changhui refers to these reformers as 'school song workers' (*yuegede gongzuozhe*) because they were required not only to 'write new compositions and set new texts to pre-existing melodies, but also play the piano or reed organ and be able to teach as well.' (Xu and Shen, 1988: 1). Zhang Jingwei (1985b:20) refers to Zeng Zhimin ,Shen Xingong and Li Shutong as 'school song representative figures'. Sun and Zhou (1993:404) call them 'music educators' (*yinyue jiaoyujia*). Shen Qia (1994:1) describes Shen Xingong as a 'pioneer of contemporary Chinese music'. Chen Bingyi (1991:87) refers to Shen Xingong as simply a 'writer' (*zuozhe*) of "school songs" and a 'music editor' (*yinyue bianji*).[19] In contrast, Liang Mingyue (1985:139) refers to Zeng Zhimin, Shen Xingong and Li Shutong. in English as 'Chinese composers' while Su Zheng calls them 'arranger-composers' (1997:96). How do we best define those who engage in the process of *tianci*? Are they composers, arrangers, editors,

songwriters, 'music designers'[20] or as Liang Minyue calls the process 're-compositional craftsmanship'? (1985:13). As most school song compositions dealt with in this study involve setting words to pre-existing tunes, I use the word songwriter to denote reformers who set new or translated texts to pre-existing tunes, composed new tunes set to Chinese or translated texts or composed both new texts and new melodies.

[19] Personal communication, Shenyang Conservatory of Music, December 1998.

[20] In a study of Hakka zither melodies in Cantonese operas (1994:111-144) Siuwah Yu employs a Chinese term 'music designing' (*yinyue sheji*) to denote the process of setting pre-existing tunes. For Yu, this term designates more than simply matching text and tune. 'The music designer' is not a composer in the Western sense of the word, but he does more than arrange or edit pre-existing musical materials. He elaborates, adapts and reorganises them into "new music". The music becomes the designer's creative expression, projecting his cultural, linguistic and personal idiosyncrasies' (1994:134).

I.

Introduction

This is a study of school songs (*xuetang yuege*) in the late Qing and early Republic as a vehicle for promoting social, political and educational reform. The use of music as a ideological tool is hardly a modern phenomenon in China. Its efficacy for promoting and inculcating Confucian ideals in the interests of the reigning dynasties has been recorded time and again in the dynastic histories of imperial China.[1] As the name suggests, these songs appeared with the establishment of new Western-type schools called *xuetang* (lit: "study halls") and were to be sung in the classroom as well as at other public gatherings. The majority of texts were easily comprehensible and written in the modern vernacular well before Hu Shi (1891-1942) wrote his proposals for the establishment of a new language and concomitant emphasis on creating a new literature in 1917. The use of music for the purpose of propaganda in the late Qing and early Republican period was linked to the rise of the periodical press and the growing importance of educated Chinese as important 'intellectual articulators' of social and political change.[2] Like fiction, drama and poetry, these songs

[1] The political importance of music in China is amply illustrated in music historiography from the earliest historical sources on music dating from the fourth to the second century B. C. E. These include the *Guo Yu* [*Narratives of State*], a fourth century compilation, the *Zhou Li* [*Rites of Zhou*], dating from the third century B. C. E, and by the early Han in the *Book of Rites* (*Liji*), the *Huainan Zi*, a miscellany compiled under the direction of Liu An, Prince of Huainan (178?-122 B. C. E.), *Book of Han* (*Hanshu*) and the *Chronicles of History* (*Shiji*). For a detailed discussion on the philosophical views of music by Confucius, Mencius and Xunzi and the *Book of Music* [*Yueji*], with translations into the vernacular and annotations see Ji Liankang (1983; 1980a). For discussions found in the *Huainan Zi* see Qin Yongzheng & Wei Li (1989: 25-27).). A recent study on Xun Zi and ritual music can be found in Cook (1997:1-38). While the literati's views on music —at least from what we read in the official histories—has largely been dictated within the framework of Confucianism, there are philosophical views which reject Confucian moralistic principles of music. These include the writings of Laozi, Mozi and Zhuangzi. Philosophical views by Zhuangzi and Laozi are found in Zheng Zuxiang (1996: 55-56). For a comparative study of early musical ideas of the Confucian and Taoist schools see Ye Chuanhan 'The Musico-Aesthetical Implications of "Dayin Xisheng" (translated by Xia Zukui), Guo Nai'an (1989: 42-56). On Zhuangzi see Wu Yuqing, 'The Idea of Zhuangzi's "Music of Heaven" (translated by Kenneth J. Dewoskin), (ibid: 57-76).

[2] This expression is taken form Frederick H. Tenbruck 'The Cultural Foundations of Society'. His comments on the role of intellectuals as agents of change are relevant to our discussion of reformers in the late Qing and early Republic. He writes: 'Significant or marked changes in life-styles and convictions mostly come about by movements in which the name and wake of some idea lead people

provided a template for diagnosing the ills of the present order, offering disparate solutions to 'saving the nation' (*jiuguo*) as foreign powers were ready to 'carve up China like a melon' (*guafen*) and the empire appeared to move ever closer to extinction (*wangguo*). School songs were not composed ostensibly to demonstrate the creativity and compositional skills of the composer or for his artistic expression. Judging these works on purely musical criteria and artistic expression without considering circumstances peculiar to the period in which they were written greatly distorts the aims and intentions of their creators.

To be sure, the lyrics and reception of these songs cannot be separated from the music. Even though we might want to stress the political and social dimensions of these songs, we cannot direct attention away from the importance of the music, which as Robert Walser has acutely observed 'enacts through patterns and gestures of sound a dramatic, episodic, dynamic experience, at once concrete and ephemeral'. (1993:40). With regard to school songs, it could be argued that the music is more important because through many of their declamatory phrases and march-like rhythms, a particular mood is evoked, enabling both performer and audience to share the same experience.[3] '[M]usical codes are the primary bearers of meaning', writes Walser, 'lyrics, like costumes and performers' physical motions, help direct and inflect the interpretation of meanings that are most powerfully delivered, those suggested by the music'(1993:40). In this respect, it could be argued that music further reinforced the political and social texts of school songs thereby allowing larger segments of Chinese society to gain access to the message of reform than the writings of any late Qing and early Republican reformers.

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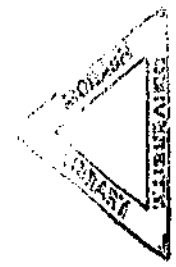
to associate or otherwise provide groups with new ideas and orientations. *Marked changes in values rarely occur without intellectual articulators*' (my emphasis). See Tenbruck (1989:32).

[3] Robert Walser's 'Rhythm, Rhyme, and Rhetoric in the Music of Public Enemy' (1995-193-194) and '*Beyond the vocals*: Towards the Analysis of Popular Music Discourses' (Chapter Two) in *Running With the Devil: Power, Gender and Madness in Heavy Metal* (1993) have been very influential in reinforcing my own attempts to articulate the importance of music *vis-à-vis* the text or lyrics. Apart from Walser's important contributions in articulating the crucial role of ' the music', Shepherd and Wicke have argued that musicology 'has been remarkably unsuccessful in putting forward concepts and theories capable of explaining the attraction of music for people in their everyday lives, and the

Although the word *xuetang* has a long history in the Chinese language,[4] it gained currency in the mid nineteenth century with the founding of the Foochow Naval School in 1866 (Borthwick, 1993:169n69). The term soon became synonymous with educational reform formulated in memorials and edicts. As well as the word *xuexiao* (school) reintroduced into modern Chinese from the Japanese (*gakkô*) [5] in the late nineteenth century and increasingly used from the early 1890s onwards to refer to European schools, the term *xuetang* was employed to refer to Chinese Western-style schools.[6] However, in 1912 the Ministry of Education officially changed the term *xuetang* to *xuexiao* and *jiandu* ('supervisor') and *tangzhang* (lit: the head of *xuetang*) became *xiaozhang* (Png, 1964:79). The word *yuege*, (lit: 'music and song') in contrast, can be traced back to at least the Han dynasty to denote songs accompanied by music and also served as an all-encompassing term for songs.[7] In the late Qing and early Republic, the primary meaning of *yuege* remained unchanged, but the word became inseparably linked to Chinese modern schools.[8]

Apart from *yuege*, the terms *changge* (lit: 'to sing songs') and *yinyue* also appeared in memorials and new school regulations in the early part of the century. Although the term



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power and influence it appears to have over them' 'The Problem of Affect and Meaning in Music' in *Music and Cultural Theory* (1997:7).

[4]In the latter part of Emperor Jing's reign in the Western Han (206 B.C.E.-24 A.D.) and the early reign of Guangwudi in the Eastern Han (25-220 A.D.), *xuetang* became associated with Wen Weng (?-?), a highly esteemed promoter of education in the Kingdom of Shu of the Three Kingdoms. An imperial edict issued by Emperor Guangwudi singled out the Kingdom of Shu as a model for education. Schools in the Kingdom of Shu and elsewhere became known as Wen Weng xuetang. See Galt (1951:229), *Cihai* (1979:1126) and *Hanyu Dacidian*, vol, 4 (1989:247).

[5] Masini (1993:210) states that the term *xuexiao* was already used by Mencius and employed by Guido Aleni in *Zhifang waiji* ['Records of the Places Outside the Jurisdiction of the Office of Geography'], Hangzhou 1623 and Fan Shouyi in his *Shenjianlu* ['My Observations'], ca. 1720 'to refer to the European school system'.

[6]The word *xuexiao* has a long history in the Chinese language. Masini (1993:211). Masini refers to these loans as 'graphic loans'. As Liu writes these 'graphic loans' referred to 'classical Chinese character compounds that were used by the Japanese to translate modern European words and were introduced into modern Chinese' (Liu, 1995:331). In Lobscheid's *English and Chinese Dictionary* (1867), the entry for 'school' includes the following: *shufang*; *shuguan*; *xueguan*; *xuefang*; *xuetang* and *xuexiao*.

[7] *Hanyu Dacidian* (Luo, Zhufeng, 1989: 1295). Judging from the references of the word in this dictionary, *yuege* was not an all-embracing term for any song, but referred to specific kinds of songs performed at the court.

[8] According to Li Quanmin (1989:776) the word gradually lost currency in the school system by the early 1920s and was replaced by music (*yinyue*).

changge had long been in common usage in both China and Japan, in the late nineteenth century, Chinese reformers borrowed the term from the Japanese to refer specifically to music classes (*yinyue ke*) in primary schools (Gu, Mingyuan, 1990:423; Xu, Shijia, 1997:40). In its Japanese context, the term *shôka* referred to singing as part of the elementary school curriculum as stipulated in the Regulations for Education promulgated in 1872 (Epstein, 1994:19) and was clearly intended as a tool for moral education. There are striking parallels between the emphasis on the moral content of school songs in the Japanese school system in the early 1870s and the importance of such songs as an ideological tool as stated in imperial Chinese edicts of the 1890s and in essays published in vernacular journals at the turn of the century. The Japanese employed songs within the school as a means of inculcating moral education and promoting social and political change in the wake of the Meiji Restoration. The Chinese in turn, borrowed the concept as part of their own reform program.

The emphasis on the moral and didactic use of these school songs is aptly illustrated by another term, *jiaoyu changge* ('educational songs') used in the title of a collection of songs by Zeng Zhimin in 1904 and used by Li Shutong as a subheading in his *Little Magazine of Music* [*Yinyue xiao zazhi*] (1906). In two songs introduced as 'educational songs', Li uses *jiaoyu changge* specifically to alert readers to the didactic character of two songs—My Country' and 'Spring Carnival Race'.

Clearly, Li's use of the term 'educational songs' emphasised the importance of text and music as a means of promoting and propagating social and political change which extended far beyond the confines of the school classroom. In this context, the term school songs is misleading insofar as it suggests that they were only sung within China's modern schools. Initially intended for use within the classroom to promote and inculcate various political, social and educational goals, performed by students in unison (*qichang*) with or without musical accompaniment, they were increasingly used at a number of public venues to express a number of national concerns of the time such as the threat of foreign aggression,

the need for patriotism and the urgent task of building a modern nation. In many respects, they were the harbinger of 'songs for the masses' (*qunzhong gequ*) and 'revolutionary songs' (*geming gequ*).

Many of the concerns for political and social change among reformers in the late Qing and early Republican periods demonstrated a strong inclination to generate something new and innovative that would catapult China into the modern world. This often manifested itself in terms of an awakening, suggesting that there were agitated not passive voices from disparate ideological stances expounding solutions to the question of Chinese culture and modernity. The notion of 'waking up' as Fitzgerald writes:

> resonated nicely with the co-discovery of the self and the nation because both were conceived as awake, or more specifically self-conscious. In fact the awakening of the self supplied the metaphor for the awakening of the nation...The metaphors for the awakened nation were often as not heroic members of the animal kingdom: the Chinese nation was frequently likened to an awakened lion, tiger and, sometimes, dragon, which had been rudely awakened from its peaceful sleep to find its progeny under threat.[9]

The awakening of the self and the nation implied a shared aspiration among many Chinese intellectuals to usher in the dawn of a new era (*xin shidai*) . What exactly was "old" and "new" was by no means a closed issue. With regard to music, a reform-minded composer did not necessarily produce innovative works, and by the same token, a composer working within the confines of the Chinese musical tradition might produce something that is considered radical. What school song "composers" such as Zeng Zhimin and Li Shutong demonstrated in their writings and musical works was that the "old" and the "new" were complementary qualities rather than conflicting polarities. Indeed, predating the efforts of May Fourth radicals who 'conceived the past as a monolithic barrier to progress',[10] late

[9] John Fitzgerald, 'The Invention of the Modern Chinese Self' (1993:32). Elsewhere Fitzgerald writes that in the early Republic '[i]nterests groups, study societies, and political factions of many different persuasions impressed the word "awakening" on their mastheads'. (1996:30).
[10] Theodore Huters, 'Ideologies of Realism in Modern China: The Hard Imperatives of Imported Theory' (1993:169n7).

Qing reformers invariably referred to this period (ca. 1890-1911) as a 'transitional period' (*guodu shidai*).[11]

This 'transitional period' saw the emergence of many professional groups of political reformers who responded to a number of needs peculiar to this period. In an essay published in *Qingyibao* in June 1901, Liang Qichao (1873-1829) compared the transitional period to the transformation of the primordial fish (*kun*) in the Northern Ocean to a roc (*peng*), a bird of enormous size who soars into the sky to a height of ninety thousand *li* and then flies for six months to the Southern Ocean.[12] In this story, originally from Zhuangzi (Book One, 'Wandering At Ease' [*Xiao Yaoyou*]), the roc spreads its gargantuan wings across the sky and contrasts its enlarged perspective of the world with the small perspectives of the cicada and turtledove.[13] For Liang, China's transition into the "modern" world was like the fish *kun* changing itself into the giant bird *peng*. In the process, China would enlarge its own "restricted" and "small" perspective of the world and become a nation among other foreign countries. During this transitional period, Liang emphasised the need for using fiction, drama, poetry and music to promote the goals of reform and to strengthen China through the creation of a modern culture. Many of the political reformers in this transitional period were trained in the Confucian classics and had studied abroad in Japan. They were actively involved in organising study societies, newspapers and journals both in Japan and at home which provided a lobby for discussing and disseminating a wide range of political and social messages. Many music reform policies that began as blueprints to be submitted to societies for deliberation ended up published in political journals and magazines. It is regrettable,

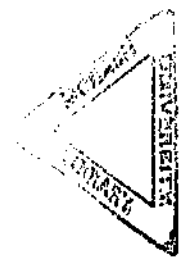
[11] The term *guodu shidai* came into modern Chinese from the Japanese *katoki* which was used by Japanese intellectuals to describe the period of modernisation on the wake of the Meiji Restoration. See Willcock (1995:2). Liang Qichao used the term as early as 1901 in an essay entitled "Guodu shidailun" (On the Transitional Period). See Li Huaxing and Wu Jiaxun (1984:166-171). Martin (1973:206) writes that Liang's essay 'depict[ed] the whole of Chinese society as a transformation after several thousand years of stagnation.'

[12] "On the Transitional Period" (*Guodu shidailun*). Quoted in Li Huaxing & Wu Jiaxun (1984:167).

[13] See 'Enjoyment in Untroubled Ease' [*Xiao Yaoyou*]. See James Legge, *Tao Te Ching and the Writings of Chuang Tzu* (1891:212-214). See also Brian Lundberg 'A Meditation on Friendship' in Roger T. Ames (ed.), *Wandering At Ease in the Zhuangzi* (1998:214).

however, that much of the music reform policies published in journals and magazines did little more than reiterate in the broadest terms the significant role of study societies and their proposals for music reform. What music policies were discussed and implemented, how closely, if at all, members communicated with teachers (foreign or Chinese) at new schools and whether music societies had their own in-house newsletters or magazines remains largely unknown.

Participation in political and social reform was initially confined to those who could read and write (i.e. the educated elite), and their disparate voices contributed immensely to the dissemination of political and social ideas in the late Qing and early Republic. With access to a growing number of newspapers and journals and a 'new style of writing' (*xin wenti*) championed by Liang Qichao in his journalism,[14]Chinese intellectuals had unprecedented opportunities to promote and debate issues of reform and exercise influence on a reading public preoccupied with the country's destiny. Thus, fiction, poetry, drama and music in this period became tools that could galvanise its citizens into political action. "Art for art's sake" had no place for these reformers; the relevance of pursuing literature and the arts was not a leisurely pastime for the cultivation of a small educated elite, but as a medium by which reformers could promote, instil and inculcate various political and social goals.[15]



[14]This 'new style of writing' was an attempt to replace the archaic Tongzheng style of writing prevalent in Qing documents and the press with a vernacular style called *baihua* ('plain language'). As De Francis has observed the term *baihua* came 'to represent a variety of substyles that can be defined by the degree to which they have incorporated elements from classical Chinese on the one hand and everyday speech on the other. Apart from some continuation of writing in the purely classical style...there is often considerable incorporation of classical elements—stereotyped phrases, truncated terms, even classical constructions—into what is ostensibly a vernacular piece of writing '. (1984:244).

[15] This is not to suggest that reformers were unanimous in Liang's political appropriation of the "arts". Wang Guowei, for instance, vociferously rejected the politicization of literature as a tool to promote various social and political goals. In his "Wenxue xiaoyan" he called literature 'a playful enterprise' and Liang's politicised literature as 'bread and butter literature' See "Wenxue xiaoyan"(Incidental Remarks on Literature), trans. by Kam-Ming Wong in Denton (1996:90-95). David Der-wei Wang has argued that the utilitarian function of fiction as proposed by Liang was frowned upon by 'late Qing elite writers'. He writes: '[D]espite the lip service paid to fiction's "power of incalculable magnitude", late Qing elite writers never concealed their condescending attitude toward it. They endorse fiction only insofar as it changes the mentality of the common folk' (1997:24). What some Chinese intellectuals thought of Liang's didactic role of fiction recalls the cicada and turtledove laughing at the giant bird *peng* soaring 90,000 *li* into the sky in the aforementioned story from Zhuangzi 'Wandering

Many educators and reformers discussed the relevance of music and its efficacy in moulding the character of the Chinese people. This group included a number of influential reformers who envisaged music as part of their reform program such as Liang Qichao, Kang Youwei (1858-1927), Luo Zhenyu (1866-1940) and Wang Guowei (1877-1927). Other reformers who introduced new ideas and approaches and contributed to lively debates on music reform included Fei Shi (1884-1959), an influential figure in introducing the Japanese school music system to China at the turn of the century; Tang Hualong (1874-1918), a leading proponent in establishing a constitutional monarch in China and equally vocal in emulating the Japanese school music system; Li Jianhong (1875-1926), who enrolled at the Toyko School of Music in 1904 and promoted music reform in journals based in Tokyo; Xiao Youmei (1884-1940), a music educator and composer who had studied piano and singing in Japan and later continued his studies in Germany in the early years of the Republic; Shen Xingong (1870-1947), founder of the Music Study Society (*Yinyue Jiangxihui*) in Toyko in 1902; Zeng Zhimin (1879-1929), an active member of this Society as well as a prolific writer on music reform and translator; and finally, Li Shutong (1880-1942), a writer, painter, calligrapher, poet, actor, songwriter and influential music educator who became a Buddhist cleric in 1918 adopting the name *Hongyi fashi* (The Dharma Master Hongyi). While these individuals wrote on music reform and some such as Li Jianhong wrote school songs, Shen Xingong, Zeng Zhimin and Li Shutong loom large in the literature on school songs and have virtually become synonymous with the genre.

To be sure, there were many other educators and reformers attached to new Western-type schools (*xuetang*) and Christian colleges, as well as indigenous institutions such as

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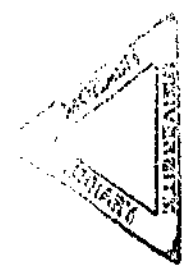
at Ease'. 'I fly when I am inspired, and stop when I collide with the elm tree. Often I merely fall to the ground, not being able to reach a branch. What would anyone travel 90,000 miles to the south for?' (Quoted in William A. Callahan ''Cook Ding's Life on the Whetstone' in Roger T. Ames (ed.), *Wandering at Ease in the Zhuangzi* (1998:178). While Liang used the story of the giant bird in describing China's transition, I have found no references of *peng* being used by other reformers (satirically or otherwise) as metonymy for Liang Qichao. It should be noted that there were clearly Chinese intellectuals who did not fit neatly into either an overt politicization of the arts or pursuing the "art for art's sake" paradigm.

academies (*shuyuan*), community schools (*shexue*) or charity schools (*yixue*) and private academies (*sishu*) who played an important part in music reform in the late Qing and early Republican period. Here missionary educators, foreign teachers and advisers, both from the West and Japan played key roles in introducing Western music into China. However, their efforts and contributions were never fully acknowledged despite the significant influence of missionaries such as John Fryer, Ernst Faber and Timothy Richard in introducing Western ideas and concepts into China and the many Chinese reformers who sought them out for help and guidance (Borthwick, 1983:46). Although the indirect influences from Protestant hymns and foreign melodies is amply illustrated in many school song compositions, these sources of musical inspiration have tended to be concealed. Writing in his preface to the *Anthology of National Songs* in 1905, Li Shutong, for example, acknowledged the contributions of Zeng Zhimin and Shen Xingong for 'introducing Western music into China' (quoted in Lin Ziqing, 1995:35). The missionary influence, as noted in the Preface, has also been downplayed by contemporary Chinese music scholars. The extent to which Shen Xingong's musical ideas and inspiration were derived from his time teaching at St. John's University in Shanghai in the mid to late 1890s where music was an important part of extra-curricula activities, remains unclear in accounts of his life.



The compositional processes in writing school songs involved either 'setting words to an existing tune' called *tianci* (lit: 'to fill in words') or writing both the lyrics (*zuoci*) and the song (*zuoqu*; *zuoge*). The setting of words to pre-existing melodies (*jiuqu tianci*) has a long history in Chinese vocal music. The process has not only been employed in traditional narrative music, but in this century has continued to be widely practised in 'songs of the masses' and is prominent in Chinese pop and rock music.[16]

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[16]Pop(ular) music in Chinese is rendered as either *liuxing yinyue* and/or *tongsu yinyue*. While these two genres are often used interchangeably by fans, the music industry, music critics and others, distinctions are clearly made. Rock music in China is referred to as *yaogun*, *yaogunyue* (terms also used to refer to rock music West).

The term composition in its most literal sense simply means 'the action of putting together or combining'[17] and it is appropriate to think of this definition when considering the compositional processes of school song songwriters. For reformers such as Zeng Zhimin, Shen Xingong and Li Shutong who all studied music in Japan and demonstrated a competent understanding of the basic materials of music theory, their reliance on *tianci* was to all intents and purposes deliberate and highlighted the social and political dimensions of the genre. Whether it be an original composition or an arrangement of a tune, the finished product did not result in complex harmonic and rhythmic complexities, but in the combination of appropriate lyrics and music for the purposes of creating a particular mood. In other words, the success of a school song was measured by the extent to which political and social goals were effectively dramatised through the text and the music which embodied for many, the collective dreams of a nation in the making.

The sources of pre-existing tunes were taken from either Western music—many of them gleaned from Japanese songbooks that based much of their tunes on Western sources—as well as traditional Chinese folk music. Some of these tunes, particularly if they became popular, were set to a number of different texts by different authors, and in some cases, some tunes were set to different texts by the same author (Luo, 1995:25). Many of these songs have their provenance in Christian hymns that Protestant missionaries brought to China in the mid to late nineteenth century. Hymns were recognised by these missionaries as an important instrument of proselytization for teaching Christian ideals and the Gospel. In the five treaty ports of Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningbo and Shanghai, men such as Rev. W.C. Burns, the first missionary sent by the Presbyterian Church of England, R.S. Macklay of the American Methodist Society, C.Hartwell of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, R.H. Graves and M.W. Farham laboured untiringly to produce hymn books in Chinese dialects. One of the first standard Chinese hymn books was compiled by J.

[17] Entry for 'composition' in *Oxford English Dictionary* (second edition, vol. III), Oxford: Clarendon Press (1989:624).

L. Nevius, published in Shanghai in 1862 entitled *Songs of Praise to the True God* [*Songyang zhenshen ge*], (Sheng, 1964:84). As well as including Western hymns, missionaries also incorporated Chinese folk songs and tunes built on a pentatonic scale. [18]

Both Protestant missionaries and reform-minded Chinese in the late Qing and early Republic were interested in songs insofar as they were able to use them to promote and further their own respective goals. Protestant missionaries drew upon a large number of sources: indigenous hymns based on ancient tunes, folk songs, Buddhist chants or original compositions by Christians, both Chinese and foreign, as well as hymns incorporating the music of a particular region or locality that could be used to win adherents and spread the Gospel. Fitting new religious lyrics to popular tunes did not simply advertise the new faith. The compositional process gave Protestant missionaries and their Chinese converts the license to become songwriters by turning pre-existing songs into a powerful means of disseminating their religious faith. Many Protestant hymns, in turn, were borrowed by school song songwriters who also turned songwriting into a powerful means to promote and instil various political and social goals.

[18] The five-note scale *kung*, *shang*, *jiao*, *zhi* and *yu* in Chinese music can be traced back to antiquity, are intimately associated with cosmological foundations of the universe. The five notes correlated with the Five Elements (water, fire, wood, metal and earth). *Gong* represented earth, *shang* (metal), *jiao* (wood), *zhi* (fire) and *yu* (water). These five pitches also had 'symbolical associations'. See Needham (1962:157). While these five pitches in ritual music had 'symbolism' and were intimately bound up with a ruler who sought to be in harmony or 'in tune' with the cosmos, it is grave error to assume that all Chinese music is pentatonic. Hexatonic and heptatonic scales also have a long tradition in China. See Needham (1962:163-176); He Luding (1983:132-154); Yang Yinliu (1986:305-319) and Rong Shisheng (1998:123-129). Although many "traditional" and "folk" European melodies are anhemitonic pentatonic, that is, a five-note scale with no semitones, it is this scale which in often characteristically dubbed by western listeners as "exotic", "Asian", "Oriental". Pentatonism has been explored by many Western art music composers such as Puccini, Debussy and Ravel and in popular music genres as well. In China in the late nineteenth century, many hymn books incorporated pentatonic Chinese tunes (eg: Timothy Richard's *Little Hymn Book* [*Xiao Shipu*, 1885]) not in the pursuit of an "oriental" flavour, but to find 'simple tunes which would be readily assimilated by a Chinese congregation' (Louise S. Hammond , *Chinese Recorder*, March 1920). Quoted in Sheng (1964:396). In one hymn book simply titled *Pentatonic Tune Book* compiled by Mrs. Couling of the English Baptist Mission in Shandong Province in the mid 1890s , well-known Western tunes were arranged by omitting the fourth and seventh degrees of the scale. One such tune was 'Silent Night'. Sheng argues that the reason behind this practice and the inclusion of Chinese tunes in Christian hymns 'was purely a matter of expediency, not an appreciation of Chinese culture.' (1964:397).

In the absence of a large and representative compilation of school songbooks and hymnals in the late nineteenth century and the early years of the Republic, it is impossible to ascertain the extent to which song sources drew upon, overlapped and complemented each other. However, from Qian Renkang's study of music sources of Li Shutong's songs and from a selective list of indigenous hymn from Chinese hymnals published prior to *Hymns of Universal Praise* (1936) found in Sheng (1964:534-557), we know that the borrowing of tunes did take place. We have some idea of how school song songwriters became acquainted with Western tunes through a number of channels including contact with foreigners and missionaries in China, copies of songbooks that circulated among Chinese readers and materials provided by Chinese who had spent time overseas either as students or working in diplomatic missions. No one, however, knows the total number of school songbooks that were published and circulated in schools and elsewhere at the turn of the century and in the early years of the Republic. We also know very little of the distribution networks of these songs. Apart from the circulation of published songbooks and anthologies that could have many readers—Christians converts, "progressive" scholars among them—were song sheets or song booklets available at public rallies and other public assemblies? Were they simply passed around or sold at such venues? Were they printed with the music as well? If so, how many could actually read music?

The ready availability of source material facilitated the production of school songs since there were many pre-existing music forms to select from in setting new reform-minded lyrics. While many school songs extracted sections (*duanluo*) from working songs (*haozi*) and *shan'ge* (lit: 'mountain songs'), they were not necessarily appropriate for the school classroom (Luo Chuankai (1995:26). Many involved in setting texts to pre-existing tunes were not adequately equipped for the task and Zeng Zhimin and other music reformers were critical of Chinese who were 'cannibalising' both the music and text in the process. This was also a major concern for Protestant missionaries as well. Discussions and debates became a

regular feature in the *Chinese Recorder* from the early 1890s and 'prescriptions' on writing hymns often appeared in the Preface of hymnals. For school song songwriters, the task of a competent text-setter included among other things, the skill to express proper rhythm, rhyme and phrasing. In other words, the aim was to combine melodic eloquence with soul-stirring texts. According to Luo (1995:26) some of the early school songs that successfully complemented pre-existing melodies and text include Shen Xingong's text setting of 'Jasmine' (*Molihua*) renamed 'The Butterfly and the Swallow' (*Die he Yan*) and Li Shutong's setting of the tune *Laoliuban* renamed 'Ancestral Land' (*Zuguo*).

A school song songwriter was foremost a reformer and educator whose goals and aims were not necessarily motivated by artistic or musical excellence, but generated by perceived political and social priorities. Many were influenced by prominent reformers at the turn of the century such as Liang Qichao and others who wanted to use fiction, drama and music to reform Chinese society. These reformers were not solely engaged in writing songs (or professionally trained) and were often involved in numerous political activities leaving little time for improving the artistic quality of their works. Xu Changhui refers to these reformers as 'school song workers' (*yuegede gongzuozhe*) because they were required not only to 'write new compositions and set new texts to pre-existing melodies, but also play the piano or reed organ and be able to teach as well.' (Xu and Shen, 1988: 1). Zhang Jingwei (1985b:20) refers to Zeng Zhimin ,Shen Xingong and Li Shutong as 'school song representative figures'. Sun and Zhou (1993:404) call them 'music educators' (*yinyue jiaoyujia*). Shen Qia (1994:1) describes Shen Xingong as a 'pioneer of contemporary Chinese music'. Chen Bingyi (1991:87) refers to Shen Xingong as simply a 'writer' (*zuozhe*) of "school songs" and a 'music editor' (*yinyue bianji*).[19] In contrast, Liang Mingyue (1985:139) refers to Zeng Zhimin, Shen Xingong and Li Shutong. in English as 'Chinese composers' while Su Zheng calls them 'arranger-composers' (1997:96). How do we best define those who engage in the process of *tianci*? Are they composers, arrangers, editors,

songwriters, 'music designers'[20] or as Liang Minyue calls the process 're-compositional craftsmanship'? (1985:13). As most school song compositions dealt with in this study involve setting words to pre-existing tunes, I use the word songwriter to denote reformers who set new or translated texts to pre-existing tunes, composed new tunes set to Chinese or translated texts or composed both new texts and new melodies.

[19] Personal communication, Shenyang Conservatory of Music, December 1998.

[20] In a study of Hakka zither melodies in Cantonese operas (1994:111-144) Siuwah Yu employs a Chinese term 'music designing' (*yinyue sheji*) to denote the process of setting pre-existing tunes. For Yu, this term designates more than simply matching text and tune. 'The music designer' is not a composer in the Western sense of the word, but he does more than arrange or edit pre-existing musical materials. He elaborates, adapts and reorganises them into "new music". The music becomes the designer's creative expression, projecting his cultural, linguistic and personal idiosyncrasies' (1994:134).

II.

The (Re)introduction of Western Music During the Late Qing Dynasty

In the mid-nineteenth century, the increasing presence of foreign traders, missionaries and educators in treaty ports such as Shanghai played a crucial part in the dissemination of Western music in China, producing a powerful musical synergy with Chinese music traditions. Both Western music (eg. Protestant hymns, tunes from Western opera, children's songs and marching tunes) and Chinese traditional folk tunes played a major role in shaping the development of a school song movement in Shanghai and elsewhere in the late Qing and early Republic.

This chapter will examine the (re)introduction of Western music during the late Qing. Before proceeding, however, it will be useful to briefly outline major developments in vocal genres in Chinese music in the mid to late nineteenth century.

(Regional) Opera

While a number of regional opera genres developed and flourished during the Qing such as *Chuanju* (Sichuan opera), *Xiangju* (Hunan opera), *Qinqiang* (Shaanxi opera), *Yiyangqiang* (a regional opera originating in Yiyang, Jiangxi province) and *Haiyanqiang* (a regional opera which takes its name from Haiyan in Zhejiang province) *kunqu* and Peking opera (*jingxi*; *jingju*) eventually became the most popular. The spread and development of *kunqu*--which takes its name from Kunshan in Jiangsu Province--became virtually synonymous with the dramatist Wei Liangfu (c.1502-1583).[1] Apart from his important contribution to *kunqu*, he was also an accomplished opera singer, specialising in singing female roles. Wei also authored two works on the art of singing: *Nanci yinzheng* [*Correct Guide to Southern Ci*] and *Qulü* [*Rules of Singing*] (Fu Xueyi, 1983:413). Ironically, in time *kunqu* began to lose ground to a variety of dramatic forms, due in no small way to its literati status. Though its popularity began to decline by the

eighteenth century, the fatal blow to *kunqu* came during the Taiping Rebellion, which wreaked havoc in Kunshan and Suzhou, the home of *kunqu* (Doar, 1982:177). The devastation was of such magnitude that *kunqu* never really recovered from the loss (Zung: 1937:65), the last troupes disbanding just before the collapse of the Qing dynasty in 1911.[2] Peking opera, in contrast, has left an indelible stamp on both the life of ordinary Chinese as well as China's elite, especially since the early nineteenth century. In 1790, an Anqing Opera Troupe (*Sanqing*) went to Beijing to perform for Qianlong's eightieth birthday. Three other well-known troupes soon followed--:*Sixi*, *Chuntai* and *Hechun* (Pan,1995:8). After the imperial birthday celebrations, these four Anhui acting companies (*Sida huiban*) remained in the capital and began to perform to local audiences. They subsequently introduced to Beijing two styles that formed the basis of Peking opera melodies: *erhuang* and *xipi*, collectively termed *pihuang*. As Peking opera received imperial patronage in the capital, it became known as 'capital opera' (*jingju*), and soon became popular in other parts of the country.

Narrative Songs

A number of important narrative genres come under the rubric of *shuochang* (lit: "speech song"), which is generally translated into English as 'storytelling'. The term *quyi* is also used to denote a wide variety of folk art forms including ballad singing, storytelling, comic dialogues and clapper talks (Rees, 1991: 88).[3] A number of narrative genres popular in the 1850s, such as the northern *guci* ("drum narratives"), had their antecedents in Song and Yuan *guci* and *cihua* genres. The heyday of *shuochang* as a popular vocal genre is often said to have

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[1] Little is known of Wei. For a brief biographical sketch see Fu Xieyi, 1983:413). Information on Wei in English is found in Wei Liangfu in Goodrich & Fang (1976:1462-1463) and Yung (1989:4).

[2] In the early 1920s, wealthy families in Suzhou injected large amounts of money towards building a Kunqu Renaissance Institute to train young boys. See Zung, (1937:65).

[3] See the entry for *quyi* in *Zhongguo Dabaike Quanshu* (1983: 12-14) for an ocean of examples. Recent research on narrative music in English can be found in Rees (1991: 88-96)) and Tsao Pen-yeh (1989: 129-151). Additional recent research examines narrative genres in specific localities Rebollo-Sborgi (1994: 9-52), Stock (1996:72-76) and inter-genre relationships Witzleben (1995:18-19).

begun during the Yuan Dynasty (1260-1367) , but we do know that narrative genres existed prior to this period. (Idema & West, 1982:1-9). One such genre, the *bianwen* (lit: "modified style"), used texts of Buddhist stories during the Tang Dynasty. The subject matter of *bianwen* was not always purely religious and often dealt with 'flagrantly lewd and indecorous matters' (Tao-Ching hsu 1989: 227) as well as with historical and political events of the day (Dolby, 1993:15-17; Zheng, 1996:95; Børdahl, 1996:10-11). Other popular northern vocal genres the late Qing include *zidishu*, a drum narrative among the sons and younger brothers of Manchu Bannerman (*baqi zidi*) accompanied by the *bajiaogu* (lit: 'eight corner drum'), *jingyun dagu* (Beijing drum singing) and *dagu* (lit: "big drum") (Speshnev, 1999:88-89).

Folk Songs

Folk songs during the mid to late nineteenth century became increasingly politicized and an important vehicle for disseminating and propagating political and social change. Examples taken from Wu and Liu (1983); Wang Yuhe (1985) and Sun and Zhou (1993) reflect the impact of foreign aggression in the wake of the Opium War and ideological bonds forged during the Taiping Rebellion. Wang Yuhe (1985:5) has called these songs 'new folk songs' (*xin minge*) and includes such titles as 'Opium Song' (*Yapian qu*), 'Growing Opium' (*Zhong Dayan*), 'Suffering Miners' (*Kuanggong ku*), 'The Hong Xiuquan Uprising' (*Hong Xiuquan Qiyi*) and 'Crush the Foreign Devils (*Da yangguizi*).[4]

A number of labels are used to name these songs—"revolutionary", "patriotic", "songs of the masses"—but how they are discursively defined is a task fraught with difficulties. 'New' (*xin*) in this context is often defined and interpreted as a politically-laden term to which we shall return later. Suffice it is to say that in the late Qing and early Republican Period, the term has

[4] It is interesting to note that Protestant missionaries and their Chinese assistants also produced politically conscious tunes in Chinese. In *Sacred Songs With Tunes* issued by the American Board Mission, Foochow College Press in 1906 tunes include 'Song of Breaking Off the Opium' and 'Song of Breaking Off the Liquor'. See Sheng (1964:134-135).

been employed across different discourses as a metaphor for "reform".[5] In an era predating radios, television sets and newsreels, folk songs were especially influential. While the periodical press was one of the most effective means of disseminating ideas and building popular or mass support, the anonymity of folk songs and their means of oral transmission made them an ideal vehicle of protest and resistance.[6]

The Influx of Western Music

There is ample evidence that music performances of Western music were extensive in the late Qing, especially in Shanghai. The Shanghai newspaper *Shenbao* founded in 1872 regularly featured reviews and announcements of Western music performances (Tao, 1994: 189-191). On 22 November 1872, for example, the *Shenbao* reported that at a racing event foreigners who placed bets on competitors were spurred on by the presence of a band of naval musicians (Tao,1994: 189). On 25 June 1874, the same paper reported that a band could be heard after nine o'clock in the evening in summer along the Bund where foreigners gathered in garden pavilions to enjoy the cool summer breeze (Tao, 1994:190). Music was an important adjunct to both public and private events organised by foreigners. In addition to naval bands attached to foreign warships, there were also Western opera performances, music to accompany silent movies (*wusheng dianying*), as well as Western-style concerts organised and patronised by Shanghai's compradores, 'music brokers' (*yinyue qianke*), as Tao calls them, and a growing urban middle class.[7] Further evidence of the growing presence of Western music can be found in the *Touchstone Studio Pictorial* [*Dianshizhai Huabao*] that began publication in Shanghai in early

[5] In the late Qing we see the term used in areas including education, music, theatre, literature, law and government, and as a shorthand for "new reforms". See Reynolds (1993:14). It was also staple May Fourth Movement rhetoric and indispensable during the War of Resistance against Japan.

[6] It is well known that erstwhile Chinese emperors and their agents of social discipline and repression have kept a watchful eye for subterfuge and 'delights in subversion' in the written form, as found in historical treatises and commentaries of the literati. But as James C. Scott has pointed out 'oral traditions' (and here we can include folk song traditions), 'due simply to their means of transmission, offer a kind of seclusion, control and even anonymity that make them ideal vehicles for cultural resistance' Scott (1990:160).

May 1884. An illustration entitled 'Selling the Savage Man's Head' [*Mai yeren tou*] shows three Americans performing a magic show. Two men, one sitting down at a dulcimer with two hammers poised, and the other standing directly opposite him beating a drum, attract curious onlookers as they gaze at a large head whose body is hidden from view with a red cloth [4.1].[8] Another illustration entitled 'Western music Greets the Gods' [*Xiyue huanshen*] shows a band of Chinese musicians hired by a Cantonese businessman marching to the Tianhou Palace during the Double Ninth Festival [4.2].[9]

The influx of Western music in the late Qing can be divided into three categories: Christian music, military music and school songs. It is probably no accident that these categories were dominant in Japan during the Meiji period (Komiya, 1969: 451-458, Malm, 1971:259-274). The spread of Western music in China in the wake of the Opium Wars was not a conscious effort to assimilate Western music into indigenous musical resources, but a situation that was thrusted upon China, and in many respects, an inevitable outcome of the growth of European communities in the treaty ports. How then, was the impact of Western music refracted throughout China? Stated briefly, the spread of Western music in the late Qing was motivated by a religious message, by the formation of Chinese army bands and the introduction of marching songs; and by Western music employed in the service of education.

Christian music

Musical contributions and influences of foreign Christian missionaries can be dated, as nearly as any significant event can be, to 700 A.D., when the earliest Nestorian Christians went to China.[10] It was not until the mid-nineteenth century that Western music began to exert its

[7] Tao (1994:191), On this point see Kraus 'The Musical Culture of China's Urban Middle Class' in *Pianos and Politics in China* (1989:23-26).
[8] *Dianshizhai huabao*, Fang Shi (1978:154), vol.. 1.
[9] *Dianshizhai huabao*, Fang Shi (1978: 134), vol. 6.
[10] Nestorianism enjoyed considerable patronage under Tai Zong and Gao Zong during the early Tang dynasty, but their religious activities suffered a huge blow after an interdiction issued by Wu Zong in 845

influence as missionaries progressively established themselves in China. Kraus writes that in the wake of the Opium War of 1842 'thousands of missionaries came to China with pianos for thumping out hymns to save heathen souls' (1989:4). Their efforts to convert the Chinese intensified following the Treaty of Tianjin in 1858, which included among other things, 'the freedom of movement in China for missionaries, Catholic and Protestant alike' (Hsu 1970:266). This followed with the establishment of schools, colleges and universities. From 1876 to 1889 the number of Chinese students studying at Protestant schools and colleges grew from 5,675 to 16,836 (Guen, 1988:138). These new Western style institutions were called schools (*xuetang*) as opposed to traditional academies (*shuyuan*).[11] Mission schools were established in coastal cities such as Ningbo, Xiamen, Guangzhou and Shantou. Mission college and universities also appeared, the first, St John's University in Shanghai, was founded in 1879 (Shen, 1996:312).[12]

Hymn Books and Hymnology

While early missionary periodicals were not widely read in China (Nathan, 1985:135), the hymn book, in marked contrast, became a significant instrument of proselytization. In an essay delivered at the General Conference of Protestant Missionaries of China in Shanghai, May

A.D. . Nestorian missions soon vanished, but they left behind, among other things, documents, numerous relics including a monument erected in 781 A.D and three Christian hymns. One of these hymns----*Daqin jingjiao sanwei meng du zan* —was discovered by Professor Paul Pelliot in 1907-1908 'in the *Qianfodong* (Thousand Buddha Caves) in Dunhuang 'contained in a little roll, torn into three pieces, yet complete' (Sheng, 1964:62). The authorship of this hymn is attributed to two figures—a Bishop Cyriacus, head of an Nestorian Mission that went to China in 732 A. D. and a monk called Jing Jing (ibid:63). According to Sheng, this hymn is housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (ibid:62n.4). The other two hymns are : *Daqin jingjiao dasheng tongzhen guifa zan* and the *Jiu jie zhengdao jingzhou*. See Tao (1994: 16-18) for the texts of all three hymns. For a history of missionaries from Nestorian Christians in the Tang Dynasty to missionaries in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries see Broomhall 'Introduction' (1907:1-43), Sheng (1964:26-32) and Latourette (1970:51-60). The subject is given full length treatment in Chiu, Peter Chung-hang (1987), *A Historical Study of Nestorian Christianity in the Tang Dynasty A.D. 635-845*.

[11] These "study halls" date back as early as the Tang Dynasty. Marianne Bastid writes that during the Tang, *shuyuan* 'designated a library where books were kept or restored and where scholars could come to read' (1988:230).

[12] An excellent introduction to higher education institutions in China founded by Protestant missionaries 1850-1950 can be found in Lutz (1971).

1877, the Reverend C. Goodrich stated that the Hymn Book was as important as the Bible.[13] However, by the 1877 Conference, there was already a flood of hymn books published in China. A total of at least sixty-three hymnbooks were published in Chinese by Protestant missions alone between 1810 and 1875. Of these hymn books, twenty-six were in standard Chinese, and thirty-seven published in eleven dialects.[14] Despite the plethora of hymn books, Goodrich complained that 'most of our standard hymns have a larger wardrobe than a Saratoga belle, even in Mandarin speaking districts' (Baldwin, 1878:206). Similar sentiments were echoed by Goodrich in another paper written around the same time titled 'Chinese Hymnology': 'What, now, is the cause of endless multiplication of hymn-books in China, a process that seems to go on without end?'[15] Such concerns were expressed again and again in missionary journals in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. As one example, in *The Chinese Recorder* September 1895, a writer with the initials A. P .P. wrote:

> Of the making of many [hymn] books there is no end. Each mission finds it necessary to have one to meet its own peculiar requirements, and often single stations or individual missionaries think there is nothing in existence that just suits their idea of what a hymn

[13] 'Importance of a Vernacular Christian Literature, with Special Reference to the Mandarin', *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries in China* (Yates, et. al, 1878: 215).

[14] Rev. S.L. Baldwin 'Christian Literature--What has been done and what is needed', (Yates, et.al, 1878:206). A selective list of hymn books can be found in Wylie (1967). On hymn books see also Latourette (1929: 443). In a list of Protestant translations and compilations between 1810-1867 Tseun (1960:311) cites 18 hymn books in 'literary style' and 21 in 'various dialects'. Tseun's has gleaned this list from Wylie (1967). An extensive but by no means complete list of hymn books and hymns culled from the *CR* in the late Qing and early Republican Period can be found in Naka (1994:47-49). A list of books printed in Canton and Malacca (Medhurst, 1838:576-577) there includes two hymn book by Morrison. The first simply known as 'Hymn Book' in English consisted of 27 pages, printing 500 copies between 1818-22. According to Sheng (1964:72), who rendered the Chinese title *Yangxin shenshi* as *Sacred Odes to Nourish the Mind*, 'a total of 300 copies were printed...including a short preface and thirty hymns'. 'Most of them were originally prose translations', Sheng continues, 'made by Morrison from the *Scottish Psalter* from Watt's hymns, and from the *Olney* hymns by Cowper and Newton'. The second hymnbook in the aforementioned list is 'New Hymn Book' consisted of 50 pages, printing 1000 copies in 1824. Sheng (ibid: 487-500) lists 81 hymn books published in Chinese for the period 1810-1875. According to Chang Chi-jen (1983:15-16) only three hymn books were published in Chinese from 1877 to 1910. The first was *Hymns to Praise the Lord* edited by H. Blodget and C. Goodrich, published in Beijing in 1877. The second published in 1905 in Hankou was also called *Hymns to Praise the Lord* and the third edited by Dor Yu entitled *Hymns of Reviving* was published in Shanghai in 1915. See 'The Development of Chinese Music Before 1937'.

[15] 'Chinese Hymnology', *CR* (1877:221).

> book ought to be. So they go to work and make one which, whatever other qualifications it might possess, has at least the one merit of being suitable for the use of the man or men that made it. But while much of the time and money spent in the publication of multitudinous hymn books would appear to be wasted, yet in the long run it will be found that the waste is more apparent than real. A large amount of work must be done just at this point, so that the growing Church of China may get the best hymns that it is possible to produce. Much of the work that is now being done will necessarily be lost. But in the sifting process that is constantly going on many good hymns will be found and preserved that will live in the song of the Church for years to come.[16]

Thus what Protestant missions needed, Goodrich argued, was not 'a *multitude* of hymns, but *good* hymns'.[17] By 'good' hymns, Goodrich, in his quest for a standard hymn book, was highlighting difficulties in hymnology. One of the chief obstacles was the Chinese language itself:

> It cannot be denied that the language is not so rich in devotional sentiment, nor so classic and free, as it will be after it has been stained through by centuries of Christian culture; and yet it remains true that the language is remarkably rich in synonyms and idioms, and expressions that strike to entire chords of the feelings, and it is likewise remarkable for its possibilities of rhyme, of rhythmic structure and poetic expression. It only needs a master hand to strike the keys, to bring out unexpected harmonies, music that shall go singing on and down the years.[18]

G.T. Candlin echoed similar concerns in Tianjin in March 1893:

> He would need to be a saint as well as a genius, for to carry across so rough a chasm as the gulf between the two languages such sacred, precious and tender gems, he must love them with his whole heart. He would need to have made careful study of the wide range of native poetry with the view to understand its capabilities and limitations...He must have a deep, genuine admiration for the choicer forms of Chinese diction and phraseology. He must have the true lyric spirit which will make his heart swiftly responsive to the sentiment and keep his eye true to the mystical charm of the rhythm. He must know how to lift the measured line to the loftiness of praise, to sink it with the weight of solemnity, or to set it quivering with the ecstasy of uncontrollable joy.[19]

R.G. Fitch further elaborated the difficulties confronting missionaries 'to produce Christian lyrics in Chinese':

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[16] 'On the Book Table', *The CR*, September 1895, 445.
[17] 'Importance of a Vernacular Christian Literature' (1878:216).
[18] Goodrich, 'Chinese Hymnology', *CR* (1877:224).
[19] Candlin, 'Chinese Hymnology', *CR* 24 (4):168.

> Hymnology among the Chinese is beset with several difficulties, prominent among which may be mentioned the fact of their ideas or rhyme being so different from ours, the difficulty of putting into good Chinese the poetic and devotional ideas which are so familiar to us, and the difficulty of our entering into the spirit of Chinese poetry...And how to express our highest and best religious thought in verse which shall be both intelligible and singable, is something exceedingly difficult of attainment, and perhaps will only be satisfactorily accomplished by some Chinese Wesley or Watts yet to be born. The mysteries of Chinese poetry—as such—are profound indeed, and it is as well perhaps not to try to fathom or master them in our present attempts at hymn-making. [20]

For Fitch, the essential ingredients of a good hymn for the Chinese were threefold: (a) they should be devotional; (b) they should be expressed in 'good intelligible Chinese', and (c) they 'should be in proper rhythm and rhyme' (Fitch, 1895:467). In short, one had to be devotionally attuned to the Christian faith and have an excellent command of the Chinese written language:

> Oh!, if one were born a poet, and could drink in the language with his mother's milk, having all at once the advantages of Christian culture in a Christian land, and a classical education in Chinese...in addition, he could catch the breath of God upon him, he might write hymns, which (north and south perhaps) should go singing down the centuries (Fitch, 1895:470).[21]

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[20] Fitch, ibid: 895:467).

[21] Well into the twentieth century, we can find similar sentiments echoed by other foreign missionaries aspiring to write such hymns but who felt themselves not adequately equipped for the task. The comments of Samuel Couling writing in his *Encyclopedia Sinica* published in London in 1917 are typical:

> The majority of Chinese Christians being simple and unlettered folk, the missionaries[sic] tendency has been to sacrifice literary merit to edification, and many of the most widely-used hymns, tried by the standards of Chinese poetry, are pitiful doggerel. Probably the best collection from the point of view of style is that used in the Basel, Berlin and Rhenish Missions in Kwangtung [Canton]. It would seem that, generally speaking, the genius of the Chinese language is more akin to solid and stately hymns than to the lighter type with repetitions and choruses; but as in the West, the swinging, easily learnt tunes of the latter, gain them popularity in spite of feeble words.

Couling's concerns were echoed by Gamewell in 1924 with regard to early efforts of missionaries in congregational singing (1924:111-112):

> Few Chinese melodies were capable of being used, so that hymns from the West, both words and music, had to be imported bodily. How to translate words that had no equivalent in the vernacular was a constant puzzle. Chinese scholars were called in to help, but even then the result was not satisfactory. For a long time, Church music, especially in the country, was little short of atrocious, the congregation singing lustily with the spirit, though rarely with the understanding.

While there were problems of setting Chinese texts to music and difficulties mastering tonal patterns in poetry (*pingze*) in creating hymns, there was also the issue of incorporating Chinese melodies into Christian hymns. Writing hymns for the Chinese church based on the pentatonic scale already appeared as early as 1885 with the publication of Timothy Richard's *Little Hymn Book* [*Xiao Shipu*] (Sheng, 1964:394). Other foreign missionaries who wrote hymns based on the pentatonic scale included J.E. Walker, William C. Burns and C.S. Champness.[22] Discussions and debates on incorporating pentatonic melodies into Christian hymns became increasingly conspicuous in the *Chinese Recorder* by the 1890s.[23]

The Chinese also began to write hymns for the Chinese church as well. Xi Shengmo (1835?-1896), a pastor from Huozhou in Shanxi, better known in English as Pastor Hsi composed the hymn 'There's a Reason For This Gathering' (*Women zheci juhui youge yuangu*) in 1883.[24] Even though in the early Qing the Catholic Si Yiwu (?-?) had compiled an anthology

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[22] Champness wrote in the *CR* December 1906 that Burns was the 'first translator of many of the hymns which are now found in all Chinese hymnals, as used all over China' (1906:674). In addition to translations of English hymns, Burns also composed several Chinese hymns 'for the special purpose of teaching Chinese doctrine in a form that could be easily retained in the mind[s] of people'. (Sheng, 1964:79). Initially opposed to writing hymns in colloquial Chinese, he later became a tireless advocate of using spoken Chinese in hymns and worship. As Isley Burns recalls in *Memoir of the Rev. William C. Burns* published in New York in 1870:

> He showed his usual enthusiasm in introducing his hymns, and the force of his character has much weight in overcoming the prejudices of our better educated Christians to the general use of colloquial hymns. Our hymn book had been much enlarged, but the hymns prepared by Mr. Burns are still general favorites
>
> (Quoted in Sheng (1964:80).

[23] See for example, W.E. Soothill (1890:227), 'Chinese music and its Relation to our Native Services'; Gao King (1889:133) 'Hymns and Music in China'; M. Richard (1891:313-315) 'Airs Found on Pentatonic Scales'; Fitch (1895: 468-469) 'Hymn and Hymn Books for the Chinese'; C.S. Champness (1905: 559-562) 'Pentatonic Music and Kindred Matters' and J.E. Walker (1906: 497-499) 'Pentatonic Music: Some Suggestions and Experiences'. Tunes found in Richard's 'Airs Found on Pentatonic Scales' on p. 314, are as Richard writes 'a response to an appeal by Mr Curwen in his short notice on my Paper on Chinese Music in the "Christian World"...Thinking that other missionaries might also be glad to have such tunes, I send them to the pages of "The Recorder"'. On debates on incorporating pentatonic Chinese tunes in the service of the Church see Sheng (1964:394-396).

[24] Tao (1994:175). This hymn in Western notation can be found in (ibid: 173-174). Tao includes another hymn entitled 'Bestowing Peace' (*Zhuci ping'an*) on page 175 in Western notation. A translation of the

of hymns based on Chinese 'labelled tunes' (*qupai*) titled *Tianle Zhengyin pu*, Tao Yabing considers Pastor Hsi's hymn as the 'creative beginning' of hymn writing by the Chinese (Tao, 1994:175). The chordal writing of this pentatonic hymn shows a basic grasp of four-part writing, such as the top three voices moving in contrary motion to the bass and the avoidance of parallel octaves and perfect fifths. Tao notes that a foreigner possibly arranged the four-part setting of this hymn (Tao, 1994:175). [25]

Hong Xiuquan and Protestant Hymns

Protestant hymns became an important tool for Hong Xiuquan (1814-1864), the leader of the Taiping Rebellion. Hong, who thought he was the younger brother of Jesus Christ, became exposed to Protestant hymns while in Canton in 1847 seeking instruction in the Bible from I. J. Roberts (1802-1871), a Baptist minister born in Sumner County, Tennessee. Roberts began his work in early 1837 as a missionary to China under the aegis of the Roberts Fund Society.[26]

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text can be found in Taylor (1900:284-285). Another hymn is found in Taylor (ibid:269-270) translated as 'Tell Abroad God's Truth' (*Xuanyang zhudao*; lit: 'propagating the main road or path'). Sheng makes a brief reference to Pastor Hsi who 'wrote a number of popular hymns in colloquial which were "enthusiastically" used by some of the Christians churches' (1964:145-147). In his list of hymn books in the Chinese language there is a reference Pastor Hsi's hymns in a Shanxi China Inland Mission Hymnal issued in 1901 (1964:509).

[25] Details of other Chinese Christians writing hymns apart from Pastor Xi are incredibly sketchy. Writing in the *CR* in February 1906, C.S. Champness includes three hymns purportedly written by Chinese Christians: 'The accompanying tunes are settings of well-known hymns, specially written for use by Chinese Christians, as in my opinion, the melodies generally set to these hymns are not suitable for use here on account of their containing certain notes difficult to be sung by the Chinese...This is especially true of the tune usually sung to the hymn "Showers of Blessing", which in its second line contains the seventh of the scale repeated six times'. Although Champness states that the hymns 'Showers of Blessing', 'Gloria in Cruce' and Gabriel' were 'written for use by Chinese Christians', they all bear the name of Champness. It is unclear from the paper simply entitled 'Church Praise Department' whether the setting of these hymns by the Chinese Christians in question took place under the guidance and supervision of Champness. If this is the case, we can surmise in the absence of material that Champness had a number of students under his tutelage in writing hymns. One of the earliest hymn books issued solely by Chinese was the *Associational Hymnal*, published by the General Committee of the Y.M.C.A. in 1908 edited by Zia Hong-lai [Xie Honglai] (Sheng, 1964:148-149). For brief references to other hymnals composed by Chinese see Sheng (ibid:149-153). Included in a collection of songs compiled by Jonathan Lees in the late nineteenth century, is an 'original hymn' by Chang Chiu-seng. See Sheng (ibid:103). Sheng also makes reference to a hymn book published by The Inland China Mission in Shanxi around 1911 and edited by A. Lutley. This volume consisted of 168 hymns of which 84 were written by Chinese (ibid:145).

[26] A brief biographical sketch of Roberts is found in Wylie (1967:94-97). While Roberts did not compile or write or publish a hymn book, he published eight works in Chinese. See Wylie (ibid: 96-97).

Much of Hong's encounters with Christian tracts came through translations of Robert Morrison.[27] Lindley (1866:40) recounts that after Hong and his cousin Li Jingfang familiarised themselves with translations of chapters of the Bible by Morrison, they 'administered baptism to each other' and then Hong Xiuquan 'composed the following ode upon repentance':

> When our transgressions high as heaven rise,
> How well to trust Jesus' full atonement;
> We follow not the demons, we obey
> The holy precepts, worshipping alone
> One God, and thus we cultivate our hearts.
> The heavenly glories open to our view,
> And every being ought to seek thereafter.
> I much deplore the miseries of hell.
> O turn ye to the fruits of true repentance!
> Let not our hearts be led by worldly customs (Lindley, 1866:41)

Hong later adopted the Protestant hymn 'Old Hundredth' as his own apocalyptic vision of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. A new text was written for the hymn and renamed 'Ode Praising the Heavenly Kingdom' (*Tianchao zanmeige*):

> Praise the Lord
> Praise Jesus, the Savior of the World
> Praise the Holy Spirit
> Praise the Holy Trinity[28]

Although we have no notated music apart from this state hymn, we can surmise that other Taiping hymns used Protestant melodies. However, folk song texts as well as legends and stories about the Taiping Army survive. [29] While Wong notes that 'Ode to the Heavenly

[27] See Yuan Chung Teng 'Reverend Issachar Jacox Roberts and the Taiping Rebellion (1963:55-67).
[28] Quoted in Tao (1994:181). Lindley's translation of this ode is:

We praise thee, O God, Our Heavenly Father;
We praise Jesus, the Savior of the world;
We praise the Holy Spirit, the sacred intelligence;
We praise the Three Persons, united as the True Spirit
(Lindley: 319)

[29] See Wong (1984: 113-114). See also Yuan Fei (1959) *Taiping Tianguode geyao he chuanshuo*. This book contains a selection of twenty-four folk song texts from Suzhou, Yangzhou and Changshu. The second part of the book contains anecdotal stories and legends about the Taiping Army. One of these

Kingdom' 'was sung at all rituals and rallies', we know very little about the organisation and structure of their religious observances. Hamburg (1855) and Lindley (1866) provide some clues to their prayer ceremonies and how they were conducted. In his book *The Visions of Hung-siu-tshuen, and Origin of the Kwang-si Insurrection* published in Hong Kong in 1854, and republished the following year in London in a slim volume titled *The Chinese Rebel Chief, Hung-siu-Tsuen and the Origin of the Insurrection in China* (Wylie, 1967:160), Theodore Hamburg writes:

> When the congregation in Kwang-si assembled together for religious worship, male and female worshippers had their seats separated from each other. It was customary to praise God by the singing of a hymn. An address was delivered on either the mercy of God, or the merits of Christ, and the people were exhorted to repent of their sins, to abstain from idolatry, and to serve God with sincerity of heart.[30]

Perhaps Lindley provides the most detailed account in English of how Taiping services were conducted. Each service opened with the Doxology ['Ode to the Heavenly Kingdom'] which was followed by the hymn:

> The true doctrine is different from the doctrine of the world
> It saves men's souls, and affords the enjoyment of endless bliss.
> The wise receive it at once with joyful exultation.
> The foolish, when awakened, understand thereby the way to heaven,
> Our Heavenly Father, of His infinite and incomparable mercy,
> Did not spare His own Son, but sent him down into the world,
> To give His life for the redemption of all our transgressions.
> When men know this, and repent of their sins, they may go to heaven.

After the singing of this hymn:

> The people resume their seats and the minister reads to them a sermon, after which the paper containing it [a prayer] is burnt. During the singing of hymns, the voices are accompanied by the music of very melancholy-sounding horns and hautboys. Upon the conclusion of the sermon the people all rise to their feet and with the full accompaniment of all their plaintive and wild-sounding instruments, render with very great effect the anthem 'May the King live ten thousand years, ten thousand times ten thousand

stories was collected by Yuan Fei in Changshu in 1951. For songs about the Taipings see also Taiping Historical Museum (1962) and Cheng Ying (1962). The *Tianfu shi* (1857) contains some 500 hymns. See Teng Ssu-yu in Hummel (ed.) *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* (1964:366).

[30] Quoted in the 1855 edition, London: Walton and Maberly, 54.

years'...The services are concluded with a hymn of supplication, and then large quantities of incense and firecrackers are burnt.[31]

Western military music

Western bands were already familiar to the Manchu court during Qianlong's reign when Lord George Macartney's diplomatic mission visited China in 1793-1794. Among the ninety-five members of the mission was five German musicians lead by John Zapfal.[32] In the 1860s German military instructors were reforming the Chinese army and introducing singing and marching songs (Wong, 1984:115), and in the late 1870s an oral account on playing the trumpet by the American Baptist missionary Carl T. Kreyer recorded by Cai Xiling (?-?), was translated and published by the Kiangnan Arsenal in Shanghai entitled *Laba chuifa* (Tao, 1994:200-201; Zhu, 1996:111n4).[33] There were also other foreigners organising brass bands and introducing marching songs such as Robert Hart (1835-1911), the Inspector-General of the Imperial Customs Service. From historical records, we know that Hart was a gregarious and influential figure, and according to Jonathan Spence he 'was the most powerful Westerner in China' (Spence, 1969:93). Hart had his own personal brass band which regularly performed at his residence in Beijing. Much of Hart's fifty-four year sojourn in China has been recorded by his niece Juliet Bredon in

[31] See Lindley:319-321). Lindley's account in Chinese is found in Li Ling (1985: 288). See also Zhu Xiaotian (1995: 43).

[32] There were originally six, but one deserted at Portsmouth. See George Macartney (1962:364n22). Cranmer-Byng (ibid) writes that the band members were paid 60 pounds a year, but their leader Zapfal received 70 pounds. This footnote also provides a list of instruments they took with them: two violins, one viola, one transverse flute with a key and one fife. This is not a complete inventory of instruments and judging from Macartney's journal (entry Sunday, September 1, 1793) there were also other instruments as well: the [chief mandarin] 'of the Emperor's orchestra was so much pleased with some of our instruments that he desired leave to take drawings of them. I was willing to give them as a present, but he civilly declined my offer, and I found, indeed, they would have been of no use to him. He, however, sent for a couple of painters, who spread the floor with a few sheets of paper the clarinets, flutes bassoons and French horns upon them, and then traced with their pencils the figures of the instruments, measuring all the apertures and noting the minutest particulars, and when this operation was completed they wrote down their remarks, and delivered them to their master...' (ibid:1962:104).

Sir Robert Hart, The Romance of a Great Career published by Hutchinson in London in 1909.

Bredon provides us with some details on the make-up of Hart's band:

> Some dozen promising young Chinese were at once collected and initiated into the complicated mysteries of chords and keys. They learned quickly and well--so well that within a year eight of them were ready to come up to the capital and teach others. A doubtful venture became an assured success. More and more players were added; a promising barber, lured, perhaps, by the playing of his friend's flute, abandoned his trade and set to work on the 'cello; or a shoemaker, forsaking his last, devoted himself to the comet. The neighbouring tailor laid aside his needle; the carter left his cart, bewitched away from everyday things by the music. It may be the smart uniform had something to do with the popularity of the organization (Bredon: 1909:185-186).

Hart's brass band gave regular concerts at his residence in Beijing every Wednesday afternoon:

> In the spring and autumn his musicians gave an open air concert inside the Inspectorate garden every Wednesday afternoon...Peking residents, as well as distinguished strangers who happen to be passing, came to listen. The scene was invariably animated; the ladies walked under lilacs, which in April hung over the paths like soft clouds of purple fog, displaying their newest toilettes; diplomats discussed la situation politique; missionaries argued points of doctrine; correspondents exchanged bits of news. All nationalities, classes and creeds were represented in this cosmopolitan part of the world, but the lions and lambs agreed tacitly to tolerate each other for the sake of hearing the familiar tunes, warming as good old wine to the hearts of exiles, and for the sake of seeing the mystery man whose advice, given, as it were, under his breath, shaped the course of events in China (Bredon, 1909: 187-188).[34]

Another reference to Hart's band is found in *With the Empress Dowager of China* by Katherine Augusta Carl (1858-1938), first published in 1906. Carl, an artist, and according to Kaori O' Connor in the Introduction to the 1986 edition 'was the only Westerner ever to live as a member of the Chinese court'.[35] In October 1903, a foreign circus was bought from Tianjin to perform at the court of the Empress Dowager Ci Xi (1835-1908):

> On the right were two bands of foreign music, or rather of Chinese musicians who played foreign music on European instruments. These were the bands of Yuan-Shih-Kai, Viceroy of Tienstin, and Sir Robert Hart, the Inspector General of the Imperial Customs. Sir Robert's band was formed about eighteen years since, when, as music in his lobby, he decided to try to have some Chinese taught European music on European instruments.

[33] According to Zhu Jingwei (1988:111n.4), extant translation copies of this trumpet primer are be found at Beijing Normal University and the National Library of Beijing.
[34] For a photo of Hart's Chinese band in the early 1890s performing on the front lawn of his house see Brendon (1909) inserted between pages 184-185.
[35] Introduction, *xix*, in Carl (1986).

> He has now a well-equipped band of twenty trained Chinese musicians under a competent European conductor. They play on both brass and stringed instruments. His efforts have been so successful that his example has lately been followed by several high Chinese officials, first among them was Yuan-Shih-Kai. The latter's band is military, with fifty musicians, who play only on brass instruments. The two bands played alternately during the intervals of the performance.[36]

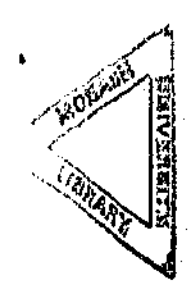
Hart had set up a training centre in Tianjin in the mid 1880s and later opened another in Beijing appointing the Portuguese instructor Encarnacao.[37] Notwithstanding Hart's role in the development of Western military music in China in the late Qing, the German influence must have been considerable for both Zhang Zhidong (1837-1909) and Yuan Shikai (1859-1916) set up their own bands under the guidance and recommendation of German military advisers. In 1895 Zhang set up his Self-Strengthening Army in Nanjing in 1895 and in August the following year moved to Wusongkou in Shanghai. In early 1897 Zhang officially established a fifteen piece military band (Tao, 1994:202). At a military parade in May that year, Zhang's band performed Western military music which surprised both Chinese and foreigners present (Tao, 1994:209). At another official public event in 1905 organized by the Ministry of Culture, 'one of the main attractions was a primary school students' band; clad in semimilitary attire, the students sang, drummed, and played the piano and trumpet to an appreciative audience' (Borthwick, 1983:136). In the late 1890s, Yuan Shikai set up training centres in Tianjin also under the guidance of German military advisers (Zhang,1955:10).[38] Well before establishing military programs at Zhili for the Beiyang Army, Yuan had already shown his flair as an educational reformer establishing schools in Shandong and leading the way in the campaign to abolish the imperial examination system.[39] While we have details on the organizing and structure of military schools

[36] 'A European Circus at the Palace' Carl, (ibid: 182).
[37] For a photo of Hart's Chinese band and M. Encarnacao see Bredon (1909), inserted between pages 186-187.
[38] We are not to sure on the exact dates of when Yuan set up his Beiyang Army Military Band in Tianjin. See Tao (1984: 202-204) and Liu (1986: 21).
[39] For Yuan's contributions to education see 'Reform and Exercise of Power in Zhili' in Mackinnon (1980:138-151). See also 'The Beiyang Army 1901-1907' (90-136).

in Zhili (Mackinnon:1980), we have virtually nothing on the structuring of bands, the medium of instruction and availability of brass and woodwind instruments. [40]

After 1870, military academies and schools were established in major cities around China including Tianjin, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Wuchang and Nanjing.[41] In the 1870s, military schools under the guidance of German and Japanese instructors directed military drills as part of physical education programs (Brownell, 1995:39) and German instructors integrated singing as part of military drill training (Wong,1984:115). From the 1890s, Western-style brass bands became increasingly widespread in schools around China.[42] Witness the following marching song written in Chinese by Zhang Chunyi, a Chinese language teacher at Wenhua College in Wuchang, Hebei province calling students to join military training sessions:

> Forward, forward, be the first to forge ahead
> Forward, forward, extend your sovereignty
> Shake off the past
> Becon the soul of the nation
> Think independently
>
> Temper hearts of steel
> The weak and feeble are dragging the country down
> In shame, they live without rhyme or reason
> A disgrace to our Sacred Land[43]



On July 14 1903, the *Shanghai Mercury* wrote the following account of military drills at Nanyang Public School:

> The cadets were dressed in neat uniforms of modern cut and performed their evolutions with remarkable precision. A large and well-trained drum and fife corps added to the zest of the drill and presented a natty appearance in brown uniforms and cockaded caps.[44]

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[40] References to Western-style military bands in the late Qing exist in the literature and provide an important source of western military band history in the latter part of the nineteenth century, but in the case of Zhang Zhidong's and Yuan Shikai's military bands, for instance, there is need for greater precision and detail.
[41] See Li (1989:293-294)
[42] A selective list of military bands in schools can be found in Tao (1994:215-216).
[43] Quoted in Liu (1986:50).
[44] Quoted in Peake (1971:33).

While soldiers attached to military academies could be found 'marching through streets with fife and drum, uniforms, guns, swords and flags', as one observer wrote in 1911,[45] judging from the following ballad, European-style brass bands did not meet with widespread approbation:

> Beating Western drums
> Playing Western trumpets
> Young students playing around like foreigners.
> They follow foreign teaching
> Instead of studying the 'Four Classics'
> The make noises on the playground
> Instead of learning the art of archery.[46]

The Qing court also boasted brass bands based on German and Japanese models. In December 1908 the court ordered a Manchu noble to organise a Qing Imperial Guard Corps (*Jinweijun*) [47] which included the formation of a military band made up of the following: one officer, one platoon leader, two first rank soldiers, six second rank soldiers, twelve third rank soldiers, twenty-four trainees and five fireman.[48]

The sartorial wardrobes of these brass bands and the warlord army bands of the early Republican Period resembled 'the gaudy uniforms of the imperialist armies' (Kraus, 1989:4). After the collapse of the Qing the Palace Military Band became the sixteen division of the Republican Army and part of that division continued to 'surround and protect' (*gongwei*) the court until the winter of 1924 when Pu Yi was driven out from the Forbidden City (Tao. 1994:207).[49]

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[45] Quoted in Peake (1971:69).
[46] Quoted in Liu (1986:25).
[47] An excellent study of the Imperial Guard Corps, alas, with no information on its military band is found in Edmund S. K. Fung *The Military Dimension of the Chinese Revolution* (1980).
[48] Tao (1994:206-207).
[49] On November 5 a detachment of Feng Yuxiang's troops entered the Forbidden City and removed Pu Yi to Prince Chun's palace outside the Forbidden City and held him there under house arrest. See entry for Pu Yi in *BDRC, III*: 82.

In summary, the dissemination of Western music in the late Qing, be it through the medium of Protestant missionaries, European military bands, contacts with Japanese teachers, advisers and other foreigners residing in China or through printed materials such as missionary journals, indicates a process of musical exchange which was anything but systematic and methodical. As we shall see, school songs borrowed melodies not only from Christian hymns and marching songs from Europe and Japan but from traditional Chinese folk music as well. Songs were recognised by reformers as broadly accessible and widely used as a means of expression that could encourage and promote political goals. Songs and singing also moved between the printed page and oral transmission which greatly increased their circulation. Above all, songs could circulate current events and reflect political and social opinions that otherwise were restricted to a small fraction of the population who could read and write.

III.

Sources of Inspiration

In establishing a new school system at the turn of the century, China owed much to the work and guidance of missionary educators and to the role of the Japanese. Despite the significant contributions of missionaries in the early development of China's new schools, without official approval from the Qing court, their sphere of influence was limited and continually thwarted due in no small part to their religious activities. In contrast, the Japanese model, with official approval, grew rapidly during the early years of the century. This chapter will first consider the role of missionary schools as harbingers of China's national system of education and secondly, the role of the Japanese model in China's new educational system.

Missionary schools and new Western-type school institutions (*xuetang*)

Well before an imperial decree was issued in 1902 proposing that singing sessions be made compulsory in the new school system, Protestant missionaries included music as part of their curriculum. Chang Chi-jen has observed that apart from schools founded by missionaries, the new Western-style educational institutions 'became the cradles of Western music in China' (1983:17). Early Christians colleges in the late Qing included Tengchow Boys' School in Shandong (1864, later renamed Tengchow College in 1882); St. John's College, Shanghai (1879, later renamed St. John's University in 1905); Canton Christian College (1888, later renamed Liangnan University in 1926); Ningbo Boys' School (1845, later renamed Hangchow Christian College (1914) Hangchow University (1946); Soochow University, (1901) and the West China Union University, Chengdu (1910).[1]

[1] Taken from Lutz 'List of China Christian Colleges' (1971:131-134) Kwang-Ching Liu's list of early Christian colleges in China 1882-1812 (1960:72) gives different dates to Lutz.

Establishing a proper Christian attitude towards education was no doubt foremost in the minds of missionaries, and the general lack of published materials on education became the subject of a series of reports in the *Chinese Recorder*. Although the first volume of the journal came out in May 1868,[2] only two articles on education appeared between its first publication in May 1868 and the General Conference of Missionaries held in Shanghai in May 1877 (Gregg, 1946:18). The Conference was in many respects, a watershed for Christian missionaries which 'successfully turned the tide for Christian education in China (Gregg, 1946:18). Education became a regular feature of the journal. A textbook committee was formed at the Conference to prepare a series of textbooks for Protestant missionary schools. One of the most eloquent speakers present at the Conference was Calvin W. Mateer of the American Presbyterian Mission. Mateer stated that the purpose of Christian education 'was to train teachers and through them to introduce to China the superior education of the West and for Protestant missionaries to take the lead in introducing to China the science and arts of Western civilization' (Latourette, 1929: 441-442). Producing good school books was essential for disseminating knowledge of the West. As Mateer wrote in the *Chinese Recorder* in September-October 1877:

> The importance of a good series of school books for China cannot be overestimated. The success of mission schools depends, in no small measure, on having good and suitable textbooks. Without them much labor is wasted by teachers, imperfect instruction is given, important branches are omitted altogether...There is widespread desire in China to learn Western science and methods of education. In order to facilitate this, the first and most essential requisite is good school books, and next to them teachers who are trained and qualified to teach them.[3]

While there were volumes of handbooks on subjects such as international law, philosophy, religion and science, the plethora of extant hymn books may not have initially warranted a textbook on music. In 1881 Mateer published an article in the *Wan-kuo kung-pao*

[2] The journal was printed in Foochow under Rev. S.L. Baldwin as a monthly with 266 pages at cost of $2.00 per annum. See entry for *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* in Couling (1917:105).

[*Wanguo gongbao, Review of the Times, Globe Magazine*], entitled 'Educational Reform' in which he proposed that the Chinese government should set up a community-run school system at the local level for both boys and girls (Bennett, 1983:214). Mateer proposed three types of schools: elementary (*xiaoxue*), tertiary (*daxue*) and specialised (*texue*). He argued that this three-tiered school system should include subjects such as medicine, law, theology, music and military strategy (Bennett, 1983:214). The School and Textbook Committee published a handful of school books, but from all accounts their efforts were disappointing especially for missionaries who expected a series of textbooks designed specifically for mission schools (Gregg: 1946:18). For many educational missionaries, John Fryer's report to the Committee at the Second General Conference of Protestant Missionaries in 1890 that he had translated a number of books on education including mathematics, chemistry, biology, physics, philosophy, theology and music (Latourette, 1929:435) did not directly address how such textbooks might be used effectively in mission schools.

To be sure, issues of education were hotly debated in missionary journals, but it was perhaps too early to conceive an educational system as a whole with a unified syllabus and standard textbooks. Although there were urgent calls to all schools to work together towards establishing a national education system, much of the writing and dissemination of textbooks was left up to missionary educators attached to mission schools across China guided for the most part, by their own experiences in schools and colleges in the United States.[4] Singing sessions

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[3] 'School Books for China', *CR*,1877, 8 (5):432 (September-October).

[4] In a paper entitled 'A Public Examination for Western Schools in China' published in the *Educational Review* in March 1890, W.T.A. Barber, headmaster at Wesley College in Wuchang wrote of the need for a unified organization among teachers in implementing educational work in China:

> There is at present a vast amount of labor being put forth in various places to meet the demand of China for Western learning. Many of us are feeling the penalty a day before the fair, but we are sure that the demand is increasing...The present is an era of isolation in work and in method. There are no regular lines marked out; books are constantly being published with every variety of terminology and [trans]literation...Why not boldly enlarge the School and Textbook Committee into

and music formed an important part of mission schools. One of the earliest accounts of music instruction in the mid-nineteenth century can be found in a book entitled *Our Life in China* by Mrs. John L. Nevius who recalls some of her early experiences that she encountered in teaching singing at the Ningpo Boys' School in late 1854:

> There were, I think, about forty boys and thirty girls; and these, together with some others, assembled twice a week in the chapel. I had a black-board made with lines for writing music, which was of great assistance as we had no music books. The first steps in this formidable undertaking was to get them to make one sound in unison...They tried to obey; but some were one, some three, and some four or five notes astray... Nearly the whole two hours were spent in the attempt to make one sound in unison. At our next meeting we succeeded in making one sound quite accurately, and then added a second, -- do-re, do-re, re-do, re-do...[5]

Some fifty years later, Laura White published an article in the *Chinese Recorder* in 1901 writing of her experiences in teaching Chinese girls to sing and methods of teaching used:

> In our schools we devote a half hour daily to vocal music. The girls sing in four parts--first and second soprano, first and second contralto--and use anthems, choruses from Smart, Brahms, Gounod, Mendelssohn, Mozart, selections from oratorios, etc...I endeavour to commence every music lesson by a short exercise in respiration. Standing erect, with shoulders down, the pupils slowly, evenly, gradually, inhale the air through the mouth, which is to be kept silently open. When the lungs are filled to the full, the air is to be returned a few seconds, than just as quietly and gradually expelled. The body must be so relaxed and buoyant that a slight touch is sufficient to "topple over" a pupil. Insist that the children breathe in this manner, and while keeping the lungs very full of air, use economy in its expenditure. The Chinese waste breath, and the impulse to let the air escape must be resisted. [6]

Louise Claire Hathaway Stanley who arrived in China in September 1904 and remained there until 1941 taught English and music in Zhili and Shandong province. She recalls providing music instruction on the organ and piano to girls at a School of Theology as follows:

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an Examining Board to cooperate with a few selected from among themselves by the professors of the various government colleges?...(Quoted in Gregg (1946:20-21).

[5] Quoted in Day (1955:7). Some six to eight months later Mrs. Nevius proudly declared that she had produced 'a good choir, capable of carrying all four parts, soprano, alto, tenor, and bass; and the accuracy with which they sang, considering, of course, all circumstances, was remarkable'. Quoted in Day (ibid: 8).

[6] 'The Training of Chinese Voices', *CR*, 32(12)1901:589-590.

> I trained them to play on the organ. I had a little organ for them to practice on and I taught them things that they could use in leading a service in a country village or place where, at best, they'd have a little organ. And that was what I did, and they did pretty well considering. And then the others, of course, I taught piano. [7]

Another example is provided by Champness in 1917:

> I have myself for many years worked hard at teaching singing to Chinese school children, using the time-honoured tonic sol-fa method. During my last term of missionary service I have succeeded in training children who at the beginning of the term had not the slightest idea of singing to acquire a very useful knowledge of singing the hymns of our church and some simple school songs.[8]

Shengfang Jixueyuan Middle School founded by Father Desjagues in 1874 offered subjects in the senior-level classes including philosophy, Greek literature, Chinese and music. [9] At the Hangchow Presbyterian Boys' School (formerly the Ningpo Boys' School) in the mid to late 1880s, Mr. Judson and his three Chinese colleagues offered the following subjects as part of the curriculum: Chinese classics, catechism, philosophy, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, geography, chemistry and singing (Day, 1955:15). [10]As part of a six year course with an additional two years for further study, the Anglo-Chinese School established by John Fryer in Shanghai stipulated the study of musical instruments from first year.[11] Subjects taught at Tengchow College in Shandong province , founded by Calvin and Julia Mateer in 1864 included trigonometry, international law, political economy, geology, as well as 'a little music' taught by Elwood Gardner Tewksbury (1865-1945) (Paterno, 1966:73). Subjects listed in the second year as recorded in the *Alumni History of Tengchow College* (1913) included Bible classes, readings

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[7] Chinese Missionary Oral History Collection (Peake & Rosenbaum, 1973), card 31:56.
[8] 'Music in China', *CR*, 1917 March, 495.
[9] *Shengfang jixueyuan liushi zhounian jinian tekan*, 1934. Quoted in Li (1987:203).
[10] In the 'Personnel of [the] Western Faculty' (Day, 1955:157-160) the following names taught music and in some cases, other subjects as well at Hangchow University:

Mrs. H.V. Rankin (music)	1848-?
Mrs. John L. Nevius (music)	1858-1860
Robert F. Fitch (physics, English, music)	1908-1915
Paul R. Montgomery (English, music)	1910-1911

[11] *Wanguo gongbao*, 26 November, 1881. Quoted in Li Chucun (1987:103).

of Mencius, Tang poetry and Julia Brown Mateer's translation of *Principles of Western Vocal Music* (*Xiguo Yuefa Qimeng*). [12]

Music also became an important feature of extracurricular activities. Activities at Wesley College in Wuchang (founded in 1895) included clubs, debating societies, choirs and student newspapers in both English and Chinese (Lutz, 1971:73). Mrs. Cooper attached to St. John's College recalls in 1902 that 'singing and music have a great attraction for some of the students and they try to improve the choral part of the services by contributing tenor and bass'.[13] Regular performances were given by collegiate societies on special occasions such as Christmas:

> From the beginning of the history of St. John's, Christmas was a feast of great moment which was celebrated throughout several days. Various traditional customs grew up around the holiday such as the Christmas Eve Church Service with baptisms, followed by the singing of carols on the lawn in front of the Pro-Cathedral, the entertaining of the whole faculty at supper by the boys of the Preparatory Department in their dining hall, and the singing of carols by the choir and by other societies as they marched around the campus at midnight or after.[14]

Although singing and music were a feature of many mission schools curriculum and extracurricular activities, we have a very incomplete picture of what kind of music was taught as part of the mission schools' curriculum. We may never know the details of what E.G. Tewsksbury taught at Tengchow College or whether he used Julia Brown Mateer's *Principles of*

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[12] The author of this work in unknown. John Fryer includes Mateer's work in *A Catalogue of Some Native Books, Charts, etc., for Sale at the Chinese Scientific Book Depot* (Shanghai: 1896). Quoted in Bennett (1967:123). Mateer's translation was not a work completed for the Kiangnan Arsenal, but published in Shanghai in 1872. According to Tao, the text was reprinted again in 1879, 1892 and 1913 and in 1908 .Julia Mateer edited an anthology of over 360 hymns in four-part harmony entitled *Shengshipu* (1994:165). *Xiguo Yuefa Qimeng* is divided into two parts: the first, a collection of hymns in staff notation, and the second, an introduction to Western music teaching materials. Part of the translated Chinese text can be found in Tao (ibid:163-164). A book of *Hymns and Tunes* [*Sheng Shipu*] by Julia B. Mateer and published by the Presbyterian Mission Press in Shanghai (1907) is according to Sheng (1964:510), a revised and enlarged edition of her book *Yuefa Qimeng* (1872). Sheng provides the following information concerning the 1907 revised and enlarged edition: 'In two sections; first section being the *Yuefa Qimeng* [*Beginner's Music*], a musical catechism, and instruction in singing; the second section being *Sheng Shipu* [*Hymns and Tunes*] of 360 hymns and 17 chants, printed in shape notes; only one stanza of each hymn is given, printed between the staves; meters given in Chinese characters; hymns arranged by meter...' (ibid). Sheng's source for this invaluable reference is The University of California Library, Berkeley, California.

Western Vocal Music in his teaching. Irwin T. Hyatt (1976: 189-190) has pointed out that Mateer's work--at least among professing Christians at Tengchow College-- played a significant role in raising patriotic and national consciousness He writes:

> National consciousness was further strengthened by Calvin Mateer's stress on Mandarin use and, surprisingly, by Julia's work. Her Introduction to Music course (Yueh-fa ch'i-meng) was aimed chiefly at enlarging "the joy of childhood", but students both in and out of the course were also involved in gathering songs for a projected Mandarin collection (Hyatt, 1976:189).

In 1896 Julia Mateer wrote that the Chinese needed patriotic songs 'for their inevitable future wars...so great a people is entitled to its own style of music, if only it has in it the spirit of life and growth'.[15] In many respects, missionary education institutions played a crucial role in inculcating ideas for change (Fairbank, 1974:219). At Tengchow College, for example, 'even the Christian educational and ministerial work into which most of the graduates went were seen by Calvin Mateer and by the graduates themselves as instruments of radical change in ‚China' (Hyatt, 1976:190). Sheng has argued that Christian hymns were also influential in inculcating patriotism among Chinese Christians (1964:125). One hymn imbued with nationalistic sentiments is the *Hymn for God's Worship* [*Zongzhu shizhang*] (1891). The first two stanzas read:

> Speaking of my country China,
> Its fine literary and material
> achievements through the generations,
> We sing highly.
> It is the native land
> of our ancestors,
> And the place where Confucius
> and Mencius were born and raised;
> From Yao and Shun of antiquity
> There have always been good citizens.
>
> This land of our birth and growth,

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[13] Quoted in Lamberton (1955:54).
[14] Quoted in Lamberton (1995:54-55).
[15] 'What School Songs and Songs for Recreation and Amusement Should We Teach and Encourage in Our Schools?'. Quoted in Hyatt (1976: 189-190).

Is abundant in scholars
and intellectuals;
We love thy name.
When looking at the bright hills
and beautiful streams,
Plains with abundant grass and woods,
The whole world in peace singing
We give [God] praise and glory. [16]

Tengchow College prided itself on having a textbook on vocal music, but other reports chronicled in the *Chinese Recorder* tell us that similar textbooks were sorely needed in other mission schools. In June 1894 Dr. Pilcher bemoaned that among textbooks needed in schools was 'a book on music'.[17] Earlier in May a number of remedies were suggested for improving the curriculum at Hangchow High School: 'a great defect in the imagination and taste and in sensibility to beauty and the principles of order and harmony to be remedied by the study of taste music and exciting sports.[18] According to Chang Chi-jen, one of the earliest song books employed in new-style schools was a song book entitled *Song book for the New School* published between 1905 and 1906 co-edited by Lu Liyuan (?-?) who had studied Western music in Japan and composed some of the songs. All the songs in the anthology were 'printed in cipher (number) notation,' and in two other section of the book 'dealing with music rudiments and organ practice, staff notation was also used' (Chang, 1983:17).[19]

While Western-style education in nineteenth century China was closely linked to the activities of missionaries, Western education also developed separately and parallel to mission schools. China's first foreign language school for training interpreters and foreign relation

[16] Hymn no. 171, *Hymns for God's Worship*, Foochow, 1891. Quoted in Sheng (1964:126). One of the earliest patriotic hymns that Sheng has found in his study is found in the *Hymns of Worship in Foochow Dialect* (1871) and notes that 'practically all later publications of various denominations were to include one or more songs of a nationalistic nature' (ibid:125).

[17] Pilcher , *Hangchow High School Catalogue*. Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1894: 290).
[18] Ibid: 241.

officers, the Tongwen Institute (*Tongwenguan*) was founded in the Beijing in June 1862 and followed by similar schools in Shanghai and Canton the following year (Lutz, 1971:44; Shen, 1996:308).[20] Missionary educators, teachers and advisers were employed and included English, German, French, Russian and Japanese instructors.[21] Reformers of the *Yangwu* (lit: "foreign matters") movement such as Zeng Guofan (1811-1872) and Li Hongzhang (1823-1901) restricted much of their emphasis on Western learning to the power of Western technology since their sole objective was to catapult China into the modern world.[22] The early new Western-type institutions called *xuetang* reflected this mindset. The Foochow Navy School founded in 1866, for example, began as a foreign languages department teaching English and French but expanded to include mathematics, navigation, engineering and drawing. [23]

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[19] Chang also cites another similar song book entitled *Kindergarten Songs for Chinese Children* by Mrs Pao-ling published by the Presbyterian Mission Press in Shanghai in 1915. Unfortunately, I have not been able to avail myself of either songbooks for this study.

[20] Foreigners employed included missionaries as foreigners working at the Maritime Customs Service. *ZGJYDX* (1994:1806) provides a list of foreigners employed at the Tongwen Institute from 1861 to 1884. Pages 1806-1807 lists twenty-three translated books included dictionaries and almanacs used at the Institute. For a book length treatment of teachers employed at the *Tongwenguan* see Su Jing (1986). See also Chen Jiang (1997:153-155) and Biggerstaff 'The T'ung-wen kuan' (1961: 94-153).

[21] On foreign instructors see Ayers (1971).For foreign instructors at the Beijing Tongwenguan see also Lutz (1971:45). On educational cooperation with Germany and France in the late Qing and early Republican Period see Francoise Kreissler and Ruth Hayhoe respectively in Hayhoe, R. and Bastid, M (eds) (1987). Writing in the *CR* in January 1896, John Fryer observed that '[a]ll over China efforts are now being made by the higher official to establish schools and colleges for Western learning...English and Americans are freely employed as presidents and professors (Fryer, 1896:36-37).

[22] Rendering the term *Yangwu* as 'foreign matters' is a rather broad term and suggests a random and eclectic adoption of Western ideas. According to Chen Jiang (1986:113-114) the term 'evolved from the term *yiwu* ('barbarian affairs') and in the wake of the Treaty of Tianjin (1858), the *yang* gradually replaced the disrespectful term *yi*. Phrases such as 'the barbarian nature cannot be fathomed (*yiqing poce*) and 'the barbarian nature is treacherous and deceitful' (*yiqing guijue*) often appeared in official documents concerning foreign affairs before 1860. See Sang (1985:56). Chen (ibid) rightly asserts that *yangwu* 'could mean almost anything about contact with foreign countries, and this ambiguity has led to divergent views on the scope of the movement. However, for proponents in the early 1860s 'foreign matters' was essentially confined to introducing foreign military and technology in a program of self-strengthening'.

[23] See Shen (1996:310) and *ZGJYDX* (1994:1812). Although these new Western-type institutions distinguished themselves from indigenous institutions such as the traditional academies (*shuyuan*), Bastid reminds us that these academies were also actively involved in promoting and encouraging Western learning. She writes: 'Although standards varied, many academies (*shuyuan*) were active intellectual centres in the nineteenth century and some of them played an important role in the introduction of Western science to China. In was in the academies, rather in than in the Tongwenguan or missionary schools, that

The modernising efforts of 'self-strengthening' (*ziqiang*) reformers of the 1860s and 1870s came up against a constant barrage of hostility from court and provincial factions. The dilemmas of promoting the West with conservatism as a severe stumbling block is illustrated in Yangwu advocates valorising or rather remaining entrenched in their own tradition while 'belittling' the West in order to appease attacks from their opponents (Ding: 1995:103). The essence of this statement was encapsulated in the catchphrase "Chinese learning should remain the essence with Western learning for practical development" (*Zhongxue weiti, Xixue weiyong*), a 'quick-fix' formula for reform and change at a time of accelerated foreign encroachment to which we will return in more detail in Chapter Nine. The Sino-Japanese (1894-1895) War was a shattering blow for both advocates of reform and Chinese officials and a reminder that genuine programs of reform had failed. Despite this blow to China's self-esteem, Chinese officialdom made no plans to immediately adopt and implement the wholesale of Western institutions. In a period of uncertain and often painful change, as Borthwick points out 'no fixed model existed' (1983:55). Memorials concerning education increased between 1895-1898, and while these memorials amounted to little more than paper memorials blotted with reformists' ideas immediately following the suppression of the 1898 Reform Movement (*Bairi weixin*), China witnessed a proliferation of new schools (*xuetang*), study societies (*xuehui*), publishers (*baoguan*) and bookstores (*shuju*) (Lü, 1995:54). Exact figures are unknown but according to Lü (1995:54) '[b]ased on incomplete statistical data', during these three years, the reformers [*weixinpai*] established 103 study societies, 183 modern schools, and 62 publishing houses.

The Japanese Model

Although missionary schools had been operating in China for almost half a century and missionaries worked tirelessly in introducing Western ideas to China, their educational efforts

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the first successful efforts were made, without foreign help, to acquaint China with modern knowledge' (1988:12).

were never really fully appreciated. The reasons for this are twofold. Firstly, foreign missionaries in China had only a limited presence. Like missionary journals, their ideas and sphere of influence had limited circulation. Secondly, many missionary educators became familiar with Chinese tradition and competent in both the written and spoken language, but they first had to win over conservative officials and the gentry class. 'In the view of the local scholar elite', writes Fairbank 'missionaries in China were foreign subversives, whose immoral conduct and teachings were backed by gunboats' (1986:125). There are many examples to furnish such attitudes not only from conservatives but from leading popularisers of reform. In 1861 Feng Guifen wrote: 'Those who study with foreigners are called interpreters; they are all frivolous townspeople...their nature is rough, their knowledge, and their motives base'.[24] Such sentiments as well as the isolation and limited sphere of influence ensured that the missionary model remained within the confines of a small minority. In the realm of education, Kuo Pingwen evaluates missionary schools as follows:

> The schools thus founded, though not strictly confined to the children of Christians, remained chiefly as the place where new converts were educated and preserved from too intimate contact with the unbelieving world...They had no well established educational policy. Each school was opened as the exigency of the occasion demanded and the funds of the home board permitted. There schools were, moreover, confined to the children of the humbler classes.[25]

Despite their limited and restricted realm of influence, missionaries nonetheless helped to broaden knowledge of the West to Chinese reformers. In particularly, missionary influence on new-style education in the late Qing cannot be ignored. As Lutz writes: 'Because many individuals and events were propelling Chinese leaders towards a reassessment of the Chinese heritage in the late nineteenth century, the influence of missionary educators and their publications in persuading Chinese officials of the necessity of reform cannot be isolated' (Lutz,

[24] Quoted in Borthwick (1983:39-40).
[25] Quoted in ibid, 56.

1971:47). One of the important events in Liang Qichao's life in 1890 was a visit to the Shanghai Kiangnan Arsenal where he became acquainted with Western books translated into Chinese by John Fryer, Young J. Allen and others (Lutz, 1971:47). Similarly, Kang Youwei purportedly told an editor of the Hong Kong newspaper *China Mail* that 'I owe my conversion to reform chiefly to the writings of two missionaries, the Reverend Timothy Richard and the Reverend Dr. Young J. Allen (Lutz, 1971:47). In contrast, Bastid has argued that missionary influence on educational reform is somewhat arbitrary and far from clear (1988:49).[26] Ironically, when China was ready to innovate its educational institutions at the turn of the century and required teachers, advisers, textbooks and so on—practical considerations which had plagued Protestant missionaries almost half a century earlier—they were, as Reynolds points out 'frightfully unprepared' (1993:90).

The Japanese model, in contrast, was admired by both the local scholar elite and proponents of reform. One of the most admired and widely-read works about Japan published before the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) was *Treatises on Japan* [*Ribenguo zhi*] by Huang Zunxian ((1848-1905). Written between 1880-1887[27], this work was supposedly 'written to provide a model for Chinese political reform' (Dong and Wang. 1995:27). The success of the Japanese school system, which in turn had been modelled on that of Germany clearly demonstrated to Chinese observers that Japan had modernised without abandoning its traditions in the wake of the Meiji Restoration in 1868. Japan was also an Asian country and had long cultural ties with the China (Bastid, 1988:44). As the Board of State Affairs stated in 1901: 'Japan is one of the same continents with ourselves; her change of method is quite recent, and

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[26] Bastid emphasises that while foreigner missionaries and foreigners were sought after in the service of educational reform, Chinese reformers did not necessarily emulate their schools en masse. According to Bastid, Zhang Jian was one such reformer not looking to missionary schools as a source of inspiration. She writes: 'Zhang never even considered emulating the missionary schools which were numerous enough in Jiangsu. He completely ignored them and displayed only indifference towards missionaries. When Aurore College split in 1906 he became a patron of the new Chinese establishment without expressing the slightest appreciation of the Jesuits...'.

she has attained to strength and prosperity. Her experience has been so nearly like our own that we may derive instruction from it'.[28]

Despite the crushing defeat at the hands of the Japanese in 1895, China embarked on a new road of cooperation with Japan. In the Spring of 1896 a group of thirteen students were sent to Japan as part of a new bilateral agreement (Harrel, 1992:1). In 1898 Zhang Zhidong 'strongly advocated sending Chinese students to Japan' in his "Quanxue pian" (*Exhortation to Learn*) (Wang, Jianhua, 1995:75). That year the number of students was only eighteen (Chow, 1972:358). By 1901 , there were 280 students in Japan and by 1906 this figure had risen to 8,000.[29] According to official statistics obtained from the Chinese legation in Tokyo in 1904, the Rev. J. Harada writes that out of the 2,399 students studying in Japan 'four are in the school of music two are in the art school for women and ten in a girls' school' (1905:358-358). By 1907, there were nine students studying at the Tokyo School of Music and four at the Tokyo Arts School (Hiroshi:1987:77). From May 1904 to August 1909, if records are reliable, statistics for Chinese women studying in Japan from 1906-1911 cites six women studying at the Toyko Girls Music School, and one woman at the Tokyo School of Music from October 1907 to December 1909.[30]

The Japanese already had music programs established in schools by the mid 1870s. In 1872 the Ministry of Education promulgated regulations stating that singing should be part of the

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[27] See entry for Huang Zunxian in Hummel (1964) *Eminent Chinese of the Chi'ng Period* and Kamachi (1981) *Reform in China: Huang Tsun-hsien and the Japanese Model.*

[28] Quoted in Cameron (1931:71).

[29] Sources vary (in some cases, considerably) in the number of students in Japan. See H.E. King (1911:92-93), Reynolds (1993:48), Hiroshi (1987:75), (Bastid, 1988: 211) and Wang (1988:117). Chow observes that rough estimates of students numbers is due in part 'that many students wanted more than one diploma and enrolled in more than one place' (1972:358n.115).

[30] "1906-1911 nian liuri nüxuesheng tongji biao". Quoted in Sun Shiyue (1995:102-106). The six women at the Tokyo Girls' School are: Liu Lianshu (Guangdong), Xu Bi (Shanhua, Hunan), Tang Qunying (Hengshan, Hunan), Yin Fuquan (Jiangsu), Feng Zhuo (Hunan) and Chen Congzhi (Fengtian, Chengde). See Sun Shiyue (1995:104). Chen Yuezhen (Jiangsu) studied music at the Toyko School of Music. Three other students that attended music schools in Toyko from 1908-1909 are Huang Zan (Linjiang, Jiangxi), Li

curriculum of elementary schools, but due to lack of trained teachers and teaching material, for the time being there would be no formal instruction.[31] Despite the lack of expertise and training, the first school in Japan where singing was part of the curriculum was the Tokyo Women's Normal School. Arguably, the most active proponent of music education at this time was Izawa Shûji (1851-1917).[32] In 1875 Shûji was sent to America to study education and spent time at Bridgewater Normal School and Harvard University and also learned music from the director of the Boston School of Music Luther Whiting Mason (1828-1896).In early April a petition drafted by Shûji and Mekata Tanetaro, director of Japanese students studying in America as well as 'A Plan for Promoting the Teaching of Singing in Public Schools'. Both were dispatched back to Taneka Fujimaro, the Minister of Education in Japan.[33] Tanetaro's 'Plan' included the following recommendations[34]:

> 1. A department of instruction in vocal music should be established at the Tokyo Normal School and the Tokyo Women's Normal School.
>
> 2. Such instruction should eventually promote a national music. The worthwhile examples of traditional Japanese songs and music should be studied afresh, and their inadequacies supplemented from the west.
>
> 3. A teacher well-versed in Western music should take charge of this program. He should blend Japanese and Western music and compile songs suited to the Japanese. He must be a person who will devote his every effort to the promotion of Japanese national music.
>
> 4. The most suitable person for this post is Mason.
>
> 5. Because Mason is not familiar with conditions in Japan, it is recommended that Izawa Shûji be appointed as his assistant.
>
> 6. Instruction in singing should be given at the elementary school and kindergarten attached to the Normal School. The best and quickest way of teaching singing is to begin with infants.

Yuxuan (Guiping, Guangxi), Tokyo School of Music and Kong Lingwei (Wendeng, Shandong) who enrolled at the Dongyang Music School in December 1909. See Shen Yunlong (308;371;320).

[31] See Wang Pu (1997:59) and Komiya (1969:459-460).

[32] The biographical sketch of Shûji is taken from Komiya (ibid), May (1963:50-52). For an excellent account of the role of Shûji in music education in Japan see Epstein (1994:25-78)

[33] For details of the petition see Komiya (1969:462).

[34] Komiya (ibid:463),

In October 1879 the Music Study Committee (*Ongaku Torishirabe-gakari*) was formed with Izawa as its head with the specific aim to create a music curriculum for the Japanese elementary school system. The Japanese Ministry of Education invited Mason to go to Japan and act as an adviser to the Committee. By 1886 Izawa and some of his colleagues were petitioning for the establishment of a music school. On October 5 the following year the Music Study Committee became the Tokyo Music School under the direct jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education.[35] We may never know whether musical blueprints recommended by Izawa, Tanetaro and others were widely circulated in translation or in Japanese among Chinese reformers and music educators in Japan or in China or whether these recommendations were available to the Board of Education which in the Spring of 1906 began to issue nationwide directives in setting up a national school system.

It would not be hard to find similar recommendations as outlined in Izawa and Tanetaro's 'Plan', for example, in memorials and imperial edicts concerning education in the late Qing and early Republican period. In two essays entitled 'On Children's Education' and 'On Women's Education' written in 1896, Liang Qichao was calling for music courses within schools based on the Japanese model. (Wang, 1997:62). Two years later Yao Xiguang (?-?) was sent to Japan by Zhang Zhidong to inspect education and provided a description on music education within schools in an essay entitled 'A Summary of Japanese Schools' ["Dongyang xuexiao juyao"]: 'Dance and music are part of extracurricular activities in elementary schools. It is also commonplace for students to sing marching songs in a soul-stirring patriotic fashion' (quoted in Wang, 1997:59). Yao also observed that music was already a permanent fixture of elementary and middle school curriculum: 'While music is not a major subject taught within the schools, it plays an integral role at the elementary and high school level. Singing, dancing and

[35] In 1890 the Toyko School of Music moved to Ueno Park and was renamed Ueno Bijitsu Semmon Gakko.

the playing of musical instruments with musical notation are part of extracurricular activities that develop and enhance morale. Army songs accompanied by large cymbals are practically indispensable within military schools (quoted in Wang, 1997:59). In 1901 Luo Zhenyu (1866-1940) and Wu Rulun (1840-1903), head of Lianchi Academy and later dean of Beijing University were sent to Japan by the Qing government to examine Japanese education.[36] While no detailed information is given on the music curriculum in Japan, both Luo and Wu returned home with brief and general reports on music education at the state and provincial levels.[37]

The closeness with which the Chinese followed the Japanese model in regards to music education can be seen in an essay written in Japan in 1903 by Fei Shi (1884-1959), a native of Jiangning, Jiangsu province and an influential figure in introducing the Japanese school music system to China. 'We must take a leaf out of the Meiji school music system and make music education a priority. We must establish music schools, popularise education and incorporate music into the school curriculum, establish music societies and encourage music education in the home'.[38] Like Fei Shi, Tang Hualong (1874-1918), a leading figure in establishing a constitutional monarchy in China,[39] saw the Japanese model as an essential tool to the progress of the country. In 1906 he wrote: 'The Japanese have assimilated the spirit of music which has become a permanent fixture of the school system...Teaching songs will instil young children

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Today it is called the Tokyo University of Fine Arts.

[36] From July 2 to October 18 Wu inspected schools in Kyoto, Osaka and Tokyo and became acquainted with many Japanese educators including Kikuchi Dairoku and Yamakawa Kenjiro. See Hiromu Momose's entry for Wu Rulun in Hummel (1964: 870-872).

[37] See Luo Zhenyu *Notes on a Two Month Sojourn in Japan* (*Fusang liang yue ji*) and Wu Rulun *Collected Records of Travels* East (*Dongyou conglu*). On Wu's work see Reynolds (1993:139-140). According to Sanetô from 1898 to 1906 there were '117 published accounts of Chinese missions to Japan...105 of these appeared between 1901-1906' (Harrell, 1992:41). How many of these 117 published accounts contain material concerning music education? How detailed are they? I have not been able to avail myself of the original published accounts of Chinese missions to China c. 1898 to 1906 including Luo and Wu's quoted accounts in Wang Pu (1997:72 n23). On delegations and study tours to report on Japanese schools see 'Study Tours for Chinese Officials' (Chapter Two) in Harrell (1992: 40-60).

[38] Fei Shi "Zhongguo yinyue gailiang shuo" ('Theories on Chinese Music Reform') in *Zhejiang chao* (*The Zhejiang Tide*), issue no. 6, June 1903. Quoted in Sun and Zhou (1993:397).

[39] See entry for Tang Hualong in *BDRC*, vol. III (230-232).

with a lively spirit and a sense of morality and also nourish them to become independent and useful members of society'.[40] In 1906 Zeng Zhimin recounted his first impressions of Japanese music education as a student in Japan at the turn of the century in the journal *Awakening Lion* [*Xingshi*]: 'As overseas Chinese living in Japan we can emulate our Japanese colleagues. However, if we don't learn well from their example, we will produce works of mediocrity on returning home'.[41]

Japanese teachers, instructors and advisers

With official support, Sino-Japanese cooperation in education grew rapidly at the turn of the century. 'To meet the sudden demand for expertise and training', writes Reynolds:

> Japan proved both accessible and eager to help. It offered to train modern teachers for China either in Japan or China. As if to demonstrate its sincerity, it began almost immediately to tailor programs to Chinese needs, founding entirely new institutions in Japan and staffing entirely new programs in China. China, for its part, moved ahead on multiple fronts, in an impressive and unprecedented display of local initiative and national coordination and support. A particularly important front was normal schools in China, staffed by Japanese.[42]

Statistics on Japanese teachers is fragmentary. Reynolds (1993:79) provides us a comprehensive list of names of 'Leading Teachers and Advisers During China's "Age of The Japanese Teacher" which he has drawn heavily from the works of Abe Hiroshi (1983) and Wang Xiaorong (1988). There were also Japanese teachers in China employed at schools before the turn of the century. According to Sanetô, these teachers numbered no more than six hundred and also included other Japanese working in China, recruited on part-time or temporary basis.[43] Demographically, Japanese teachers were found throughout major cities in China. Sanetô

[40] Tang Hualong *Jiaoyu changge ji xuyan* in Wang Junfo (ed) *Jiaoyu changge ji* [*Collection of Educational Songs*], April 1906. Quoted in Sun and Zhou (ibid:400).
[41] *Xingshi*, issue no. 4 1906.
[42] Reynolds, (1993:90-91)
[43] Sanetô (1982:42).

(1988:42-44) provides a list of the distribution of Japanese teachers in provinces. Hiroshi (1987:69) lists the name of the province but also the number of Japanese teachers as well dated July 1909.

Table 3.1: Name of Province and Number of Japanese Teachers

Name of Province	Number of Japanese Teachers
Zhili	114
Hubei	38
Jiangsu	50
Shenjing [Liaoning]	19
Sichuan	40
Guangdong	33
Hunan	19
Zhejiang	20
Fujian	12
Shandong	10
Shanxi	10
Guangxi	11
Shannxi	7
Anhui	7
Jilin	3
Jiangxi	3
Guizhou	3
Yunnan	3
Henan	2
Xinjiang	1
Total	405

Harada quoting from official statistics of June 1904 noted that there were 'a hundred and fifty-nine Japanese subjects in various educational institutions in China'.[44] By 1906 there were five to six hundred Japanese teachers employed in China (Wang, 1988:117). According to Sanetô about 460 Japanese were teaching in Chinese schools from 1905-1906.[45] By 1908, the number of Japanese teachers had dropped to 437 and according to Japanese Foreign Ministry Records of

[44] Harada (1905: 358). From the same source the figure cited by Bastid (1988:45) is 174. Peake (1970:51) from an unknown source writes: 'by 1904 there were in China, some 165 Japanese teachers, more or less capable and well-trained'.
[45] Quoted in Harrell (1992:35).

July the following year to 424 (Reynolds, 1993:82). Many Japanese teachers and experts were established academics in Japan and included professors from Tokyo and Kyoto Imperial Universities and Waseda University.[46]

How many Japanese teachers were employed as music teachers? How many of these teachers were professional or trained musicians or music educators? Information and statistics, threadbare as they are, can be gleaned from several sources. According to statistics dated July 1907, there were eleven music and physical education teachers employed in various educational institutions in China.[47] Watanabe Ryûsei (1865-1945), president of Tokyo School of Music and a professor at the Tokyo Higher Normal School served as Yuan Shikai's educational adviser in Baoding and officially began work in September 1902. Although Watanabe's expertise as a educationalist and administrator are well-known (Reynolds, 1993:83-87), it seems highly unlikely that Watanabe was employed to teach music.[48] Kondo Hideki (?-?), a graduate from the Tokyo School of Music who worked at Baoding from 1902-1909 (Wang, ibid:73). Kawahiro Misoko (?-?) was employed to teach music at a private girls' school in Shanghai (*Shanghai Wuben Nüshu*) in 1902, the same year it was founded (Tao, 1994:226).[49] According to a 1906 issue of the *Jiaoing xuewu zazhi*, Ishino Gitan (?-?) was employed as a teacher of music at the Nanjiang Normal School in Nanjing (Tao, 1994:226; Wang, 1988:82). Two other names are included in Wang's list. Muraki Shôtaro (?-?), assigned to teach music in the music at physical education department attached to the Zhili Normal School and Ôno Kyoko (?-?), a graduate from

[46] For a list of names of these professors with biographical notes see Reynolds (1993:79-80).
[47] 'Distribution of Japanese Teachers in the Late Qing' ["Qingmo Riben jiaoxide fenbu zhuangkuang"]. Quoted in Tao (1994:226). The figure eleven also appears in Hiroshi ('The Distribution of Japanese by Subject' under the heading 'Physical Education/Music.
[48] There is no indication in Reynold's biographical sketch that Watanabe was ever professionally trained in music. In Wang Xiangrong list of names (1988:65-95), Watanabe is not mentioned and in Komiya (1967) Watanabe is not even listed in the index.
[49] Kawahiro Misoko appears in Wang's list (84), but there are no details about her educational background in Japan.

the Women's Physical Education and Music School in Tokyo, employed at the Dongyang Yubei Xuetang in Chengdu.

By the turn of the century, there were translations of Japanese texts on virtually all branches of Western knowledge. Japanese works in translation on agriculture were published in Luo Zhenyu's Shanghai-based *Agronomical Times* [*Nongye bao*] in 1897[50] Luo also published Japanese works on education in his *Educational World* [*Jiaoyu Shijie*] (Borthwick, 1983:67). A large portion of translations were Japanese language textbooks and dictionaries.[51] Chen Jiang points out that Chinese overseas students published *A Collection of Essays* [*Yishu huibian*] which 'aimed at free translation of famous European and American works on politics and law and exerted a resultant influence on the progressive youth back home'(1997:160). According to a survey by the Commercial Press [*Shangwu Yinshuguan*] published in *Eastern Miscellany* [*Dongfang zazhi*] in 1904, out of 152 books, 48 books were translated from Japanese, 27 from Western languages and 87 were original Chinese works.[52] From 1900 to 1910 over fifty works concerning the Japanese language were translated in China as well as Japan.[53] Meanwhile, Chinese students in Japan continued their own translation activities.[54]

Writing in the *Chinese Recorder* in 1905 Harada commented on the burgeoning industry of translating Japanese works on education:

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[50] See Sanetô Keishû (1982:142). For an representative list of books pertaining to agriculture see Sanetô (ibid: 142-143).

[51] For example, some 40 reprints (*chongban*) of a Japanese dictionary with *wenyan* translations entitled *Hanyi Riben wenjiia* appeared in the first year of its publication in 1904 and 19 reprints of a revised Japanese language text in its first year of publication in 1906. See Wang Xiaorong (1988:214).

[52] *Dongfang zazhi*, vol. 1, no. 1, January 25 1904. Quoted in Lin Zhiping (1981:216). These figures differ somewhat in Borthwick (1983:121-122) which she quotes from Wang Shuhuai, "Jidujiao Jiaoyuhui ji qi chubanshe shiye" ('The Education Association of China and Its Publications, 1890-1912'), *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan, Jindaishi yanjiusuo jikan* 2 (1971:365-96). Borthwick writes: 'of 153 works, 40 were translated from Japanese and 27 from Western languages. Of the remainder only 27 were original Chinese works rather than second hand compilations'.

[53] Sanetô (1982: 26-27).

[54] See Sanetô, "Liuri xueshengde fanyi huodong" ('The translation activities of Chinese students in Japan') Chapter Five (1982:135-170).

> The Japanese are not only furnishing teachers, but are producing a literature for China. Within the last few years an enormous number of Japanese books have been translated into the Chinese language from primary school textbooks up to voluminous works of science, history and philosophy. I was simply astonished when I looked into the list of books in Chinese for sale by a few of the Japanese firms in Shanghai and other principal centres.[55]

While textbooks were written or translated into Chinese by many leading Japanese teachers, what we know about music textbooks and the medium of instruction among the above mentioned Japanese music teachers remains extremely limited. Did teachers prepare actual textbooks or just copious notes? Did these teachers come well-prepared with their own teaching materials, textbooks, song books? If they did, who was involved in the arduous task of translation. Did these teachers have access to musical instruments such as a piano? Few Japanese teachers could speak Chinese. Who were the assistants who interpreted alongside these teachers? These questions remain unanswered.

Considering the Japanese impact on China through education in the early part of this century, it seems somewhat of a paradox that this impact and involvement has also been evaluated by Wang Xiaorong as a 'failed cause' (*shibaide shiye*).Wang quotes an essay entitled 'Japan's Present Situation and Future' by Ôishi Seiki published in the political journal *The Sun* [*Taiyô*] in Japan in 1898 which contains strong imperialist overtones at a time when Japan was riding on the success of the Sino-Japanese War. (1988:247) 'In the absence of any definition, and in the context of today's China', writes Reynolds, 'he can only mean the failure of Japan to gain *imperialist-type control* of China's educational system' (1993:109). If we view the control of China's educational system as part of an increasingly imperialist expansion on the part of Japan, then Wang is justified to couch the enterprise as a 'failure'. But if we take into account both the role and impact of the Japanese model on China's path to reform at the turn of the

[55] Harada (1905:359). There are no complete statistics on how many books, essays and so on were translated from the Japanese at the turn of the century and for our purposes, we are severely limited in

century, it is obvious that the Japan's involvement was anything but a failure. It furnished China's modern schools with teachers, advisers, instructors in provided the necessary guidance on numerous issues of educational reform and through Chinese translations of Japanese books and other printed matter, made important contributions to the spread of modern Western ideas.

With official approval, there was a high level of Sino-Japanese cooperation in education that found common ground among conservative and reform-minded Chinese intellectuals. The Japanese also supplied qualified and trained instructors and teachers for China's modern schools and through their publications and translations played key roles in introducing Western concepts and ideas to China. Bastid has argued that Western influence on education came entirely from Japan (1988:50). While missionaries exerted influence on many enlightened reformers such as Zhang Zhidong, Liang Qichao and Kang Youwei, their sphere of influence, as noted earlier, was restricted. Reynolds observes that in terms of hiring Westerners, the thorny problem of the relationship between Christianity and secular Western culture loomed large in the minds of Chinese reformers and educators :

> Western teachers in China were predominantly Christian missionaries. Employed overwhelmingly at Western-sponsored and- funded mission schools, they had little meaningful contact with Chinese educators, policies, or institutions...The Qing government steadfastly refused to recognize the mission schools. In the words of a 1906 communication from the Ministry of Education to the provinces, mission schools were "unregistered" and "unauthorized"; nowhere was there mention of them in China's educational statutes. Their students and graduates were ineligible, therefore, for any kind of government assistance or appointments.[56]

In September 1900, D.Z. Sheffield wrote that Christian missionaries in China 'are laying rock-foundations upon which the shapely structure of a new civilisation is to be built in future

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gathering information on music materials.
[56] Reynolds (1993:108)

years'.[57] But without widespread support among conservatives and reformers, let alone any official support from the Qing court, missionaries had little hope of laying down any 'rock-foundations' or paving the way for a high level of Sino-Western cooperation in the realm of education. For most Chinese, missionary education was inseparably linked to Christianity and therefore unavoidably treated with suspicion. Despite contacts that took place at both the formal and informal levels among Chinese reformers and missionaries in the realm of education, help and guidance was very much dictated by the policies of the Qing government. Zhang Baixi's comments in 1902 that Western teachers who taught in Chinese schools were simply 'priests (missionaries) who have come to China to preach' was an obvious blow to missionary educators who were duly replaced by Japanese educators.[58] In one sense, the missionary enterprise was a 'failure' for their educational endeavours never received official approval from the Qing court. Missionary efforts to inspire religious fervour in the minds of many important Chinese reformers failed as well. But their 'unofficial' involvement in education and reform provided both a source of guidance and inspiring influence of another kind in the minds of many reformers in the late Qing and early years of the Republic.

[57] D.Z. Sheffield 'Influence of the Western World in China', *Century*, 60:788-789, September 1900. Quoted in Sidney A. Forsythe (1971:21) 'The Institutional Setting and the Purpose of Mission Work' (Chapter 2).

[58] Quoted in Cameron (1931:69) and Reynolds (1993:109). W.A.P. Martin's dismissal from the Imperial University (*Jingshi daxuetang*) was perhaps the most blatant example that China of getting rid of missionary influence within the school system. As Cameron writes Zhang 'was determined to have a faculty of foreigners with no religious connections. Soon the foreign press was carrying stories of the impending ruin of the university by the removal of Dr. Martin and his colleagues, who were replaced by a group of Japanese professors' (Cameron, 1931:69). Writing in the *CR* in July 1901,the Rev. A. P. Parker bemoaned of the growing presence of the Japanese in China's educational institutions. 'An invasion of ideas instead of one of arms. A propaganda of education instead of one of coercion. a subtle attempt to make a conquest of China by means of mental rather than physical forces.' See Parker 'A New Japanese Invasion of China' (1901:356-359).

IV.

The Establishment of School Songs Courses

Before the 1898 Reform Movement both Liang Qichao and Kang Youwei were calling for patriotic songs as an essential tool for the progress of the country. In May 1898 Kang Youwei sent a memorial to the throne introducing the German education system and calling for the Qing government to implement Western-style education: 'We need to set up primary schools in the provinces and make it compulsory for children over seven to attend school. Subjects should include history, literature, mathematics, geography and songs'.[1] Two years earlier Liang Qichao had already begun addressing issues of education. In an 1896 essay entitled "Bianfa Tongyi" ("A Comprehensive Discussion on Reform"), Liang emphasised the important role of schools as forums for political and social change and the importance of music education: 'Education must include music. It must be taught with enthusiasm and spirit and it must not be tedious and boring. Music programs should contain lots of catchy ballads and folk songs and contain words that are easily understood'.[2] Despite such proposals, when imperial edicts stipulated the establishment of a new school system at the turn of the century, music was not immediately seen as a priority. In this chapter I propose to trace the emergence of school songs as part of the new school system, to investigate the creation of songbooks or music textbooks incorporated in the schools, the writing of national anthems, and finally, to consider the availability of musical instruments in the performances of these songs.

School Music Courses

In July 1902 with the promulgation of the first regulations for new schools, an imperial decree for education (*Qinding xuetang zhangcheng*) stipulated that reading of the Confucian classics should be the most important subject while handicrafts (*shougong*), drawing (*tuhua*) and music (*yinyue*) were considered optional or part of extra-curricular

[1] *Wuxu zouding, qing kaixiao zhe* (Imperial Decree Requesting the establishment of schools during the Hundred Days of Reform). Quoted in Sun and Zhou'(1993:395-396)

activities. In 1903 Zhang stated that music be included in the school curriculum as an 'optional' (*suiyike*) rather than 'compulsory' (*bixiuke*) subject. With the 'Imperial Regulations for Education' (*Zouding xuetang zhangcheng*) of 1904, music education began to emerge as a serious issue, but no serious attempt was made to implement any of the proposals. In 1907 the 'Regulations for Primary Schools for Girls' stipulated that music classes were optional (Wu and Liu, 1985:404) and in 1909 the 'Revised Regulations on Elementary Schools' included songs (*yuege*) as part of the curriculum.

Prior to the Ministry of Education stipulating that singing be made a required subject in the national curriculum of primary schools in 1912, the inclusion of singing and music was left very much to individual initiative. A small yet influential group of Chinese reformers such as Cai Yuanpei, Wu Huaijiu, Shen Xingong, Zhang Boling and Yan Xiu played crucial roles in promoting and incorporating singing classes into the modern school system at the turn of the century. One of the first schools to introduce singing into the curriculum was the *Zhengmeng shuyuan*, a primary school academy in Shanghai in 1878.[3] In the school regulations at the Third Level Public School (*Sandeng Gongxue*) in Shanghai in 1896 it is recorded: 'After school each evening, students take part in physical education, take a stroll within the school grounds, select a number of simple songs to sing. Songs of praise cultivating the mind and spirit are taught. (quoted in Wang Pu,1997:64). In 1898, Liang Zhaomin (?-?), Deng Jiaren (?-?) and others established the *Citizen's School* [*Shimin xuetang*] in Canton which included among subjects taught, music classes.[4]

A number of vocational training and private schools for girls and women also included songs as part of the curriculum. The Jingzheng Private Girls School in Shanghai, the

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[2] Liang Qichao "Lun Youxue" ('On Children's Education') in "Bianfa tongyi". Quoted in Sun and Zhou (1993:396).
[3] Gu Yuanming (1990:423).
[4] Liu Fushu (1993:6). Quoted in Wang Pu (1997:65). Xiao Youmei taught at this school before going to Japan with Deng Jiaren the following year.

first Chinese-run school for girls established on May 31 1898 [5] by Jing Yuanshan, a tireless advocate of women's educational reform, subjects under Western studies (*xixue*) included the study of musical instruments (*qinxue*) (Wang Pu, 1997:64). In October 1901 Cai Yuanpei proposed the inclusion of ethics, songs and verses on prevailing social customs and music (*yinlü*) as part of the school curriculum for women's general education in the fourth year.[6] At the Patriotic Girls' School founded in June 1902 under the auspices of the Chinese Education Society with Cai Yuanpei and Jiang Guanyun sharing the position of principal, music was taught as part of the school's 'preliminary' (*yubei*) and 'general'(*putong*) classes (Wang Pu, 1997:64-65). By 1906 the Wuben Nüshu founded by Wu Huaijiu (Wu Wanjiu) in 1902 included in its curriculum foreign languages, history, geography, drawing, callisthenics and singing (Sun, 1995:59). Between 1898-1904 twelve Chinese-run girls schools were established in Shanghai due in no small part to the efforts of Cai Yuanpei and Wu Huaijiu who worked untiringly in the area of women's education. Many other schools for women were subsequently established across China.[7] In 1902, Yan Xiu (1862-1929) and experienced educationalist who, in December 1905 became the Vice-Minister of the Board of Education, was sent to Japan to inspect Japanese education. On his return Yan Xiu and Zhang Boling established the Jingye zhong xuetang (later Nankai Middle School) in Tianjin and Yan also set up a private girls' school (*nüshu*) in his home in Tianjin whose students were mainly female family members (Zhu Youhuan, 1986:909-910). Records of whether music was

[5] Sun Shiyue (1995:56) writes that the school officially opened in June. According to Nelson (1963:25) Kang Youwei's daughter also played a leading part in the founding of the school. According to Kazuko (1978:29), the failure of the 1898 Reform Movement eventually forced the closure of the school in the autumn of 1900: 'Jing Yuanshan incurred displeasure from the authorities...The first women's school closed without producing a single graduate'. According to Nelson, the closure of the school came at the hands of 'Kang Yi, a reactionary High Commissioner' a year later who is purported to have said about the school: 'Do the Classics say that 'a wise woman in more likely to be a curse in a family then a blessing? Why then should Shanghai desire to encumber itself with female wisdom?' (Nelson, 1963:25).

[6] "Xuetang jiaoke lun" (On School Curriculum). Quoted in Gao Pingshu (1984: 151).

[7] Between 1898-1912 at least 120 Chinese-run schools were established throughout China including the 12 set up in Shanghai. See (Ma, 1995:135-140). On Girls' Schools at the turn of the century, see Beahan 'Feminism and Nationalism in the Chinese Women's Press, 1902-1911 (1975:381). It is impossible to know without records of curricula taught at these girls' schools whether singing was

taught at the Jingye zhong xuetang are, unfortunately, scarce, but Yan Xiu employed a Japanese to teach singing (Wang Pu, 1997:65). One of the songs taught to these young ladies was 'Unbound Feet' [*Fangzu ge*]:

At the age of five, girls swallowed tears
'Why do you tie up a child like a chicken?', they ask their loving mother.
A child's feet fractured, broken hearts
Days are spent confined, sleepless nights.
The next-door neighbour has a girl with a pair of unbound feet
Off to the new school to study.

The mother carries these young girls
When these boys grow up they don't want to marry a woman with bound feet.
The man of the house crosses the young girls path
Why are foot bound women so ignorant?
They're confined to their boudoir[8]
Walking with great difficulty
The mother loves the child she carries
Don't marry off a son to a wife with bound feet.[9]

In March 1907 regulations were drawn up by the Board of Education that stipulated that schooling for women be part of the national curriculum. These regulations stipulated three forms of primary schools for girls: junior, senior and a two-grade primary school for girls (Kuo, 1915:101). Regulations for music in this decree referred to:

> the selecting of tunes or tunes from pre-existing melodies set to new lyrics and songs that are simple and standard. The teacher must select songs which incorporate the values of the five virtues of human relationships[10] and arouse the temperament and cultivate moral conduct. For primary schools girls at the junior level it is not necessary to be able to read music, but individual songs are to be taught plainly and simply. For primary school girls at the senior level, individual songs will first be taught before reading music is introduced (Sun, 1994:1953).

Regulations for lower girls' primary schools, on the one hand, stipulated five classes with the following subjects: morality, Chinese, arithmetic, needlework and physical

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included in the school system, particularly before the March 1907 regulations which made women's education a compulsory part of the national school system.

[8] Traditional Chinese terms for wife, *neiren* (lit: 'person inside') and *neizhu* (lit:'helper inside') reflected the restriction of women in the home.

[9] Quoted in Zhu Youhuan, 1986:910. For a translation of poetic poem denouncing foot-binding see Ono (1978:30-32).Two small slim volumes of anti-footbinding songs published in Hankow in 1898 are located in the London Missionary Society Collection at the National Library in Canberra entitled *Mobaojiao ge* (lit: 'don't wrap feet song'). See [5.1].

[10] Namely, benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom and fidelity.

education. Foreign music (*wai yinyue*) and drawing (*tuhua*) were also taught, but they were optional (Sun:1952).[11] Regulation for senior girls' primary schools, on the other, consisted of nine classes with the following subjects: morality, Chinese, arithmetic, Chinese history, geography, science,[12] drawing, needlework and calisthenics. Foreign music was also an optional subject (Sun, 1994:1952). At both the junior and senior level of primary school for girls, music was taught from the first year right through to the fourth year, the hours of instruction per week are not mentioned in the March 1907 Regulations (Sun, 1994:1954-1956). In regulations for girls' normal schools issued that same year, music was included among thirteen other subjects. While these regulations did not indicate whether music was compulsory or optional one hour per week was devoted to music in the first and second years and two hours in the third and fourth. In contrast to what was taught at girls' primary schools, normal schools for girls including part singing (*fuyinge*) and instruction in musical instruments (Wang Pu, 1997:69). The integration of singing as part of reforms in education were also encouraged in kindergartens (*youzhiyuan*). 'Regulations Concerning Kindergarten and Family Education' promulgated on 13 January 1904 it was stated that nursery rhymes, folk songs and ballads (*geyao*) were to be used to 'help develop the growth of a cheerful state of mind and cultivate the essence of moral integrity' (Sun, 1994:1847).

In proposals drafted in a memorial by the Jiangsu Education Association in early 1909, it was envisaged that in 'subject adjustments' that would be implemented in the next five years, school songs would become a component in the literature classes at elementary

[11] See also Shu Xincheng (1961:805). No specific hours are allocated for music classes in the 1907 regulation and I would surmise that they were included as part of callisthenics (*ticao*) or moral training (*xiushen*) classes. Writing in *Jiaoyu shijie* in October 1907 Wang Guowei suggested that singing classes would greatly supplement moral training classes. See Wang Guowei 'On Teaching Material in Singing Classes in Primary Schools'. Quoted in Wang and Yang (1996:33).

[12] *Gezhi* According to Masini (1993:173), *gezhi* is an abbreviation of *gezhi zhizhi* and referred to 'scientific subjects in a broad sense' during the eighteenth century. For a detailed discussion of the term and its application in modern thought see Wang Hui 'The Fate of "Mr. Science" in China: The Concept of Science and its Application in Modern Chinese Thought' (1997:21-81). The modern Chinese word for science *kexue* >*kagaku* is an 'original graphic loan from the Japanese' (Masini, 1993:185) , but was still used by Liang Qichao in 1896 with the original meaning of 'educational system' (ibid).

primary schools. [13] The Association also urged its members to discuss music reform proposals. Zhang Guangqi (?-?), the director of the Jiangning Education Promotion Bureau (*Quanxuesuo*) argued that school songs should be made 'compulsory' (Wang Pu, 1997:69). Lu Feigui (1886-1941), the first editor of the *Educational Review* [*Jiaoyu zazhi*], stressed the value of subjects such as drawing and music, but argued that they be made optional due to the shortage of trained and qualified teachers.[14]

Singing also formed an integral part of physical education (*tiyu*) and callisthenics (*ticao*) programs, especially in the form of military drills.[15] Singing and music were regarded as essential to physical fitness and nation-building. In early 1903 the Shanghai-based monthly *Women's Journal* [*Nüxuebao*] praised the Patriotic Girls' School for combining calisthenics and singing: 'The elegance and refinement of the Girls' School can be found in combining calisthenics with singing...Calisthenics strengthens the body and singing tempers the disposition'.[16] The importance of physical fitness and music was also considered an important part of elementary school (*mengxue*) education in Hunan in 1905:

[13] Zhu Youxian (1987:207). Quoted in Wang Pu, (1997:69).

[14]Similar problems in integrating music subjects in the school curriculum without trained teachers may be seen in a comparison of the aims of the Ministry of Education in Japan in the late nineteenth century. As Komiya writes:

> *In 1872, regulations for education were promulgated by the Ministry of Education. With regard to music it was provided that singing should be part of the curriculum of elementary schools, and the playing of musical instruments part of the middle-school curriculum, but it was noted in both cases that for the time being instruction would not be provided. The reason this notation was made was that at the time there were neither teachers nor teaching materials for this purpose. Only in private schools established by the Christian missions was singing in English and hymn-singing treated as part of the curriculum. This however was very much of an exception* (Komiya, 1969:460).

[15] For an excellent discussion on the use of the terms *ticao* and *tiyu* see Morris (1997:4-8).

[16] Yang Yuhou (1993:182).

> Music, particularly song, is part of physical education and should be treated as being of equal importance. While physical education is designed for strength and fitness of the body, music is for alertness of the mind. Musical rhythm if matched adequately to patriotic texts can easily promote patriotism. In fact, songs are the most powerful instrument for cultivating aesthetics and self-restraint. All song texts should focus on learning about past saints, model officials, animals, trees and other subjects. [17]

Further evidence that music was combined with physical education can be seen from a decree issued in 1907 for Girls' Primary Schools. It stipulates under the heading 'callisthenics' that 'music will be integrated into 'suitable games and activities'.[18]

In the last years of the dynasty, formal regulations prescribed singing as part of the curriculum to instil certain social and political values. In 1910 singing was added to lower and higher primary schools to stimulate patriotism (Bailey, 1990:116). In articles six and eight of 'Provisional Classes For General Education' promulgated by the Ministry of Education (*Jiaoyubu*) on January 19 1912, singing is included as an optional rather than a compulsory subject for primary and normal schools from the first to the fourth year (Zhu Youxian, 1990:3-6). It was not until regulations were issued in September and November that singing was no longer treated as optional, but a compulsory subject (Bailey,1990:142).[19] Singing now became a required subject for a national school curriculum, but recommendations by some educationalists suggest that relevance in the school system was not a closed issue.[20] Regulations for general education that year concerning normal schools

[17] *Hunan mengyuangyuan jiaoke shuolüe.* Translated by Guen (1988:136) with minor alterations.

[18] Quoted in Shu Xincheng (1961:805).

[19] Shu Xincheng (1961), vol. 2:460-462 cites November 1912 while the *ZGJYNJ*, vol. 1 no. 2 gives September See page 206.

[20] In Huang Yanpei's article entitled 'A Discussion on Adopting Pragmatism in School Education' ("Xuexiao jiaoyu caiyong shiyong zhuyi zhe shangque") published in *Jiaoyu zazhi* in 1913 (vol. 5, no. 7) a number of subjects are included for recommendation including arithmetic, geography, history, and drawing, but there is no mention of singing. Even though singing and music occupied an important part of classes and military drills, they often appeared under another discipline such as *ticao* (calisthenics).
Music and other "soft" subjects such as drawing and needlework (*cixiu*) were not regarded as subjects in their own right (as evidenced from reform edicts at the turn of the century). 'Music' may very well have been 'optional' due to the lack of trained and qualified teachers, but Huang Yanpei's comments

devoted one hour per week to songs sung in unison as well as a general introduction to part singing from the first to the third year. In the fourth year the teaching of singing was introduced (Bailey, 1990:7). In the curriculum for primary schools issued on 22 November 1912, it was stated that monophonic singing was to be taught for two hours per week as a first, second and third year subject (Bailey, 1990:123). In part of a mission school curriculum approved by the Central China Educational Association published in the *China Education Review* some four years later in July 1916, music is compulsory in first and second year and optional in the third and fourth.[21]

Apart from changing attitudes that music should be a compulsory rather than optional subject, there were very little changes or alterations in regulations and decrees concerning music issued in imperial edicts and educational decrees from the turn of the century to the fall of the Qing dynasty in 1911. Regulations encouraged 'fostering moral conduct' (*yihan yang dexing*) and 'arousing determination and will' (*ganfa qi xinzhi*).The texts of songs were to be 'simple but refined' (*pingyi yazheng*) and the songs themselves were to be 'easily understood and monophonic' (*pingyi danyin yuege*). With regard to regulations for Normal Girls' School in 1907, part singing (*fuyin*) and musical instruments would also be taught. [22] In an article entitled 'Experimenting With Primary School Songs' published in July 1911 in *Educational Magazine*, Wu Fulin, a primary school teacher from Xiamen, Fujian province argued that if songs were to be taught, they should be sung in unison. 'Four-part singing can also be taught to the best students, but this will require a lot of work from the teacher and the results may not be as efficacious as using monophonic singing. After all, children have trouble keeping to their own part and end up singing

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suggest that there were educational reformers who believed that music was not an essential subject or at least should be relegated to extra-curricula activities.

[21] Much of this curriculum was based on a course of study at the Tyler County High School, Middlebourne, West Virginia. See Webster (1923:106) See also Weeks 'A Democratized Curriculum (1913:205-206).

[22] See Shu Xincheng (1961, 3:815).

someone else's part'[23] Regulations for Middle Schools issued in early December 1912 clearly stated that monophonic singing should be taught first before introducing part singing and musical instruments. Regulations for Normal Schools issued on December 10 that same year also stipulated that students be taught not only how to play musical instruments but how to teach them as well. [24]

Textbooks and a National Anthem

Prior to the creation of a Textbook Bureau [*Bianyi tushuju*] by the Board of Education in 1906, the compilation and publishing of textbooks was largely left to the efforts of individuals. As mentioned in the last chapter, at the turn of the century, there were translations of Japanese texts on virtually all branches of Western knowledge. Missionary newspapers and magazines such as *Wanguo gongbao* and the *Zhongguo jiaohui xinbao* [*China Church News*] were important instruments of proselytization, but also instrumental in circulating Western secular ideas. The *Zhongguo Jiaohui xinbao* as Chen Jiang has observed 'first carried mostly preachings and sermons but later published Western learning in growing proportions' (1997:157). John Fryer's *Scientific Magazine* [*Gezhi huibian*] founded in 1876 was devoted entirely to introducing Western science and technology to China (Chen, 1997:57). Apart from newspapers and magazines, missionaries were also engaged in translating work from English and other languages into Chinese. The bulk of texts written and translated ranged from works on science, history, geography, geometry and medicine to the compilation of dictionaries and the rendering of theological concepts. By the end of the nineteenth century Protestant scholars had translated hundreds of books on a wide range of secular subjects (Twichett and Fairbank, 1978:578). However, translations of music texts by the Kiangnan Arsenal and the Tongwenguan, missionary bodies such as Religious Tract Societies, Educational Associations, the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General

[23] "Xiaoxue changge zhi shiyan" (Experimenting with Primary School Songs), *Jiaoyu zazhi*, issue no. 7, 1911. Quoted in Wang and Yang (1996:35).
[24] See Sun Yankui (1994:2369).

Knowledge (S. D. K), as well as foreign texts translated by Chinese translators (Broomhall, 1907:35), remains fragmentary. [25]

The creation of a textbook bureau by the Board of Education was to publish textbooks and distribute them throughout the provinces. The 1906 regulations stipulated, among other things, that '[p]ending on the time when the Board will issue its own books, we shall select the books printed by various publishers and approve those that are suitable in order to provide for the needs of the schools'(quoted in Darrock, 1907:211). Textbooks were also published by individuals and publishing houses approved by the Board of Education (Kuo, 1915:106). One of the most prolific publishers in textbooks was the Commercial Press founded in Shanghai in 1897. Publishing houses such as the Wenming Shuju and Guangyi Shuju were initially in charge of publishing new school textbooks (Reynolds, 1993:121). The Wenming Shuju founded in Shanghai in the summer of 1902, for instance, published a series of Elementary School Readers [*Mengxue Duben*][26]. That same year the Commercial Press began to dominate textbook publishing.[27] In 1905 the Commercial Press published a series

[25] We have already mentioned Julia Brown Mateer's *Proniples of Western Vocal Music of Music*. I have not been able to avail myself of Robert McCheyne Mateer's *Character-Building in China: The Life Story of Julia Brown Mateer* published in New York c. 1912 which could document important information in regard to this music text. Wylie *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese* (1867) is an invaluable source, but apart from hymn books, I have found no reference to the translations of Western music in Chinese in his text. In the 'Complete List of John Fyrer's Translation' (quoted in Bennett: 1967:82-102) I have found no translated texts on music. Similarly, in the list of translations completed by Young J. Allen for the Jiangnan Arsenal (1871-1881) I have found no translated texts on music. Another possible source for the translation of Western music texts is the *Catalogue of Publications by Protestant Missionaries in China* (Shanghai, 1876. 53 pp.). According to Crouch (1983:52), it can be found in the Van Pelt Library at the University of Pennsylvania. It should be noted that The translation of Western music texts and music also witnessed a steady and growing interest in the publication of articles and books on Chinese music in English. These include J.A. Aalst *Chinese Music* (1862); B. Jenkins 'Notions of the Ancient Chinese Respecting Music' (1869); Ernst Faver 'The Chinese Theory of Music' (1873:324;384); George Stent 'Chinese Lyrics' (1873); N.B. Dennys 'Short Notes on Chinese Instruments of Music' (1873); S. W. Bushell 'The Stone Drums of the Chou Dynasty' (1873); Mary Richard 'Chinese Music' (1890); A.C. Moule *A List of Musical and Other Sound Producing Instruments of the Chinese* (1908) and G.P. Green 'Some Aspects of Chinese Music and Some Thoughts and Impressions on Art Principles in Music' (1913) and D. K. Lieu 'Chinese Music' (1919) See Tyau (1919:103-110).

[26] See 1902 (Summer) in Ding Zhiping (1935:11).

[27] According to H.C. Meng writing in the English language *Peking Leader* in February 1919, the earliest series of primary school readers was edited on the initiative of Gao Fengjian, Jiang Weiqiao, Zhuang Yu, and others 'most of whom were among the founders of the Commercial Press in Shanghai. See 'New Textbooks in Tyau (1919:41).

of elementary readers, and by 1906, 335,000 such readers had been published with 67,000 accompanying teacher manuals (Peake, 1970: 180). How many of these texts for use in the new school system were song books or music textbooks? The approved list of textbooks drawn up by the Board of Education in 1907 and for middle schools the following year did not include music in its lists of subjects or texts. This does not mean that there were no music or singing classes, but rather that they were probably taught under other subjects. In the case of the 1907 approved list, 10 subjects and 33 volumes appear under the heading 'drawing, tracing of characters, etc.' Similarly, 9 different subjects and a total of 28 volumes subsumed under the heading 'other' (*qita*) appear in a list of approved texts for middle schools in 1908.[28] In the absence of detailed lists, we may surmise that a number of song books published in the early part of the century, including Shen Xingong's *Anthology of School Songs* (1904), Zeng Zhimin's *Anthology of National Citizens Songs* and *Collection of Educational Songs* (1905) and Li Shutong's *Anthology of National Songs* (1905) were recommended or approved for use in the school system. Shen's three volumes of school songs, for instance, published in 1907 were in such demand that during the next two years it would be reprinted no less than five times (Liu, 1986:34).

While by no means complete, the list below provides allows us to gauge a number of song anthologies for schools and books on Western music theory published in the first two decades of the twentieth century:

Table 4.1 **Song anthologies**

Anthology of Educational Songs [*Jiaoyu changge ji*]	Zeng Zhimin	1904
Anthology of School Songs, [*Xuexiao changge ji*], vol. I	Shen Xingong	1904
Collection of National Songs [*Guoxue changge ji*]	Li Shutong	1905

[28] Lin Zhiping (1982:218).

Collection of Middle School Songs [*Zhongxue changge ji*]	Xin Han	1906
Collection of School Songs [*Xuexiao changge ji*][29]	Wuxi Southern Public School	1906
Collection of School Songs, [*Xuexiao changge ji*], vol. II	Shen Xingong	1906
Introductory Collection of Songs for Primary Schools [*Xiaoxue changge chuji*]	Commercial Press, Shanghai	1906 (May)
Collection of School Songs [*Xuexiao changge ji*] vols. I-III	Shen Xingong	1907
New Songs for Women [*Nüzi Xin changge*]	Ye Zhongling (ed.)	1908 Commercial Press, Shanghai
Reprint of a Collection of School Songs [*Chongbian Xuexiao changge ji*] vols. I-VI	Shen Xingong	1911
Republican Songs [*Minguo changge ji*] vol. I-IV	Shen Xingong	1912
Reprint of a Collection of School Songs (third edition)	Shen Xingong	1915
Collection of Songs for National Citizens of the New Republic [*Gonghe guomin changge ji*][30]	Hua Hangshen	1912
A Collection of Educational Songs for Army Civilians [*Junguomin jiaoyu changgeji*][31]	You Heshan, Feng Liang (eds)	1913 Yinyue jiaoyushe, Guangzhou
Textbook of Songs for Primary Schools [*Zhongxiaoxue changge jiaokeshu*][32]	Li Yanxing, Li Yingda (eds.)	1914
Collection of English Songs	Li Huaxuan	1914

[29] Reference found in Zhang Jingwei (1985a:22).
[30] Reference found in Zhang Jingwei (1985a:24).
[31] Reference found in Shi Lei (1983:68).
[32] Reference is found in Wang Yuhe (1985:18n1).

[*Yingwen changge ji*]		
Children's Songs for the Republic [*Gonghe youzhi ge*]	Li Yuzhen	1915
Collection of Practical Songs [*Yingyong changge ji*]	Li Huaxuan	1918
Collection of Patriotic Songs [*Aiguo changge ji*]	Li Huaxuan	1919

Table 4.2 **Books on Western music theory**[33]

Introduction to Music Theory [*Yueli Dayi*] [34]	Zeng Zhimin	1903
Textbook on Western Music [*Yuedian jiaokeshu*][35]	Zeng Zhimin (trans.)	1904
Introduction to Western Music Theory [*Yuedian dali*][36]	Xin Han, Wu Chongming (trans.)	1906
Introduction to Western Music Theory for Middle Schools [*Zhongxue yuedian jiaokeshu*][37]	Xu Fulin, Sun Shantong	1907
General Introduction to Music Theory [*Yuedian gailun*][38]	Shen Pengnian (compiler and editor)	1908
Music Theory [*Yuedian*][39]	Li Jianhong	1909
Harmony [*Heshengxue*][40]	Gao Shoutian (trans.)	1914
MusicTheory [*Yuedian*][41]	Xu Baoren (ed.), Hu Junfu (rev.)	1915

[33] The following texts are taken from Zhu Jingwei (1998:105-106).
[34] Published in *Jiangsu* issue no. 6.
[35] Translation of Suzuki Yonejiro's work which in turn might be a translation of a earlier Western music text.
[36] Published by Jiseidô Bookstore.
[37] Translation of Tamura Torazô's work published by the Commercial Press in Shanghai.
[38] Published by the Zhongguo tushu gongsi in Shanghai.
[39] Published by the Board of Education Book Bureau (*Xuebu Shuju*). Quoted in Hou Ruiyun and Zhang Jingwei (1886:90).
[40] Published by the Commercial Press, Shanghai.

General Music Theory [*Putong yuedian*][42]	Wang Dianshi (ed.)	1918

Despite the growing number of music textbooks, song anthologies and books on Western music theory published, concerned voices complained of the 'lack of appropriate music textbooks and song anthologies brought out by publishing houses'.[43] These voices were in some ways analogous to the problems faced by Protestant missionaries such as the Reverend C. Goodrich—a 'multitude' of hymn books—but the absence of 'good' hymns in the late nineteenth century. In an article published in *Educational World* July 1911, Wu Fulin emphasised the importance of suitable teaching material in primary schools and at the same time supplementing published music texts by the Commercial Press in Shanghai stating that 'the strength of any curriculum relies on teaching materials'.[44]

The newly-formed Ministry of Education (*Jiaoyubu*) of the provisional government established in Nanjing in January 1912 with Cai Yuanpei as the Minister of Education laid great emphasis on textbooks that reflected numerous goals and aspirations in accordance with republican ideals. Accompanying these goals was the need to compose a national anthem that was in harmony with the spirit of republicanism. However, before the collapse of the Qing dynasty in 1911, the court issued its own version in late September or early October that year.[45] Entitled *Gongjin'ou* (lit: 'strengthen the golden bowl'), this anthem was penned by Yan Fu, the doyen of Western translators in the late Qing and set to tune in *gongche*

[41] Published by the Commercial Press, Shanghai.
[42] Published by Kaifeng Weiguo gongchang.
[43] Li Huaxuan "Woguo xuexiao yuege dang gailiangde zouyi" ('Proposals on Reforming School Songs in China'). Exact date unknown. Quoted in Chen Bingyi (1991:90). Chen provides no date on the publication of these 'Proposals', but from his chronological discussion of Li Huaxuan, it is likely that they were published in the first four or five years of the new republic or in the early 1920s.
[44] Wu Fulin, "Xiaoxue changge zhi shiyan" (Experimenting with Primary School Songs), *Jiaoyu shijie*, issue no. 7, 1911. Quoted in Wang and Yang (1996:35).
[45]From available sources the exact date of issue is unclear. Bailey gives September and Tao early October (1994:209). In a diary entry dated September 28 1911,Yan Fu wrote: [I] went to the Imperial Qing Guard Public Office to decide on a suitable anthem'. See Wang Shi (ed.), *Yan Fu wenji*, vol. 5 (1986:1511).

notation by Pu Dong (?-?), a military training officer (*junxunguan*) with the Qing Imperial Guard Corps.[46]

At an education conference in September 1912 a national anthem was presented by Zhang Binglin, but was rejected on the grounds of not being suitably 'modern' (Bailey: 1990:178). Since its founding, Ministry of Education had considered over three hundred songs, but none were found to be suitable (Peake, 1970:133; Shen, 1981:67-68; Qian Renkang, 1997:382). In February 1913, the Ministry of Education sent out letters to numerous reformers including Liang Qichao, Zhang Binglin, Yan Fu and Qian Xun requesting them to draft a suitable text for a national anthem (Qian, 1997:382). Although four candidates were eventually chosen to draft a suitable text,[47] the Ministry of Education and Yuan Shikai adopted the first four lines of a song entitled *Qing yun ge* taken from the biography of Yu Xia in the *Shangshu dazhuan*—compiled by Fu Sheng in the Western Han (206 B.C-24 A. D.) and the last two written by Wang Rongbao (?-?).[48] The song and lyrics appeared in May 1913 published in a monthly journal brought out by the Ministry of Education (Qian, 1997:386). However, the choice of a national anthem was far from decided. In May seven songs were selected for consideration and presented to Yuan Shikai (Peake, 1970:133). Accompanying these songs was the following recommendation:

> The civilized nations of the world all have national songs which they use on ceremonial occasions. It represents the consciousness of the nationality. China should have one, not simply because other nations have [national songs], but because it is most natural to have one...If we do not have a national song we cannot show our national spirit to other countries nor can we reconcile the spirit of the five races that comprise of the Republic. (Quoted in Peake, 1970:133).

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[46]Sun Zhendong (1981: 40). The anthem transcribed in cipher notation and text are found in Tao (1994: 217-218).

[47] Zhang Binglin, Zhang Jian, Qian Xun and Wang Rongbao. See Qian (1997:383-386).

[48] See Qian (1997:386). Peake (1970:133-134) who has rendered the title as "Song of the Green Clouds" translates the first four lines as follows: 'The Chinese five-coloured flag is like a rainbow in the clouds which sparkles colourfully in the sky. China is like the sun and the moon waxing and waning endlessly day by day'. The 'five-coloured flag' on the Republican flag (red, yellow, blue, white and black) represented the five ethnic groups in China respectively: the Han, Manchurian, Mongolian, Tibetan and Moslem. According to Sun Zhendong (1981:69) and Qian (1997:386) the piece was composed by the Belgium composer Joam Haustone. The first four lines of the text were also set to music by Xiao Youmei in 1921. See Qian (1997:392-393).

In 1915 Yuan Shikai's government issued an official national anthem entitled 'China's Strength and Power Stands Firm in the Cosmos' [*Zhongguo xiongli yuzhou jian*] :

> China stands proudly in the world,
> And stretches to the eight regions.
> The Chinese race comes from the summit
> of Kunlun mountains [mountains north of Tibet]
> Immense are the country's mountains and rivers and
> Its mountains without end.
> The Republican union combines the five races
> At the start of an era, worthy of Yao.[49]

The question of a suitable national anthem moved beyond the Ministry of Education and Parliament to occupy public attention. For example, Wu Jingheng, writing in the Shanghai newspaper *Zhonghua xinbao* on December 15 1916 questioned Wang Rongbao's choice of text and proposed a number of alternatives.[50] In May 1921, Sun Yat-sen and the Nationalist Government in Canton issued a national anthem composed by Liu Feilie (?-?) and lyrics by Xu Qian (?-?).[51] On 24 January 1924, delegates to the First Nationalist Party Congress endorsed a new party anthem that was seen to reflect the priorities of the Nationalist Party (KMT):

> The Three Principles of the People our Party reveres,
> To found a republic, to advance to One World.
> Lead on comrades, as vanguards of the people,
> Don't Bend to the elements, hold fast to your principles.
> Be earnest and brave, your country to save, Be faithful and loyal,
> One heart, one soul,
> One mind, one goal.[52]

According to Bailey in the decade before the founding of the Republic each school composed 'its own version of a national anthem'.[53] In the absence of a national song that

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[49] Translated by Bailey (1990:178) An original facsimile of the national anthem in *gongche* notation can be found in Tao (1994:218). The score was transcribed into staff notation by Xiao Youmei in 'Comparative Research into Chinese and Western Music' published in the Beijing University Journal *Yinyue zazhi* (vol. 1, no. 8), October 31, 1920. See Tao (ibid:219-220).
[50] For a copy of Wu's article see Qian (1997:388-389).
[51] For the text and music see Qian (1997:390-392).
[52] Quoted in John Fitzgerald (1996:184). This anthem which remains to this day the national anthem of the Republic of China, Taiwan. The text was composed by Sun Yat-sen and delivered as part of a ceremony held to signal the beginning of a semester at the Huangpu Military School on 16 June 1924 and set to music by Cheng Maojun. See Qian (1989:243).

could unify the nation, school songs played a key role in nationalist awakening through singing at schools and at other public gatherings. Among the more than three hundred songs that the Ministry of Education received for consideration in early 1912, many were arguably already part of the school repertoire. It is possible that the text 'Patriotic Song' (*Aiguoge*) that Liang Qichao gave the Ministry of Education for the new Republic's anthem was one that he penned at the turn of the century for the Datong School in Yokohama.[54] However, while there were obvious hints of patriotism in school songs, selecting a suitable song for a school was not the same as choosing an anthem for the new Republic and as we have seen the Ministry of Education took the matter very seriously when considering all possible candidates.

Availability of Musical Instruments

As we have noted, music played an important role in physical education (*tiyu*), calisthenics (*ticao*) programs especially in the form of military drills as well as sports meetings. But this is not to say that all schools had their own bands. Procuring instruments and maintaining them as well as hiring qualified foreign instructors was costly. Schools that were patronised by wealthy businessmen such as Zeng Zhimin's school for underprivileged children set up in 1908 in Jiading, Shanghai could afford instruments. Gao Yanyun and Feng Yaxiong taught woodwind instruments at the school and at a school gathering (*kenqinhui*) on September 25 the following year, singing and dancing featured prominently in the social events that afternoon (Xiang, 1994:53). The school also had a forty piece orchestra with Zeng as conductor and his wife Cao Rujin as concert master.[55] Some foreigners such as Robert Hart in Peking and the personal influence of individual governors such as Zhang Zhidong in

[53] Bailey (1990:178n111.)
[54] See Sun Zhendong (1981:64-66). The song in Western notation is found on page 66.
[55] Chen (1983:47). A Photograph of the Shanghai Underprivileged String and Woodwind Orchestra published in the February issue of *Educational Magazine* (*Jiaoyu zazhi*) in 1911. From the photograph, there are at least nine violins and cellos and one double bass played by Gao Yanyun standing in the middle. This photograph is found in Chen (ibid:46) and Sun and Zhou (1993:415).

Hubei and Yuan Shikai in Zhili could boast their own marching bands while many missionaries were struggling to purchase even a piano or reed organ. Agnes Scott, who taught piano and voice at Fukien Christian University from 1916-49 recalls that not only were musical instruments scarce, but qualified music teachers as well: 'We didn't have orchestra accompaniment. We always just had piano accompaniment. There wasn't much advance in orchestral instruments. There weren't any teachers around, I guess, and the instruments were too difficult to get'.[56] Not infrequently the availability of instruments and teachers in China's new schools, had a direct affect on whether songs were sung to instrumental accompaniment or sung *a cappella*.

How were musical instruments procured? Who was involved in the manufacture of instruments such as the reed organ or piano? Did missionaries donate musical instruments to schools? What instruments did Japanese music instructors use? Kraus writes that '[t]he first major purchase of pianos by Asian customers was from Knabe of Baltimore in 1879, which exported instruments to the Japanese public schools' (1989:37). Western instruments were introduced to Japan shortly after Mason arrived there in the early 1880s and 'gave instruction to the Japanese in the manufacture of the "American organ", the small reed organ used by the missionaries' (May, 1963:58-59). In the case of China, the presence of military bands and music as an important feature of Christian education in the late Qing no doubt required the importation of western instruments such as trumpets, pianos and reed organs. According to Wei Yange (1986:41) in the wake of the Nanjing Treaty of August 1842 'a very well-known merchant imported a large numbers of pianos to China...but we don't know the merchant's name, the piano manufacturer, or the port of destination'. In 1850 an English merchant set up a company in Shanghai called *Moutrie* (Moudeli) which began to manufacture organs and musical instruments and later produced *Moutrie* Brand Pianos (quoted in Tao, 1994:242).[57]

[56] *Chinese Missionary Oral History Collection* (Peake & Rosenbaum, eds., 1973), Card 26:6.

[57] As well as manufacturing music instruments, Moutrie & Co. were also consultants 'in the first gramophone recording in China'. According to Jiang Shanghang (1985:38) the earliest gramophone record in Shanghai was produced by Moutrie & Co. Gaisberg (1947:62-63) writes that when he

Statements of trade in British and American vessels at Canton issued by the 'General Chamber of Commerce' (Anglo-Chinese Kalendar: 1837) provide no records of pianos or musical instruments for export from Britain. In the *Commercial Reports of H.M Consuls in China* for Shanghai in 1871 there is an entry for 'music boxes and instruments' (1871:32). Under 'Imports from Foreign Countries' are listed 1,485 music boxes and instruments. The following year 636 music boxes and instruments are listed under 'Imports From Foreign Countries' and 771 under 'Imports from Hong Kong and Chinese Ports' (Shanghai, 1872:157)..

In May 1902, the missionary William Hunter writing in the *Chinese Recorder* provides us with an important benchmark in the procuring of concertinas:

> As concertinas are "made in Germany" and well and cheaply made, to Germany we sent, and through an agent of MESSRS. Carlowitz & Co. got a fine big caseful, at all prices, from $1 to $5, and before these were broken up, another consignment was on the way out, purchased through the kindness of an Irish Presbyterian missionary to the Jews, resident in Hamburg. (It is only right to say the first case was paid for entirely by his congregation of Israelites) (1902:246).

Champness (1917:494) writing in the same journal in makes reference to a 'baby organ' which from the following account seems to refer to a portable reed organ as used by American missionaries in Japan and China in the late nineteenth century:

> Of recent years a new instrument has come into use...this is a baby organ, a reed organ similar to those American-type made by such firms as Mason and Hamlin. These are of 3 ¼ octaves compass from F below the stave to G above. An English firm in Shanghai began to make these but later Japanese and Chinese firms took up the industry. The organs of Chinese make are generally of better tone and in better tune than those hailing from Japan. They are sold very cheaply, it is possible to buy a very good instrument for about thirty-five shillings or less.

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transferred his operations to Shanghai in 1903 'the important music house of Moutrie & Co. were to help and advise us in the first gramophone recording in China'. In Gaisberg's diary of March 18 1903 it is recorded:

> We made our first records. About fifteen Chinamen had come, including the accompanying band. As a Chinamen yells at the top of his power when he sings, he can only sing two songs an evening and then his throat becomes hoarse. Their idea of music is a tremendous clash and bang; with the assistance of a drum, three pairs of huge gongs, a pair of slappers [sic], a sort of banjo, some reed instrument which sounded like bagpipes, and the yelling of the singer, their so-called music recorded on the gramophone.

In the absence of detailed shipping documents of ships arriving in China in the early to late nineteenth century there obviously remains many unanswered questions concerning the importation of musical instruments to China. A major obstacle in procuring musical instruments was arguably a financial one for missionaries and their Chinese converts as well as Chinese reformers.

Both the Board of Education and the Ministry of Education were beset by lack of funds and facilities to implement their proposals. Expenditures of the provisional government in March 1912 reveal that while education was obviously a priority, it fell well behind funds allocated to other ministries. [58] In other words, reform in education was anticipated in edicts, but education could not be practically achieved since the newly-founded Republic could not provide trained and qualified teachers, textbooks and the necessary facilities for an envisaged modern curriculum. Cameron has observed that with regard to how new schools were to be financed at the turn of the century, imperial edicts, 'preserved silence on this vital point' (1931:70). Amidst the wave of edicts precipitating change, it was left to the efforts of individuals to secure or raise funds from many different sources. These included collecting taxes from the local population as well as the appropriation of public property such as temples and indigenous educational institutions. In 1906, an American report described various methods of securing funds from various sources for new schools in the following way:

> The matter of support is left to the officials of the several Provinces to pass upon as best they may. The provincial officials in turn leave the matter to the officials of the several districts and subdistricts. What schools now exist in line with this plan of education are supported largely by tuition charged pupils, by special local taxes, by gifts from wealthy people, and by other means which may be possible. In some Provinces a certain portion of the general taxes are set aside for the establishment and maintenance of these schools. Tuition is charged in practically all schools, however, and the support of nearly all these institutions is more or less precarious and unsatisfactory.[59]

[58] See 'Expenditures of the Nanjing Government, March 1912' in Bailey (1990:143).
[59] *United States Consular Foreign Reports*, June 1906 (134-135). Quoted in Cameron (1931:76).

A full-length study of how reformers tackled the issue of managing and securing funds falls outside the scope of this study, but as we have seen, the small yet influential group of music reformers in Shanghai such as Cai Yuanpei, Zeng Zhimin and Shen Xingong introduced music into the new school curriculum. Many of these new schools were patronised not by the state but by the gentry class and wealthy men who had 'built their fortunes through managing schools'.[60]The Sino-Western College (*Zhongxi xuetang*) in Tianjin (1896) and the Southern Seas Public School (*Nanyang gongxue*) in Shanghai (1897), for example, procured money from official sources as well as two private companies—the China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company and the Telegraph Company managed by the entrepreneur Sheng Xuanhuai (Png,1964:44;Peake, 1971:32; Bailey, 1990:18).[61] While the local gentry were often accused of squandering educational funds for their own purposes[62], non-official funds played an inevitable part in the founding of new schools financing textbooks, equipment, teachers and other resources when the Board of Education in the late Qing and the Ministry of Education in the early Republic had neither the funds nor facilities to implement their national proposals on education reform.

[60] "Lun xuetang zhi fubai" (On the Corruption of New Schools'), *Dongfang zazhi*, 1, no. 9 (1904). Quoted in Borthwick (1983:99).

[61] Another educational institute founded and financed by Sheng was the Beiyang College in Tianjin (1895). See *BDRC*, III, 117-120. See also Feuerwerker *China's Early Industraliazation: Sheng Hsüan-huai and the Mandarin Enterprise* (1958:69-70).

[62] On this point see Borthwick (1983:99-103).

V.

Text and Music

As a vehicle for the dissemination of various political and socials goals, school songs were by no means restricted to the classroom. In many respects, the messages they contained were far more important than the musical aspects of the songs, but the merging of text with music arguably had the scope to reach a much larger audience than the works of writers, poets, and playwrights. In this chapter I propose to consider the political and social messages of school songs and the compositional process of text-setting as well as their musical characteristics.

Categorisation of Songs According to Text

The texts of these songs fall into the following broad categories, although they are not mutually exclusive.[1] In the examples that follow dates of publication of each song are provided in brackets (where known) as well as the source of the lyrics and tune.

(a) *Songs about resisting foreign aggression, saving the nation and reforming society*

As foreign powers seemed ready to "carve China like a melon" (*guafen*), as was commonly stated in the early twentieth century,[2] demands for nationalism began to appear. Song titles in this category include 'The Yellow River'[*Huanghe*], 'My Country' [*Wode guo*] and 'My Ancestral Home' [*Zuguo*].[3] Here are two examples:

Since that evil called opium came to our shores
China has become sick.
We cry out to the nation

[1] Some of the following categories have been taken from Li Quanmin (1989:767).
[2] The expression *guapou doufen* (lit: 'dissect the melon and divide the peas') was also used metaphorically to describe the dismemberment of the country. This expression was used in Sun Yat-sen's "Revive China Society Declaration" (*Xingzhonghui xuanyan*) in Honolulu in late November 1894. *Guapo doufen* has a long history in China appearing as early as the Song of the Southern dynasties (420-479 A. D.). See entry for *guapo doufen* in *Hanyu Dacidian* The expression Luo Zhufeng (ed.), vol. 8 (1991:279).
[3] I did consider 'Motherland' and 'Fatherland' as possible renderings of *zuguo* as both have the meaning of 'the country of one's origins', 'the land of one's birth'. But as they are somewhat politically loaded terms in English, I have used 'ancestral home' which is at least more faithful to the word *zu*. (ancestors, forefathers.

Millions are on the verge of misfortune
Foreigners bring in this poison and while their armies advance
We will no doubt pay out indemnities
The five commercial ports of Ningbo, Shanghai, Fujian, Canton and Xiamen
Handing over Hong Kong to the British
The Lion flag unfurls
Controlling the southern seas
Warlords fighting
Who will win?
Who will start the alliance?
When is our party[4] going to wake up and unite the country?

--'When Will China Awake' [*Heri xing*] (?)
--lyrics by Xia Songcai
--anonymous tune

Chinese men, Chinese men
Will hold up the sky in their hands
The treasured sword generously bestowed to me from the army
I vow to annihilate the rebels
Our glorious country
Decides the battlefield for victory
Imbued with a spirit as lofty as the rainbow spanning the sky
So many remarkable men, past and present
Are willing to lay down their lives for their country
As the blood of these men continues to flow.

--'Chinese Men' [*Zhongguo Nan'er*] (?)
--lyrics by Shi Geng
--anonymous tune arranged by Xin Han

(b) *Songs presaging the collapse of the Qing*

These are songs that mourn the pending collapse of the empire amidst foreign and domestic turmoil. Throughout Chinese history a number of metaphors have been employed to describe the collapse of an empire or dynasty. The four character expressions *wangguo zhiyin* and *shangnü buzhi wangguo hen* have a long history in the Chinese language. The term *wangguo* (lit:' die', 'perish', 'pass away' country') describes a nation that has been left 'to die' or 'perish' or a simply a dynasty under foreign aggression.[5]

[4] The Chinese for 'party' in the text is *dang*. The lyrics strongly suggest that this 'party' was the former Chinese United League (*Tongmenghui*) founded in 1905 which in the new Republic reorganised into a political party called the Nationalist People's Party (*Guomingdang*).
[5] The expression *shangnü buzhi wangguo hen* is found in a poem entitled *Bo Qinhuai* [*Moored on the River Qinhuai*] by the Tang dynasty poet Du Mu (803-852) and referred to song girls and courtesans singing songs for the emperor Chen Shubao (553-604 A. D.) of the Southern Dynasties who neglected state affairs and lead a life of dissipation. In time the song and its association with the emperor came to refer to 'decadent music presaging the collapse of a state or dynasty'. One possible rendering of the last line of this

Li Shutong employed a number of onomatopoeic expressions such as the neighing of horses, the sound of the evening crow (*muya*) and the plaintive strains of the cuckoo to mourn the anguish of a nation being carved up among the Western powers (Xu She, 1995:16). The cuckoo has long been used as a literary device to describe a gamut of human emotions ranging from grieving for departed friends—dead or alive—to experiences of desperation and hopelessness. According to *Biographies of the Kings of Shu* [*Shu Wang Benji*], the Sichuan Emperor Duyu abdicated his throne to his minister Bie Ling in the late Zhou dynasty and became a hermit. When he died his soul turned into a cuckoo, but he reappeared in late spring each year with the doleful call 'Better go back' (*bu ru gui qu*) (Chang: 1997:99). Another story relates to Wen Tianxiang (1236-1283), a patriotic statesman of the Southern Song Dynasty. Helpless to prevent the pending collapse of the dynasty, he 'hoped that he could turn into a cuckoo, so that even though drenched in blood he might fly out of his captivity and back to his native place' (Chang,1997:101). The blood of the cuckoo (*dujuanxue*) is also synonymous with grief, anguish and despair.[6] In the following three school songs cognisance of the cuckoo is also employed by Li Shutong in his despair and anguish at the incapacity of the Qing rule to adequately cope with the "impact of the West" and reclaim a crumbling empire:

> Who are the rulers of this land?
> The moon has already set in the west
> Its indiscernible smile from morning to night
> Do you recall the weeping of cuckoos on the Tianjin Bridge?

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poem is: 'courtesans continue to entertain [i.e. sing songs] composed by the emperor. But this is an emperor that has 'conquered a nation' and Professor Xu Yuanzhong's translation in English of sing song girls 'singing songs composed by a captive ruler's hand', is, I think, a more precise translation. Here is Xu Yuanzhong's translation of Du Mu's poem:

> *Cold water veiled in mist and shores steeped in moonlight*
> *I moor on the River Qinhuai near wine shops at night,*
> *Where song girls knowing not the grief of* [a] *conquered land*
> *Are singing songs composed by a captive ruler's hand.* (Xu Yuanzhong 1995:316).

[6] Se entry for *duanjuanxue* in Luo Zhufeng (1991:754), *Hanyu Dacidian*, vol. 4.

Do you recall the sound of the cuckoo weeping
and a people who left their fate to heaven amid coloured flags?

--'Who are the Rulers of This Land'[*Guguo jin shei zhu* (1905)[7]
--lyrics by Li Shutong
--anonymous tune

A strong west wind awakes the declining willows by the banks of the Sui
The rivers and mountains have changed
Scenery only becomes faint when desolate
Fragmentary old dreams half sinking, half floating
The ebb and flow of dynasties are discussed
The past is difficult to hide
beaded curtains and embroidered screens of bygone days
Wisps of cloud
The wax and wane of the moon
Can you comprehend
The remains of a nation after being carved up like a melon?
Wheat growing in abundance
The winding and tortuous threads of love are inexpressible.
Cuckoos weeping blood on this Sacred Land
weeping crab apples harm the scant autumn leaves.
Vexing matters torment my troubled heart
but from whose house do the sounds of the *sheng*[8] come forth?

--'Willow Dyke Sui [*Suidiliu*](1906)[9]
--lyrics by Li Shutong
--anonymous tune

Ten thousand horses muted
we of noble aspirations run away and hide in the forest
Jackals and wolves are in power
The government is corrupt
society is backward
There's hope to reclaim our nation
and restore the government
but it's all a futile dream.
Old age will soon be upon me
I fear my name will not endure.[10]

--'Mourning our Ancestral Land' [*Ai Zuguo*] (1905)[11]
--lyrics by Li Shutong
--'Au Claire de la Lune'

[7] *Guoxue changge ji*. See Xu She (1995:117).
[8] A free-reed aerophone conventionally rendered into English as a 'mouth organ' made up of three parts: wind chest, pipes and reeds. See Thrasher (1996:1).
[9] *Yinyue xiaozazhi* [*The Little Magazine of Music*], Xu She (ibid:127-128).
[10] These last two lines are taken from Qu Yuan's *Li Sao* ('On Encountering Trouble'). David Hawkes has translated these lines as: 'For old age comes creeping and soon will be upon me/And I fear I shall not leave an enduring name' (1985:70).
[11] Xu She (ibid:122).

(c) *Songs about the status and equality of women*

These are songs concerning the emancipation of women through education and the elimination of customs such as foot binding. While there were a number of ardent supporters of women's education among late Qing reformers such as Liang Qichao, Zhang Zhidong, and Zhang Jian, the role of women in the future of the country was looked upon primarily by the Qing government 'as a means to strengthen ten feminine virtues' (Ye, 1994:328). Songs in this category include 'Callisthenics for Women' [*Nüzi ticao*], 'Bitterness of Footbinding'[*Chanzu ku*], 'Outstanding Chinese Women' [*Zhongguo Nüjie*] and 'Women Authors' [*Nü zhuzuo*]. One of the most vocal and "radical" proponents of women's reform in the late Qing was the revolutionary martyr Qiu Jin (1875-1907).[12] One of her verses set to music, is 'Encouraging Women's Rights'[13]:

Our generation yearns to be free;
To all that struggle: one more cup of the Wine of Freedom!
Male and female equality was by Heaven endowed,
So why should women lag behind?
Let's struggle to pull ourselves up,
To wash away the filth and shame of former days.
United we can work together,
And restore this land with our soft white hands.

Most humiliating is the old custom,
Of treating women no better than cows and horses,
When the light of dawn shines on our civilization,
We must rise to head the list.
Let's tear out the roots of servitude,
Gain knowledge, learning, and practice what we know;

[12] There is a considerable corpus of material on Qiu Jin. For a comprehensive list of writings on Qiu Jin see Ono (1989:217n13)

[13]Published in *Zhongguo nübao* 20 February, issue no. 2, 1907. See Ono (1978:63). The song 'Encouraging Women's Rights' with lyrics and music in staff notation is found in Liu (1986:52). Qiu Jin also penned several other songs set to music. These include 'Alarm Bell' [*Jingzhong*, 1904], 'Suffering Compatriots' [*Tongbaoku*], 'Happy for China' [*Huan Zhongguo*], 'China Banished by Demons' [*Zhina Zhumo*] and 'I Admire European and American People' [*Wo xian Oumei renmin a*]. See Dangshi weiyuanhui (eds), (1982), *Qiu Jin Xianlie Wenji* [*Collection of Prose by the Martyr Qiu Jin*], (1982:59-62]. See also Guo Yanli (1982:143-148) and Fan Jingguo "Qiu Jin chuangzuode gequ" (1981:23).

Take responsibility on our shoulders,
Never fail or disappoint, our citizen heroines!

--Encouraging Women's Rights [*Miannü quange*] (1907)[14]
--lyrics by Qiu Jin
--anonymous tune

The *Guanju*[15] is the first
of the three hundred poems in the *Book of Poetry*
Ethics places great importance on marriage
Husband and wife start a family
Which evolves into a family tree
Evolutionism and biological selection.
Rights need equality
You cannot say that women are less important than men
We're all citizens

--'Marriage Felicitations'[*Hunyin zhuci*] (1905)[16]
--lyrics by Li Shutong
--anonymous tune

(d) *Songs condemning superstition, ignorance and encouraging a Western-orientated culture*

These songs are to a large extent devoted to creating a new China embarking on the road of modernity placing emphasis on a society that values progress and scientific study. Songs include 'The World' [*Diqiu*], 'Two Outstanding Nations: Europe and America' [*Oumei er jie*], 'Telegram' [*Dianbao*], and 'Science' [*Gezhi*], Here are two other examples:

Black Slaves, Red Indians will soon vanish
The Chinese people are yet to awake
The Asian Continent is about to sink.
Listen to this song.
There is a right time for learning
Beautiful pear and peach blossoms won't last long
Don't let time slip through your hands
Old age and regrets of an idle-spent youth
Catch up to our neighbours Japan and to Europe and America far away
And become part of the civilized world.

[14]Translated by Pao Chia-lin, in Irving Yucheng Lo and William Schultz *Waiting for the Unicorn* (1986:400-401).
[15] Name of a well-known poem taken from the *Shijing* describing a young man courting a graceful girl picking bananas by the river. *Guanju* later became a metaphor for love between a man and a woman.
[16] *Guoxue changge ji* See Xu She (1995:123).

Hard work and self-respect when one is young
If you miss the opportunity it will be gone forever.[17]

--'Encouraging Learning'[*Mianxue*] (1903)[18]
--lyrics and music anonymous

From the beginning of time
Men should not rest idle
the spirit of Confucius, Buddha, Jesus and Mohammed[19]
are difficult to understand
Aspire to learn and emulate the teachings of Confucius[20]
stoke a furnace and produce sages
Be successful around the world
and be praised for years to come.

--'Men' [*Nan'er*] (1905)[21]
--lyrics by Li Shutong
--anonymous tune

[17] Bailey (1990:99) has translated this song as follows:

The black and red races are all subjugated,
But we the yellow race have still not awaken to this.
One must be quick in studying.
The beautiful pear and peach blossoms
Only have a limited time,
And cannot put off for ever the ravages of time.
When one is old one can only have self-pity.
Let us follow the model of Japan nearby,
And that of Europe and America far away,
And join the ranks of the world's civilized countries.
When we are young we should all energetically
Be concerned with ourselves.
Time will not come again.

[18] *Zhonghua baihuabao*, no. 2, p. 79. Quoted in Bailey (1990:121).

[19] I have translated *hui* as Mohammed not Islam which follows the preceding parallel construction of Confucius, the Buddha and Jesus. This line could also be rendered as 'the spirit of Confucianism, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam'.

[20] Literally 'aspire to be the Pope'. It would be odd for Li Shutong as a Buddhist encouraging an ambition to be the Pope. The Pope (*jiaohuang*), as far as I can tell in this text is in reference to debates of adopting Confucianism as the state religion and creating an institutional monarch and a president (similar to the Pope and Catholicism as a 'state religion' in Europe). The Confucian Society (*Kongzihui*) with Kang Youwei as its president was actively involved in adopting Confucius as a state ideology. See Zhu Weizheng 'Statesman and Centenarian: Ma Xiangbo as Witness of China's Early Modernity' (trans. Wu Xiaoming) in Hoyhoe & Lu (1996:57) where the expression 'Pope of Confucianism' is used in reference to Kang Youwei, Li Yuanhong and others in restoring the last Manchu emperor Pu Yi to the throne on July 1 1917.

[21] *Guoxue changgeji*. See Xu She (1995:122).

(e) *Songs promoting freedom, equality, universal love and democracy*

These include songs that anticipate a "new" China by encouraging and stimulating such qualities as freedom (*ziyou*), equality (*pingdeng*), democracy (*minzhu*) and universal love (*bo'ai*). In the following song entitled 'The Orphanage' [*Gu'eryuan*], children are reminded that despite their unfortunate start in life, the orphanage can provide them with a "home" and the opportunities to be productive members of society:

> I have no one to depend on
> All by my troubled self
> How is it that I have enough food and clothing?
> Fortunately, I have the orphanage
> To pity someone like me.
> They take me in and provide for me
> And love me like a mother and father
> Dearest orphanage
> You're my family
> I'll never forget your kindness and love
>
> --'The Orphanage' [*Gu'eryuan*] (1926)
> --Lyrics and music by Shen Xingong[22]

(e) *Songs that place hope in China's future on its youth*

These include songs designed to inspire the youth of China and to kindle hope that they will have a brighter future. 'High Aspirations of our Men is Essential' (originally titled 'Callisthenics--Soldier Drills'), exhorted its citizens (in this case, its young men) to save the nation. Part of the lyrics read as follows:

> Our Men must first possess a lofty spirit
> Age is not an issue
> Brothers unite in soldier drills
> Officers wielding swords of command
> Soldiers fire their guns and cannons
> The Chinese flag flutters to and fro
> The roaring sound of drums resounds
> Practice callisthenics

[22] "Xingong yuege xuan" ['Selection of School Songs by Shen Xingong']. Quoted in Xu and Shen (1988:68).

Practice everyday
And you'll grow strong and healthy[23]

--'High Aspirations of our Men is Essential' [*Nan'er diyi qizhi gao*] (1902)

The following untitled song written in English or quoted by Liang Qichao (no source is given). The frequent use of the word "boys" is redolent of English nationalist songs in the late nineteenth century:

Never look behind, boys,
When you're on the Way
Time enough for that boys
On some future day.

Though the way be long, boys
Face it with a will
Never stop to look behind
When climbing up a hill.

When you're near the top, boys
Of the rugged way
Do not think your work is done
But climb, climb away.

Success is at the top boys
Waiting there until
Patient, plodding, plucky boys
Have mounted up the hill

--lyrics by Liang Qichao (?)[24]
--anonymous tune

(f) *Songs about the dawn of a new era*

Songs in celebration of the 1911 Revolution and the beginning of the Republican Period. Songs include 'Celebrating the Republic'[*Zhuqing gonghe*], 'Marching Army Song' [*Xingjunge*], 'Wuchang Independence'[*Wuchang duli*] 'Commemorating the Revolution' [*Geming Jinian*][25] and 'Patriotic Song'[*Aiguoge*]. Here are the texts to two other songs:

[23] Quoted in Wang Yuhe (1985:20).
[24] "Lun Jinqu maoxian" (On Adventure), *Yinbingshi wenji*. Quoted in Liang Rengong (1958;28).
[25] Both Wuchang Independence' and 'Commemorating the Revolution' were published in *Zhongxiaoxue*

The revolutionary army rose on the 19 day of the 8th month [October 10, 1911]
in the city of Wuchang
General Zhang Biao and Viceroy Rui Zheng
fled the city one by one.
Under Li Yuanhong and Huang Xing, Commander in Chief
Troops crossed the river and reclaimed Hankou
Han flags planted on Hanyang's, Guishan.
Civilization, civilization
Peace and tranquility in Wuhan.
We struck terror in the heart of the Manchu Court
Ground troops and naval troops from Sazhenbing
Were sent by the Minister of War, Yinchang to fight the rebels and reclaim Wuchang.
But they were defeated one after the other.
Before the end of the month
Ten and more provinces of the Central Plains and countless provinces rose in revolt
The water's of the Yangtze run clear
Wuchang is honoured by history

-- A Memento to Recovering the Empire'[*Fuguang jinian*] (1911)[26]
--lyrics by Hua Hangchen
--anonymous tune

Our serried ranks are all common folk
Willing to be soldiers
Because the Qing government is corrupt
There is indignation
Taxes and other levies
Abuse of power
People are treated like beasts of burden.
If our ranks have to withdraw again
Everything is lost.

--'Revolutionary Army' [*Gemingjun*](?)[27]
-- lyrics by Shen Xingong
--anonymous tune

(g) *Songs designed to promote such values as patriotism, civility and filial piety.*

These are songs that sought to instil specific moral and national values among students. The promotion of such values occupied an important part in moral training classes. School regulations in 1904, noted among other things, that moral training would 'lay the foundation for feelings of patriotism when they [students] become adults.'[28] Here are two examples:

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changge jiaokeshu in 1914. See Liu (1986:65).
[26] Quoted in Liu Ching-chih (1986:53).
[27] Quoted in Liu Ching-chih (1986:54).
[28] Shu Xincheng (1969 (2):399). Quoted in Bailey (1990:32).

Little children of high aspirations
You should think of standing up and making a contribution

You look incredibly complacent.
Balancing a bamboo pole between your legs
Jumping up and down

--'Bamboo Horse' [*Zhuma*]
-- Lyrics by Shen Xingong[29]
--anonymous tune

Please face the mirror and look at your clothes
My clothes are clean and tidy.
Please face the mirror and look at your hat
My hat is elegant and refined.

Please face the mirror and look at your face
Ablaze with enthusiasm
Please face the mirror
And look at your eyes
My eyes are spirited.

Please face the mirror and look at your heart
My heart is open, concealing nothing.
Please face the mirror and look at your courage
My courage is firm and decisive.

--'Please Face the Mirror' [*Qing jun dui jing*]
--Lyrics by Shen Xingong
--Music Xu Shubin

(h) *Children's songs*

Songs include 'The Blacksmith' [*Tiejiang*], 'Boat Race' [*Saichuan*], 'The Tortoise and the Hare' [*Guitu*], 'Sighs of a Fine Horse' [*Liangma tan*] and 'The Wolf is Coming':

Here comes the wolf,
Here comes the wolf ,
Shouts the shepherd boy
Deceiving those who come running.
Ha, ha, ha, ha,
Ha, ha, ha, ha,
Those duped by the shepherd boy laugh and laugh.

--'The Fox is Coming' [*Langlai*] (1927)
--first stanza

[29] Quoted in Wang Yuhe (1992:24).

Little children of high aspirations
You should think of standing up and making a contribution

You look incredibly complacent.
Balancing a bamboo pole between your legs
Jumping up and down

--'Bamboo Horse' [*Zhuma*]
-- Lyrics by Shen Xingong[29]
--anonymous tune

Please face the mirror and look at your clothes
My clothes are clean and tidy.
Please face the mirror and look at your hat
My hat is elegant and refined.

Please face the mirror and look at your face
Ablaze with enthusiasm
Please face the mirror
And look at your eyes
My eyes are spirited.

Please face the mirror and look at your heart
My heart is open, concealing nothing.
Please face the mirror and look at your courage
My courage is firm and decisive.

--'Please Face the Mirror' [*Qing jun dui jing*]
--Lyrics by Shen Xingong
--Music Xu Shubin

(h) *Children's songs*

Songs include 'The Blacksmith' [*Tiejiang*], 'Boat Race' [*Saichuan*], 'The Tortoise and the Hare' [*Guitu*], 'Sighs of a Fine Horse' [*Liangma tan*] and 'The Wolf is Coming':

Here comes the wolf,
Here comes the wolf ,
Shouts the shepherd boy
Deceiving those who come running.
Ha, ha, ha, ha,
Ha, ha, ha, ha,

[29] Quoted in Wang Yuhe (1992:24).

Those duped by the shepherd boy laugh and laugh.

--'The Fox is Coming' [*Langlai*] (1927)
--first stanza
--Lyrics and music Shen Xingong

(i) *Songs about school activities and events*

These are songs composed for special events such as a school gathering, school concerts or school reunions. Here is one example of a sports meet at the Zhejiang Number One Normal School in Hangzhou:

Run, run, run
See who comes first
Green poplars and willows
Peach blossoms bring a smile
Spring embraces all creatures on earth
Young men
Run, run, run, run,
and be the first *to cross the finishing line.*

--'Spring District Race'[*Chunjiao saipao*] (1914)[30]
--lyrics by Li Shutong
--music by Karl Gottlieb Hering

(j) *Songs reflecting the pride and spirit of a school*

School anthems, like national anthems, flags and emblems invariably represent the desired self-image of a school and the texts can be quite revealing in terms of expressing desired political goals and aspirations. Here are two school songs:

In Heaven there is Wenchang[31]
A radiant civilisation

[30] *Xiaoyouhui huizhi*, no. 4. Cited in Xu She (1995:126).

[31] This primary school attached to the Zhili Number One Normal School was originally called the Wenchang Palace Primary School (*Wenchanggong xiaoxue*) which grew out of the Furen Academy in the late Qing. The former academy (*shuyuan*) come primary school is today a Muslim Primary School located in the northeast corner of the old city in Tianjin. See Xu She (1995:131).

The home where great men are born
Emulate your teachers and elders
The bedrock of an elementary education
Requires substance, eagerness and strength
To compose an essay requires a galloping spirit
Can't you see the tributaries that flow through Tianjin
Go back to ancient times?

-- School Song of the Primary School Attached to the Number One Normal College in Zhili [*Zhilisheng diyi shifan fushu xiaoxuexiao ge*] (?)
--lyrics and music by Li Shutong

Spring wind blows the thin chiffon
Women's adornments painted in light brush strokes
These women are walking in a painting
Amid a sea of flowers.

Pear blossoms pale, flowers of the cabbage yellow
Willow flowers wither and fall to the ground, the scent of mustard flowers
Orioles chirp accompanying those returning home
Scattered flowers, the peal of bells bid farewell to the setting sun.

-- 'Spring Outing'[*Chunyou*] (1913)[32]
--lyrics and music by Li Shutong

The multiplicity of songs subsumed under school songs prompts us to ask the question: Is there an underlying thread that ties these songs together? The subject matter of songs covers a wide range of national concerns from inculcating a spirit of intense nationalism, condemning superstition and ignorance to issues of morality and women's rights. Many, however, express an idealistic and Utopian vision that *something* is in need of change, that saving the nation and reforming society were necessary for China's very survival in the early part of this century. But what exactly these changes were and how they should be initiated in order to catapult China into a modern state were far from clear. More importantly, the widespread use of school songs highlights a process of nation-building, of forging a national spirit, bringing disparate groups of people simultaneously in song to create a sense of solidarity and togetherness. While such

[32] This song also entitled 'Tune of the Spring Outing' (*Chunyouqu*) was composed by Li while teaching at the Zhejiang Number One Teachers College in Hangzhou. The song first appeared in the College's *Almanac Friends Society Journal* published in May 1913. It appeared March the following year in *Nanshe congkan*, vol. no. 8 under the title *Chunyouqu*. See Xu She (ibid:145).

solidarity may not be realised in reality, the potency of school songs as an instrument of political and social change can nonetheless be envisaged in the 'imagined political community' they conjure up (Anderson, 1991:6). The nation thus becomes less and less an actual physical place and more and more a state of mind. The kind of imagined community that connects simultaneously in solidarity is equally pertinent to poetry and song. As Anderson explains (1991:145):

> [T]here is a special kind of contemporaneous community which language alone suggests--above all in the form of poetry and songs. Take national anthems, for example, sung on national holidays. No matter how banal the words and mediocre the tunes, there is in this singing an experience of simultaneity. At precisely such moments, people wholly unknown to each other utter the same verses to the same melody. The image: unisonance. Singing the Marseillaise, Waltzing Matilda, and Indonesia Raya provide occasions for unisonality, for the echoed physical realization of the imagined community...If we are aware that others are singing these songs precisely when and as we are, we have no idea who they may be, or even where, out of earshot, they are singing. Nothing connects us all but imagined sound.[33]

Sources of the tunes

The tunes come from a number of Western and Chinese sources. Most commonly, Western military music, Christian hymns and traditional Chinese folk music have influenced these tunes. Attempting to count the number of tunes in the school song repertory is virtually impossible as tunes could be borrowed from Western or "traditional", "folk" Chinese music sources and introduced into the repertory at any time. The publication of school song anthologies meant that a "fixed" repertory could be disseminated, but any popular or well known tune could be used again and again by setting it to different texts. It would appear that there was also a large corpus of tunes set to "suitable texts" that were used within the school and elsewhere for a period of time then discarded, as well as school songs that circulated but were never published. Despite

[33] While not stated explicitly, there is an obvious nexus between the nation as 'an imaginary political community' and myths of a nation. In one respect, myth and 'imagined community' can be used interchangeably. If song as 'imagined sound' is to play an acceptable role in society at a particular historical moment, then like myths, the texts must be continually reevaluated and redefined to reflect changing national priorities.

the seemingly limitless number of tunes available to a school song "composers", Fei Mingyi (1986:74) provides the following sources:

1. Contemporary Japanese songs set to new lyrics
2. Western folk songs or tunes from Western instrumental music set to new Chinese lyrics.
3. Chinese traditional and ancient tunes set to new lyrics.
4. Newly-composed songs and text.

Although I do accept Fei's categories, in evaluating the sources of school song tunes they are somewhat skeletal and need to be fleshed out in more precise detail. By 'contemporary Japanese songs' I take it that Fei is referring to Western tunes employed in Japanese Western-style schools or the Japanese army during the Meiji Period.[34] The following additional information will amplify Fei's findings[35]:

1. Traditional Chinese folk tunes. While a large number of folk songs in the late Qing were set to new texts intended to promote social and political reform, this category does not constitute the majority of school songs. Examples include 'My Ancestral Home' from a Jiangnan Sizhu melody *Laoliuban*[36]and *Manjianghong* [*Full River Red*].

2. Traditional tunes arranged and borrowed from ancients songs where an author is known or to be more precise where a name (e.g. Qu Yuan) is traditionally associated with a poem, but without a known "composer". Some examples are 'Everlasting Sorrow' [*Li Sao*] and 'The Mountain Goddess' [*Change*] from 'The Nine Songs' [*Juige*].

3. Tunes of obscure origin arranged by a composer and set to pre-existing texts. Some examples are 'Sui Dynasty Palace'[*Suigong*] by Li Shangyin (812-813 A. D.) and 'Buddhist Dancers' [*Pusaman*] by Xin Qiji (1140-1207 A. D.).

[34] On the influx of Japanese army songs into China in the late Qing see Shi Lei (1983:65-71).
[35] Unless stated otherwise, the following material is taken from Qian Renkang (1990:83-90).
[36] It is noteworthy that apart from Li Shutong appropriating *Laoliiuban*, it also appeared in Chinese hymnals published before the *Hymns of Universal Praise* (1936). In one such hymn entitled 'To Save the World' it is identical with Li Shutong's arrangement. See Appendix C (Sheng, 1964:544). Sheng's source for this melody concurs with Qian's. Sheng gives a variation of the title [*Lao*] *Baban* and notes that several text settings. One of these is 'The Little Monk' which 'is at least over a century old' (ibid).

4. Two different song titles that share the same tune. For example, 'Men' [*Nan'er*] and 'Incarnation' [*Huashen*].

5. Songs based on Christian hymns and other foreign tunes. These are songs based upon the music that foreign missionaries and foreigners introduced to China in the mid to late nineteenth century. It is difficult to ascertain whether these tunes taken from hymn books or popular song books brought to China by missionaries and other foreigners was the result of direct contact, at both formal and informal levels. We know that missionaries worked closely with Chinese converts and native preachers in composing hymns and writing texts in the colloquial and literary styles, but there is little information on who these Chinese were and their indispensable role in the collaboration. [37] Unlike the Japanese model, there is no evidence to suggest that in the late Qing, a Music Study Committee was formed with the sole aim of "composing" school songs or whether a foreigner like Luther Mason in Japan was officially appointed as adviser. Perhaps, some of these schools set up a music study committees under the direction of the Japanese. Examples in this category are extensive.[38] Unless noted in the footnotes, the following are taken from Qian Renkang's study of Li Shutong's songs (1990:83-90). Examples are listed below:

Table 5:1 **Texts set to Christian hymns and foreign tunes**

Composition	**Text-setter**	**Source**
'Mourning our Ancestral Land' [*Ai Zuguo*]	Li Shutong	*Au clair de la lune* French children's song
'Spring District Race' [*Chunjiao saipao*]	Li Shutong[39]	*Steckenpferd* (Karl Gottlieb Hering:1765-1853)

[37] While Sheng provides the names of Protestant missionaries involved in composing hymns in the nineteenth century, their Chinese assistants are conspicuously absent.
[38] The paucity of detailed studies tracing the origins or source of school songs not to mention song books prevents at this point a thorough and detailed study.
[39] According to Qian (ibid:86) Li's text is very similar to the original text by Karl Hahn. Whether Li had access to these lyrics in German or in translation is unknown.

'Farewell' [*Songbie*]	Li Shutong	'Dreaming of Home and Mother' by John P. Ordway (1824-1880)[40]
'Greater China' [*Da Zhonghua*]	Li Shutong	marching song taken from Act III of *Norma* by Vincenzo Bellini (1801-1835)
'Love' [*Ai*]	Li Shutong[41]	'Jesus Loves You' (Hymn) by William B. Bradbury
'Men' and 'Incarnation' [*Nan'er*, *Huashen*]	Li Shutong	'Nearer, My God, To Thee' (Hymn) by Lowell Mason (1792-1872)
'Remembering Childhood' [*Yi ershi*]	Li Shutong	'My Dear Old Sunny Home' (American popular song) by William Shakespeare Hays (1837-1907).
'Bumper Harvest' [*Fengnian*]	Li Shutong	Aria taken from (Der Freischütz by Carl Maria Ernst von Weber (1786-1826).
'Swallows Returning Home' [*Gui yan*]	Li Shutong	Song by the English composer John Pyke Hullak (1812-1884)
'West Lake' [*Xihu*]	Li Shutong	Song by the Scottish composer Alexander Campbell Mackenzie (1847-1935)
'Begging for Survival' [Qiga*i*]	Li Shutong	melody based from the first movement of Beethoven's violin concerto in D Major[42]
'Man and the World of Nature' [*Renyu ziranjie*]	Li Shutong	'Angels Roll the Rock Away' by H. A. Cesar Malan

6. Japanese school songs of Western origin set to new lyrics. Examples include 'Chinese Men' from a Japanese school song entitled 'The Old Bucket in the Dormitory' and 'When Will China Awaken' from a song which translates literally as 'Lord of the Southern Wood'.[43]

[40] Lei Songgen (1988:19) writes that in the early Republic Pathé Records made a recording of this song sung by students at the Huangchenggen Primary School in Beiping and in the 1920s it was included as part of teaching materials for schools entitled *Songbie ge*.
[41] Qian (ibid:85) notes that Li's text is based heavily on the text of the hymn.
[42] Liu Ching-chih 'Copying, Imitating and Transplanting: Study of the Development of New Music in China' (1998:10).
[43] These two examples are found in Zhang Jingwei (1985a:23);Huang Xiangpeng (1985:24) and Sun and Zhou (1993:403).

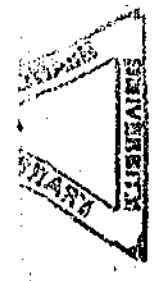
7. Newly-composed tunes influenced by Christian and marching songs. Examples in this category include 'Spring Outing' [*Chunyou*]'Orioles' [*Ying*], 'Winter' [*Dong*] and 'Pass Away' [*Changshi*].

Choice of tune

What criteria is involved when a school song songwriter selects a tune from Western and Chinese sources? The first step is obviously to choose a tune whereby the lyrics will be most powerfully delivered and create a specific mood. For example, a march-like rhythm may be chosen to convey lyrics concerned with saving the nation and reforming society. There are also tunes that are chosen for their widespread popularity. Such tunes may have only been popular within a specific geographical location while others travelled widely through both oral and print cultures.

Text-Setting (*tianci*)

The process of setting words to a pre-existing melody is called *tianci* (lit: "fill in words"). Yung (1983b; 1989) and Pian (1993:201-233) have discussed the subject of text-setting in Chinese vocal music in detail elsewhere, and here the subject is limited to only a few relevant points. Setting new texts to pre-existing tunes has its provenance in Chinese poetry. While it is difficult to assert when this practice actually began, with the rise of *yuefu* poetry during the Han dynasty appeared the practice of setting texts to pre-existing tunes (Lin,1994:7). In the *Shiwu Jiyuan* [*A Comprehensive Record of the Forest of Affairs*] compiled by Chen Yuanjing (?-?) during the southern Song dynasty (1127-1279)[44], it is recorded that poems were first chanted and then set to a melodic line which became a song (Guen, 1988:114).[45]



[44] On the *Shilin guangji* see Rulan Chao Pian (1967:23-29). See also Liu Dongsheng "Shilin Guangji" in *ZGDBKQS* (*YYWD*), 1989:594), rendered into English as *An Extensive Guide Book for Daily Use*.
[45] According to Guen this information was written by a Gao Cheng, not Chen Yuanjing. I have found no references to Gao Cheng or the name associated with the *Shilin Guangji*.

In traditional Chinese poetry, a poet will exploit the tonality of the Chinese language to create symmetry, parallelism and antithesis in the verse structure. In theory, the poet must follow a rigid formal structure. For metrical purposes in versification, the traditional scheme of tonemic classification of the four tones—*ping* (level or even, *shang* (rising), *qu* (departing), *ru* (entering)—are divided into two broader classes called *ping* or level tones (roughly equivalent to first and second tone words in modern standard Chinese and (first tone) and *ze* or oblique tones (tones three and four in modern standard Chinese). The final syllables within a line or text are chosen as to conform to a prescribed pattern or tone sequence of these level or oblique tones. In regulated verse (*lüshi*) which always has eight lines, tonal contrast is combined with verbal parallelism (lines 3-4 and 5-6). In practice, however, this form rarely conforms slavishly to prescribed criteria (Hawkes, 1973:584). In writing poems in regulated verse, the skill of a poet whose very creative powers of expression are tested to the limits in overcoming linguistic and verse structure constraints to write an elegant text. These constraints imposed on the poet might be described as 'creativity within bounds'.[46]

Considering the importance of linguistic tones in traditional Chinese poetry, the significance of this tonality as a determining factor in shaping a music line cannot be exaggerated. Yung in particular, has shown that in the text-setting process in Cantonese opera, linguistic tones are closely linked to the melody of the singing (1983b:303). However, Yung also

[46] Simon Leys (1988:35) encapsulates the very essence of this 'creativity within bounds' in his discussion of Chinese poetry 'The specific quality of a poem' writes Leys, '*does not reside in a creation of new signs, but in a new way of using conventional signs*'. (Italics in the original). These 'conventional signs' within the realm of traditional painting and poetry are worth quoting here at length (1988:34-35):

points out that in 'other dialectical regions in China...the linguistic tones in vocal music do not play a large a role as in Cantonese opera (1989:91). With regard to standard Chinese, several studies have demonstrated that linguistic tones are not a significant factor in determining the shaping of a melodic line (Levis: 1936; Kuo:1972; Lieberman, 1975:124). Lieberman has shown that in the text-setting of tunes in the *Mei'an Qinpu* 'the tonal inflection of the words were not significant as a factor in shaping the music line, and are reflected there, if at all, only randomly' (1975:124). Similarly, in his study of Chinese art songs (*yishu gequ*) in the early Republican Period Kuo notes that 'it is commonly believed' that art songs 'are limited in melodic direction by the requirements of the word tones which are essential to the Chinese spoken language.' (1972:196). Although there are no studies to the best of my knowledge that discuss that text-setting process in school songs, of those published in printed scores in staff or cipher notation that I have examined, melodic direction does not as a rule follow the tonal inflection of the words. Indeed, if melodic direction and linguistic tones are closely matched, they are arbitrary rather than prescribed. The melodic contours and linguistic tones of ten school songs are compared in Appendix II.

Three factors can be observed in the process of *tianci* by which the tune and the text are "suitably matched". First, for the text to accommodate the tune, the phrase structure of the text is designed to match the phrase structure of the tune. Second, school song songwriters may follow the pre-existing tune practically note-for-note. For example, Li Shutong's text setting of John P.

For a layman, at first sight, Chinese painting may appear rather limited and monotonous: landscapes, for instance, are invariably built on a combination of mountains and rivers, organized on the basis of a few set recipes. These stereotyped formulas are themselves filled with conventional elements-tress, rocks, clouds, buildings, figures-whose treatment is standardized in painting handbooks that are straightforward catalogues of forms. The range of poetry is equally narrow: it uses a rigidly codified language, a set of ready made images...In a sense, one could say that Chinese poetry is made up of a narrow series of clichés embroidered upon a limited number of conventional canvases.

Ordway's 'Dreaming of Home and Mother' renamed 'Farewell'[*Songbie*] [5.1]. Third, a tune may also undergo metre and key signature changes. Li Shutong's arrangement of the minstrel song 'Rosa Lee' [5.2] renamed 'Arduous Path' [*Xinglunan*] [5.3] and *Laoliuban* [5.4] renamed 'Ancestral Land' [5.5] are two examples.

***Tianci* and Issues of 'Authenticity'**

The compositional process of school songs draws our attention to issues of aesthetics and creativity as well as notions of originality. Does a song and text found moving and inspiration become any less so when it is discovered that the "composer" has simply arranged the music to a text? How is the work ultimately judged? Is extracting, manipulating pre-existing material considered a normal process in music? By whom? Is it simply a case, to put it crudely, of ripping off someone else's work (even if there is no identifiable composer) or to borrow Mark Dery's phrase in describing the process of sampling in rap music as 'the musical equivalent of shoplifting?' (quoted in Walser,1995:196). Such questions immediately conjure up notions of what is deemed "authentic" or "original" in music.

From our own music traditions whether they be labelled "classical" or "popular", issues pertaining to authenticity have been rigorously debated in a number of studies (Meyer: 1967; Small:1987; Hatch & Milward:1987; Kenyon:1988; Walser:1995). The debates have not only come from guardians of Western art music who often attach too much importance to what is perceived as "authentic" or "original" from the "masters", but also from popular music commentators as well.[47] Stated briefly, there is an obsession with the provenance, the creative origins of a musical work.[48] This is particular noticeable in Western art music with its

[47] See for example, Simon Frith 'Towards an Aesthetic of Popular Music' (1987:136-137) and Walser (1995:194-199).

[48] John Hanrahan writing on authenticity in the visual arts in the *Australian Book Review* (December 96/January 97:50) argues that '[a]uthenticity is not about the creative origin but the artistic result. And it is judged not by getting the facts to stand to attention but by whether the imagination accepts it as being creatively authentic. It is in the imagination, in the minds that authenticity is judged...But the final

dependence on written and printed scores. The result of this dependency on notation in an attempt to recapture authenticity in performance, as Small argues, has essentially destroyed the performer's powers of improvisation and creativity (1987:281):

> Performers are imbued from childhood with the notion that their task is to realize a written musical text, down to the last semiquaver, as faithfully as is in their power; they understand that the musical work they are performing is not theirs, having been created by a higher order of musicality than their own, and that they are required merely to burnish it and present it to their hearers for their edification and admiration. It does not seem to occur to most performers in the classical tradition that they might have a creative role to play in respect to the musical works they perform; even in the comparatively rare case of composers who are sufficiently skilled as performers to appear in their own work, they will regard themselves, in their latter capacity, as bound to reproduce faithfully what they have provided in their formal capacity. Memorizing the notes does not diminish their dominant role in the performance, since they are simply transferred from the pages of the score to the performer's head, where their control is if anything even more absolute.

Relevant here is the fallacy of presuming that we can know the composer's intentions (or as we imagine them to be) in the quest for authenticity. It seems self-evident if not absurd that we can claim to perform a work as it really was and recreate the soundscape that a composer had in mind. As Kenyon (1988:14) rightly points out:

> Even a composer does not give a definitive form to a piece, however precisely he may realize it in notational language...Once composers have written their music, they 'let go' of it, and it is up to prosperity to do what it wants with it. But is posterity likely to get more out of it if it respects what the composer originally thought of doing with it?[49]

Meyer in 'Forgery and the Art of Anthropology' observes that our notions of originality have been largely shaped by 'nineteenth-century notions of personal expression' (1967:61). In the popular imagination and the mythology the surrounds these composers, their 'immortal masterpieces' were synonymous with genius and madness as a catalyst to their own creative powers. Like many others, they have entered the pantheon of musical heroes, who are, as the

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judgment about authenticity remains in reference to the product, not the source...This is the blind alley of the visual arts, *the provenance obsession* (my emphasis).

[49] To partly answer Kenyon's question, the notion that a composer, alive or dead, expects any influence over how a work is perform once it is written is the equivalent of stating whether an author has any influence over how a book, for instance, will be interpreted by readers once it is published and circulated.

story goes, 'the great composers' (Small, 1987:358-359). Such figures looms large in Western art music historiography, and to a large extent, have trained both the listener and performer that there is a some kind of moral obligation in fulfilling the composer's intentions in the realisation of the printed score. However, notions of originality and that performers must restrict themselves note for note to the score is a very recent phenomenon (Small, 1987:285). It is well known that in Baroque music, composers wrote much of their music in shorthand and it was left to the performer to 'fill in the gaps'. Any changes, alterations to the skeletal tune were the prerogative of the performer, and the mark and skill of musicianship was gauged by the level of improvisation and elaboration. In this respect, 'the performing musicians functioned as partners in the musical act and not as mere executants of the composer's instructions (Small, 1987:286).

One could cite similar creative processes of manipulating 'shorthand' material to achieve a desired musical result. Yung (1994: 54) has elegantly captured this process in his discussion of *guqin* notational system:

> The creativity that is implicitly demanded from the player by the absence of certain directives in the notation is often applied freely to those parts of the notation that are unambiguous and specific. For example, players are likely to add to, delete, or in general alter the notation. Taking such liberties in "tampering" with extant notation is not only accepted, it is expected as part of the *dapu* [lit: 'beating the score'] process. This explains why among the extant repertory of about three hundred compositions preserved in notation from the last six centuries, many are variants of one another. Players throughout history freely altered preexisting notation, and occasionally they published their versions.

The reverence for the works of the 'great artists' also highlights attitudes towards originality. 'That such originality has been prized since earliest times, writes Meyer, 'is shown by the fact that the poets were thought to be divinely inspired and by the more mundane fact that even in ancient Egypt, as well as later in Rome, forgeries of works of the masters was not uncommon.' (1961:61). While the very distinction between an original and a copy has effectively been destroyed in the postmodern terrain of the simulacrum, the forgery's attempt to imitate the original not only underlines the importance attached to originality in our culture, but

our attitudes toward repetition (Meyer, 1961:61). This idea that repetition is considered 'wasteful and unproductive' can be demonstrated with reference to popular opera genres in China. Peking opera, for example, can be highly repetitious to many Western sensibilities, confined to a limited stock of musical material interwoven into the narrative. A limited source of melodic materials from which to draw from might seem to constrain an opera singer's creativity, but within the constraints of these set melodic patterns there is room for variation and improvisation. Paradoxically, we find a similar process at work in the compositions, *not* the performances of Western art composition. Composers such as Mozart worked with conventional tools such as sonata or rondo form which involved high levels of repetition, but the yardstick by which the work is judged 'great' (and 'original')--was the composer's ability to deviate from the mundane and repetitious.[50]

Setting new texts from pre-existing melodies does not mean that the process of *tianci* is 'necessarily repetitious' (Yung, 1983: 298), or that the adaptation of new texts violates the original "freedom" of composition. It is noteworthy that a process that has striking parallels with *tianci* was employed in liturgical and plainchants of the twelve and thirteenth centuries in Europe. The term contrafuctum (lit: 'imitate', 'counterfeit', 'forge'), on the one hand, referred to the practice of setting a new text to a pre-existing melody (Falck, 1980:700), and it is a process which continued well into the seventeenth century (Picker, 1980:701). Centonization, on the other, applied to the practice of constructing new melodies from pre-existing melodic formulas. (Hoppin, 1978:69). Contrafactum and centonization were aesthetically desirable and accepted

[50] This thesis has been put forward by Meyer in his theory of musical deviation (1967). Simplifying matters somewhat, musical meaning arises when we expect something to happen and it does not--it is delayed or blocked by some form of deviation. This deviation may manifest itself in several ways. One way in music, for instance, is for the composer to employ chromaticism, to deviate from the probable diatonic structure and create uncertainty or ambiguity in the music which has an immediate influence on the listener's expectations. Deviation for the listener occurs because the consequent was not expected; the listener's expectations are temporarily fulfilled. But this uncertainty, delay and ambiguity does not last long. It will eventually resolve itself and the listener's expectations are fulfilled.

practices in medieval music. As Falck writes: 'The constant re-use of older, particular sacred melodies is so fundamental to both the technique and spirit of medieval music that it does not constitute a special usage' (1980:700). The process of centonization, as defined by Hoppin (1978:69) is relevant to our discussion:

> The modern emphasis on originality in the creative arts makes the idea of centonization seem strange indeed. Yet it is a normal process in much Oriental music. For the oriental musician, modes are not so much octave species as collections of melodic formulas. The originality of the composer or improvising performer consists in his choice and arrangement of these formulas, the way he links them together, extends and elaborates them, and perhaps includes a small amount of free material. Centonization is not to be confused with mere adaptation, in which a complete melody, with whatever modifications are necessary, is fitted to new words. This process is too common throughout the Middle Ages, not only in plainchant but in many other types of music as well. Centonization, obviously, represents a considerably higher stage of artistic endeavour.[51] The composer must assemble, and the listener recognize, the traditional melodic formulas in new and individual contexts.

While text-setting pre-existing tunes was general practice among school song songwriters, it was not wholly endorsed by everyone. One of the most vocal in discouraging the practice was Zeng Zhimin. Zeng was very prescriptive in showing others the 'do's and dont's' of text-setting pre-existing melodies. In 1904 issue of Liang Qichao's *Renovation of the People* [*Xinmin congbao*], Zeng listed a number of 'prohibitions' which, to my mind, were obviously directed at those who were cannibalising both the text and the music. The guidelines, among other things, prohibited altering the original pre-existing tune or breaking up music phrases. Those unfamiliar with the tune in its entirety, were not allowed to add a text and those illiterate in Western music theory were forbidden to compile songs and annotate scores.[52] Zeng's comments, however, should not suggest that the practice of *tianci* had fallen into disarray. He

[51] We should also add the centonization was also a religious endeavour. Arguably, the tunes were not as important as the setting the texts imbued with religious inspiration. Meyer (1967:61) has suggested that during the Middle Ages what was considered original was not very significant because the 'work was seen primarily as a religious symbol than a work of art'.

[52] Yinyue jiaoyulun ('Educational Theory of Music'), *Xinmin congbao*, 1904, no. 14. Quoted Wang and Yang (1996:19).

was simply disturbed by what many were doing with both Chinese folk tunes and foreign melodies. Arguably, one of the ostensible aims of a number of school song anthologies published in Japan by Zeng was a very conscious attempt to standardise school songs and to discourage what he considered to be less than elegant and refined arrangements. In a similar vein, Li Huaxuan (1895-1965) complained of the problem of setting texts to music and the difficulties of mastering tonal patterns in poetry. He cited a Western folk song set to new lyrics called 'The Love of Classmates' taken from an anthology of songs for senior-level primary school children. In this song, the third line of a four line verse had been deleted, which according to Li, was the most important line. 'How can you teach a song like this when it has been cut to pieces?' He proposed three solutions to the problem:

> 1. to get rid of those illogical, incoherent lyrics and frivolous tunes.
>
> 2. to make newly-composed songs conform to the rules of music theory and ensure that they have educational value. In addition, those engaged in text-setting tunes must work together with both professional musicians and writers.
>
> 3. when selecting a well-known foreign tune, if you have competence in the foreign language then use the original text from the tune. Alternatively, translate the foreign lyrics into Chinese or set them to a pre-existing melody. Whatever the case may be, strictly observe the melodic contours of the song and make sure that the words fit smoothly with the composition.[53]

In May 1890, W.E. Soothill echoed concerns similar to Zeng's in considering how missionaries should "fit" suitable Christian texts to Chinese melodies (1890:226-227):

[53] Quoted in Chen Bingyi (1991:90).

> In adopting native airs four methods present themselves: First, the adoption of the whole air and the composition of hymns are of the same metre as the original song. This is the most difficult and the least to be desired, as sometimes a single word is spread over half a score of notes. Second, the adoption of the whole air and the composition of hymns to fit smoothly to it. Third, the adaptation of the air itself to hymns already composed. This is only feasible in a few cases; and fourth, the adaptation or altering of a portion of the tune to suit hymns already composed.[54]

Notation

The introduction of new systems of Western notation to China were significant in the nineteenth century, but sophisticated notational systems were neither "new" nor "modern" to the Chinese.[55] Mrs. Timothy Richard used John Curwen's tonic sol-fa system in teaching Chinese disciples in singing sessions as early as 1883, and her husband, the Baptist Timothy Richard had come across a notational system while reading passages from the *Liyue* 'similar to that which Europeans had fondly imagined to be the latest product of the nineteenth century'. (Richard 1916: 168). Western notational systems were extensively used by foreign missionaries in the nineteenth century. These included the tonic sol-fa system, the Chevé method and Western staff notation and a lesser known form of notation, the 'Union System' which incorporated both staff notation, tonic sol-fa and *gongche* notations with Chinese characters to denote the pitches. [56]

[54] It is interesting to compare the above prescriptions by Zeng with Soothill's 'four guiding principles' in the Preface to *Hymns of Universal Praise* (1936) as follows:

1. To express as closely as possible the ideas of the original.
2. To secure naturalness and beauty in the Chinese poetical form.
3. To use simple diction.
4. To secure proper phrasing.
5. To avoid weak words on the accented beats of the music.
6. To use adequate rhyme.
7. To make good tone-contrast in the Chinese characters whenever possible.
   (quoted in Sheng, 1964:190).

[55] There is a considerable corpus of material on notational systems in English. For a general introduction see for example, 'Notation' (Lewis, 1936:89-95), 'Chinese Notations' (Guen, 1988:66-72) and 'The Succession of Music: Oral and Written Transmission' (Liang, 1985: 185-186).

[56] See J.W.H. John in *CR* vol. XXII, July 1891.The existence of the tonic sol-fa system had much to do with the efforts of John Curwen (1816-188), a congregational minister in Britain who, in the 1830s was trying to find a reliable and accurate method of teaching singing. The system employs solmisation syllables *do re mi fa so la* and *ti* to denote the various pitches of the diatonic scale. This system was hardly new in the West and was not unlike the medieval *ut, re, mi , fa, sol* and *la*. In the Chevé method, an abbreviation

One of the earliest examples of cipher and Western staff notation in school songs is found in Zeng Zhimin's *Yueli Dali* published in issues six and seven of *Jiangsu* (1903), a Chinese language journal founded in early April that year by the *Jiangsu Tongxianghui,* an association of Jiangsu overseas Chinese students based in Toyko. Six songs were included in both cipher and Western staff notation (Liu, 1986:28). In Li Shutong's *Little Magazine of Music*, musical examples of theory as well as three 'teaching songs' (*jiaoyu changge*) are all in Western staff notation. However, a thorough examination of published song books, anthologies and textbooks in the late Qing and early Republican period is necessary before we can ascertain the widespread dissemination of Western staff notation and cipher notations in school songs. Significantly, late Qing music reformers employed Western notational systems not because they were entirely "new" but because they became synonymous with modernity.

The Music

As we have mentioned earlier, school songs have been influenced by either Western music or traditional Chinese folk music. Guen (1988:146-156) explores the musical form of school songs in considerable detail while Wong (1984:136-143) implicitly analyses the music in her discussion of 'songs of the masses'. It is not my intention to provide a detailed analysis of these songs or cite a litany of examples that neither Wong nor Yuen mentions. Rather my purpose is to corroborate and amplify their findings.

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of the Galin-Paris-Chevé method, numerals replace syllables. *Do* for example, is represented by the numeral 1 as the tonic or home key of a scale and *re*, *mi*, *fa*, *so*, *la* and *ti* are represented by the numerals 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 respectively. An octave above is indicated by a dot above a numeral, an octave below by a dot under the numeral. The key and time signature appears on the upper left hand corner (Rainbow. 1980: 99-100). In several sources, this system of notation was introduced from Japan at the turn of the century, but according to Kraus 'this sounds like avoidance of the missionary role' (1989, 239n53).

School songs fall into two major categories: songs based on Chinese folk tunes and those based on Western tonality. Some of the songs employ heptatonic scales, others are hexatonic as well as pentatonic. School songs can be summarised into the following scale categories:

(a) Songs employing a pentatonic scale in anhemitonic form (i.e. five-tone scale without semitones). Examples include 'When Will China Awake'[*Heri Xing*] [5.6], 'Commemorating Yunnan' [*Yunnan Dajinian*] [5.7], 'Encouraging Learning'. [*Mianxue*], if we treat f sharp in line three as a passing note[5.8], 'Yunnan Men' [*Yunnan Nan'er*] [5.9] 'China's Men' [*Zhongguo Nan'er*], if we treat b flat in measure three as a passing note [5.10], 'Bamboo Horse'[*Zhuma*] [5.11] and 'Calisthenics [*Ticao*] [5.12]

(b) Songs firmly based on Western major scales. Examples include 'Yellow River'[*Huanghe*] [5.13], 'Sound of Frogs Under the Moon '[*Yuexia washeng*] [5.14] and 'The Orphanage'[*Gu'eryuan*] [5.15].

Other characteristic features of school songs can be summarised as follows:

1. The songs are set syllabically to the lyrics.

2. School songs are relatively short in duration ranging from nine up to thirty measures. Repeat signs are rare. Many songs have more than one verse and are sung to the same tune.

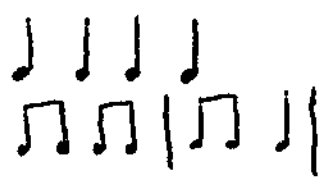
3. The vast majority of songs are constructed in measures that either have two (duple) or four (quadruple) beats to the measure. Simple metre signatures are most commonly found (2/2, 2/4 or 4/4) although I have found a compound metre (6/8) in a setting of an ancient poem called 'Without Clothing' [*Wuyi*] from Li Shutong's *Anthology of National Songs* [*Guoxue changge ji*] (1905).[57]

4. No modulation occurs in any of the songs that I have examined. With some exceptions, chromatic alteration of pitch is rare.

5. The range of songs are generally situated in between middle C and its octave above, although songs may range from an interval of a tenth (eg. 'Encouraging Learning') to a twelfth (eg. 'Ancestral Land').

6. Occasional high sustained notes provide ample opportunity for robust singing.

7. March-like rhythms are common and follow the regular beats of duple meter. Examples include the following patterns:



[57]See Qi Shi and Pei'an *Li Shutong gequ quanji* (1990:2).

8. In school songs that are harmonised, the harmonies are simple tonic-dominant patterns. Harmonic movement can vary. In some instances it is extremely slow, changing only once in most phrases. For example, 'Spring Outing'[*Chunyou*] [5.16]. In others, harmonic movement can change several times in a musical phrase. For example, 'Please Face the Mirror' [*Qing jun duijing*] [5.17].

9. In school song books and anthologies that I have examined, songs are accompanied by the piano. However, instrumental accompaniment depended largely on the availability of instruments. Songs could be accompanied by a reed organ, piano accordion, brass instruments such as trumpets or an orchestra or military band. The monophonic texture of many school songs allows simple doubling of the voice line. Songs could also be sung *a cappella*.

10. Absence of ornamentation (appoggiaturas, mordents, trills). From school song recordings that I have heard, improvised or extemporaneous ornamentation is also absent.

Of the less than one hundred school songs that I have consulted for this study,[58] the texts of many of these songs, reflected a number of national concerns of the time and were for all intents and purposes identical to those evinced by the Society for China's Revival (*Huaxinghui*) in the early part of the century—'the promotion of patriotism, opposition to imperialism and the introduction of a modern civilization.'[59] Like late Qing and early Republic reformers, school song songwriters were also fostering a new national ideology, enacting in their imaginings 'the unfinished and impossible project of modernizing the state' (Franco, 1989:205) which were being shaped more or less on much admired Western and Japanese models.

Many school song "composers" aligned themselves with one another in writing simple, comprehensible didactic texts in the vernacular and setting them to suitably sole-stirring melodies which were 'totally devoid of complexity'.[60] However, among disparate voices, the choice of text was anything but prescribed. Li Shutong, for instance, not only chose to write in the vernacular, but also chose classical poems and set them to tunes that resembled ritual music

[58] These include a selection of thirty school songs by Shen Xingong in Xu Changhui and Shen Qia (1988), twenty-songs in Li Shutong's *Anthology of National Songs* (1905) and forty-two songs written between 1906-1918) in Qi Shi and Pei'an (1990).
[59] Quoted in Yu, P.K, 1970: xiii).

rather than patriotic marching songs amply illustrated in his *Anthology of National Songs* (1905). Like many of his colleagues, Li made use of a vast range of musical sources available to him and wrote songs that helped to forge ideological bonds among his contemporaries. But Li also incorporated ancient themes as well as modern ideas into the texts of his songs. Although such texts would have been less accessible and more restricted at the level of consumption because they would only be understood by a small educated minority and therefore at odds with the majority of school songs that sought to reach out to larger audiences, Li's 'Mourning our Ancestral Land' (1905) for example, proved that a traditional form like the pentasyllabic verse imbued with historical allusions could serve as a medium for expressing modern ideas.

[60] This is Isabel Wong's expression (1984:138).

VI.

Late Qing Reformers, School Song Advocates and the Chinese Music Tradition

Chinese students bound for Japan at the turn of the century left behind a country beset with foreign threats and domestic turmoil. The waves of patriotism that welled up in the hearts of Chinese reformers and students, as evidenced by many written personal accounts, recognised that China was in a state of national crisis long before they arrived in Japan.[1] Amidst the miasma of an ever-increasing foreign presence, the question of reform and modernisation took centre stage among progressively minded Chinese intellectuals. This discourse was generally couched in terms of 'saving the nation' and restoring the moral and political order of the empire from the prospect of extinction. For those like Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao who had fled the purge of the 1898 Reform Movement with a heavy price on their heads, Japan gave them the opportunity to continue lobbying for reform and they turned to the press as the most effective means of disseminating ideas. Before the 1898 Reform Movement both Kang and Liang were writing on the political and social relevance of songs.

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[1] Patriotic and nationalist sentiments can be found in the writings of numerous Chinese intellectuals. For example, in the fifth year of the reign of Guangxu (1879), the twenty-two year old Kang Youwei wrote 'Thinking of the misery and hardship in the life of men, I believed that heaven had endowed me with the intelligence and ability to save them. I turned my thoughts toward commiserating and sympathizing with the people in society, and made it my mission to take part in worldly affairs'. Kang Youwei, *Nianpu*. Quoted in Jonathan D. Spence *The Gate of Heavenly Peace* (1981:32). This sense of mission to rescue China from its predicament is found again in a passage written in 1895. 'Every day the salvation of society was uppermost in my thoughts, and every moment the salvation of society was my aim in life, and for this aim I was determined to sacrifice myself...' Kang Youwei, *Nianpu*. Quoted in *ibid*:35. See also Liang Qichao "Lun Zhongguo jiruo youyu fangbi" (China's Increasing Weakness is due to Lack of Defense), published in *Shiwubao* [*Chinese Progress*], 27 October 1896 and "Lun baoguan youyi yu guoshi" (Newspaper Offices are Beneficial to the State), *Shiwubao*, 9 August, 1896. Patriotic sentiments can also be found in numerous poems. The following lines by Huang Zunxian poem clearly expresses an empire beset with domestic and foreign turmoil: 'Recently rebels have spread across the land/Holy China has been sullied by foreign filth/When a government lasts long, disorder follows/Laws have defects, none are perfect'. *Renjinglu shicao jianzhu*. Quoted in Schmidt (1994:9). Similar sentiments are also found in poems by school song "composers" such as Li Shutong and Li Jianhong. For example, the following lines by Li Jianhong written before going to Japan in 1904: 'Defeated by the Japanese during the Sino-Japanese War/Defeated by the Allied Armies in 1900/The nation's courage has been swept away'. Quoted in Hou Ruiyun and Zhang Jingwei (1986:90).

This chapter will begin by briefly looking at how Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao envisaged music and songs in playing an integral part in the political and social reform process. I will then consider three major figures in the rise and development of school songs in the late Qing and finally discuss the term "new music" as a metaphor for political and social change.

Kang Youwei's views on music can be found in a number of his writings. These include "A Comprehensive Discussion on Education" [*Jiaoxue tongyi*] (1886), "The Forged Classics of the Wang Mang Period" [*Xinxue weijingkao*] (1891), "The Study of Confucius as a Reformer" [*Kongzi gaizhi kao*] (1892) and "A Catalogue of Japanese Books" [*Riben shumu zhi*] (1898) compiled by Kang and contains a list of books on singing and music theory as well as an anthology of some one hundred songs (Wang Pu, 1997:61-62). In "A Comprehensive Discussion on Education", Kang emphasized the importance of music and ritual as essential elements of rulership inextricably bound up with the rise and decline of an empire (Wang Pu, 1997:61) as well as the power of music on the emotions. 'Although ritual music does not equal that of bygone dynasties, it must be able to move the people'.[2] The subject of music also looms large in his Utopian text *Datongshu* [*Book of Great Harmony*; *Book of Great Uniformity*] completed after the 1898 Reform Movement and published much later during the Republican Period.[3] Divided into ten chapters, this Utopian world in Kang's vision was a world where:

> [h]uman society would be organized into thousands of small, democratic communities, each equally represented in a world parliament. Within each community, property would be owned communally, and all inhabitants would share equally in the means of livelihood. Moreover, with the institution of sexual equality, freedom of mating, and the raising of children at public expense in nurseries and schools, the family system would no longer be necessary and would disappear. In the Utopian world there would be full political, economic and social equality, regardless of race, sex or occupation.[4]

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[2] "Jiaoxue tongyi", *Kang Youwei Quanji*, vol. 1, Jiang Yihua, Wu Genliang (1987:127). Quoted in Wang Pu (1997:61).

[3] On dates of the book see Kazuko (1989:212n 18).

[4] See entry for Kang Youwei in *BDRC*,. II, 1968:232. An excellent overview of the *Datongshu* can be found in Ono (1989:34-46).

In Chapter Five entitled 'Abolishing Sex Boundaries and Preserving Independence' Kang argued that it was the women, not the men who founded and developed arts and crafts as well as music. The reasons for this state of affairs, he averred was:

> because the men were hunters, who had no time to sit at home, thinking, and finding new methods of doing things. So it must have been the women, who stayed at home, who originated such techniques as cooking, agriculture, house-building, weaving, silk-making, cloth-weaving-and including the fine arts, music and writing-while men were still brutes who spent all their time and energies in the hunt (Thompson, 1958:155).

Like Confucius, Kang was keenly aware that certain music was socially beneficial and that music should not to be left to the whims and caprices of the individual. Music was to play an important part in his society of 'great harmony' (*datong*) 'for nothing is so potent in affecting our natures' (1958:191). Kang goes to great length to describe the beneficial dimensions of music in society. These include the role of music in the schools, the establishment of music halls within cities and towns as well as its efficacy in alleviating the sufferings of childbirth:

> There will be special delivery rooms with music and pleasant conditions; the best physicians will deliver the babies. There will be specially trained nurses to care for the infants. Except when nursing the baby, the mother will be free to listen to music, to read, and to look at pictures. The mother will be given proper foods and drinks to nourish her in her special conditions. There will be music and poetry played and sung, suitable to harmonizing body and soul. (Thompson, 1958:193).

Kang's conceptualisation of music therapy in the post-natal stage, however, did not extend to the mentally handicapped or insane. Instead, as Kang stated, they would 'be placed on special islands' (Thompson, 1958:201).

Kang's disciple Liang Qichao took up Kang's views of music as an agent for reform and change rather than as playing an important role in some 'kind of communistic Utopian world' (Ono,1989:41). Writing in the *Shiwubao* [*Chinese Progress*] in 1896, Liang's recommendations for educational reform included the compilation of textbooks as a priority. Apart from textbooks, he also included the compilation of works on grammar and songs 'or rhymed texts as

mnemotechnical devices' (quoted in Martin, 1973:178). In 1897 he wrote: 'The Japanese reforms [Meiji Restoration] depended on the power of popular songs and fiction—for nothing is better than these for pleasantly training children and painlessly guiding the uneducated.'[5] In the second issue of *People's* Miscellany published in 1902, Liang translated into Chinese a German patriotic song and three foreign songs (Da Wei, 1983:39). Much of Liang's writings on music are found in *his Ice-Drinking Studio* (*Yinbingshi*) published in exile in Japan in 1902. [6] In an essay from the *Ice-Drinking Studio* entitled 'The New Roman Legend' [*Xin Luoma chuanqi*], Liang argued that music education was inseparable from larger issues of reform such as nation building and warding off the continuing presence of foreign aggression: 'Writing books and romances, poetry and songs that can be understood by everyone is a basic prerequisite in building a nation and arousing national spirit. Public morale will no doubt benefit, but if this is not achieved there can only be national humiliation' (quoted in Da Wei, 1983:39). Liang was keenly aware of the lack of military songs (*junge*) in China that could be used to cultivate patriotism and strengthen the country. Liang was delighted, however, when Huang Zunxian sent him copies of his

[5] *YBSWJ*, vol. II, chapter 2:56. Quoted in Nathan (1985:143).

[6] Liang first began employing the name 'ice-drinking studio' in a special column (*zhuanlan*) he wrote in the *Qingyibao* which Liang edited from 1899 to 1901. The term 'drinking ice' or 'ice-drinking' comes from Zhuang Zi's 'In the Human World' [*Renjianshi*]. The Duke of She, Zigao, was about to depart on an important mission to the State of Qi and told Confucius that he was anxious and afraid of the heavy responsibility that the King had given him. 'This morning I received my orders, and this evening I'm drinking ice water. It's as if my insides are cooking. I haven't even got to the substance of my task yet and I'm already suffering from the imbalance of yin and yang! If I fail, everyone will condemn me. As a minister, I don't have sufficient footing to undertake this embassy'. 'In the Human World' (trans. by Hamill and Seaton, 1998:27). Certainly the expression conveyed a great deal of what Liang's own sense of uneasiness and anxiety as he contemplating the road of political reform and social change in China. The 'ice-drinking studio' was also the name of a study room (*shuzhai*) built as an extension to Liang's two-storey Italian- style home in Tianjin in 1924. For an introduction to Liang's 'ice-drinking studio' replete with floor plans see Zhang Jingwen (1987:178-184). This study became Liang's refuge where he contemplated the fate of the nation. Other possible renderings of 'ice-drinking studio' apart from its literal meaning are 'Study from where I Contemplate the Fate of the Nation'; 'Studio of National Concern' or 'A Place Where I Write on Matters Concerning China and Its People'. Masini (1993) translates *Yinbinshi* as 'Sorbet Drinking Studio'.

marching songs.[7] One of these songs, 'Departing Army' [*Chujun ge*] was subsequently published in Liang's *New Fiction* [*Xin Xiaoshuo*] in October 1902.[8]

Music was among thirteen subjects proposed by Liang for women's education based on a girls school curriculum from Japan.[9] As part of a proposal for an eight-hour day schooling for children between the ages of eight and twelve, the school day would end at five 'with both teacher and students singing a patriotic song'.[10] In Liang's endeavours to create a 'new style of writing' in his late Qing journalism and promoting the vernacular language, he stressed the importance of writing texts for purposes of teaching that combined both literary elegance and the colloquial language:

> We have a lot of work in our desire to create new songs suitable as teaching material', wrote Liang. 'If the texts are too refined, they will be unsuitable. By the same token, if they are void of elegance, they will come across as pedestrian. We must consider that suitability of such songs for children, but at the same time not lose the national essence of our literature. This is no easy feat (quoted in Yang, 1989:31).

While Kang and Liang's influence on music reform cannot be underestimated, Zeng Zhimin, Shen Xingong and Li Shutong became representative figures with the rise of school songs in the late Qing and early Republic. All three studied in Japan and all were actively involved in lobbying for music reform.

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[7]. See Kamachi, 1981:321n45.

[8] According to Qian Renkang (1990:85) Huang Zunxian wrote twenty-four marches song (*Junge ershisi zhang*) accompanied to anonymous tunes. Qian points out that 'Departing Army' was used by Li Shutong in his *Anthology of National Songs* (1905) but set to a different melody (ibid). Huang also wrote a number of school songs including a kindergarten song entitled 'Kindergarten Students go to School [*Youzhiyuan shangxue ge*]. See Kamachi (1981:252-254).

[9] "Lun Nüxue" (On Women's Education) in *Yinbingshi wenji*. Quoted in Sun Shiyue (1995:53).

[10] *Yinbingshi wenji*, vol. I: 58. I assume that this eight-hour day schooling was from Monday and Friday. It is not clear from the text whether classes were held on Saturday or Sunday.

Zeng Zhimin

Zeng Zhimin's life and his influential role as a music reformer has been poorly documented. [11] It is possible that Zeng began his career as a promising young traditional scholar and was well versed in the Confucian classics. He was born in 1879 in Shanghai. His father Zeng Zhu was prosperous in the rice trade in Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Fujian and Guangdong provinces and a well-respected philanthropist. He was also a staunch supporter of constitutional monarchy in China and an ardent patriot. In 1905 he joined thousands around the country in boycotting American goods (Chen, 1983:44).[12] Zeng Zhu's dying wish to his son was that a school be set up for underprivileged children in Shanghai.

Little is known of Zeng's early education in Shanghai, but his career as a music reformer began in earnest when he went to Japan with his wife Cao Rujin in 1901. Cao studied Western art and music while Zeng studied law at Waseda University and in 1903 Zeng entered the Tokyo School of Music. It was during this period that Zeng came into contact with Gao Yanyun (?-?) and Feng Yaxiong (?-?).[13] They developed a friendship that was to prove immensely influential in terms of music reform in China.

Zeng's sojourn in Japan was incredibly productive. In 1902 he attended a meeting of the Music Study Association (*Yinyue Jiangxihui*) founded by Shen Xingong that year and became an active participant in the Society whose aims included 'developing the establishment of music

[11] The following biographical sketch has been gleaned from the following sources: Liu Ching-chih (1986: 26-32), Da Wei (1983:39-41) and Chen Lingqun (1983: 44-48).

[12] For an excellent introduction to anti-imperialist and patriotic movements in China in the early part of the century see Sang Bin 'On the Student Movements at Home and Abroad 1902 and 1905' (1987:1-43), Yu Danchu 'A Preliminary Exploration into the Chinese Anti-Imperialist and Patriotic Historiography in the Early Twentieth Century' (1987:42-60) and Liao Weizhang 'Yueshang zizhuhui" (Guangdong Merchants Autonomous Society) and the Anti-Imperialist Struggle' (1987:61-70).

[13] Both Gao and Feng are mentioned in a number of Chinese sources, but information on these figures is thin and sketchy. Tao provides the following thumbnail sketch of Feng Yaxiong: 'Music educator. In 1905 he studied music at the Ueno School of Music and also studied a number of Western musical instruments including the flute, clarinet, French horn and trombone with the Meiji Music Society. On his return to China he taught the Peking opera singer Mei Lanfang piano. From 1913-1926 Feng taught music at the Beijing Normal University and also compiled a textbook on woodwind instruments' (1994:239).

schools, music beneficial to society and inspiring the national spirit'.[14] Zeng was also a prolific writer and translator. His works in Japan include no less than fourteen publications:

1. *Yueli Dayi* (*Introduction to Music*) (1903)[15] .
2. *Changge ji jiaoshoufa* (*Singing and the Art of Teaching*) (1903).[16]
3. *Jiaoshou yinyue chubu* (*Introduction to Teaching Music*), translation (1904).[17]
4. *Jiaoyu changge ji* [*Anthology of Educational Songs*], (1904).[18]
5. *Yuedian jiaokeshu* [*Textbook on Western Music*], (1904).[19]
6. *Yinyue jiaoyulun* [*Theory of Music Education*)], (1904).[20]
7. *Yinyue Quanshu* [*Music Encyclopedia*], (1905). [21]
8. *Hesheng lüeyi* [*Brief Introduction to Harmony*][22]
9. *Heshengxue* [*The Study of Harmony*] (1905)[23]
10. *Guomin changgeji* [*Anthology of National Citizens Songs*] (1905)[24]
11. *Jianyi jinxingqu* (*Simple Marches*) (1905)[25]
12. *Jiaoyu changge ji* [*Collection of Educational Songs*] (1905)[26]
13. *Mingren yuelun*: *Riben zhi yinyue fei zhen yinyue* [*Japanese Music is Not Music*] translation,(1905)[27]
14. *Yinyue siku* [*The Four Branches of Music*] (1906)[28]

Despite Zeng's father being unhappy that his son was 'not pursuing a legitimate or honest profession' (*buwu zhengye*), when Zeng Zhimin returned to China in 1907 he established the Summer Music Study Association (*Xiaji yinyue jiangxihui*) with other music educators and reformers including Gao Yanyun and Feng Yaxiong (Chen Lingqun, 1983:46). According to Hu Huaishan, writing in the *Gazetteer Bureau Journal* in Shanghai in 1933, the objectives of the

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[14] This society was to regroup in May 1904 under the new name *Refined Asia Music Society* [*Yaya Yinyuehui*].
[15] Published in *Jiangsu* issue no. 6.
[16] Published in *Jiangsu*, issue no. 7. Contains six songs in staff and cipher notation. They are: *Practising Sodiers* [*Lianbing*]; *Spring Outing* [*Chunyou*]; *Yangzijiang* [*Yangzi River*] ; *War of the Sea* [*Haizhan*]; *New* [*Xin*] and *Autumn Insects* [*Qiuchong*]. According to Liu (1986:28) these six songs are the earliest publication of school songs in China.
[17] Published in *Jiangsu*, issue no. 10.
[18] This collection contains some twenty-six songs of which sixteen are penned by Zeng.
[19] Original text in English (author unknown) translated by Zeng from a Japanese translation by Suzuki Yonejirô.
[20] Published in *Xinmin congbao*, issues 14 and 20.
[21] This work includes *Yuedian dayi* (*An Introduction to the Music Classics*), *Changge jiaoshoufa* (*Instruction in the Art of Singing*) and *Fengqin lianxifa* (*Practice Exercises for the Organ*).
[22] Published in *Xingshi* [*Awakened Lion*] , issue no. 3. According to Liu Ching-chih (1986:62n. 51), this is the earliest essay on European harmony written in Chinese.
[23] Translated by Gao Yanyun.
[24] Published in *Xingshi*, issue no. 1.
[25] Published in issue no. 1 of (*Xingshi*), issued by Kaiming Shudian, Shanghai.
[26] Published in *Xingshi*, issue no. 1.
[27] Published in *Xingshi* issue no. 2. .

Society were to teach Western art music theory, courses in singing and the playing of musical instruments. (Liu, 1986:29). Zeng was far from satisfied with music reform being confined to organizing music societies. Gao, Feng and Zeng had entertained the idea of establishing a music school on their return to China, but there seemed little chance of procuring the necessary finances to do so. Zeng's father's dying wish in 1908 that his son set up an orphanage in Jiading for underprivileged children with his money must have been a dream come true. The exact details of how much money was used to finance this orphanage (*pin'eryuan*) are scant, but as Shi Ziying, a well-known business figure in Shanghai was appointed principal, we might surmise that funds were secured from local gentry and businessmen in Shanghai (Chen, 1983:47). The orphanage was segregated into male and female 'supervisional colleges' (*jianyuan*), with Zeng Zhimin's wife looking after the girls. A music department was formed with Gao as director and Feng teaching woodwind instruments. The orphanage had over three hundred students, who, apart from studying music, devoted their time to other studies as well as manual work of some kind (Chen, 1983:47).

Increasing financial difficulty saw the eventual closure of the orphanage in 1921. There were perhaps a number of other reasons as well on which we can only speculate without more concrete information, but as early as 1912 both Gao and Feng left the school forcing the closure of the music department shortly afterwards. With the orphanage closed, Zeng and his family moved to Beijing where he eked out an existence as a lawyer while continuing his music activities. In the early 1920s, he formed the East West Society (*Zhongxi yinyuehui*) with Feng Yaxiong where they both experimented with Peking Opera by melding both Western and Chinese instruments and replacing percussion with Western woodwind instruments. (Xiang, 1994:54). Considering Zeng's enormous literary output in music reform in Japan and in China in the early part of the century, and an influential figure in music education, it remains somewhat of

[28] Published in *Xingshi*, issue no. 4.

a mystery why he or his wife Cao Rujin did not procure teaching positions in Shanghai, Beijing or elsewhere after the closure of the orphanage. His friend and colleague Feng Yaxiong taught music in Beijing at Beijing Normal University from 1913-1926. It is possible that Gao Yanyun also went to Beijing, but his whereabouts after leaving the orphanage are extremely sketchy. We know nothing of whether Zeng or his wife was actively involved in folklore research with scholars such as Liu Fu (1891-1934) at Beijing University or with the magazine *Folklore Weekly* [*Geyao Zhoukan*] founded in mid December 1922.[29] Circumstances, it seems, were not kind to either Zeng or his wife in Beijing and Zeng turned increasingly to the bottle for refuge. He died in Beijing in 1929 at the age of forty-nine.

Like Liang Qichao and others, Zeng considered music to be essential for the progress of the country. "On Music Education" published in *Xinmin congbao* in Japan in 1904 provides an important benchmark concerning the role of music in reforming society.[30] This work is divided into the following five sections:

Introduction
Definitions of Music
The Function of Music
A Practical Compilation of Music
Song and Verse in Music

In his preliminary remarks, Zeng identified four broad areas in his music reform prescription:

(1) the training of music teachers in China
(2) the hiring of foreign music teachers
(3) the compilation of music textbooks
(4) the manufacture of pipe organs and western instruments.[31]

In terms of how music should be employed in society, Zeng included its function in education, politics, military affairs and in the home.[32] In the army, the utility of music was

[29] See Schimmelpenninck (1990:6) and Liang Zhu (1996:66).
[30] Yinyue jiaoyu lun", *Xinmin congbao*, 1904 issue no. 14 and 20. Quoted in Wang and Yang, 1996: 9-20).
[31] "Yinyue jiaoyu lun" Quoted in Wang and Yang (1996:9).

threefold: (1) to alleviate tiredness and fatigue; (2) to cultivate loyalty and discipline and (3) to encourage bravery and courage.[33] Zeng's prescription for how music should be employed within the home would induce social harmony among members of the family:

> The hierarchical life of the family is often difficult to fathom in China. There are essentially two groups: those that control the household with an iron fist and those where members of the family are left to their own devices. The first group is too strict, while the second lacks any sense of control. Too much control will lead to a fall out between husband and wife and a brick wall between sons. If the servants become unruly, then the father or son can punish them. What appears as a family is in fact the hearts and minds of individuals split asunder. Clearly, this raises questions about the social fabric of society. If you want to reform the family education is essential. The easiest way to achieve this is through music. Picture this scenario: Father leaves home in the early morning for work and returns in the evening. Mother works at home from dawn to dusk and their children are busy. They come back home from school in high spirits and have a love for life. Such an atmosphere brings the whole family closer together. Isn't this a picture of happiness?[34]

The kind of music that Zeng endorses is obviously the kind that he would have deemed to have an edifying and beneficial to family and society. There is nothing exceptionally new in Zeng's notion of music's efficacy in promoting family cohesion and society. Indeed, the above quote and the tenor of Zeng's essay draws on a long Confucian tradition while at the same time telescoping the past into the present with tremendous urgency.

Zeng's blueprint for music reform also provides a guide to the compilation of textbooks. At the kindergarten and primary school level the following texts were to be compiled within two years:

Collection of Songs for Kindergarten	one volume
Collection of Songs for Primary School	two volumes
Collection of Songs on Stress and Accent	one volume
Teaching Manual for the Organ	two volumes
Marches	one volume

[32] Ibid: 14.
[33] Ibid: 15.
[34] Ibid:16.

For middle school and above, the following texts were to be compiled within three years:

Collection of Primary School Songs	three volumes
Collection of Songs for Girls	two volumes
Collection of Middle School Songs	one volume
Collection of Music Songs	two volumes
Teaching Manual for the Organ	two volumes
Teaching Manual for the Organ for Senior-Level Middle School	one volume
Marches	one volume

For those wishing to teach at specialised music schools, Zeng proposed a four study course at the Tokyo School of Music:

Preparatory class	one year
Undergraduate class	three years
students enrolling must have a knowledge of Chinese literature and a good command of English and German literature.	
Postgraduate class	

For those wishing to establish military bands:

Training at an army or naval school:	
Schooling	four years
Postgraduate	two years[35]

Despite Zeng's gradual disillusionment with the music program at the Toyko School of Music, he nonetheless sought inspiration and guidance from the Japanese model. However, there is a change of heart close to the end of his six years in Japan when Zeng increasingly favoured Western models. Zeng's disillusionment with the Japanese music system, which ironically had been modelled on that of the German school system in the years following the Meiji Restoration, was replaced with scorn and contempt. In an essay entitled "Japanese Music is Not Real Music", Zeng's denunciation was unequivocal: 'If you desire to become a scholar you must be well versed in English and German. Go to Europe to study, but stay far away from Japan' (quoted in

[35] Ibid: 17-18.

Li Yan, 1994:55). Shen Xingong who gradually discarded Japanese songs in favour of Western models expressed a far less critical view. Shen recalls his impressions of Japanese tunes and his "conversion" to Western songs in his *Anthology of Songs* [*Xuexiao changeji*]:

> When I first began to compose songs, I mainly incorporated Japanese tunes. However, recently I have come to detest these songs and use a lot more Western tunes. Although writing songs based on Japanese tunes seems very natural, we fall into the trap of being able to compose only in this style. If we incorporate Western melodies instead, we can embrace a greater number of eclectic styles and produce outstanding works (Quoted in Li Yan, 1994:55).

Shen Xingong

Biographical details on Shen can be gleaned from several sources.[36] Born in Shanghai in 1870, Shen came from a prominent family in the shipping business. The business had developed and prospered in the early part of the century, but fell on hard times in the wake of the Opium War and the treaty settlements that followed. When Shen was seven years old, his father (b. 1841) was forced to eke out an existence as an official in Chenzhou, Hunan Province and the following year in Changsha. With barely enough to live on, Shen's mother (b. 1841) sold her dowry to make ends meet. Despite the enormous hardships faced by a once flourishing family business, the young Xingong began his education under the guidance of his mother and elder brother. At twenty he received a *xiucai* degree in a prefecture examination. In 1892 he married Xuemei in Chenzhou who bore him a son Bao Zhong (b. 1912) and a daughter Bao'an (b. 1915). The following year Shen and Xuemei moved to Shanghai where they stayed with an uncle-in-law, Ma Baizhu. Shen received further education from Ma's younger brother Ma Chongxin and also attended lectures on manual computation (*bisuan*) at the Scientific Academy [*Gezhi xueyuan*] delivered by its founder John Fryer. As he was to recall much later in a historical novel

[36] The following is taken from Liu Ching-chih (1986:32-35); Shen Qia and Xu Changhui (1988:33-42); Xu and Shen (1988); Shen Qia (1994:1-12); Sun and Zhou (1993:404-405) and Wang Yuhe (1985:19-22).

about his family 'the seeds of Western learning were planted during this period'.[37] His career began in earnest when he took up a teaching position at St. John's College in Shanghai in 1895 where he taught 'Chinese books' (*Zhongguo shu*). In 1897 Shen enrolled in a teacher training class (*shifanban*) at the newly established South Seas Public College founded by the entrepreneur Sheng Xuanhuai (1844-1916). After graduating in 1901 Shen stayed on as a teacher at the primary school attached to the College where he taught, among other things, mathematics, English and physics.

Like many Chinese intellectuals who were drawn to Japan as a model for reform at the turn of the century, Shen took leave of absence from teaching and made the journey in April 1902 enrolling at the Vast Learning Academy (Kôbun Gakuin) in Tokyo. It is unknown whether Shen began to take an active interest in music before going to Japan, but during his brief sojourn, Shen became actively involved in music activities. The influence of Japanese music educators such as Suzuki Yonejirô, (1868-1940), a teacher of singing at the Tokyo Normal School spurred Shen on to form the *Music Study Association* (*Yinyue Jiangxihui*) in November 1902 of which Suzuki was a guest teacher.[38] According to Shen Qia, Suzuki was also an adviser or consultant in the 'composition of Chinese school songs' (1994:3) and it was under Suzuki's guidance that Shen began to write songs. 'I accomplished nothing during my ten months in Japan, but my work in compiling song books stems back to this period. The Overseas Chinese Student Guild (*Liuxuesheng huiguan*) invited Suzuki to teach singing. I also took part in the singing sessions that provided the key to learning songs and where I began to write songs'.[39] Shen's early

[37] Shen Xingong *Jiating lishi xiaoshuo*, 178. Quoted in Xu and Shen Qia (1988:34).
[38] I have been unable to locate any substantial biographical information on Suzuki in Chinese or Japanese sources. He was an energetic compiler of army and school songs and music textbooks. In May 1907 he founded the Tôyô Ongaku Gakkô where he taught western musical instruments. See Shen Qia (1993: 57n.3) and entry for Suzuki Yonejirô in *Ongakuka jinmei jiten* (1991:319).
[39] Shen Qia (ed.) *Shen Xingong zizhuan* ['Autobiography of Shen Xingong], quoted in Xu & Shen (1988:27).

attempts in writing school songs the genre culminated in the song 'High Aspirations of Our Men are Essential (originally entitled 'Callisthenics—Soldier Drills').

This song has come to be regarded as 'one of the earliest works in the school song repertory' (Shen Baochang, quoted in Xu and Shen, 1988:35). Shen may have already achieved some fame for having composed this song before returning home in February 1903 and resuming his teaching position at Nanyang Teacher's College as well as taking up teaching posts at Longmen Teacher's College and the Shanghai Study Society (*Huxuehui*). According to Shen Qia, Shen Xingong's classes were always full and as people walk passed the classroom window many would gather to watch and listen. 'The classroom resounded with the majestic and powerful sound of song replete with humour and laughter'.[40] Shen returned to his former teaching position at Nanyang College and began to devote his time to promoting and encouraging songs in the primary school curriculum. The first singing classes introduced within the primary school system were established at Nanyang College under Shen in March 1903. [41] Other like-minded reformers based in Shanghai such as Wu Wanjiu (?-?), Xia Songlai (?-?), Wang Yincai (?-?), Lin Kanghou (?-?) became key figures in promoting the school song movement (*yuege yundong*). In April 1904, Wu Wanjiu, who ran the Wuben Private Girls' School, invited Shen to form a *School Song Study Society* (*Yuege jiangxihui*).[42] Shen in turn enlisted the help of a number of teachers including the twenty-four year old Li Shutong who, under Shen's influence became acquainted with various aspects of Western music and pedagogy (Xu and Shen, 1988:37).

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[40] Shen Qia, quoted in Wang Pu (1997:65).
[41] Huang Zi, 'Preface' to *Xingong changge ji* (1937). Quoted in Xu and Shen (1988:37).
[42] The Society initially had some fourteen to fifteen members. A groups photo taken after one meeting (no date) has nineteen members. They include Ye Zaoting, Xia Songlai, Zhou Kaiji, Lin Kanghou, Wang Yincai, Zhang Xuchu, Wang Bailei, Chong Ping, Jia Jiying, Pan Mingzhi, Huang Jiyu, Wu Gongzhi, Ye Songfan, Wang Houyu and Wu Wanjiu. See Xu and Shen (1988:80). The other four members are not included in Shen Xingong's brief note about the 'School Song Study' dated 6 November 1920 which accompanies the photo.

As well as playing a pioneering role in compiling song books for primary school and pre-school children, Shen translated a text on teaching songs in primary schools published in 1905 entitled *Methods of Teaching Songs in Primary School* [*Xiaoxue changge jiaoshoufa*], [43] wrote five dramas between 1907 and 1922[44] and also studied the *guqin* under famous practitioners such as Zhang Ziqian (1899-1991) and Shen Caonong (?-?) from the late 1930s.[45]His three volumes of school songs, as noted in the previous chapter, was in such demand that within two years there were no less than five reprints.[46] Other reprints are listed below:

Anthology of School Songs [*Xuexiao changge ji*], vol. I, (1904).
Anthology of School Songs [*Xuexiao changge ji*], vol. II, (1906)
Anthology of School Songs [*Xuexiao changge ji*] vols. I-III (1907)
Reprint of a Collection of School Songs [*Chongbian xuexiao changge* ji] vols. I-VI (1911)
Republican Songs [*Minguo changge ji*] vol. I-IV (1912)
Reprint of a Collection of School Songs (third edition) (1915)
Anthology of Songs by Shen Xingong [*Xingong change ji*] (1930)[47]
Anthology of Songs by Shen Xingong [*Xingong change ji*] (1936)[48]
Anthology of Songs by Shen Xingong [*Xingong change ji*] (1937)[49]

Shen resigned as principal of the primary school attached to Nanyang College in early 1927 (a position he had held since 1911) amidst a series of nationalist and anti-imperialist outbursts ending a twenty-four year relationship with the College. In early July, the head of the

[43]I have not been able to ascertain the source of this translation.
[44] *Children's Play* [*Erxi*], written and directed by Shen (1907); *Xue Meigui* and *The Loyal and Brave Child* [*Zhongyong zhi tongzi*] (1919); *Immortal Cloth* [*Shenxian Bu*] (1920) and *Cherry Flowers* [*Tangli zhi hua*] (1922).See Shen Qia "Shen Xingong nianpu" (1988:84).
[45] Along with Wu Jinglüe, Li Baoshan, Chen Yunxian, Wu Yunsun, Li Mingde and Chen Shouzhi, Zhang and Shen were known as the 'eight immortals' (*baxian*) who belonged to the Yuqinshe Guqin Society (*Jinyu qinshe*). See Shen Qia (1983b:63) and Dai Xiaolian (1991:80).
[46] As Shen Xingong wrote in the preface to an anthology of songs in the winter of 1937 'the demand for my songs anthologies can hardly keep up with the supply'. Wu Zhihui (1864-1953) writing in the Preface to a 1930 edition of Shen's songs wrote : 'In the early Republican Period when we all embraced infinite hopes [for the future of China], schools resounded within the sound of music. During this period Shen Xingong's *Anthology of Songs* were extremely popular throughout parts of China'. Quoted in Xu and Shen (1988:2).
[47] Published in August with a forward by Wu Zhihui, a edited and revised by Du Tingxiu.
[48] Forward by Huang Zi and preface by Shen Xingong.
[49]A revised edition of some 82 songs. See Xu Shijia (1989:578).

Ministry of Civil Affairs in Jiangsu, Niu Tiesheng (?-?), asked Shen to fill the position of county magistrate (*xianzhang*) of Nanhuai which Shen reluctantly accepted on 1 August. After several attempts to resign from a post he knew was not suited to him, Shen's request for leave was granted in early December (Xu and Shen, 1988:27). In 1932, Shen was appointed as a committee member by the Ministry of Education in the editing and compilation of music teaching materials. He also chaired a National Conference on Editing Music Textbooks in Nanjing. Shen, however, spent much of his time in his study in Shanghai which he named *Returning Crane Pavilion* [*Guihe xuan*] where he wrote a collection of miscellaneous essays (1928), revised and edited some two hundred *qin* scores entitled *biqin qinpu* (1931)[50] as well as a historical novel on his family (1934) (Shen Qia,1994:10). Although Shen's output of songs diminished considerably after the 1930s, he continued to write songs well into his late sixties.[51] Depressed by the Anti-Japanese War and the outbreak of civil war between the Nationalists and Communists in 1945, Shen found himself less and less able to sustain an optimistic belief in China. Shen's despair and disappointment must have been quite severe for according to Shen Qia, he 'became bewildered and lost his sense of repose' and in 1946, Christian priests were called in to exorcise demons from his body (Shen, 1994:12).[52] Shen died on September 5 the following year in Shanghai aged seventy-seven.[53]

[50] Shen became An active member of the famous Yu Qin Society [*Jinyu qinshe*] in late August early September 1938.

[51] These include 'Ending One's Grief' (1938); 'My Home' (1939) and 'The Jinyuqin Society Song' (1939). See Shen Qia (1987:38).

[52] In the Chinese text Shen Qia uses the word *xili* (baptism) which seems at odds when trying to dispel demons from the body, but is used here, I believe, to denote the 'cleansing' or 'cleaning' (ie; 'to drive out) of evil spirits. Whether this account of Shen is to be believed does not concern us, but it brings to our attention his possible involvement with Christianity from a much earlier period in his life.

[53] A number of close friends of Shen's including Tang Wenzhi (?-?), Ye Gongchao (?-?) and Huang Yanpei (1878-1965) planned to set up a scholarship to encourage song writing among gifted and talented composers in honour of Shen Xingong. However, Shen Xingong Annual Music Scholarship (*Shen Xingong yinyue nianjiang*) never got off the ground until almost forty years later when Shen's eldest son Shen Baoqi provided the funds and entrusted the Central Conservatory of Music and the Shanghai Conservatory to officially set up the scholarship. See Wang Yuhe (1992:19).

Shen wrote 180 school songs, the bulk of which were composed between 1902 and 1927 (Shen Qia, 1994:7). Approximately 160 of these songs are pre-existing tunes from Europe, America and Japan as well as Chinese folk songs (Xu and Shen, 1988:38). Some fourteen to fifteen are original compositions and some eight songs composed by Zhu Zhiyun (?-?)[54] with texts by Shen. (Xu and Shen, 1988:38-39). Table 7.1 provides a list, albeit incomplete, of Shen's compositional output. The following list of 32 songs is taken from "Collection of School Songs by Shen Xingong" (Xu and Shen, 1988:49-81). The dates of songs, where known, are taken from Shen Qia (1987:84-86)

Table 6.1 **New lyrics for pre-existing Chinese tunes and Western melodies**[55]:

Song	**Date**
'The Pain of Foot binding' [*Chanzu ku*] -set to the tunes *Chundiao* and *Mengjiangnü*	1905
'Picking Tea'[*Cai Chaqu*] -based on the tune *Fengyangge*	?
'Song of the Fly' [*Cangying ge*] -set to the tune *Mengjiangnü*	1922
'Spring Scene' [*Chunguang hao*] -set to the tune *Yulou chunxiao*	(December 12, 1938-January 1939)[56]
'Women Studying Song' [*Nüxue changge*] -set to the tune *Mengjiangnü*	?

[54]Little is known of Zhu. Xu and Shen (1988:42n23) informs us that Zhu spent some time in France studying music and returned home in the latter part of 1920. From 1921 he collaborated with Shen on numerous songs.

[55] Apart from the first two songs in this list which come from known Chinese folk song sources, the provenance of pre-existing tunes set to Western melodies is unknown, thus preventing me from dividing these tunes into two categories. Unlike Qian Renkang's meticulously researched work on the sources of Li Shutong's songs, Shen's song's still await a similar treatment.
In the Preface to an *Anthology of Shen Xingong Songs* (1937), Huang Zi writes that 'most of the tunes in this anthology come from foreign children's folk rhymes'. Quoted in Xu and Shen (1988:47). Huang Zi includes two 'children's rhymes' that are not included in *Xingong yuege xuan* (ibid: 48-81): 'Small Soldier Brigades' [*Xiaobingdui*] and 'Chronometer' [*Shiji*].

[56] Shen set this tune to at least two texts. The first was in early 1939 and the other in November 1932. See Shen (1987:86)

'Chinese Compatriots Must Love China' [*Tongbao tongbao xu aiguo*]	?
' Radiating Happiness of the Cypress' [*Guangfu zhi bai*]	?
'Wood Pigeon' [*Bo gugu*]	?
'Towing a Boat' [*La Qiange*]	?
'Travelling Song' [*Lüxing ge*]	?
'Last Night's Dream' [*Zuoyemeng*]	1927
'Sigh of the Fine Horse' [*Liangma tan*]	?
'Green Poplars and Willows' [*Yangliu lü yiyi*]	?
'The Chirping of Chicks in the Nest'[*Chaozhong niao'er ti*]	?
'The Orphanage'[*Gu'eryuan*]	1926
'Navigating a Boat' [*Hanghai chuan*]	1927
'The Sound of Frogs Under the Moon' [*Yuexia washeng*]	?
'Citizen's Evening School' [*Pingmin yexiao*]	?
'Friendship' [*Youyi*]	?
'Everyone Happily Working Together' [*Hequn zhi le*]	?
'The Tortoise and the Hare' [*Guitu*]	?
'Here Comes the Wolf' [*Lang lai*] (1927)	?
'Song of the Blacksmith' [*Tiejiang ge*]	?
'Wandering Fire worms' [*Youhuo chong*]	?
'Selling Flowers' [*Maihua*]	?

'Here Comes the Butterfly' [*Hudie lai*]	?
'Selling Cloth' [*Maibu*]	?
' A Pair of Oxen Working The Land '[*Yishuang zhong tianniu*]	?
'High Aspirations of our Men is Essential' [*Nan'er diyi zhiqi gao*]	1902
'My Home' [*Wode jia*]	1939
'The *Jinyuqin* Society Song' [*Jinyuqin she shege*]	1939
'Ending one's Grief' [*Chuodaoge*]	1938

Table 6.2 **Texts by Shen Xingong set to newly-composed tunes by a known composer**

Song	Composer	Text-setter	Date
'Please Look at the Mirror' [*Qing jun duijing*]	Xu Shubin [57]	Shen Xingong	1936
'Beautiful China' '[*Meizai Zhonghua*][58]	Zhu Zhiyun	Shen Xingong	1927
Song Cycle' [*Lianhuange*]	Zhu Zhiyun	Shen Xingong	?
'Boy Scouts' [*Tongzijun*]	Zhu Zhiyun	Shen Xingong	?
'New Village' [*Xincun*]	Zhu Zhiyun	Shen Xingong	1938
'Wooden Man Play' [*Murenxi*]	Zhu Zhiyun	Shen Xingong	1905

[57] The wife of the famous geologist Li Siguang. From 1935-1937 Xu studied piano at the Royal Academy of Music in London. See Shen (1988:42n 24).

[58] This song in staff notation and lyrics in Chinese with English translation can be found in Koo T.Z. (1928), listed as song number 21.

'My Home' [*Wode jia*]	Zhu Zhiyun	Shen Xingong	?
'Yellow River' [*Huanghe*]	Yang Du (Yang Xizhi)	Shen Xingong	?

Table 6.3 **Songs and lyrics by Shen Xingong**

'Rifle Bullets of the Soldier' [*Junrende qiangdan*]	?
'The Revolution Must First Reach out to the Hearts of All Man' [*Geming bixian geren xin*]	1927
'Picking Lotus' [*Cailian qu*]	?
'Yellow Crane Tower' [*Huanghe lou*][59]	?

Much information about Zeng Zhimin and Shen Xingong remains undocumented, in particular the period they spent in Japan that must have exercised a significant influence in their development as songwriters " and their approach to music reform. Unfortunately, a more detailed analysis of their musical activities in Japan and China cannot proceed without the availability of relevant archival sources, as yet unknown. However, we are on more solid ground concerning details of Li Shutong.

Li Shutong

The entry in the *Biography Dictionary of Republican China* (*BDRC*) states that Li was a 'pioneer of modern music and drama in China who became Hung-i [Hongyi], one of the most celebrated Buddhist clerics of his time'.[60] Li was the great all-rounder of early twentieth century

[59] Both 'Picking Lotus and 'Yellow Crane Tower' were later arranged for four-part harmony by Huang Zi as well as 'Yellow River'. See Shen (1988:39).
[60] *BDRC*, II,1968:323. Li Shutong looms large in a number of books and writings published in the People's Republic. The most extensive and meticulous book on Li Shutong is Lin Ziqing *Hongyi fashi nianpu*

China—writer, poet, painter, calligrapher, actor and practising Buddhist monk of the Lü ('monastic discipline') sect—where he was known by the Buddhist name The Dharma Master Hongyi (*Hongyi fashi*).[61] His talents have in many respects eclipsed his influential role as a songwriter and music educator. Li was born in a *siheyuan* in Tianjin in the northeast of the city.[62] His grandfather Li Rui, originally from Jiaxing in Zhejiang Province was a wealthy salt merchant and banker in Tianjin. His father, Li Xiaolou (1813-1884) who in his early seventies had fathered Li by a concubine, was a successful candidate in the highest imperial examinations (*jinshi*) in 1847 and a philanthropist of some repute which earned him the title of 'The Benevolent Li' (*Li Shanren*). His father was also an avid reader of the Ming Neo-Confucian thinker Wang Yangming (1472-1529) and Chan (Zen) Buddhism. Shortly after Li was born his father bought a new property in walking distance from the house in Lujia Lane. Li's father died when he was just four years old leaving him under the care of his mother, then only in her twenties, and his half elder brothers Wen Jin and Wen Xi.

(1995). Other books include Lin Ziqing *Hongyi fashi shuxin* (1990);Chen Xing *Fangcao Biliantian--Hongyi dashi zhuan* (1995) and *Tianxin yueyuan: Hongyi dashi* (1996); Xiao Feng (edited and annotated) *Hongyi dashi wenji* (vols. I and II) and a spate of articles including Gong Zuojia and Liu Yanchen *Li Shutong: Hongyi dashide yisheng* (1981); Sun Jinan "Li Shutong zai Zhongguo jindai yinyue qimeng yundongzhong de gongxian" (1988); and Qin Qiming *Hongyi dashi Li Shutong shuxin ji* (1991). *Yinyue xiaozazhi* (formerly *Shandong gesheng*) devotes its 1988 October issue to articles on Li Shutong and his *Little Magazine of Music* published in Japan in 1906. Entry for Li Shutong in the index of *Xinhai yilai renwu zhuanji ziliao suoyi* (1990) lists some one hundred books and newspaper articles. The titles of these are mainly concerned about life his after he became a monk in 1918. A number of articles appear in newspapers and journals published in Li's birthplace Tianjin. Articles on Li Shutong's music activities can be gleaned from some of the following sources: Wang Yuhe (1985: 22-25) Sun and Zhou (1993: 405-410) Qi Shi and Pei'an's s meticulous *Li Shutong Hongyi fashi gequ quanji* (1990) and the table of contents of Li's *Little Magazine of Music* in *Zhongguo yinyue qikan Bianmu huilu* (1990). Material in English on Li is embarrassingly thin, focusing essentially on his role on modern Chinese art and drama. See Doar (1982:201-205) Chang-tai Hung (1994:19-22), *BDRC* II, 1968-323-328), Barmé (1989:166-177), Sullivan (1996:29-30) and Roberts (1989:7-8). The following biographical account incorporates a number of these disparate materials, especially Lin Ziqing (1995).

[61] The Vinaya or Disciplinary School (*Lüzong*) of Buddhism was founded by Dao Xuan (596-667 A.D.).

[62] For a brief introduction to Li Shutong's birthplace see Liu Yanchen (1987). See also Yang Changhe "Li Shutong gujude jiumao jiqi bianhua", in *Tianjin Hebei wenshi* 1989: (3)36-39. Li's was born in Lujia Lane with the address number 2 that should not be confused with a second house located on the east side of Liangdian Street. I would have had enormous trouble locating Lujia Lane in June 1997 while collecting material in Tianjin without the assistance of Yang Changhe who resides in this second house, commonly referred to as the 'historical site of Li Shutong (*Li Shutong de guji*).

Li's early years of education came under the guidance of his two half brothers who gave him a solid grounding in the classics. He also began learning painting and seal carving and also displayed an early preoccupation with religion, memorising, among other things, liturgical texts recited by Buddhist monks at family memorial services.[63] While Li appeared preoccupied with study and contemplating the transience of human existence long before he took his vows as a Buddhist monk at the age of thirty-eight, he was by no means a recluse or hermit. Betrothed to a woman with the surname Yu from a family of tea merchants in Tianjin at eighteen, Li fathered two sons, the eldest named Zhun born in 1900 and the youngest Duan, born four years later. While we know very little of Li's political activities during this period, he was sympathetic to prominent reformers such as Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao. Evidence of his support is evinced by a seal he carved with the following statement: '*Nanhai Kangjun shi wushi*' ['Kang Youwei is my teacher'] (Lin, 1995:11). As we have noted, both Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao both fled to Japan following the debacle of the 1898 Hundred Days Reform. Li's support for reform, however, forced him to flee not to Japan, but to Shanghai with his mother.

Li's artistic proclivities endeared him to many of the literati in Shanghai where he set up house in the French concession. His talents came to the notice of Xu Huanyuan, the principal patron of the *Chengnan wenshe* (*Southern City Literary Society*).[64] Xu invited Li and his mother to take up residence in his secluded villa, the *Changnan caotang* where Li could devote his time to writing and painting.[65] In 1902 Li enrolled at Nanyang College in a 'special class' (*teban*) of

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[63] *BDRC*, II, 1968:324. In an essay entitled " Wo zai Xihu chujiade jingguo" ["Becoming a Monk After Passing Through West Lake] published in 1937 Li recalls :'When I was only five years old, I often met monks and many of them performed religious services at our home. By the time I was twelve or thirteen I could already recite rituals of exorcism [*fang yankou*: lit: 'release hungry ghosts who spurt fire from their mouths']. Quoted in Lin Ziqing (1995n5-6). Li had also committed to memory a number of liturgical texts recited by Buddhist monks at the home of a nephew's wife. One of these monks was Wang Xiaolian, who returned to Tianjin in 1888 from Putuoshan in Fujian. (ibid: 4).

[64] *BDRC*, II, 1968:324 writes that Li won three literary prizes in succession awarded by the *Huxuehui* (*Shanghai Study Society*), translated in the *BDRC* as the Shanghai Literary Club.

[65] Li and his mother lived in a small apartment in the villa 'surrounded by ancient willows and bordered by a meandering brook' (*BDRC*, II, 1968:324). Xu's villa also housed a number of other cultivated men such

some forty students and was taught economics under the instruction of Cai Yuanpei (1868-1940).[66] The dismissal of two students involved in political activities at the College led to more than one hundred students leaving the school in protest. As a result of student unrest, the Chinese Education Society in Shanghai founded the Patriotic School (*Aiguo xueshe*) which took in a large number of students who had withdrawn from Nanyang College (Bailey, 1990:72) (Zhu, Youxian, 1985:3-4). In December 1903 a number of ex-Nanyang College students performed a play based on published works related to the Boxer Rebellion (Doar, 1982:201). As a recent graduate from the senior year at the Nanyang Public School, we can surmise that Li was closely associated with the production if not the performance itself (Doar, 1982:201).

Prior to 1905 we have very little information on Li Shutong's interests in music. Both Zeng Zhimin and Shen Xingong's collections of school songs published in Tokyo and Shanghai had stimulated enormous interest among Chinese reformers in Japan and China. In 1905, Li came across copies of both Zeng and Shen's collections and later commented that these two figures were responsible for 'introducing Western music to China' (quoted in Lin, 1995:35). The sphere of influence and circulation of these works among reformers in Shanghai and elsewhere may never be known, but they caught the attention of reformers in Shanghai as well as the *Shanghai Study Society* [*Huxuehui*] which Li and others founded a year earlier (Lin, 1995:32). The extent to which Li and Shen became close friends is unknown, but Li invited Shen on several occasions to teach music at the Society (Xu and Shen, 1988:2). Shen was an important factor in contributing to Li's growing interest in Western music while in Shanghai. In early 1905

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as Cai Xiaoxiang (?-?), Zhang Xiaolou (?-?) and Yuan Xilian (?-?). Like the Crab-Flower Club in Cao Xueqin's *Story of the Stone*, these men spent their time practising the art of Chinese poetry as well as painting. Their seemingly blissful existence and collaboration with other literati in Shanghai culminated in the founding of the *Shanghai Association for Calligraphy and Painting* (*Shanghai shuhua gonghui*) in 1900 and a number of literary works such as the weekly *Journal of Calligraphy and Painting* [*Shuhua gonghuibao*] edited by Li. See Lin Ziqing (1995:17n3).

[66] Students in this class including Xie Tianliang, Hu Renyuan, Wang Shicheng, Yin Hongliang, Huang Yanpei and Li Shutong. See Zhou (1984:11).

Li published a collection of his own songs entitled *Anthology of National Songs* [*Guoxue changge ji*] and one of the songs in this anthology 'Ancestral Home' was incorporated into a music class of the Shanghai Study Society.[67]

The death of Li's mother in early February was arguably an important factor in his decision to go to Japan in August and we can only speculate that if his mother had not died so young, Li might have stayed on in Shanghai pursuing his many interests.[68]

Li was already a celebrity before arriving in Japan. He enrolled at the Ueno Bijitsu Semmon Gakkô (Tokyo School of Fine Arts in Ueno Park) studying Western oil painting under Kuroda Seiki (1866-1924), one of the leading oil painters in Japan and Nakamura Ketsujirô (?-?) as well as piano and composition.[69] In 1906 he edited the first magazine devoted to music

[67] In *Wo ye lai tantan Li Shutong xiansheng*. Huang Yanpei writes that he had in his possession a handwritten copy of 'Ancestral Home' by Li Shutong. He recalls that during the period 1904-1905 the text of the song 'was widely read by men and women' [of the Society]. Quoted in Lin (1995:33n4). Notwithstanding Huang Yanpei's handwritten copy of the score, other evidence put forward by Qian Renkang (1990;83), Zhang Jingwei (1985:b:22), question Li Shutong as the author of the text. According to Qian Renkang the text is similar to a song entitled *Daguo Minge* (lit: 'Great Nation Folk Song ') appeared in *New People's Miscellany* 17 July 1904 and sung at a graduation ceremony for Chinese students in Japan. Wang Wenjun (?-?) included "Great Nation Folk Song" in a published collection of songs *Yitai changge* [*Songs of Joy*] in August 1906 with no reference to the author of the text. *Laoliuban* was also set to a text by Wang entitled 'Apricot Courtyard' [*Taohuayuan*]. Zhang Jingwei notes that while evidence suggests that Li Shutong was not the author of the text in question, it nonetheless 'aptly reflected the patriotic enthusiasm and democratic ideas of Li Shutong' (1985:22).

[68] From letters and correspondence we know that the death of his mother was an enormous blow to Li from which it would appear he never quite recovered. 'My mother's life has been so hard!', he later told Feng Zikai. When Xu invited Li and his mother to his villa in 1899 Li recalls this period was 'the happiest time of my life. After that my life was just one long period of grief and depression until I became a monk'. Quoted in Lin Ziqing (1995:40n.9). Feng Zikai writes that when Li Shutong lost his mother, 'he was like threads of silk and willow catkins flying aimlessly in the wind. What possible concerns could he now have for family or his place of birth? 'Flavour of the Dharma' (*Fawei*). Quoted in Lin, 1995:35. 'When my mother passed away, there was no one to accompany her as I bought wood for the coffin', wrote Li, 'I'm back in Shanghai and she's gone. She was only in her forties!' (Lin, 1995:40n9). Li Shutong apparently played the piano and sang a mourning song at his mother's funeral in Tianjin. See Li Mengjuan "Hongyi fashi de sujia" in Lin (1995:38n7). According to Xiao Feng (1996:188n1) this mourning song entitled 'Wange' (Dirge; Elegy) was a set to a foreign mass. For the lyrics to this dirge see Xiao Feng (ibid: 188). This elegy does not appear in Qi Shi and Pei'an's *Li Shutong—Hongyi fashi—gequ quanji* (1990).

[69] See Michael Sullivan (1996:29). In an entry for Li Shutong in 'Modernity in Chinese Art, 1850s-1950: Some Chronological Material' (1997:86) Clarke writes that between 1903-1911 'Li Shutong is said to have studied at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts with Kuroda Seiki (1866-1924) and then in Europe and [the] USA with Chase (1849-1916) and Sargent (1856-1925)'. I have found no references that Li Shutong ever

entitled the *Little Magazine of Music* [*Yinyue xiaozazhi*]. Li's circle of friends in Japan also included the Japanese literati. He was a member of the Mori Kainan Poetry Society and also contributed to its monthly journal Zuiôshû (Doar, 1982:203). Despite Li's penchant for painting and music that brought him a huge following wherever he went in Japan, it was in the realm of drama (*huaju*) that Li attracted the most attention. Li was already a skilled amateur performer in Chinese opera before arriving in Japan. In 1906 Li formed the Spring Willow Society (*Chunliushe*) with Zeng Xiaogu (?-?), Ouyang Yuqian (1889-1962) Li Taohen (?-?) and other Chinese theatre enthusiasts in Toyko. The Society's activities included not only the performing arts (*yanyi*) but other groups (*bu*) as well devoted to poetry and prose (*shiwen*), painting (*huihua*) and music (*yinyue*). In 1907 the Society performed a number of plays including *Black Slaves Cry to Heaven* (*Heinu yutian lu*) based on Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *La Dame aux Camélias*. These plays took the Tokyo drama world by storm and their performances were a roaring success acclaimed by both Chinese and Japanese critics. [70]

Li left the Spring Willow Society in the winter of 1908[71] to devote his time to painting and music (Lin, 1995:60). What Li actually produced in this period before graduating from the Ueno Arts Academy in March 1910 remains unknown and there are no details to suggest that Li continued to write school songs or work at delving into the finer points of Western music theory. Returning to Tianjin in early 1910 Li took up a teaching position as drawing teacher at the Zhili Normal Technical Institute (*Zhili mofan gongye xuetang*).[72] In 1912, Li's family fortune

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studied in Europe let alone the United States and from the list of materials that Clarke provides I have not been able locate his source of reference.

[70]For some of the reviews of productions put on by the Spring Willow Society, see Feng Zikai and Song Yunbin *Hongyi fashi* in *Wenshi ziliao xuanji* (no. 34).

[71] Soong Tsung-faung writing on 'Contemporary Chinese Drama' in the *Peking Leader* February 12, 1919 points out that an Association of New Dramatists (*Xinju tongzhihui*) appeared in Shanghai in 1912 which included among its members overseas Chinese students who were performers in the Spring Willow Society in Japan. See Tyau (1919:125).

[72] Li also returned to China with a young Japanese girl who we know very little about. 'Li established her in Shanghai' while he taught at the Zhili Academy of Applied Arts (*BDRC*, II:1968: 325) A somewhat

suffered a huge blow on the stock market leaving Li and his two half brothers on the brink of bankruptcy.[73] Li moved back to Shanghai in the Spring and taught music at the East Shanghai Girls' School (*Chengdong Nüxue*) and also became actively involved in a number of newly-formed literary societies in the wake of the 1911 Revolution. Among these new groups was the *Southern Society* (*Nanshe*) and on March 3 Li attended their inaugural meeting. He also designed the cover and splashed his calligraphy on the society's journal, the *Nanshe tongxin lu*. Li also became literary editor of the newly founded *Pacific Journal* [*Taipingbao*] and organized a new literary group, the Fine Arts Society (*Wenmeihui*) which published the journal *Fine Arts Magazine* [*Wenhui zazhi*] under Li's editorship. Despite the stature of both journals they soon fell prey to diminishing funds and before long ceased publication.

In 1913 Li was invited by the principal of the Zhejiang Two-Level Normal School (*Zhejiang liangji shifan xuexiao*) Jing Hengyi (1877-1938) to teach drawing and music in

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fictionalised and maudlin account of this young Japanese girl appeared in *Tianjin Ribao* in March 1993 entitled "Li Shutong yu Yukiko ji xuetang yuege" ['Li Shutong, Yukiko and School Songs']. Zhen Guangjun writes: 'In early 1906 Li Shutong met Yukiko, a student in the preparatory class at the vocational music school [attached to the Tokyo School of Music]. This twenty-year old Japanese girl came from a poverty-stricken home; her father died young and her mother supported the family by washing clothes. Yukiko's love of music found her pursuing her studies at the vocational music school. To pay for tuition, she worked part-time modelling at the Fine Arts Academy. Li Shutong was also studying at the Academy and the gradually became acquainted. Li was in the habit of practising the piano after finishing a painting and Yukiko would be listening by his side or accompanying Shutong in her deep voice. When Li Shutong stopped playing, they would look into each other's eyes without saying a word. Some indescribable pleasure had lodged itself in their hearts and it was not long before circumstances brought the two together and they married.....In 1910 they returned to China and Li left Yukiko in Shanghai as far away from his wife in Tianjin. When Li Shutong became a monk in 1918 Yukiko went off running after him, but Li refused to see her. Yukiko had no choice but to return to Shanghai where she sobbed profusely in her room...' On Li and Yukiko see Chen Huijian (1995:40-50). After Li Shutong had given away seals, scrolls, clothes, paintings and other belongings in mid-April 1918, there were reports 'that Hung-i's wife, children and Japanese concubine arrived in Ta-tz'u-shan [Dacishan] shortly thereafter in hopes of dissuading him from becoming a monk. Their protests proved futile, however, and they departed—the wife and children for Tientsin, the Japanese concubine for Japan.' (*BDRC*, II:1968: 326). In a letter dated July 1 1918 addressed to Yukiko, Li Shutong writes of his decision to become a monk. Three days later Li received a letter from Yukiko resigning herself to the fate that Li was about to enter the Buddhist clergy. On these two letters see Chen Huijian (1995:131-132). A published collection of Li Shutong's letters (1996) sheds no light on correspondence between Li and Yukiko.

[73] According to Yuan Xijian, some 600,000 *yuan* was lost in invested stocks. See Lin Ziqing, 1995:61.

Hangzhou.[74] Li also assumed a position in drawing and music at the Nanjing Higher Normal University (*Nanjing kaodeng shifan daxue*) in 1915. Among Li's colleagues in Hangzhou were Jiang Dashu (?-?), Ma Xulun (1884-?) and Xia Mianzun (1886-1946).[75] Li formed a close relationship with Jiang and as numerous correspondence indicates particularly with Xia.[76] As a teacher Li was greatly admired and noted 'for his clear, painstaking way of teaching and for his high example of seriousness and probity'.[77] Li's influence on two of his students Feng Zikai (1898-1975) and Liu Zhiping (1894-1978) was so profound that his encouragement was to play a crucial role in Liu Zhiping's decision to take up music, and in the case of Feng, art, as careers.[78]

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[74] On taking up the position in Hangzhou, Li stipulated to Jing, among other things, that each student should have an organ, a drawing room, a plaster of Paris head portrait and an easel. 'If you cannot arrange these things, Li purportedly said, 'then I'm afraid I won't be able to teach at your school'. With regard to the organs, Jing left no stone unturned to procure 200 organs, both large and small. These instruments were placed in the auditorium, in study rooms and in the corridor... Li spent three days of the week teaching in Hangzhou, and three days in Nanjing. *Zhejiang wenshi ziliao xuanji*, vol. 21. Quoted in Lin Ziqing (1995:84n1).

[75] Xia Mianzun is romanized as Xia K'ai-tsun [Xia Kaizun] in *BDRC*, II,1968:326.

[76] A selection of correspondence between Li and Xia is found in Xiao Feng *Hongyi dashi wenji shuxinjuan* (1996: 112-188). Born in Zhejiang province, Xia, was among other things, an author of some repute and a publisher. Xia studied in Japan in the early part of the century returning to China in 1907 where his teaching positions included schools in Zhejiang and Shanghai. Xia also later worked as an editor for the Kaiming Shudian in Shanghai. His works include a collection of miscellaneous essays entitled *Pingwu zawen* and a translation *The Love of Education* [*Aide jiaoyu*]. When Li Shutong became a Buddhist monk in 1918, Xia set up a fund-raising organization for Li called *Wanqing Hufahui*, an association for Protecting and Maintaining the Buddha, i.e., Hongyi fashi. Donations must have been quite substantial for a 'mountain retreat' of sorts was built--the *Wanqing shufang*--to study and research the tradition of the lü or 'monastic discipline' sect which had declined since its heyday during the Tang dynasty. This brief biographical sketch is found in Xiao Feng (1996:112). The term *wanqing* can either mean 'a bright serene sky at dusk' or a metaphor for affluent conditions and circumstances in one's old age.

[77] *BDRC* II, 1968:326.

[78] Under Li Shutong's and encouragement and financial support, Liu Zhiping went to Japan to study in 1916 and they corresponded like father to son See Chen Xing (1995:85-87). Liu later became dean of the music department at the Shanghai Fine Arts Vocational School (*Shanghai Meishu Zhuanke Xuexiao*) in 1929. Li's influence on the young seventeen year old Feng Zikai can be gleaned from his *Huajiu* [*Reminiscences*]:'Li Shutong's method of teaching was quite unique. ...One evening I went to see Li Shutong on some matter. As we parted, he called me back and said earnestly: 'You are making rapid progress with painting. In all the students I have taught over the years, I have never come across anyone who has such a flair for painting....Those words were like willows at the end of spring thrashed around by a fierce easterly wind forced to sway in a completely new direction'. Feng's devotion and respect for Li and how he treated his students can be gleaned from the following: 'He never abused his students or even criticised us; he was always humble and respectful, as he was after he abandoned the world. Nevertheless, every student was in awe of him, wanted to emulate him and worship him...I worshipped him more than anyone'. "Wo yu Hongyi Fashi" (The Master Hongyi Fashi and I). Quoted in and translated by Barmé (1989:172). Feng Zikai translated a number of books on music. These include *Yinyuede changshi* (1925);

Yang Yanhang describes this period (1913-1918) as Li's 'mature period' and 'golden age' of writing school songs in which Li wrote some forty songs (Yang, 1992:34-35). These include the texts of some thirty songs set to pre-existing melodies, at least five songs written and composed by Li and six ancient poems and verses set to pre-existing tunes.[79] Several contain the word autumn in the title such as 'Early Autumn' (*Zaoqiu*), 'Mournful Autumn' (*Beiqiu*) and 'Autumn Evening' (*Qiuye*).

As a poetic and literary device, autumn has long been used to describe melancholic emotions such as a sense of loss and despair. One reading of the choice of 'autumn' for the basis of songs and poetry may be linked to Li becoming increasingly reflective and pensive. In a letter to Liu Zhiping in 1918 he wrote:

> I know that as human beings we can't go on living forever. Since the beginning of time, man has committed numerous sins. I have therefore made the decision to become a Buddhist monk. Last winter I spent much time with Ma Yifu, and finally awakened to the realisation about the transience of all things. Life has become insipid and tasteless and I no longer have the desire to pursue a professional career. Recently, I have taken an extended leave of absence, but feel a sense of guilt that I can't devote more time to my teaching.[80]

Li's decision to enter the Buddhist clergy in July 1918 did not entirely signal the end of his musical activities.[81] In 1927 Qiu Menghen (?-?) and Feng Zikai co-edited a collection of

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Yinyue rumen (1926); *Haizimende yinyue* (1927); *Shenghuo yu yinyue* (1929) and *Jinshi shida yinyuejia* (1930). For a list of some of these works see Liu Ching-chih (1988:78); Sun and Zhou (1993:481-482) and Liang Yanmai (1989:186).

[79] There is to date little consensus on the exact number of songs composed by Li during this period. See Qian Renkang (1990:87-89) and Xu She (1995:135-176).

[80] Quoted in Lin Ziqing (1995:96n3). See also Xiao Feng (1996:44). Li recalls that an incident in 1913 pointed to a 'remote cause' in his decision to become a Buddhist monk. While drinking tea with a famous literary figure at Lake Heart Pavilion, Xia Mianzun made the following passing comment to Li: 'It wouldn't be such a bad idea if men like us shaved our heads and become monks' *Wo zai Xihu chujiade jingguo*. Quoted in Lin (1995:69).

[81] Why did Li become a monk? Many events in Li's life have been proposed as likely reasons. 'Although Li Shutong had lived a full and sophisticated life, at least up until his return from Japan, he later confided to friends that he had never known true happiness and that as a layman he had never been without a depressing sense of the transience of all things. The death of his father in 1884, the failure of his political dreams in 1898, the death of his mother in 1905, his loveless marriage and complicated family life, and the

songs written before Li became a monk entitled *Fifty Songs in Chinese* [*Zhongwen minge wushige*] (Lin, 1995:162).[82] In October 1936 Kaiming Bookstore in Shanghai published some five songs under the title *A Collection of Cool and Refreshing Songs* [*Qingliang geji*] [83] written between 1929-1931.[84] In May 1937 Li wrote a song for a sports meeting held at Zhongshan Park in Xiamen.

Austerities and fasts began to take their toll on Li's health in early 1942. According to Miao Lian, a Buddhist priest who had accompanied Li back from a sanitarium at Baiyuan Temple in Wenzhou earlier in late March, his health had deteriorated rapidly by the middle of May (Gong and Liu, 1981:155). Three days before he passed away at a sanitarium at Busi temple

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political confusion and the loss of his fortune in 1912 eventually led him to a thoroughgoing reexamination of his life and his place in it' (*BDRC*, II, 1968:324). On Li becoming a Buddhist cleric, Barmé writes: 'there is some evidence that his turning to religion was inspired as much by his mother's death as his frustrated patriotism (or even romanticism that had run its course). He returned to China just as the dynastic system collapsed, hopeful like so many of his generation who were still interested in traditional Confucian thinking that education—both the communication of new learning and the moral influence of one's personality—were in the new circumstances the most efficacious way to realise the aims of the revolution. Yet with the failure of the "Second Revolution" to overthrow Yuan Shikai and increasingly political turmoil, Li felt drawn towards new ways of transforming himself. He entering the Buddhist monastic order in 1918 marked the end of the search' (1989:175). See also Qian Renkang "Li Shutong chujia yiuanyou" in Qian Yiping (1997:5-13).

[82] Chen Lingqun (1989:378) gives the date of publication for this collection of songs as 1921. In the introduction to this collection, Feng Zikai writes: 'the most popular songs in the West make up half of the songs in this volume'. According to both Feng and Qiu 'Li Shutong is the only composer and songwriter in China' Quoted in Lin Ziqing (1995:164). Xia Mianzun recalls that when Liu Zhiping visited Li Shutong he complained that the state of popular music had deteriorated since Li had become a Buddhist monk: 'Zhiping sighed that songwriters were few and far between these days as scurrilous, decadent songs were now part of the popular music scene. Zhiping deeply regretted that Li Shutong had taking his vows far too early to become a Buddhist monk. Preface to *Qingliang geji*. Quoted in Lin (1995:243). When Xia Mianzun paid a visit to Liu Zhiping in Shanghai in 1929, Liu voiced similar complaints about popular songs such as 'Peach River' [*Taohuajiang*, 1929] and 'Drizzle' [*Maomaoyu*, 1927] penned by Li Jinhui (1891-1967) and Li Shutong's all too earlier decision to become a Buddhist monk. See Xu She (1995:179n1).

[83] According to Xue She (1995:179n1) apart from the physical sensation that the term *qingliang* conveys, the term, as Li Shutong intended to use it, was borrowed from Buddhism meaning dispelling all worries and troubles and entering a realm of peace and tranquillity.

[84] 'Qingliang' *Hills* [*Shanse*], Dream *World* [*Shimeng*], 'Fragrant Flowers' [*Huaxiang*] and Guanxin (lit: "the heart of Guanyin"). The lyrics to these five songs were written by Li, but five individuals took to the task of setting Li's text to music, namely: Yu Futang, Pan Boying, Xu Xiyi, Tang Xueyong and Liu Zhiping. Liu's composition *Guanxin* was arranged in four-part harmony by Tang Xueyong. See Qi Shi and Pei'an (1990:77). All five songs were in this collection were also included in *Miaoyin ji* [*A Collection of Beautiful Sounds*] (1943) and *Haichaoyin geji* [*Anthology of Sounds of the Sea Tide*] (1951) both published by Da Xiong Shuju. See Xu She (1995:179 n.1) and Qian Renkang (1990:90).

in Quanzhou on October 13, [85]Li wrote his last brushstrokes of calligraphy which he handed to Miao Lian: 'Sorrow and Joy Are Inextricably Entwined' [*Beixin jiaoji*].[86]

Li Shutong's letters are unrevealing in terms of taking us through the processes of his music let alone providing detailed comments concerning music reform.[87] The only reference I have found that gives us a glimpse of Li's work as a songwriter is in the preface to *Collection of Light and Refreshing Songs*. Xia Mianzun writes: 'Of all of the arts, Li Shutong expended the most time and hard work on music theory and performance. Many long hours of practice were needed and Li could not rely on his artistic talents alone to write music or perform'.[88] What Li's letters tell us, and to a larger extent his introductions to song anthologies, is that he was not bent on providing detailed proposals concerning music reform. I believe that he had a clear idea of what he wanted his writings on music to do from the start: encourage, guide, stimulate and provoke some kind of response from his readers. In the preface to *The Little Magazine of Music* (1906) we are drawn into a place where music can 'beautify the souls of mortals' and 'transform

[85] The *BDRC*,II 1968:327 gives Li's death as September 4.

[86]Qian Renkang writes that these four characters were written at 6 o'clock on October 10. (1997:16). Li Shutong had used these four characters in an incription taken from the *Dizang pusa zhancha shan'e yebao jing* in the winter of 1932. See Qian Renkang (ibid: 17). The hagiography surrounding the life of Li Shutong ever since his death, and his life story, in particular his life as a Buddhist has been the subject of much of the literature in mainland China and Taiwan as well television documentaries and soap operas. In 1952 a memorial stele was built in Quanzhou to mark the tenth anniversary of his death. The following year a similar stele was erected in Hangzhou. In 1957 a collection of Li's songs edited by Feng Zikai were published. Significant anniversaries of his death have been observed in Tianjin, Hangzhou, Quanzhou and elsewhere. To mark Li's 110th anniversary a forest of steles (*beilin*) inscribed with Li Shutong's calligraphy was officially unveiled in Tianjin on 23 October 1990. See Lin Xiusen "Ji Li Shutong belin", *Tianjin Hebei wenshi* (1991:176-177). In 1992 a Li Shutong Research Institute was founded in Tianjin which also produced its own journal *Li Shutong yanjiu*. Tianjin is also building its own memorial hall for Li that is scheduled to open on the anniversary of his 120th birthday in the year 2000. Tianjin Television is also shooting a new television series on the life of Li Shutong.

[87] Li's correspondence to colleagues and friends reveals a self-effacing and reticent man whose enthusiasm for teaching instilled inspiration and vision. As noted earlier, Li's mentoring role in the careers of his students, particularly Feng Zikai and Liu Zhiping was decisive. His warmth and encouragement is palpable inn both letters and personal contact. In a letter to Li from Liu Zhiping in Toyko, Liu worried that he would not pass the entrance admission to the Toyko School of Music because he found it difficult to interpret the piano works of Beethoven. 'The more you study, the more difficult it becomes', wrote back Li in early 1917. 'This is a sign that you are making progress. There's really no need to tie yourself up in knots'. Quoted in Xiao Feng (1996:36).

[88] Quoted in Lin Ziqing, (1995:243).

social norms'[89], but in the final paragraph, Li produces an intense affect of being forlorn and stranded while contemplating the fate of the nation:

> In the courtyard spring has just arrived,
> Cherry blossoms are not yet in full bloom
> Bathed in the early morning sunlight
> The spring wind gently opens my heart
> Orioles sing as they dart in and out of treetops
> A pair of small swallows make their first sounds
>
> The tree is ablaze with activity
> Sweet sounding melodies resound
> Autumn arrives and the scene becomes desolate and bare
> the grass and trees wilt
> Winter crickets shrill
> Blood red-mouth cuckoos weep bitterly
> Few remaining tree leaves fall to the ground
> Small birds chirp without pause in the evening rain
> One is stricken with grief and pain.
>
> Climbing high mountains, facing surging rivers
> the incessant sounds of sea birds
> the fierce wind lashing my sleeves
> Billowing waves crashing into each other
> Mountains and gorges tremble.
>
> A timid person smitten with fear
> becomes motionless.
> But a brave person moves forward courageously
> Oh, this imposing landscape moves us mortals
> If only we had such an indomitable spirit
> then man would be no different to the universe
> accomplishing even greater feats.

There was music from ancient times. According to historians, the earliest music came from India and then developed further as it spread to Egypt. But it was the gift of the Muses in Greece that gave us the term *mousike* [music]. Outstanding and gifted musicians have flourished over the centuries transcending the musical developments of their predecessors.

The founding of the *Fine Arts Magazine* in October 1905 was all the talk among Chinese students in Japan. Music was soon to follow in its step. But not long afterwards, student protests broke out in early November in the wake of a series of regulations issued by the Japanese government attempting to regulate the political activities of Chinese students.[90]

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[89] Quoted in Qin, (1991:478).

[90] A series of regulations issued in November by the Japanese government, among other things, restricted schools and lodgings to Chinese students and requiring that if Chinese students obtained a Letter of Recommendation from the Chinese minister of Japan. See Chow 'Student Control and the Mission' After 1895' (1972:382). In response to these regulations issued on November 2 1905, if figures are reliable, about 8,000 students protested by boycotting classes en masse on December 4. See Ono (1989:61-62)

> Our team of organisers scattered like clouds and the project was aborted. I remained in Japan, all alone and pondered again and again the fate of the journal. Why should I feel ashamed or guilty? My insignificant efforts in publishing the *Little Magazine of Music* were a gift to the music world in China. I, of little talent, spent many a sleepless night over the *Magazine* and planned to publish two issues a year, one in spring and the other in autumn. I couldn't give up the project or let down my fellow Chinese. I am deeply fortunate to bestow this magazine to the Chinese people.
>
> Oh, I want to develop and enrich this musical world of ours, but who can I pour out my soul to in that desolate and lonely place called China? Our nation has lost its strength and is neither strong nor prosperous. A transverse flute's doleful sound carries tears from the southern slopes. Sentiments of opposing the Qing and restoring the nation are found in Ruan Dacheng's *Spring Lantern Riddles* and *The Swallow Letter*.[91] The sun has already set in the west. The tune *Jade Flower in Rear Court* attributed to the emperor Chen Shubao conjures up decadent music presaging the collapse of a dynasty. An anxious moon and a desolate wind accompany the uneven sounds of a reed pipe. China's uncertain future hangs in the balance. In the corner of a tavern I sit alone, the evenings pass by like years. I pick up my pen but can't write a word, reduced as I am to weeping tears. January 3 1906.

Chang Chi-jen has argued that as a great all-rounder and pioneer in a number of artistic endeavours, Li Shutong's artistic pursuits were 'similar to the ideal of the European "Renaissance Man", the educated gentleman with proper ethical training, who participated in the fine arts during his leisure time for self-cultivation'(1983:19). Here Chang is drawing on similarities between the sixteenth century humanist ideal of 'the universal man' and the so-called 'six arts' (*liuyi*) that were a compulsory part of a gentlemen's education in traditional Confucian society. Yet in drawing these similarities, Chang fails to capture the complex interactions and influences the shaped and moulded the works of Li Shutong and his contemporaries during this transitional period in modern Chinese history. In assessing the artistic contributions of Li Shutong and other reformers Michael Sullivan (1996:30) reminds us that we cannot simply dovetail their influences and creativity into watertight categories of modern versus tradition nor judge them in terms of Chinese and Western art which invariably assigns superiority to the latter:

According to Xu She (1995:207) students not only boycotting classes, but more than two hundred returned home in protest.

[91] Ruan Dacheng (1587-1646), politician, dramatist and poet. A biographical sketch of Ruan in English can be found in Hummel (1964:398-399). Scenes from the play *The Swallow Letter* have been translated into English. See 'Three Scenes from *The Swallow Letter*, translated by Cyril Birch, *Renditions*, 1993:10-31. Birch also provides biographical details of Ruan, 1-9.

> The art of Li Shutong and others is not to be judged by the standards of Western art; it does not even bear comparison with what Japanese modernists had achieved forty years earlier. We must rather see them fighting against a dead weight of ignorance, indifference and hostility such as no Western-style painter in Japan during the Meiji period ever had to face, conscious all the time that while they were trying heroically to revive Chinese culture they were widely being accused of destroying it.

Having considered three major figures in the rise and development of school songs. it would be myopic and foolish to suggest that only Zeng, Shen and Li wrote school songs. Clearly, there were other individuals such as Chinese who went abroad and returned to teach music in schools or who learned about Western music in China or attended missionary schools. Zeng's 'prescriptions' for those who 'cannibalised' both the text and the music in writing school songs and his emphasis on collaborating with both musicians and good writers clearly indicated that a vigilant surveillance over the practice of setting a text to a pre-existing melody or "composing" songs (whether intended for schools or not) had to be maintained. But who were they? And what of other songwriters who conformed to Zeng's prescriptions? Often less than well-known figures reached public attention through the writings of influential figures such as Liang Qichao. Writing in his *Ice-Drinking Studio*, Liang, for example, makes reference to Yang Du (1874-1931) who wrote songs imbued with patriotic sentiments (quoted in Da Wei, 1983:40).[92]

School song anthologies by Zeng Zhimin, Shen Xingong and Li Shutong had an enormous influence on contemporaries composers such as Xing Han, Li Jianhong, Hua Hanchen, Zhu Yunwang, Zhu Zhiyun, Xu Shubin, Gao Yanyun, Gao Shoutian, Feng Yaxiong, Shi Fengzhu and Li Yuzhen.[93] Apart from brief entries in selected sources available details on these music educators and their contributions to the school song movement remain thin and sketchy. Xing Han enrolled as a student of law at the Imperial University in Tokyo and in 1905 or

[92] Yang Du was also known under the name of Yang Xizi. According to Da Wei, Yang wrote many school songs in his youth. Some of his most well-known school songs include *Yangzijiang*, *Huanghe* and *Hunan shaoniange*. Apart from Da Wei's reference on Yang, I have been unsuccessful in finding other material on Yang Xizi.

[93] These names are taken from Zhang Jingwei (1985b: 23) and Tao (1994:239).

thereabouts he began to study music under Suzuki Yonejirô. In February 1906 his *Textbook on School Songs* [*Changge jiaokeshu*] was published with a Preface written by Suzuki. In November that year a *Collection of Songs for Primary Schools* [*Zhongxue changge ji*] was compiled under the guidance of Suzuki and was subsequently published in Shanghai (Tao, 1994:239). Shi Fengzhu (?-?) who went to the United States in 1907 to study piano and returned home three years later with a M.A. taught piano at schools in Shanghai and Beijing. Li Yuzhen (1890-?) enrolled in the music department at La Grange College in the United States in 1908 and returned home in 1911. Three years later he edited a collection of children's songs containing some forty foreign children's songs in staff notation entitled *Children's Songs for the Republic* [*Gonghe youzhige*] (Tao,1994:239-240). While Zeng Zhimin, Shen Xingong, Li Shutong have become representative figures in the school song movement, others have been neglected or are yet to be "excavated" by individual scholars. However, we can stumble across school song "composers" figures in written sources that appear nowhere else. A case is point is details concerning two other school song songwriters—Li Huaxuan (1895-1965) and Li Jianhong (1875-1926).

Little is known of Li Huaxuan's background.[94] Born in Jinan in Shandong province, he became a student of the famous *guqin* master Wang Xinku and was a member of the *Jinan Music Study Society* before the collapse of the Qing dynasty. Li joined the ranks of the Chinese United League (*Tongmenghui*) in the wake of the 1911 Revolution, but was captured and imprisoned by warlord armies. After his release from prison and a recommendation from The United League, Li enrolled at the Shandong Senior-Level Normal College where he studied music and fine arts. After graduating in 1914 he took up a post at the No. 4 Normal College in Qingzhou (present day Yidu in Shandong) where he taught music and fine arts. In the next six years Li produced a

prodigious output of school songs published separately in three anthologies: *A Collection of English Songs* (1914); *A Collection of Practical Songs* (1918) and *A Collection of Patriotic Songs* (1919). As well as the song anthologies Li also compiled teaching materials and textbooks including *Teaching Materials for Army Songs* [*Junyue Jianyi*], *Learn to Play the Organ* [*Fengqin lianxifa*] and *Compositions on National Music from Around the World* [*Shijie Guoyuepu*] and was also a prolific writer of essays. His essays include 'A Preliminary Discussion on Improving School Songs' (1920) and 'Fallacies About School Songs' (?).

Li's prolific output in a short period of time may have had to do with the influence of missionary educators and their publications. The foundation of the Arts College at the Shandong Christian University goes back to the Tengchow school opened by Calvin and Julia Brown Mateer. It is possible that due to the efforts of the Mateers and others in promoting the arts and music, songbooks and teaching material used at Tengchow College were also used at other schools in the province. We can also surmise that Li might have had direct contact with a number of missionary educators and other foreigners who assisted him and other staff members at the No. 4 Normal College in Shandong. Several hymnals issued in Shandong province provide an important benchmark. They include a German Mission Hymnal (1901), *Hymns of Praise* by C. E. Smith, an organist and choirmaster at Regents Park Chapel, London and issued by the English Baptist Mission (1910).[95] and a *Hymn Book for Children* [*Guanhua Shige*], compiled by F.W. Baller of the Inland China Mission in Qufu (Sheng, 1964:145). [96]

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[94] The following biographical sketch is taken from a slim volume entitled *History of Chinese Music* [*Zhongguo yinyueshi*] compiled and edited by Chen Bingyi (1991:89-90), a musicologist at the Shenyang Conservatory of Music. Chen presented a copy of this slim volume to me as a gift in January 1995.

[95] Sheng points out that the tunes included in this book 'were mostly built on the pentatonic scale' (1964:144).

[96] See also Sheng (1964:509; 511).

Another important school song "composer" was Li Jianhong.[97] Li was born on 20 May 1875 in Dali in Yunnan province. His father Li Shuchi, ran a small grocery store. At the age of twenty-nine Li left for Japan accompanying a student group from Dali and enrolled at the Tokyo School of Music. In Japan Li became actively involved in politics and in 1907 joined the Chinese United League. He also began to publish essays and school songs in the magazine *Yunnan*, founded in Tokyo in early October 1906.[98] An essay entitled 'The Function of Music in Education' "Yinyue yu jiaoyujie zhi gongyong" appeared in the second issue of *Yunnan* in 1906 and his most well-known school song Commemorating Yunnan' [*Yunnan Dajinian*] set to lyrics by Li was published in issue number four in 1907. Li returned to Dali in 1908 to attend his father's funeral and then moved to Kunming where he took up a music teaching position at the Two Level Normal School (*Liang ji shifan xuexiao*) and also taught history and geography at other schools in the capital. In 1909 the Board of Education published his a series of books on basic western music theory (*Yuedian*).

Following Yunnan's declaration of independence from the Qing dynasty in the wake of the Wuchang Uprising in October 1911. Li became more involved in politics serving as a senate member of Cai E's military army government in Yunnan and a magistrate in Anning and Mouding counties. In 1915 Li set out on a campaign with the Nationalist Protection Army (*Huguojun*) a 10,000 strong army formed to fight the monarchist movement and dedicated to the 'elimination of the country's thief [Yuan Shikai], defense of the republic, upholding democracy, and developing the spirit of popular sovereignty'.[99] In 1917 Duan Qirui sent troops to Sichuan to quash potential revolts in Yunnan and later that year Li was wounded when Sichuan troops attacked Luzhou. Li returned to Yunnan in February 1918 thoroughly disillusioned with politics

[97] The following is taken from Hou Ruiyun and Zhang Jingwei (986:90-94).
[98] Hou and Zhang (1986:92). *Manjianghong* published in issue number eight of *Yunnan* is set to lyrics by Yue Fei and a tune which as Hou and Zhang write could be based on a foreign melody or composed by Li himself (ibid.)

spending his time looking after his father's business and 'reciting poetry and writing songs'. Following the Dali earthquake in 1925, Li wrote the song 'Dali Earthquake' [*Dali dizhen*] which was performed at least four times in aid of earthquake victims. On 9 August 1926, Li Jianhong died in Dali aged fifty-one. Three years later a collection of eighteen songs by him were published posthumously entitled *Wiping out Humiliation* [*Xuechi changge ji*].[100]

"New music" as a metaphor for social and political reform

In turn-of-the-century prose, the term "new" was used as an all-encompassing metaphor for reform. It began to appear in journal titles such as Liang Qichao's *New People* [*Xinmin*]. Chen Duxiu's *New Youth* [*Xin qingnian*], *New Tide* [*Xinchao*], *New Literature and Art* [*Xin wenyi*], *New Life* [*Xin Shenghuo*], *New Society* [*Xin shehui*] and *New Epoch* [*Xin shidai*] (Lee, 1991:159) and gained prominence in a number of lexical terms such as 'new era' (*xin jiyuan*), 'new citizens' (*xin guomin*) and new soldiers (*xinbing*). Reformers' conception of the "new" was by no means uniform or unambiguous as it was reproduced and redefined in different social and political discourses. However, the term was broadly used to denote 'a new mode of historical consciousness' (Lee, 1991:158-159). To reformers across the intellectual spectrum the word "new" helped them to legitimise their enterprise in creating a new social order. For Liang Qichao, writing in 'Discourse on the New Citizen' [*Xinmin Shuo*] in 1902, there were two aspects involved in conceptualising the "new". 'On the one hand, the "new" purifies what we already have and renews it; on the other hand, we embrace the "new" to acquire what we don't have in order to create something new. If either one is missing, there will be no success'.[101] Although "old" and "new", "tradition" and "modernity" tended to be perceived as mutually exclusive categories, Liang's comments clearly expressed that the "new" was inseparable from

[99] Immanuel C.Y. Hsü 'Revolution, Republic and Warlordism' (1975:582).
[100] The titles to these eighteen songs can be found in Hou and Zhang (1986:93)).
[101] Quoted in Tang Xiaobing 'History Imagined Anew: Liang Qichao in 1902' with slight changes to the translation, (11996:25).

the "old". In this context, "new" also translated as (re)evaluating, (re)searching and (re)discovering the past.[102]

For late Qing and early Republican music reformers, the term "new music" (*xinyue*) was broadly used to denote a musical way of thinking that aimed for different forms of expression. In 1904 Zeng Zhimin defined "new music" as 'a new form of expression and mode of thought which is new in style and character'.[103] While the term has been discursively defined by contemporary music scholars as a 'European-type of Chinese music (Liu, 1988:196), 'a hybrid of Chinese traditional and folk and eighteenth and nineteenth century practices' (Chang, 1983:3-4), or 'a hybrid group of pieces introduced from the West' (Mittler, 1993:80), the term also had explicit concerns for political and social relevance, which among other things, clearly served a utilitarian function. School songs as part of this mode of consciousness and musical synthesis were also called 'new style songs' (*xinshi gequ*) (Feng and Xue, 1996:1).[104]

Although the term "new music" became a staple term in the "new reforms" (*xinzheng*) at the turn of the century, in May Fourth rhetoric and the political left in the 1930s,[105] it has a long history in the Chinese language. Historically, it was synonymous with 'the music of Zheng and Wei' (*Zhengwei zhiyin*) grounded in the assumption that such music was 'vulgar', 'low'.

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[102] Writing in *Xin qingnian* in December 1918, Zhou Zuoren discussed the inadequacies of the terms "new" and "old" stating: '[i]f we use the term "new" as in "New Literature," then we use it to mean "newly discovered" but not "newly invented"'. Zhou Zouren "Ren de wenxue" ('Humane Literature), *Xin qingnian* 5, no. 6, December 1918. Translated by Ernst Wolff in Denton (ed), 1996:151. Robert Hughes has argued in a different yet related context with regard to issues of "tradition" and "modernity" that confront art and the artist. '[A]rt is not invention, but also remembering. It is never in a real artist's interest to "abolish" the past, which is impossible anyway. Boccioni, in particular, kept paying it homage' (1995:175).

[103] "Yinyue jiaoyu lun" ['On Music Education'], quoted in Da Wei (1983:41).

[104] It should be said that the "newness" in the term "new music" is an ambiguous one. However much "traditional" music appears immutable, devoid of novelty and change, it does not remain fixed or static even when interpretations of a piece of music or the borrowing of new styles seems almost imperceptible. Whether the conscious search for new styles and techniques is slow and gradual or radical or sudden, there is nonetheless change. Similarly, "new music" cannot completely separate from the tradition which preceded it, and this applies equally to school song compositions.

[105] See Chen Yongzheng (1992:289).

'common', 'inferior', 'modern' and polluting the music of the court.[106] While its pedigree was officially off limits to that refined body of music to be heard only at the court (*yayue*), there are several accounts of princes and emperors who preferred "new music" to "soporific" ritual music.[107] The long history of "new music" was also deemed "modern" and included "foreign music" (*huyue*) from China's northwest regions.[108] Here the term resonates with late Qing and early Republican usage as synonymous with "modern" or "foreign".

Pursuing the histories of bygone days with a critical gaze or invoking erstwhile kindred spirits no doubt sustained reformers as they paved the way of an uncertain future at the very moment of assimilating the past. In her book *Modern Chinese Poetry: Theory and Practice Since 1917*, Michelle Yeh has elegantly observed the past to be a constant source of inspiration in making sense of the present (1991:139):

> not by ignoring or bypassing tradition, but by seriously confronting and critically reevaluating it. Historical personages are used not simply as convenient analogues for contemporary situations but as dramatic personae through whom the poets express distinctly modern sentiments and themes.

(Re)searching the past in the service of the present (*guwei jinyong*) is amply illustrated in a number of essays on music reform. In 1905 Shen Xingong wrote: 'In this age of enlightenment, we should not abandon the exquisite music of the ancients. In teaching children

[106] See entry for *xinyue* in *Zhongguo yinyue cidian* (1984:437).

[107] The Marquis Wen of Wei (r. 424-387 B. C.) for example, 'complained to one of Confucius' disciples that he could never tire of 'the music of Cheng and Wei', and yet he sat in state and listened to the old music, he was in grave danger of dropping off to sleep'. (Quoted in Hawkes, 1959:6).

[108] Historically, minority groups on China's north and northwest borders were called *huren* (lit: 'foreign people'). See entry for *huren* in *Ciyuan*, vol 3 (1986:2548). The music of China's northwestern borders included Xiyu (present-day Xinjiang), Xiliang, Kashgar , Samarkand and Turfan. During the Sui-Tang period (581-907 A. D.) the music of these regions came to be regarded as one of the music departments in the court. There were "seven kinds of music" (*qibuji*) during the reign of Emperor Wen (581-604), "nine kinds of music" during the short reign of Emperor Yang (605-617) and increased to "ten kinds of music" in 640-642 A. D.). For a list of these music departments in the Sui and Tang see Yang Yinliu (1981:215) and Kaufmann ((1976:153).

music, we should use a number of ancient melodies.'[109] That same year Li Shutong wrote in the Preface to *Anthology of National Songs*: 'I have employed the language of the past but explained it in simple and succinct terms. I have consulted the authority of the past and chosen some of its finest language from the *Book of Songs* and incorporated the best of *kunshan* tunes. While I have retained our ancient melodies, they are written down in Western staff notation'.[110] Li maintained this view when he arrived in Japan later in the year. Judging from an essay entitled 'Oh, Poetry and Prose!', published in *The Little Magazine of Music* in January 1906, Li felt embarrassment that many educated Japanese that he associated with were writing classical Chinese poetry and prose while many Chinese, in contrast, were bent on demolishing it:

> Since arriving in Japan and gradually acquainting myself with Japanese songs, I've discovered that some 95% incorporate poetry and prose from Chinese culture. Our scholars can only write those model official examination essays with their rigid formulae and rhetorical devices, paying little attention to poetry and prose. Western learning has become the fashion while composing poems and poetry is disappearing. We ran the risk of abandoning the elegant prose of the past rich in historical allusions. It was wonderful to see that Japanese songs retained the traditions of the past. Poetry and prose in China has become a trivial matter while the Japanese have absorbed it into their culture. We are indeed the object of much ridicule among the Japanese. (Japanese scholars are all familiar with the *Historical Records* and the *Book of Han*. In the past, Japanese taught these books to Chinese studying in Japan and Chinese had no idea what these books were let alone where they came from. We've become the laughing-stock among the Japanese. (Quoted in Xu She, 1995:209).

The past was also a source of sustenance as reformers could assume an imitate historical relationship between earlier Chinese figures and themselves and give some reassurance of their sense of loss and alienation in the face of crisis.[111] The uncertain present was often couched in terms of a pseudo apocalyptic vision that did not augur well for China's future. The opening lines to Li Shutong's *Anthology of National Songs* in 1905 states: 'The music classics have

[109] *Xiaoxue changge jiaoshoufa* ['Methods of Teaching Songs in Primary Schools']. Quoted in Wang and Yang (1996:24).
[110] *Guoxue changge ji* ('Anthology of National Songs'). Quoted in Xu She (1995:204-205).
[111] Michelle Yeh (1991:14) argues that among early modern Chinese intellectuals in the late Qing, poets most acutely felt the sense of loss and alienation. 'Whereas fiction had been regarded since the late Qing

reached their death. The teaching of poetry withers with each passing day and our morals are moribund, sapped of their strength and vigour' (quoted in Xu She, 1995:204). In a similar vein, Tang Hualong wrote in 1906: 'the strength of the country is weak, the morale of the people is in a state of a paralysis. The need for music in elementary schools in sorely needed in times of crises.[112] The admonitory tone of these statements clearly stressed the urgent need to save China and engage in a process of restoration (*zhongxing*), a notion that had historical antecedents in China and which in the nineteenth century became the catchphrase for the self-strengthening movement with Zeng Guofan as its most representative figure (Spence, 1990:194).

Late Qing and early Republican music reformers would not have made too large a claim that music alone could change and reform society, or expect an immediate political effect from a song or piece of music, but like fiction, drama and poetry, it could provide a means of identification and emulation. The term "new" came to be used to describe different approaches to the conceptualisation of music reform, yet despite its ambivalence, it did legitimise the various attempts at writing on music reform and new types of music since the term had become increasingly authoritative as a positive and empowering concept. In other words, "*xin*" empowered reformers by legitimising their own enterprise—no matter how idealised, radical or ambiguous their blueprints were —in building a future for China.

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period as a valuable "instrument of national reform: that "exercises a power of incalculable magnitude", poetry had yet to *demonstrate its social relevance in the modern age*' [my emphasis].

[112] *Xinbian changeji, xuyan*, quoted in Li Yan (1994:49).

VII. Songs in Service of the State: School Songs as Propaganda

As we have seen in the previous chapter, many reformers sought to transform the nation through music and regarding it as a powerful means of communication and persuasion in disseminating various social and political goals. In this chapter I will address issues of school songs as propaganda and their role in the process of nation building. However, it would be appropriate first to define the term propaganda.

Defining Propaganda

The first use that the OED cites of the word propaganda, is a religious term. It was used in this sense in 1622 when Pope Gregory XV established 'a committee of Cardinals' for the propagation of the faith (1989:632). From its religious definition it came to refer to 'any association, systematic schema, or concerted movement for the propagation of a particular doctrine or practice (1989:632). In the twentieth century, the term gained a wider currency and taken on sinister and manipulative connotations. R. W. Scribner (1994:xxii) describes its transmogrification in the late twentieth century as follows:

> [Propaganda] connoted an extraordinarily complex semantic field encompassing the following meanings: to create attitudes, to change opinions, to control behavior, to convince, convey ideas, to exaggerate, to indoctrinate, to induce, to infiltrate, to influence, to lie, to make believe, to persuade, to put something over someone, to manipulate, to subvert, and to suggest. Thus, the original meaning of spreading has acquired powerful connotations of attempts to convince, to influence, to convert, often in a pejorative sense taken to imply distortion of truth.

Propaganda is often associated with totalitarian regimes and leaders' manipulation of people's thinking through the mass media and political movements. It is a term that has become inextricably bound up with political culture in China, especially from the early 1940s up until the Open Door Policy of 1978 as explicitly serving a didactic function in accordance with Maoist

prescriptions.[1] In this context, the term has acquired manipulative connotations. However, Chang-tai Hung has argued that propaganda in twentieth century China should be understood in its original meaning of spreading, encouraging or instilling particular attitudes that can influence and change people's opinions and actions in a positive sense. Its sole prerogative is not merely to manipulate, control or deceive a mass audience (1994:9):

> Because of its pejorative connotations, however, the importance of propaganda has often been ignored. Propaganda is in fact not an aberration but a basic ingredient of the political process; contrary to the public perception, moreover, it does not consist only of lies and falsehood. As David Welch puts it, "It operates with many kinds of truths--from the outright lie, the half truth, to the truth out of context." Even the most mendacious propaganda effort must entertain some truths to be effective. It must appeal to human reasoning, not just to emotional instincts...Moreover, the Chinese word *xuanchuan* (propaganda), meaning to perform and propagate, carries a more positive connotation than its English counterpart. Granted that it is still a form of advocacy and conveys a particular point of view, *xuanchuan* lacks the negative connotation of manipulation.

The political importance of music as a potent force that can serve to educate people, regulate society and strengthen government has a long tradition in China and in other cultures as well. Music is elaborated in discourses by Confucius and his disciples and other Confucian philosophers such as Xunzi (c. 313-238 B.C.E.).In Book XIII of the *Analects*, it is written: 'When affairs do not culminate in success, rites and music will not flourish; when rites and music do not flourish, punishments will not fit the crimes (Lau, 1979:118). In the *Book of Rites* it is recorded: 'Virtue is the strong stem of nature, and music is the blossoming of virtue'. Similarly, in "Discussions of Music" ("Yuelun") in the *Book of Music* (*Yuezhi*), Xun Zi

[1] The urge to dismiss cultural works from the early 1940s to the late 1970s as explicitly serving a propagandist function with all the politically laden baggage does not greatly advance research in this area. We must put to rest once and for all the discourse that paints such music in negative terms as a product of those years of control, repression, censorship and so forth. A detailed study of music culture from the late 1940s to the late 1970s in the People's Republic needs urgent attention. Of particular interest is how political, social and cultural prescriptions of this period stifled the potential development of those involved in music production and discouraged the development of a discursive culture to explore and experiment with conflicting of modes self-expression.

elaborates the use of music as intimately bound up with rulership and its moral efficacy on society, at length and in the In *Discussions of Music* it is recorded:

> Music enters deeply into men and transforms them quickly. Therefore, the former Kings were very careful to give it the proper form. When music is moderate and tranquil, the people become harmonious and shun excess. When music is stern and majestic, the people become well behaved and shun disorder. When the people are harmonious and well behaved, then the troops will be keen in striking power and the cities well guarded, and enemy states will not dare launch an attack. (DeWoskin: 1982: 89).

The process of court ritual music as an effective political tool has been described eloquently by Rawski:

> It is ironic that music, one of the most ephemeral of the arts, was in China vehicle for the preservation and continuation of the normative Confucian order...Chinese thinkers cited music as an instrument of moral education long before the appearance of an unified empire. Music could not only leap across the space separating the world of humans and the world of the gods but also help cultivate and thus transform mankind. Music and ritual were the essential elements of rulership (Rawski, 1996:161)

Clearly, we should not think of recent propagandist or didactic functions of music as being without precedent in China's own past. It has been an integral part of Chinese music philosophy and as we have seen, pervades the earliest historical records. The value of songs as a vehicle for the realization of political and social goals was certainly evident in the creation of school songs.

Music as a Propaganda Tool in the Press

It is not difficult to find essays and short columns on music in Chinese periodicals published in China and Japan at the turn of the century as 'both a molder and mobilizer of public opinion' (Judge, 1994:65). *The Chinese Vernacular Journal* [*Zhongguo baihuabao*] founded in 1903 ran columns on songs and in its inaugural issue published in December wrote that *geyao* (folk songs, ballads, nursery rhymes) could exert a lasting influence on the character-building of children. Unlike Chinese operas, it continued, 'children would find pleasure in singing songs in

the vernacular'.[2] Long before Hu Shi laid down proposals for the establishment of a new national language and creating a new literature and the arts published in the second issue of *La Jeunesse* [*Xin Qingnian*] in January 1917,[3] music reformers were promoting the vernacular in songs. However, while they anticipated Hu Shi's literary revolution, the need for a modern vernacular was not vociferously asserted. In the early part of the century, Liang Qichao, in his *Ice Drinking Studio* merely suggested that 'new songs' (*xinge*) should be neither too highbrow nor too vulgar' (quoted in Yang Heping, 1996:31). Zeng Zhimin proposed that 'the most simple and plain language' should be employed, but the lyrics must have 'depth' (*shen*) (quoted in Da Wei, 1983:41). In early 1906 Li Jianhong published an article in the journal *Yunnan* emphasising that songs introduced into the school system should be 'simple and comprehensible'.[4] Writing in *Educational Magazine* in July 1911, Wu Fulin argued that the vernacular could be used instead of classical Chinese to teach songs and inculcate patriotic values: 'We must use simple and plain lyrics as well as simple compositions to keep the children interested. A lot of teachers use classical Chinese in writing songs. They maintain that this style is elegant, but to retain classical Chinese for new students in the elementary classes is inappropriate'.[5] In 1917, Chen Diexian (1878-1940) writing under the pen name Tianxu Wosheng stressed the importance of songs in promoting the national language (*guoyu*):

> The aim of the national language is to teach correct and clear pronunciation in order to express ourselves correctly. Teaching clear and correct pronunciation will be incorporated

[2] See P.K. Yu *et. al.*, *The Revolutionary Movement During the Late Qing: A Guide to Chinese Periodicals* (1970: 57).

[3] "Wenxue gailiang zouyi" ('Proposals for the Reform of Literature'), *Xin Qingnian* 2, no. 5 (January, 1917). A translation of the text can be found in Denton (1996:123-139). Denton translates the title as 'Some Modest Proposals for the Reform of Literature'.

[4] Li Jian Hong, "Yinyue yu jiaoyujie zhi gongyong", *Yunnan*, 1906, no. 2. Quoted in Wang and Yang (1996:26).

[5] "Xiaoxue changge zhi shiyan" ('Experimenting with Primary School Songs'), *Jiaoyu zazhi*, issue no. 7 Quoted in Wang and Yang (1996:34). Wu was also vocal in the use of songs in standardising the Chinese language from where she taught in Xiamen: 'Fujian dialect and standard Chinese are mutually unintelligible. Seven and eight year olds still have strong regional accents, but if we emphasis the national language they will no longer sound like chirping birds.' Ibid.

into singing exercises...The words to songs must be as interesting as literature and leave and indelible impression when sung. This will be carried out by implementing the national language.[6]

In improving the people's morals and character, music reformers often highlighted the lewd and immoral content of popular songs and Chinese operas. In doing so, they echoed Liang Qichao's claims in his essay 'On the Relationship Between Fiction and the Government of the People' published in *New Novel* [*Xin xiaoshuo*] in 1902, that the frivolous and immoral content of fiction filled with beautiful ladies, talented scholars, chivalrous knights, robbers and brigades had 'entrapped and drowned the masses to such a deplorable extent!'[7] In 1904 Zhu Zhuang (1873-1958) stated that all efforts should be maintained to keep popular music (*suyue*) away from the schools.[8] Shen Xingong, writing in his *Teaching Methods for Singing in Primary*

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[6] Tianxu Wosheng, *Yunnan Jiaoyu zazhi*, no. 7. Quoted in Wang and Yang (1996: 42). One of the first songwriters and composers to write songs that promoted standardised pronunciation was Xiao Youmei (1884-1940). Born in Xiangshan county in Guangdong province, he enrolled at the School of Contemporary Affairs (*Shiwu xuetang*) in 1899. Two years later he went to Japan and studied at the Toyko School of Fine Arts and the Toyko Imperial University. Xiao returned home in 1910 before going to Germany in October 1912. In 1916 he received a Ph. D in music theory and composition from the Leipzig Conservatory of Music. After returning home in the Spring of 1920, he took up a job as a copy editor (*bianshenyuan*) with the Ministry of Education and as mentioned in the previous chapter taught music in the music and physical education vocational department (*tiyu zhuanxiuke*) attached to the Women's High-Level Normal University in Beijing in 1920 and later joined the teaching staff at Beijing University. In January 1920 his song "Phonetic Alphabet" (*Zhuyin zimu*) was published in *Yinyue zazhi*. Another composer who began to write songs promoting standard pronunciation was Zhao Yuanren (1892-1982). Born in Changzhou, Jiangsu province, Zhao was an influential musician and thinker in twentieth century Chinese music, but he was perhaps best well known internationally as a linguist. After graduating from Cornell in mathematics in 1914 and receiving a Ph.D. in philosophy from Harvard University in 1918, Zhao spent several years teaching philosophy and Chinese at both Cornell and Harvard. After returning to China in 1925, he took up a professorship at the *Guoxue Yanjiuyuan* at Qinghua University. For biographical details on Zhao see entry for Zhao Yuanren in *BDRC*, vol. I (1976:148-142). See also Miao Tianrui, *et.al.*, *Zhongguo yinyue cidian* (1984: 499) and Rulan Chao Pian 'Autobiographical Sketches' (1995:1-20). In 1927 Zhao wrote 'Song of the National Phonetic' (*Zhuyin haofu ge*) and 'Bo-Po-Mho-Fo-Vo' which were both released as part of a collection called *New National Songs on Phonograph* (*Xin Guoyu liujipian*) released by Pathé Records in 1934. In 1930 Zhao also wrote three songs originally intended as language games for his children: The Table of Initials', 'The Table of Finals' and 'The Four Tones'. The last three of these songs were all written in three-part harmony. See Rulan Chao (1987:56-60).

[7] Liang Qichao "Lun xiaoshuo yu qunzhi zhi guanxi" (On the Relationship Between Fiction and the Government of the People), 1902. Translated by Gek Nai Cheng in Denton, Kirk A (ed) *Modern Chinese Literary Thought*: Writings on Literature 1893-1945 (1996:80).

[8] Zhu Zhuang (Jiang Weiqiao) *Nüzi Shijie* [*Women's World*], 1904, issue no. 8 (quoted in Wang & Yang (1996:23). The pedigree of *suyue* has historically been defined in contrast to *yayue* ('elegant', 'refined music') and invariably accused of polluting and debasing that refined body of music heard only at the

Schools the following year argued that the lowbrow character of *suyue* was likely to produce social instability: 'Music was an essential component in reforming society and the music of the court [*yayue*] played an important role in rectifying social customs. Before this prevailed, decadent, licentious music [*yinyue*] destroyed and eroded the social customs of society'.[9] Fei Shi was also concerned with the 'direct relationship of music and the national character' pointing the finger at the 'vulgar and decadent' quality of popular songs and operas in China.[10] Thus, reformers believed that popular songs and arias from Chinese operas were incapable of improving the moral character of their audiences the way school songs could.

Readers were also reminded of the pernicious and immoral influences of *suyue* in bygone dynasties and how it debased and polluted the music of the court. That such decadent music was inseparably linked to the demise of dynasties was clearly intended as a reflection of the present. In Sun Shi's essay 'Music and Education', published in the *Yunnan Educational Magazine* in 1919, the baleful influences of popular music are figured in terms of receptive physical traits. 'Culinary extravagance can lead to indigestion' writes the author, 'the ears are far more susceptible to harmful influences than either the eyes or the mouth. Listening to good music, on the one hand, can uplift the spirit and instil high aspirations, while listening to bad

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court. The vulgar and plebeian connotations of 'popular' music have been amply recorded in Chinese historiography. In the *Analects* it is recorded: 'I detest popular music corrupting classical music'. This is Simon Leys translation (1997:88). Popular music in this passage refers to the 'sounds, or tones of the music of Zheng (*Zhengsheng*) which is often used interchangeably with *Zhengwei zhiyin*. Other terms used to describe decadent, lowbrow music include *xin yinyue* ('new music'), a term synonymous with *Zhengsheng* (See *Zhongguo yinyue cidian*, 1984:437), *niyin* ('indulgent music') and *mimizhiyin* ('decadent music'). An entry for *mimizhiyin* in *Ciyuan* (1986:3361) note that in the *Shiji* [*Book of Songs*] it is recorded: 'Zhou, the last ruler of the Shang Dynasty ordered Master Juan to compose new, licentious songs, northern dances and decadent music. *Mimizhiyin* also refers to 'weak and delicate' (*rouruo*) songs. A reference to *niyin* and the music of Zheng is found in the *Yuehan* ('Discourse of Music'). See Cooke (1995:62-63). ,.

[9] Shen Xingong, *Xiaoxue changgge jiaoshoufa*. Quoted in Wang and Yang (1996:24).

[10] Fei Shi, "Zhongguo yinyue gailiang shuo", *Zhejiangchao* [*Zhejiang Tide*], June 1903. Quoted in Wang and Yang (1996:5-6). An article published in *Jiaoyu zazhi* some ten years later in 1914 lauded the German government for being able to provide both edifying and morally uplifting songs to the populace and concluded that popular songs in China "lewd and immoral", while those in Germany were "pure and lofty", 'stimulating love for the motherland and encouraging respect for public order'. See Bailey (1990:192). See also (ibid:215n.56).

music, on the other hand, can induce flagging spirits and discourage any sense of progress'.[11] Implicitly, many reformers stressed the importance of keeping a vigilant eye on popular songs in order to prevent the people from being led astray or corrupted. Wo Sheng, in contrast, asserted that although 'vulgar, unrefined songs' (*liqu*) were ubiquitous, they could be 'corrected' (*jiaozheng*) and used in the service of education.[12] Zeng Zhimin, however, argued that distinctions between music taught at school and music in society would be difficult to maintain, since they overlapped with, drew upon and nourished each other.[13]

A feature of many of the essays by music reformers was the efficacy of songs in promoting 'moral training' (*xiushen*). The concept was borrowed from the Japanese word (*shûshin*) and had been used in a children's primer issued by the Ministry of Education in 1880 (Bailey, 1990:32). Writing in *Educational World* in October 1907, Wang Guowei (1877-1927) pointed out that singing would greatly benefit moral training classes in primary schools. He also asserted that the emotional power of music without lyrics had an educational value which could 'temper students' character' and stimulate 'love and affection' (*ganqing*).[14] In a similar vein, Wo Sheng averred that singing classes were invaluable in stimulating and encouraging values such as 'moral character'(*dexing*). The 'aim of singing songs', he wrote, is to:

> foster the moral character of children. The main aim is to put morals into practice. Only moral training classes can instil ethics and the musical power of music will stimulate greater feelings of love and affection...Moral training is ideal if we want to illustrate the words and deeds of Yue Fei[15]. However, if we set them to a song and let the children sing it, the words and deeds of Yue Fei will go straight to their hearts. In this way, moral training is accomplished a lot faster and with a lot more fun by incorporating singing. A

[11] "Yinyue yu jiaohua" in *Yunnan jiaoyu zazhi*, 1919, no. 7. Quoted in Wang and Yang (1996:45).
[12] Tianxu Wosheng Yuege zhi jiazhi, *Yunnan Jiaoyu zazhi*, 1917, no. 7. Quoted in Wang and Yang (1996:41).
[13] Zeng Zhimin "Yinyue jiaoyu lun", in *Xinmin congbao*, 1904, no. 14. Quoted in Wang and Yang (1996:11).
[14] Wang Guowei, "Lun Xiaoxuexiao changgeke zhi cailiao", *Jiaoyu Shijie* [*Educational World*], October, no. 148. Quoted in Wang and Yang (1996:33).
[15] Yue Fei (1103-1141), a military hero of the Song dynasty. His life's was motto tattooed on his back 'serve my land with unflinching loyalty'.

hundred volumes on ethics by Napoleon is nothing compared to the power of words set to a piece of music.[16]

Music reformers also wrote on the emotional power of music to form and mold character and foster the cohesion and strength of the nation. The inclusion of Maraoka Han'ichi's 'The Emotional Power of Music' published in Li Shutong's *Little Magazine of Music* (1906) emphasising that national anthems such as the French *Marseillaise* stirred up patriotism during the French revolution [17] was an obvious hint that Chinese should take their cue from the French and write soul-stirring songs that could incite public action.[18] In 1904, Zhu Zhuang wrote of music's ability to stir the emotions and its power to stimulate patriotism. He expressed his admiration for soul-stirring hymns sung at a missionary school in Shanghai that 'aroused and excited' its students and the need for schools in China to also incorporate songs from England, America and Japan in their curriculum.[19] Within the China's new school system, the emotional power of music could among other things, 'comfort and console' and encourage 'respect and love'.[20] Yang Zhaonu, writing in the Peking University-based *Music Magazine* in early 1920 was convinced of the emotive qualities of music that could 'temper the mind spirit', and 'change prevailing social customs'. The affect of music on audiences, Yang argued, would be instantaneous and intuitive akin to Buddhist monks sitting still deep in meditation and suddenly attaining a higher realm of consciousness. Due emphasis was also given to those engaged in making music and their role in the emotional element of music:

Musicians possess the ability to move us like no other. They open up inside us a gamut of human feelings such as joy, sadness, anger and sorrow. The make us ponder, make us

[16] "Yuege zhi jiazhi", in *Yunnan Jiaoyu zazhi*, 1917, issue no. 7. Quoted in Wang and Yang (1996:42).
[17] The Marseillaise was composed by a young engineering officer Claude-Joseph Rouget de Lisle (1760-1836) in 1792 on the declaration of war against Austria and first sung in Paris by Marseilles patriots under siege by Prussian soldiers.
[18] A reprint of Han'ichi's 'Emotional Power of Music' can be found in Wang & Yang (1996:28).
[19] Zhu Zhuang, *Nüzi shijie*, 1904, issue no. 8. Quoted in Wang and Yang (1996:23).
[20] "Yinyue zhi ganhuali" ('The Emotional Power of Music') , in "Yuege zhi jiazhi", *Yunnan jiaoyu zazhi*, 1917, no. 7. Quoted in Wang and Yang (1996:39).

grieve, make us fear the unknown, surprise us, replenish our spirits, increase our aspirations and make us long for high mountains and flowing streams in faraway places.[21]

Music Magazines

As we have seen, the tremendous growth of political journals and newspapers greatly facilitated the spread of ideas in urban and coastal centres in China in the late Qing and early Republican period. Before magazines and journals devoted exclusively to music reform appeared, vernacular newspapers published at the turn of the century in China and Japan were the foremost purveyors of *geyao*. Many ran regular song columns such as the *Suzhou baihuabao* (founded October 1901), the *Zhongguo baihuabao* and the *Ningbo baihuabao* (both founded in Shanghai, November 1903) and the *Wujun baihuabao* (founded in Suzhou, January 1904). The first issue of *The Vernacular* [*Baihua*] founded in Toyko in August 1904, published two songs in *gongche* and cipher notations—'The Ant' [*Mayi*] and 'The Great Wall of China' [*Wanli changcheng*]—providing an introduction to the significance of songs and their pedagogic strengths. However, it was not until 1906 that we see the emergence of what is regarded as the first music journal published in China devoted entirely to matters music. In the *Catalogue of Music Journals in China 1906-1949*, only three journals saw the light of day from 1906 to 1913: the *Little Magazine of Music* [*Yinyue xiaozazhi*](1906); *Collection of Illuminating Flowers* [*Canhuaji*] (1908) and *The White Sun* [*Baiyang*] (1913). [22]

The first and last issue of Li Shutong's *Little Magazine of Music* was printed in Toyko by Mikkôdô, published by Gongyi Bookstore in Shanghai and distributed by Kaiming Bookstore in that city in January 1906.[23] Li, who wrote under the sobriquet Xishuang[24] produced the

[21] Yang Zhaonu, "Lun Yinyue ganren zhi li" ('On the Principles of the Emotional Appeal of Music), in *YYZZ*, 1920. vol. 1, no. 4. Quoted in Wang and Yang (1996:59).

[22] Li Wenru and Wen Yan list of music journals 1908-1965 (1982) begin their listing from 1908. Li Shutong's *Little Magazine of Music* is not included because, as mentioned at the outset of this study, it was not until 1984 that a copy was made available to Sun Jinan after the one surviving issue was sent to him by the Japanese scholar Sanetô Keishû.

[23] According to *ZGYYSPZ* (1994:141), thirty-two copies of *Yinyue xiao zazhi* were printed.

poppies in watercolour which adorn the right hand side of the front cover nestled on a six bar melody of staff notation [8.1] and a charcoal sketch of Beethoven, "the saint of music" on the following page [8.2]. Two woodcuts by Japanese contributors also feature in its opening pages. It is unknown whether Li modelled *The Little Magazine of Music* on the Japanese music periodical *Ongaku no tomo* which published its first issue in 1901, but like that periodical and its successor *Ongaku shinpô* (1904-1908), it seems clear from the outset that the magazine served to introduce aspects of Western music. As the list of contents reveal, *The Little Magazine of Music* also functioned as the young Li's workshop to debate, explore and refine his own ideas on music in the company of people with similar interests:

Xihuang	Preface to Little Magazine of Music
Xishuang	Biographical Sketch of Beethoven
Tamura Torazô	An Overview of Modern Classical Music

School Songs[25]

Xishuang	Educational Song: My Country
Xishuang	Educational Song: Spring District Meet

Others Songs

Xishuang:	Willow Dyke Sui

Miscellaneous Pieces:

Xishuang	Recollection of the Past
Xishuang	On Poetry and Prose
Muraoka Han'ichi	On the Emotional Power of Music
Tsutzumi Masao	A Comparative Look at the Piano and Organ

Verses:

The Sky's the Limit: The Host at the Luxuriant Grass Hall at West Lake

Ken Tang: 'After the Rain, It starts to warm up/I Take Off my Padded Jacket/Summer is Just Around the Corner /Last year autumn was so brief/I barely wore my autumn clothes before Winter arrived'.

[24] Li Shutong had over one hundred pen names that he used in his lifetime. See Lin Ziqing (1995:1-2).
[25] All three songs are in Western staff notation.

Narushima Ryûboku: Human Skull
Narushima Ryûboku : Lin Pu Gazing at the Plum Blossoms
Tane Chikusanjin To Ningzhai, Ningyu and Lin Nu in Langhua[26]

The second journal, *Collection of Illuminating Flowers* edited by Zhang Wuwei (?-?) and published by the Illuminating Bookstore in Shanghai in November 1908 contains nine *xiaoqu* (small tunes) set to contemporary didactic themes (history, geography, family life) as well as the text to a 'historical new play' (*lishi xinxi*) and over ten songs in *gongche* and cipher notation.[27] The third journal *Baiyang* [*White Sun*] was edited under Li Shutong's pen name Xishuang and published by Zhejiang Normal School Alumni Society in May 1913. More than ten lithograph copies were printed (Li and Wen, 1982:37) and included an introductory 'piece' on music,[28] a selection of poems and *ci* poetry, a song 'Spring Outing' by Li, essays on contemporary European literature [*Jindai Ouzhou wenxue zhi gaiguan*], western musical instruments [*Xiyang yueqi zhonglei gaikuang*] and essay entitled 'The Uses of Plaster of Paris Models' [*Shigao moxing yongfa*], also by Li.[29] Prints by Shi Chan (?-?), Mei Bai (?-?) and paintings by Meng Fei, Hong Liang and Mei Bai were also included.[30]

Like many other newspapers and journals during this period, all these music journals did not continue beyond their first issue. How do we explain the paucity of journals devoted to music published in China in the early twentieth century? Why did they cease publication after the first issue? Can their short life be attributed solely to lack of funds? The journal *White Sun* as a publication put out by an Alumni Society suggests that other schools and colleges in the late Qing and early Republican period may have published their own journals It is possible that many did produce their own in-house journals or school song anthologies but were not widely read or

[26] I have not been able to ascertain whether this place name is in Japan or elsewhere.
[27] See entry for *Canhuaji* in *Zhongguo yinyue qikan mulu* (1982:38).
[28] According to the editors of *The Little Magazine of Music* (1988:17), this introductory essay is identical to the preface to Li's *The Little Magazine of Music* (1906).
[29] The essays can be found in Xiao Feng (1996:68-77).

circulated. It is also possible that many such journals are still locked away in libraries or archives in China. It was not until March 1920 with the first publication of *Music Magazine* [*Yinyue zazhi*] that we begin to see a steady and lively growth in music journals.[31] Arguably, if the *Little Magazine of Music*, *Collection of Illuminating Flowers* and *White Sun* had not ceased publication after their first issue, they might have anticipated the wide range of materials covered in the *Music Magazine* which in its first volume featured discussions on Western theories on music aesthetic, translations of individual Western and Japanese writers, music pedagogy, historical and biographical studies of Western composers as well as promoting various aspects of national music.

Music Societies

As briefly mentioned in Chapter Four some 103 study societies were established by reformers from 1895 to 1898. These study societies attracted a large spectrum of professionals including educators, translators, writers, dramatists, poets, musicians and composers. Due to incomplete details on the activities of study societies in China and those organised by Chinese students in Japan in the early twentieth century, it has yet to be established how many music societies existed independently or formed part of larger study societies.

In 1906 the Qing court was calling for the creation Education Societies (*Jiaoyuhui*) and organisations such as Education Promotion Bureaus (*Quanxuesuo*), Lecture Halls (*Xuanjiangsuo*) and Lecturer Bureaus (*Jiangxisuo*). Statistics reveal that progress in implementing such organisations was fitful and uneven. In 1909, for example, Zhili could boast

[30] See *Zhongguo yinyue qikan bianmu huilu 1906-1949* (1990:2).
[31] *Zhongguo yinyue qikan mulu* (1982) and *Zhongguo yinyue qikan bianmu huilu 1906-1949* (1990) list identical as well as different journals from the period 1920-1949. The former lists 159 journals while the later lists 129.

152 Education Promotional Bureaus, while Jiangsu had only 25.[32]Between 1906-1909 there were 65 education societies in Zhili while 232 were established in Jiangsu province.[33] I mention these organisations because from available sources we know that music was taught in many of them. On July 7 1912, for example, a decree for the Summer Vacation Handicrafts and Music Lecturer Bureau (*Xiaqi shougong, yinyue jiangxihui*) in Beijing stipulated that 'handicrafts and music would be taught on separate days' and that 'it was up to is members to decide whether to attend one or both classes'. Regulations also included the names of at least two lecturers: Sun Wen (handicrafts) and Gao Lian (music).[34] Study and education societies also reached out to large segments of the general populace. In 1913 the Ministry of Education issued a list of the most popular educational for the general public including popular libraries, museums, art galleries, music training centres, associations to reform drama, novels and songs, physical education associations, parks, zoos and cinemas. [35] According to the *First China Education Yearbook* there were 222 popular education associations in China in 1915.[36]

Through official and private initiative, study and education societies created a lobby for promoting music in China in the early part of the century. As we have seen, Chinese students in Japan were also actively involved in forming music societies. The Music Study Society (*Yinyue Jiangxihui*) formed by Shen Xingong and other Chinese students in Toyko in November 1902 is generally considered to be one of the first music societies in the late Qing that became a forum for specifically discussing music reform. In July of 1904, Zeng Zhimin regrouped the Music Study Society in Toyko under the new name, the *Refined Asia Music Society* (*Yaya yinyuehui*). Included among its many activities were a study groups devoted to singing and military music

[32] *DYCZGJYNJ* (1971:32-33). Quoted in Chen Yuanhui (1993:94-95).
[33] See Chen Yuanhui ibid:353-357).
[34] See Chen Yuanhui ibid::326-327). Regulations for the following year stipulated calisthenics and songs (*yuege*) as part of the curriculum.

[35] Quoted in Bailey (1990:188).

(Tao, 1994:228). In 1905 Zhu Shaoping (?-?) and Zeng Zhimin formed the National Music Society (*Guomin yinyuehui*) which included among its classes military music and woodwind and string performances (Tao, 1994:228). Music societies organized by Chinese students in Japan were also attached to schools. Datong Schools in Tokyo and Yokohama founded by Liang Qic iao in August 1899 set up their own music societies (Tao, 1994:227). At a concert put on by the Datong School in Yokohama at the turn of the century it is recorded: 'Apart from singing songs in unison, the school put on a play entitled *Jing Ke's Farewell Dinner by the River Yi*.[37] In the first act *Farewell Dinner*, four songs were performed...The four songs sung in Act One incorporated a new score accompanied by the organ'.[38]

Returned Chinese students from Japan continued their music reform by organising music societies and promoting Western music at schools and other institutions. Shen Xingong and Gao Yanyun formed the Aesthetic Music Society (*Meiyu yinyuehui*) in Shanghai in 1904. Three years later Zeng Zhimin, Gao Fengyun and Feng Yaxiong formed the Summer Music Society (*Xiaji yinyuehui*) which provided instruction in Western art music and Western musical instruments. At a charity concert organised by an orphanage in Shanghai on December 21, 1906, the Qingxin Girls' School, the Zhuoyue Music Society and a music group attached to the Anglo-Chinese College (*Zhongxi Shuyuan*) were invited to perform. The participation of the Anglo-Chinese College highlights the significant role of missionary schools in promoting and fostering the spread of Western music in China. Music societies as well as clubs were also a feature of many

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[36] Quoted in ibid::187).

[37] Jing Ke was an assassin in the late Warring States Period sent on a mission to kill the emperor Qinshi huangdi. Just as Jing Ke raised his dagger ready to kill the emperor, a fatal moment of hesitation allowed the emperor to take the upper hand. Jing Ke was killed by the emperor's bodyguards. Jing Ke knew that this mission would perhaps be his last and before his death he sang the following lines at farewell dinner near the River Yi: 'The wailing wind crosses the cold waters of the River Yi/ A hero is about to set forth, never to return ' See Yang Hsien-yi, Gladys Yang (1979:398-399).

[38] Liang Qichao *Yinbingshi shihua*, article 137. Quoted in Tao (1994:227). According to Tao, the 'new score' (*xinpu*) was based on a hymn by William G. Tomer (ibid:227-228).

Christian colleges. However, the full extent to which these societies and clubs influenced Chinese music societies awaits further study.

The growing number of music societies in the first decade of the century indicates that there was an increasing interest in music reform. However, the activities of these societies—military music, instruction in Western art music and musical instruments among them—does not necessarily mean that music reformers had clear, unambiguous aims when organising music societies. Indeed, music reformers dealt with half-formulated intentions and possibilities, uniformly concerned with music reform, yet far from being able to do their function as reformers envisaged it. The chief obstacles—the lack of qualified and trained teachers, suitable music texts and the availability of musical instruments—were not the prerogative of music societies but all music reformers. The ideological dimension of music was explicit in the writings of music reformers, its function was to promote the development of a "new music" that would play a role in the transformation of social and political change in China. However, details on what proposals were discussed and submitted for approval by music societies or the difficulties of implementing music policy remains sketchy.

At the turn of the century, the members of music societies in Japan and China were made up of Chinese students and music educators, but increasingly through educational societies, promotional bureaus, lecturer halls and bureaus, music societies promoted and encouraged membership among the general public as well. One of the most prominent music societies was *Peking University Music Society* (*Beijing Daxue yinyuetuan*) founded in the autumn of 1916. Initially made up of twelve students (Tao, 1994:231), it was also open to anyone who wished to learn a musical instrument and music appreciation (Chang, 1983:20). As early February 1918 the Society had two music groups devoted to researching national music and Western music (Tao, 1994:231). Before adopting the name *Peking University Music Research Society* (*Beijing Daxue yinyue yanjiuhui*) in early 1919 with Cai Yuanpei as its president, the Society was also known as

the Peking University Music Theory Research Society (*Beijing Daxue Yueli Yanjiuhui*) (Tao, 1994:231). In provisional regulations promulgated in 1919, research activities included musicology (*yinyuexue*), music history (*yinyueshi*) and traditional opera.[39] Although the nomenclature of these societies reflected somewhat different aims and intentions, their function, as Cai Yuanpei had stressed in a lecture delivered in 1917 to the Shenzhou Scholarly Society was to popularise music education among ordinary citizens. 'The pleasure of music experienced alone cannot compare to that experienced with others; the enjoyment of music experienced with only a few cannot compare to that of sharing it with large numbers of people.[40] Chen Bingyi (1994:94) provides the following activities of amateur music societies such as the Peking University Music Research Society and others founded in the early to late 1920s:

(1) to organise the study of Chinese and Western music and through communicating with teachers in the classrooms, introduce music notation, basic music theory, harmony, Western theory, performance technique, instruction in piano, Western-style singing, the seven-stringed zither, *pipa* and *kunqu* as well as establishing public lectures and short-term music classes to disseminate both Chinese and Western music.

(2) to organise various performance activities.

(3) to promote Western music theory, introduce aspects of Western music through translations, research traditional and national music and promote musical activities through music journals and the press.

(4) to promote the writing of Chinese compositions.

Admittedly, these proposals were essentially no different to those envisage by music reformers in the first decade of the century, but for music reformers in the early 1920s such as Xiao Youmei and Liu Tianhua (1895-1932), they suggest how far Chinese music reform had travelled from the creation of music societies organised by Chinese students in Japan and China

[39] See "Wei Beida yueli yanjiuhui suni zhangcheng" in Wenyi meixue congshu bianji weiyuanhui (eds)
[40] "Yi meiyu dai zongjiao" ('Replacing Religion with Aesthetic Education') first published under the name Cai Jiemin in *Xin Qingnian*, 3 no. 6 (1917). Taken from an English translation by Julia F. Andrews in Denton (1996:186).

at the turn of the century, to amateur music societies that now included members of the general public. Like the *Music Society of Peking University*, the *Citizens Music Society* (*Guomin Yinyuehui*) was an organisation open to anyone who wished to study a music instrument and develop music appreciation. Writing in the Beijing-based monthly journal *Chenbao fujuan* (*Morning News Supplement*) in February 1923, Xiao Youmei asserted the Society served both the general public and the music student:

> Ideally, the Citizens Music Society will attract those who have no musical training and at the same time provide music students with a number of important services. These include recordings which students can listen to over and over again to improve their technique. As for students of composition, they can attend concerts organised by the Society and by doing so extend their music appreciation and become acquainted with a number of Western-style rhythmic patterns. This kind of immersion is more real to life than extracting information from books. In this respect, music students are very much like artists who paint or sketch from nature. The more concerts you attend will naturally leave an greater impression.
>
> The Citizens Music Society is one of the best ways to popularise music appreciation. At a time when there are no specialised music schools in China, the National Citizens Society performs an important role.[41] The rest of society can easily forget that there is such a thing as "music education" for China has not had a formal music education institution for over one thousand years.[42] There is been a lot of emphasis on fine arts and drama recently, but I hope that enthusiastic comrades will also promote and encourage music.[43]

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[41] There were a number of schools and colleges that offered courses in music such as the *Guoli Beijing Nüzi Gaodeng Shifan Daxue* (established in September 1920) and the *Beijing Guoli Yishu Zhuanmen Xuexiao* where Xiao Youmei taught music. The first National Music College (*Guoli yinyueyuan*) in the Republican Period was founded in Shanghai in November 1927 by Cai Yuanpei and Xiao Youmei. See Chang Shouzong and Zhu Jian (1987:412). See also Schimmelpenninck and Kouwenhoven (1993:59).

[42] Xiao is making reference to the *Dasiyue*, a pedagogical and performing arts bureau of the Zhou dynasty. On the "Dasiyue" see Lan Yusong in *ZGDBKQS* (*YYWD*), 1989: 103-104.

[43] Xiao Youmei, "Guomin Yinyuehuide gongyong"('The function of the Citizens Music Society'), *Chenbao fujuan*, 21 February 1923. Quoted in Wang and Yang (1996:109). A growing number of essays and translations on various aspects of music appreciation and theories of music aesthetics prevalent in Europe in the late nineteenth century began to appear in music journals in from the 1920s. Employing the musical theories put forward by Eduard Hanslick, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Wagner and others. These theories of music aesthetics essentially fell into two opposing categories: the emotionalist theory of the nature of music and formalist theories of music. Recognition of both emotionalist and formalists views of music can be found in essays by Xiao Youmei 'What is Music' (1920), Wu Mengfei 'What is Aesthetics' (1920) and Huang Zi 'Music Appreciation' (1930) and translations by Feng Zikai 'Introduction to Art' (1928) and Zhu Xi 'Music Expression' (1929).

The press in the late Qing was an extremely important vehicle in the dissemination of ideas and became the means by which Chinese intellectuals were able to communicate to their growing readership. Readers wanted their concerns for China's future formulated by those who could write about what was happening around them. This, of course, gave the press a very important function. As a means of disseminating news and ideas in a society, songs and singing were a powerful tool of propaganda. As Laura Mason writes in a different yet related context '[s]ongs were a useful source of news in a society with limited literacy and circumscribed access to information.'.[44] In this context, news of current issues and events were not confined to an educated elite who, as Nathan and Lee have observed became 'extremist, ideological and rambling' and 'disagreed with one another more profoundly and expressed their disagreements more sharply than in the past'(1985:393). Singing school songs was confined to neither the classroom nor the printed page, but was a highly fluid means of expression that could be found in any number of public and private surroundings, from schools to work sites, from public rallies or meetings, from study societies and literary clubs to the intimacy of a drawing room or family home.

Poetry and fiction certainly had a place in both Chinese oral and print cultures, but they arguably represented the hopes and aspirations of a small fraction of the population who could read and write. The potency of songs, in contrast, was not just in the written or spoken word alone, but in actual performance. The significance of performance has been discussed by Laura Mason on revolutionary songs in Paris during the French Revolution. Her comments are relevant here and worth quoting at length:

> [F]ew have considered the moment when a song achieved its full expressive potential: the moment of performance. A song came fully to life only when being sung, for then the latitude for reinforcing, appropriating, and manipulating lyrics was enormous. Singers

[44] 'Songs Under the Old Regime' (Chapter One) in Mason *Singing the French Revolution: Popular Culture and Politics, 1787-1799* (1996:23)..

> made songs their own with vocal inflections, gestures, and the particular circumstances under which they chose to sing. And audiences helped to shape a song's meaning by reacting to the singer's interpretation and expressing their own opinions with shouts and applause, or even another song. Song lyrics made statements about revolutionary events and ideas, but it was through the performance of those lyrics that singers and audience "discussed" and reshaped statements...More than any other genre, the meaning of a song was as much dependent on appropriation and contexts of performance as it was upon content, format, or presumed authorial intent. [45]

Whether sung by small or large groups or by an individual, school songs and the singing of them certainly found an accessibility to spreading and promoting a range of political and social goals that were arguably denied to other cultural forms of expressions.

[45]Mason 'Introduction' (1996:3).

VIII.

'Western Application', 'Chinese Essence' and Promoting National Music

Writing to a friend in 1876 Li Hongzhang (1823-1901) argued that links should be forged between philosophic-moral values (*dao*) and Western technology (*qi*):

> Since the beginning of time, the Way and technology have been inextricably entwined. In China, the Way is held in high esteem, while in the West, technology is given pride of place. If China desires to ward off foreign aggression and be strong and self-sufficient, it most adopt rules laid down by its ancestors. In considering the strong points of foreigners, we should not build fences and enclose ourselves from the rest of the world. If we possess both the Way and Western technology, it will not be difficult for us to be part of a family of nations.[1]

This statement reflects the dominant view of the Chinese intellectual elite to embrace modernity within a Chinese cultural framework during the late Qing. While Qing policy towards official missions from Western nations was always formulated in terms of the centrality of imperial Chinese rule,[2] the humiliation of the Opium Wars and the growing and real threat of Western encroachment meant that China had to gain a new perception of the world where it could no longer maintain a separate identity *vis-à-vis* the rest of the world, but would become a nation (*guojia*) among other foreign countries (Leung, 1995:21). Chinese intellectuals turned increasingly away from the ethnocentric Confucian concept in which China stood at the centre of

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[1] Quoted in Ding and Chen, *Zhongxi Tiyong zhijian* [*Between East and West, Western Application and Chinese Essence* (1995:162).

[2] The expression *huai rou yuanren* ('cherishing men from afar') as Fairbank has observed was one of the clichés in all documents of foreign relations' (quoted in Kindermann, 1982:35). The phrase appears in the title of a James Hevia's book *Cherishing Men From Afar: Qing Guest Ritual and the Macartney Embassy of 1793*(1995) He describes the phrase as follows: 'The sage ruler showed compassion and benevolence to those who were outside of his immediate dominion; he cherished those who travelled great distances to come to his court. These notions were at the heart of the rituals which organized relations between the Qing emperors and other powerful rulers (Hevia, 1995:xi). In a recent critique of Hevia's book Esherick (1998:143-147) questions the word *huairou* and whether it actually means 'cherish' especially in its use in late Qing imperial court records. He writes: 'Most dictionaries give a definition of "pacify" (*anfu*) or "cause to submit"...The key classical referent is clear: the Doctrine of the Mean (*Zhongyong*) section of the *Book of Rites* [*Liji*] includes the phrase *rou yuan ren ze, sifang guizhi, huaizhu hou, ze tian wei zhi*: 'Treat men from afar flexibly, and they will resort to you from the four quarters; embrace the feudal lords and all under Heaven will submit to you...The *huairou* policy is one of treating foreign guests graciously, so long as they are properly submissive' (ibid:143). Ding and Chen (1995:18) write that the reciprocity was

world affairs, yet redefining its place among other nations remained firmly anchored within the parameters of Chinese culture. As briefly mentioned in Chapter Three, the response to the growing presence of the West (or the persistent rejection of Western learning by China's "conservatives") was encapsulated in the phrase 'Chinese learning for fundamental principles (*yong*), Western learning for application (*ti*)—abbreviated as *tiyong*. Although the *tiyong* formula was not explicitly used by music reformers, it offers a perspective on music reform and the influences of Western music and traditional Chinese folk music. This chapter will focus on certain aspects of music reform and issues arising from the intersection of retaining Chinese music on the one hand, and borrowing musical influences from the West on the other. However, it is appropriate to begin by briefly looking at the history of the term *tiyong*.

Historical Background

The *tiyong* formula gained currency in the nineteenth century as a direct response to Western ideas and practices. [3] It was not a term that called for a wholesale rejection of traditional Chinese culture as a starting point for modernisation, but rather a term that sought to retain Chinese culture and values while considering the suitability or the extent to which certain Western ideas might complement or contrast aspects of Chinese culture. Reformers who turned to the *tiyong* formula as a way to explain and demonstrate seemingly conflicting yet complementary elements in Western and Chinese thought drew upon a long tradition. Early "Yangwu" reformers[4] took their cue from doctrines of Buddhist and Taoists of the Tang dynasty

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essentially a threefold process: 'controlling the barbarians' (*zhiyi*), 'getting acquainted with the barbarians' (*xiyi*) and finally 'teaching the barbarians' (*shiyi*).

[3] While the *tiyong* formula is part of the East-West rhetoric, full-treatment studies are a neglected area. See Reynolds 'Tongwen and Ti Yong: The Viability of Conservative Reform' (1993:141-148) and Min Tu-Ki 'Chinese "Principle"/"Western Utility"' (1989:54-88). See also Jonathan Spence 'New Tensions in the Late Qing' in *The Search for Modern China* (1990:225-226) and Ayres (1971), 'Before 1895: Prevalence of Culturalist World View' in Laitinen (1990:45) and Ci Jiwei (1994:26-37). On the mainland the subject has received book-length treatment in Ding Weizhi and Chen Song *Zhong Xi Tiyong zhi jian* (1995). See also Lei Yi "Zhong Xi Tiyong" in *Dushu* (1997:96-101).

[4] On the term "yangwu" see Chapter Three 71n22.

and Neo-Confucianists such as Hu Yuan (.993-1059 A. D.) of the Northern Song (Ayers, 1971:3;de Bary, 1979:281).

Efforts to establish Western-style ships, dockyards, drilling troops and schools, the appointment of permanent envoys stationed overseas and sending Chinese students to study abroad were gradual steps undertaken by the Qing government in redefining international relations with the West. Thus, in 1861 Feng Guifen (1809-1874), a key figure in the promotion of Western learning wrote in his book *Jiaobinlu kangyi* [*Straightforward Words from the Lodge of Early Zhou Studies*] of the importance of 'adhering to Chinese ethics and doctrines as the foundation while supplementing the prosperity and power strategies of other countries'.[5] Yangwu" reformers emphasised Western technology and military power, yet the perceptions, dimensions and discourse of their changing world were still grounded within the framework of a Confucian orthodox tradition. As Kutz has pointed out the '[s]tudy of "barbarian learning" by a limited number of scholars was a kind of insurance; these individuals would become foreign experts with the technical and diplomatic know-how to protect tradition' (1971:82). In this respect, substance (*ti*) preceded application (*yong*) and consciously or not, assigned superiority to Chinese culture.

It is well beyond the scope of this dissertation to provide any substantive account of the manifold proposals of reformers such as Feng Guifen, Li Hongzhang, Wang Tao, Zheng Guanying, Guo Songtao and Zhang Zhidong as they sought to modernise China. However, what exactly made up the essence or substance of Confucianism *vis-à-vis* practical application was not a closed issue. Reformers such as Wang Tao, Liu Xihong, Wei Yuan and Zheng Guanying (1842-1922) argued that 'practical application' should not be confined to Western technology

[5] Quoted in Ding and Chen, (1995:59). The English translation of *Jingbinlu kangyi* is taken from Chen Jiang (1997:158-159). The book was written in 1861 but published posthumously in 1865.

and weaponry, stressing the importance of their education and social and political systems.[6] Wang Tao criticised Yangwu reformers for their myopic grasp and knowledge of the West and the over-emphasis placed on military prowess. 'Their dream of a self-claimed strength', he wrote, 'can in no way come true'.[7] Liu Xihong, vice minister to England during Guo Songtao's tenure admonished that 'China's power vacuum lies not in its lack of ships and lack of cannons, but in its lack of [trained] men and lack of natural resources, which surpass even political systems [*zhengjiao*] in their importance'. [8] As another example, Zheng Guanying in the Preface to the first edition of *Words of Warning in a Prosperous Age* [*Shengshi weiyan chukan zixu*] stated: 'If China only seeks practical application at the expense of ignoring cultural values, no matter how hard we try we will not be able to catch up with Western countries. Will it be sufficient to have ships in our ports and railway lines running the length and breath of the country?'[9]

Since many prominent pioneers of modern Chinese music received further music education in Japan, Europe and America, it was inevitable that they should turn to cross-cultural borrowing in their compositions. One of the earliest Chinese music advocates directly influenced by Western musical trends in Europe and comparative musicology[10] in the early twentieth century was Wang Guangqi (1892-1936). A native of Wenjiang in Sichuan province, Wang went

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[6] The American democratic process and its system of electing a president was greatly admired by Wei Yuan in his *Illustrated Treatise on Maritime Countries* [*Haiguo tuzhi*]. Lin Zexu (1785-1850) wrote introductory pieces on the British Parliament and the American Congress in his *Treatise on the World* [*Sizhou Zhi*] and Zhong Tianwei expressed his admiration for European democratic systems of government in his *Comprehensive Discussion on Current Trends* [*Zonglun shiwu*].

[7] *Taoyuan wenlu waibian*. Quoted in Chen Jiang, (1997:166).

[8] Quoted Dong and Wang (1995:26).

[9] Quoted in Ding and Chen, (1995:164).

[10] *Bijiao yinyuexue*. The term 'comparative musicology' (*Vergleichende Musikwissenschaft*) began to be used in Germany in the 1880s and became associated with the systematic studies of music associated with Stumpf, Abraham and E.M. Hornbostel. In the twentieth century, the term ethnomusicology, attributed to the Dutch musicologist Jaap Kunst in the 1950s gradually supplanted 'comparative musicology' to denote the study of folk music and non-Western music. In Chinese the term is invariably rendered as *minzu yinyuexue* in Chinese. The *Zhongguo dabaike quanshu* (1989: 808) use *yinyue minzuxue*. For other

to Germany in 1920 where he first studied German, politics and economics. While studying there he was also the foreign correspondent for *Shen Bao* , *Shishi xinbao* and the Peking newspaper *Chen Bao*. In 1927 he entered Berlin University to study musicology and his teachers included E.M. Hornbostel and Curt Sachs. In 1934 he received his doctorate from Bonn University. Wang never returned to China and died in Bonn on January 12 1936. While in Berlin he published several works including *Research on East West Music Systems* [*Zhongxi yuezhi zhi yanjiu*] (1926) and *History of Chinese Music* [*Zhongguo yinyueshi*] (1934).[11] Articles on Chinese and Western music began to appear in increasing numbers in music journals published in the 1920s. In the inaugural issue of *Music Magazine* [*Yinyue zazhi*], Cai Yuanpei stressed the importance of finding a balance between offering music instruction in both Chinese and Western music:

> The influx of Western ideas that have gradually made their presence felt in China has brought with it music schools and writings on Western music which influenced many of us here in China...Studies on the acoustic properties of musical instruments is the concern of physicists; how we respond to the affects of music is the concern of biologists, psychologists and aestheticians. And the influence music has on the people is the concern of sociologists and cultural historians. Such studies should be made to students and scholars who should then proceed to carry out their own research. Chinese music scholars should learn as much as they can from the West. To achieve these goals, we should assimilate Western musical instruments and compositions, on the one hand, and draw similarities and differences between Chinese and Western music on the other.[12]

In the late nineteenth century and early Republic, reformers marshalled evidence in support of the theory that Western music and Chinese music were compatible and complementary. The idea drew upon the efforts of Yangwu reformers who formulated the theory that 'Western scholarship originated in China' (*Xixue zhongyuan*).[13] Many explored the degree to which Western technological and Western intellectual trends had analogues in China. With regard to music, Wang Tao (1828-1897) posited that 'during the decline of the Zhou dynasty as

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translations see Tang Yating (1990:117) and Wu Ben (1990:111-112). For some of the problems in translating this term see Witzleben (1995:676).

[11] See Chen Lingqun (1989:663).

[12] Cai Yuanpei *Fakanci*, *YYZZ*, 1920, vol. 1, issue no. 1. Quoted in Wang and Yang (1996:49).

officials of the Kingdom of Lu were not concerned with promoting music or its institutions, Yang Xiang crossed the ocean to learn foreign music'.[14] From attempts to define possible linkages between Chinese and Western music, Wang preceded to show that turning to other musical traditions had a long history in China. This not only provided a rationale for Chinese music reform in the mid-nineteenth century, but demonstrated that the Chinese musical tradition was given to change and adaptation.

Writing in *Music Debates* [*Yuebian*] in 1911 Wang Longwu (?-?) claimed that Chinese and Western music shared a common origin: 'Chinese and foreign music past and present flow from the same river' (quoted in Liu, 1994:56). In another article entitled 'Evidence for the Shared Origins of Chinese and Western Music' published in *Women's World* [*Nüzi shijie*] in early 1914, Tianxu Wosheng enumerated several shared similarities between Chinese and Western music which included (1) the seven notes of the Western diatonic scale corresponds to the seven notes of *gongche* notation; (2) The Western tonic C is equivalent to the "yellow bell" [*huangzhong*] producing the fundamental note *gong*; (3) the fingering of the Western violin is the same as the fingering for the Chinese *huqin*[15] and (4) tuning the strings of the *guqin* and tuning the reed pipes on the Western organ involve very much the same principle.[16]

Finding common or shared origins helped to justify the comparative music enterprise. In this formulation, Western music is neither "new" nor "modern" as it is represented as being already part of China's musical tradition. By exploring the degree to which Western music had analogues with Chinese music, music reformers were also advocating musical diversity. Although similarities were found between Chinese and Western music, some music reformers also stressed indigenous Chinese musical characteristics" *sui generis* to China. Tianxu Wosheng,

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[13] See 'The Long and Short Term Successes and Failures of Yangwu Reformers Advocating "Western Scholarship Originating in China' in Ding and Chen (1995:143-154).
[14] "Taoyuanwenlu waibian" [Additional Messages of Wang Tao], vol. I, p. 2. Quoted in Tao (1994: 289).
[15] A generic term for two-string spiked fiddles. See entry for *huqin* (2) in Miao Tianrui, *et.al.* (1984:159).

for example, observed that the '*guqin* had merely seven strings but was equal in range to the 119 keys of the Western organ'. (quoted in Liu, 1994:58). He also averred that 'merely one stroke of the pipa with the left hand produced clear and melodious sounds not found in Western music' (quoted in Liu, 1994: 58).[17]

In view of such claims that stress "national essence" over political, social and cultural diversity, modernisation was invariably perceived as part of a nationalistic enterprise that not only protected traditional Chinese culture but valorised it. Benjamin Lee notes that traditional literature, folk art, music '[h]ave not simply been protected as sacred, but rather frequently pressed into the service as part of the nationalistic solvent for the project of modernisation' (1996:18). Writing on nationalism in Western art music in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Zeng Yefa observes that attempts to preserve various forms of 'national' music '[f]lourishes when a musical culture feels threatened by a neighbouring culture. There are also social and psychological factors resulting from an urge to fight back with an emphasis on nationalistic characteristics.'[18] Similar sentiments are echoed by the social theorist Alain Touraine:

> Germany and Italy, like Japan, and after them numerous other countries, have associated modernization with safeguarding restoration of a national culture, for, faced with modernity identified with British commerce or the French language, how could a nation state do otherwise, in the defense of its independence, than to mobilize non-modern resources be they cultural, social or economic?[19]

The trouble with attempting to preserve or maintain various forms of national culture—whether it be to safeguard a culture from the incursions of some foreign influence or its

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[16] *Zhongxi yuelü tongyuan kao*. Quoted in Liu (1994:57).

[17] It should be noted that this 'uniqueness' or 'exclusivity' in Chinese music has parallels with the term *guoqing* or "national characteristics". 'For more than a century, the question of Chinese exclusiveness has been a central element in the debates concerning modernization (associated here with Westernization) and political reform' (Barmé and Jaivin, 1992:366-367).

uneasiness at having to transcend boundaries which potentially threaten its "pristine" isolation—is that it becomes difficult to gauge or measure what is being 'preserved' or locked way in the 'heritage museum'. As Fitzgerald has pointed out: 'Nationalist thought starts out as a defense of a so-called national tradition which is thought to be under threat from the imperialist powers and their colonial state, and yet the defense of this 'tradition' is caught in a paradox between alternating impulses to destroy and to preserve tradition' (1995:79). At the heart of this predicament lies issues centred around notions of nostalgia and the fear of change. But safeguarding the past (which is essentially a process of interpretation) largely depends on ways individuals choose to act in one way or another or how they interpret tradition and what strands of that tradition they identify themselves with. The real challenge as Warren Sun has argued in reference to Zhang Binglin (1869-1935) and his followers 'was not so much about whether or not change was desirable as *how to maintain continuity through change*'.[20]

Seen in this light, the two "opposing" categories of wholesale rejection of traditional culture as the starting point for embracing modernisation, on the one hand, and advocating a 'return to antiquity' (*fugu*), on the other, does little to advance research in exploring the intermingling of change and continuity. These two categories tended to be regarded as mutually exclusive, yet there were agitated voices from both sides which anticipated change as well as drawing upon tradition. Admittedly, some intellectuals felt deeply general concerned over the loss of Chinese national integrity and cultural traditions. The following comments by Yu Yue (1821-1907) clearly indicate the sense of pending loss with the influx of Western ideas, aptly described in the expression 'European wind and American rain' (*Oufeng Meiyu*)[21]:

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[18] Zeng Yefa 'Nationalism in Contemporary Music' (1985:312). Minor alterations have been made to Zeng's translation.
[19] *Critique de la modernité*, Paris: Fayard, 1992 161-162. Quoted in Lee (1996:18) .
[20] Sun (1995:56), my emphasis.
[21]This expression is found in the second verse of a poem by Qiu Jin entitled 'Denunciating the Enemy' [*Zini xiwen*] (date unknown) to denote the aggression and encroachment of the West in China. 'Oh, the

> In China today scholars read the writings of Confucius, but passionately advocate foreign learning. Schools are built in the capital as the most ideal location for sending the best educated Chinese abroad for further study. Is there not enough to learn from our own rites, music, poetry and calligraphy? More and more foreign books are being translated into Chinese with each passing day. The theories they expound and their novel creations are indeed refreshing, while the Confucian classics seem to have fallen into oblivion. Some of these Chinese who advocate foreign learning even poke fun at Confucius as some conservative who cannot generate new and fresh ideas. There is nothing new about this. Such allegations have been circulating since the Han and Tang dynasties. Considering the present climate, I feel the Confucian classics will surely be abandoned.[22]

Music reformers also echoed this pending loss of "tradition". Tong Fei (?-?), for instance, writing in *Eastern Miscellany* in 1917, complained that Chinese notational systems had become absent from the music curricula: 'Teachers in our schools do not use traditional Chinese notational systems such as the *lülü* [a series of twelve semitones each with a pitch name] and the *gongche* systems, but only employ *solfege* from the West. This is a shameful state of affairs' (quoted in Liu Ching-chih, 1994:58). Zheng Jinwen (1872-1955) reiterated similar concerns in November 1918: 'All the melodies and scores used in music classes today are from the West...we should not simply follow the West in the transformation of our national character'.[23]

In sharp contrast, Wang Guangqi, writing in Germany in November 1922, remarked that Western ideas were not at odds with the notion of national essence but integral to the modernisation of the nation state. In his essay 'On the Evolution of European Music' Wang discussed these ideas in terms of Chinese spiritualism and Western materialism. [24] Wang observed that while the military prowess of the West and its 'conquering approach' (*zhengfu*

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aggressive and threatening European wind and American rain. Who is to blame for bringing these calamities to China?' The expression is also used metaphorically to refer to economics, politics and culture from Europe and America. 'Heaven has not abandon the people of our nation. We have also been influenced by Western ideas and practices in the wake of the Meiji Restoration in Japan'. (Sun Yat-sen 'Principle of Nationalism', [*Minzu zhuyi*] , the first of six lectures given between January and March 1924. The expression *Oufeng meiyu* is also found in the preface of *Zongtuique* in Lu Xun's *Nanqiang beidiao ji* (1933). 'Awaken by Western ideas and concepts, China's new intellectuals have published a steady stream of articles, yet they still cling tenaciously to our heroes and talented scholars of the past'. See entry for *Oufeng Meiyu* in Luo Zhufeng (ed.), *Hanyu Dacidian* (1990:1472).

[22] *Sanda youlun* [Debates on Three Great Concerns]. Quoted in Ding and Chen (1995:394-395).

[23] *Yayue xinbian chuji, xuyan*, November 1918. Quoted in Liu Ching-chih (1994:58).

[24] "Ouzhou yinyue jinhua lun". Quoted in Wang and Yang (1996:117-122).

taidu) had led many Chinese intellectuals to a thorough reexamination of Western ideas in the wake of the First World War, they had, nonetheless, left behind a legacy of music, sculpture, and artistic achievements 'that could be found everywhere' (*chumu jieshi*).[25] The lesson here was that China could help the West curb its conquering tendencies by supplying spiritual sustenance. This 'harmonious approach' (*xiehe taidu*), as Wang called it, was not to conquer the West but to 'transform' and 'change' (*ganhua*) it.

National Music as Musical Diversity

Encouraging and promoting the development of a new "national" music (*guoyue*) was part of a cultural trend that was manifest in literature, drama, poetry and art and clearly expressed a desire for political reform in Chinese society. In this respect, the term "national music" was used interchangeably with "new music." Both terms highlighted among the most vocal of advocates—returned overseas Chinese students—the need to embrace the importation of Western music as a means to enrich and develop modern Chinese music. While studying towards a Ph.D. at the Leipzig Conservatory of Music from 1912-1916, Xiao Youmei wrote: 'We have not had the same degree of diversity in musical styles and development as European music. But we have a rich musical heritage...I hope in the foreseeable future, we can assimilate Western notation and harmony that will complement our abundantly rich melodies and signal a new era of development in Chinese music'.[26] In this statement, Xiao emphasized the ways in which 'diversity in musical styles' and the need to assimilate Western music was essential for the very survival or continuation of Chinese music. Thus national music had a transformative role that sought to bolster national pride and at the same time infuse Chinese music with a new foreign musical language.

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[25] Quoted in Wang and Yang (1996:120).
[26] Xiao Youmei, Ph.D. thesis 'A Study of Ancient Chinese Instruments [*Zhongguo gudai yueqi kao*].

'Diversity in musical styles' not only saw the adoption of Western music, but a revival of traditional Chinese music. This revival was especially noticeable in the area of *kunqu*, initiated by wealthy literati families in Suzhou, which as briefly mentioned in Chapter Two injected large amounts of money towards building a Kunqu Renaissance Institute to train young boys in the early 1920s. As Isabel Wong writes, four areas of *kunqu* 'revival activities were implemented':

> 1. The publication of anthologies of *kunqu* arias; no fewer than eight significant anthologies
> were published between 1908-25.
> 2. Publication of scholarly articles or books on the history, music, and other relevant aspects of *kunqu*.
> 3. Establishment of many amateur singing clubs where old singing masters, hired to be in residence, gave instruction to members, and where members also performed together.
> 4. Establishment of training academies to train the next generation of actors.[27]

Underlying Xiao's call for musical diversity is the notion that Chinese music had not kept up with the times and was lagging behind developments and trends in the West. Clearly, there was admiration for Western music, due in no small part to the fact that it had "evolved", "developed", "progressed" while Chinese music had purportedly stagnated. What is striking in this notion of "backwardness" is that it has proven to be extraordinary durable throughout this century. At a Conference on Chinese Musicology in Hong Kong in 1988 Liu Ching-chih argued that unlike the "success" of French, Russian, Scandinavian, Polish and other composers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century who able to create a distinctly nationalistic music by assimilating Western art music techniques, Chinese music, by contrast, had apparently "failed" to produce similar music (Liu, 1988:201). Similarly, Zhong Xuan writing in the *People's Music* in December 1989 observed:

Quoted in Liu Ching-chih (1994:60). Xiao's dissertation submitted to the University of Leipzig in 1916 was originally entitled 'An Historical Exploration into Chinese Music Ensembles Before the Seventeenth Century' [*Shiqi shiji yiqian Zhongguo yueduide lishixingde tansuo*]. See Liu Fushu (1989:745).

[27] Wong (1991:39).

> Even though our national music has a long and rich tradition, in old China and in modern times it has fallen behind. Our musical culture is not at all developed. When Western music came to China in the late Qing, musical technology and theory were very limited. The scope of music teaching, research, composition, performance and musical activities in society was extremely small. [28]

Zhou notes the importance of the synthesis and the need to borrow from the "superior" model:

> In terms of both scope and expression, for half a century now, developing Chinese music has centered on the European model. This generation of Chinese musicians has thrown all of its energy into developing and creating Chinese music: researching and producing new instruments, establishing large scale traditional "symphony orchestras", developing technique along Western lines, writing all kinds of symphonic ballads and concertos or adapting famous Western works. [29]

Much of the debates on 'developing' Chinese music since the late Qing have tended to perceive 'traditional' Chinese music as the inferior partner in the relationship.[30] The notion of

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[28] Quoted in Lang (1993:109).

[29] Ibid. While Chinese music is deemed "backward" and lagging behind the West even as they are progressing and making developments, there is also the erroneous belief that "Asians" can never play Western music as well as their counterparts. On this point see 'The Plucky Chinese as International Underdogs' in Kraus (1989:202). This is a belief that I have heard repeatedly among many mainland Chinese musicians. While studying at the Central Conservatory in Beijing in 1996-97, many instrumental students and their teachers that I spoke to told me that they could never dream of playing as well as those musicians in the West. Another story relates to a trombone teacher at the Conservatory. When I told him that I had played the trombone for some ten years before giving it up after graduating from high school, he honestly believed that I could play better than him. For many Chinese, the reverse is also true in the case of foreigners who learn to play Chinese instruments. I have often heard comments directed at foreigners including myself that while we might learn to play an instrument we can never really get close to the way Chinese play because we are simply not Chinese.

[30] In this relationship the comparison with Western music is an obvious misjudgment perpetuating an unhealthy sense of unfulfilment and inadequacy. Ironically, some foreigners have been excessively critical of developments in Chinese music assimilating Western models. A case in point is a "traditional" music ensemble from the Central Conservatory of Music that performed in Durham as part of an Oriental Music Festival in August 1979. Some foreign scholars present criticised the performance because it was not 'traditional music...since it used Western-influenced forms and harmony, tempered tuning, virtuosic effects...' (Hamm, 1995:280). In defence of Chinese music against such lamentable comments by these 'foreign scholars', Fang Kun writing in *Asian Music* in 1981 attempted to enlighten these benighted scholars. His comments are worth quoting at length:

> We really felt that they did not entirely understand the circumstances surrounding Chinese music and its development...[Some of] the pieces that we played were traditional pieces of either classical or folk origin. Among the other compositions and adaptations, all were composed by a process of utilizing various minority people's songs or drawing on the style of Peking Opera or kunqu from the stage of old. Some of them contained newly composed elements, some a few, but all of them linked to the same flesh and blood as traditional Chinese music. When we selected a program like this it was because we recognized that in order to understand traditional music, it was not only necessary to understand its classical and folk origins, but also to understand its modern evolution...[The] approach that we suggest for traditional music [is based

'survival of the fittest' (*yousheng liebai*), 'struggle for existence' (*jingcun*) and 'evolution' (*jinhua*) introduced into modern Chinese lexicon through Yan Fu's translation of Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics* in 1898 captured the imagination of many of China's literati (Chen, 1997:2) including music reformers who wanted to approach music in a scientific and objective way. Histories of Western music, which brought an increased awareness of musical movements throughout the ages, became a popular focus of study and research. Huang Zi's 'A Brief Survey on the Evolutionary History of Western Music' Zhang Hui and Xiao Qing's 'Artistic Conversations', Feng Zikai's 'A Magnificent Display of Western Music' in the Last Two Hundred Years'—all published in 1930—attempted to provide systematic accounts of the various stages of Western music history and in so doing demonstrate similar periods of progress and development in modern Chinese music in the early twentieth century.

The predicament in the modernising process of having to borrow and assimilate Western music techniques while preserving the essence of Chinese culture has, to my mind, created an endless litany of reasons to painfully justify the synthesis of Western and Chinese musical influences. A common thread reflected in the writings of music scholars in the late Qing and indeed throughout this century, is that Western influences should be studied and emulated, but never totally imitated. In 1903 Zeng Zhimin wrote:

> On the one hand we must promote ancient Chinese music as a way of preserving our national essence. On the other, we must adopt the new music of the West as a way of absorbing foreign civilisations. We must have a thorough mastery of Western music so that we can compile suitable scores of our own. [31]

In a discussion of some of the influences of Zhao Yuanren's songs of the 1920s, editors of the *Zhongguo Dabaike Quanshu* write:

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on] making the past serve the present, weeding out the old to bring forth the new. (quoted in Hamm, ibid:281).

[31]Quoted in Sun and Zhou (1993:437).

> His lyrics reflected the new poetic spirit of the May Fourth Movement. The music is not a blatant imitation of Chinese folk songs or copies of American and European artistic songs, but rather songs of a fresh national style which borrow American and European musical techniques to produce songs of striking originality [32]

And Chao Mei-po writing in his book *The Yellow Bell* (1934) on the new culture movement in the 1920s:

> I believe that in order to accomplish 'this mission of renaissance'...it must preserved the closest connection with the musical life of the West, not to make IMITATIONS, but to obtain information. I strongly believe that is it *Dangerous* to introduce Western music to China blindly. We want to know where the West stands, and how she stands. We want to know the Western method and theory thoroughly, but when we acquire them, we should employ them only *as a means of improvement* as the Russian school has done.[33]

This statement suggests a deep impulse to borrow a foreign musical form, yet at the same time, an uneasiness and edginess to then exclude rather than fully embrace and acknowledge the two-way process. At one level, these nationalistic sentiments reveal as Rey Chow puts it succinctly, 'the continual trauma that is modernity' (1993:92) and a number of questions pertaining to cultural identity and what it means to be "Chinese". Chow has argued, among other things, that part of this problem also stems from the from the fact many Chinese intellectuals, consciously or not, cling tenaciously to notions of exclusivity (1993:93):

> One of things that Chinese intellectuals can strive for together in their work is a loosening of the positivity of the sign "Chinese"... Among such refuse, impulses, desires, complications, and blockages, the changing to an unquestioned ideal of being "Chinese", together with its hierarchized ways of thinking about the rest of the world, ought to be the first to be abandoned.

This 'faith of exclusivity' as Barmé describes it, has persisted throughout this century (1995:228) and as Chow's statement makes clear, it is by no means restricted to music. One of the most ardent supporters of this 'faith in exclusivity' in Chinese music is the Hong-Kong based music scholar Liu Ching-chih. For Liu assimilating disparate foreign influences somehow

[32] Ibid: 213.
[33] Chao Mei-po, 'Today' (1934:51).

equates to an eroding of national loyalties. For example, writing in *Musicology China* in February 1997 Liu suggests that any synthesis is a potential blot on the landscape of Chinese music: 'The accompanying instruments in Peking Opera are naturally superior and refined, so why did Zeng Zhimin have any compulsion to experiment with incorporating Western instruments into this ensemble in the early twentieth century? Why did Jiang Qing repeat Zeng's mistake by including Western instruments in revolutionary model opera?'[34] Elsewhere, Liu contradicts himself: 'China has a long history of civilisation, and we should also share the rich musical heritage of China with other peoples' [35]

Given such concerns, we see a different sort of music history being conceptualised, one in which the process of modernisation is seen as reactionary by some, and revolutionary by others. In discussing issues of 'wholesale Westernisation' (*quanpan xihua*) and school songs, Feng Wenci singles out a passage from Shen Xingong's *Methods of Teaching Singing in Primary Schools* (1905) in which Shen states unequivocally that music educators and teachers should use the organ and piano to teach children and 'destroy' (*hui*) Chinese instruments such as the *qin*, *zheng* and *sanxian*. Feng concludes that Shen 'worshipped Western musical instruments and music while blindly repudiating Chinese music' (1997:60). As those who sought to break most decisively with the past and create a "new" music culture, Shen arguably had sound reason to use the word *hui* (lit: 'destroy', 'burn') if he saw the past as a monolithic barrier to the development and progress of modern Chinese music, but surely reformers such as Shen pursued their musical activities not as a direct challenge or threat to the Chinese music, but as a means to enrich and develop it.[36]

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[34] Liu Ching-chih (1997:131-132).

[35] Paper delivered in English at the Third International Conference on Chinese Ethnomusicology in Hong Hong in April 198 8. The above quote is found on page 203.

[36] Barmé has argued a similar point with regard to music and the arts in China in the 1990s. He writes: 'Other songwriters like Hou Muren and Kong Yongqian, the designer of the controversial 'cultural T-shirts' (*wenhuashan*) of 1991, have pursued their work not because they want to overthrow the *status quo*

The union of disparate musical influences was at the heart of school song songwriters' efforts to enrich Chinese music in the early twentieth century. In this cross-cultural borrowing, terms such as music syncretism, appropriation and acculturation come to mind. The tendency of employing such terms, however, is to focus unduly on what has been borrowed from the "other" and reject the musical interactions as 'Westernization'. Kartomi has argued that employing such terms 'are unsatisfactory' for they 'imply a preoccupation with the union of the disparate parent elements, thus distracting attention away from the unique musical product. *Where "borrowing" ends, creative musical change begins*'.[37] For school song songwriters, it was precisely 'creative musical change' characterized by disparate musical interactions and ideas that transformed Chinese music in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

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as such, but rather to enrich the culture sphere of China and make their nation more competitive with the rest of the world (including other areas of the Chinese commonwealth: Hong Kong and Taiwan). The authorities may view their cultural products as divisive and dangerous, but in the larger realm of China they are actually patriots' (1995:228).

[37] Margaret Kartomi 'The Process and results of Musical Cultural Contact: A Discussion of Terminology and Concepts' (1981:229). My emphasis.

IX.

Summary and Conclusion

> We have no time to ask if this knowledge is Chinese or Western, whether it is old or new. If one course leads to ignorance and thus to poverty and weakness...we must cast it aside, if another course is effective in overcoming ignorance and thus leads to the cure of our poverty and weakness we must imitate it even if it proceeds from barbarians and wild beasts.
>
> --Yan Fu (1902)[1]

Yan Fu's comments highlight the exigencies of reform in China at the turn of the century where ideas and practices from whatever source were readily embraced as long as they were perceived to be "modern". As a component of these "new reforms", school songs were subjected to the highly pragmatic and utilitarian objectives inherent in this mode of discourse. Reformers such as Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao saw the importance of songs and elevated them from mere entertainment to a cultural instrument of political and social relevance. In many respects, school songs were early blueprints or drafts of national anthems and 'songs of the masses'.

School songs made political and social reform *audible*. This is not to say that poetry, drama and other cultural forms were not, but songs and singing were broadly accessible and a widely used means of expression that moved between both print and oral cultures. School songs circulated on the printed page, but they could be easily memorised and performed at any number of venues as well which increased their circulation. Singing connected disparate groups of people across the political and social spectrum, thereby enabling them to participate in the transmission of information, the construction of "new" idealised social and political formations and the articulation of modern beliefs. If a school song became immensely popular, it could be sung simultaneously by 'people wholly unknown to each other utter[ing] the same verses to the same melody'.[2]

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[1] "Yu waijiaobao zhuren shu" ('Letter to the editor of Waijiaobao on Education'), 1902, issues 9 and 10. Wang Shi (ed) *Yan Fu Ji*, vol III (Letters), 1986:560. Quoted in Benjamin Schwartz *In Search of Wealth and Power: Yen Fu and the West* (1964:49).

[2] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (1991:145).

School song texts were particularly important in promoting and encouraging the development of a modern vernacular language. The press published song texts without music, but increasingly vernacular newspapers in China and Japan at the turn of the century began to publish texts with numerical notations. Chinese language music journals and translations of Western music theory by Chinese students in Japan in the first decade of the century all led to the formalisation of Western staff notation as a professional medium of song writing and composition. Three of Li Shutong's songs published in his *Little Magazine of Music*—My Country' and 'Spring Carnival Race' and 'Sui Dyke Willow', for example, were written in Western staff notation. A traditional Chinese notational system such as *jianzipu* was adequate for a trained Chinese musician in the seven-stringed *guqin*, for example, but scarcely adequate for music that aimed to reach a larger audience. Much of Chinese music also had a fixed and special place in oral culture; it was preserved and passed down not on the printed page, but by a process of oral transmission. School songs could be passed on through both print and oral cultures, but teaching school songs to a large group or classroom of students—as opposed to one teacher and one student—required more accurate notation which served to make music more effective as propaganda. The press broadened public reception of Western notational systems, in particular, the Chevé method by advertising it in vernacular newspapers and journals. It also helped elevate the status of songs from their marginal status as 'lowbrow', 'frivolous' entertainment through published discussion of their significance in promoting and encouraging the usage of the modern vernacular.

The influence of Japan on the emergence of the Chinese school song movement and twentieth century Chinese music was crucial. Many prominent pioneers of the school song movement received help and guidance from music educators such as Suzuki Yonejirô while furthering their education in Japan. School song anthologies and translations of Western music published in journals in Japan and China at the turn of the century were, in many

cases, direct borrowings from Japanese translations of Western music theory and Japanese school songbooks. For many reformers it was in Japan that they experienced their first serious encounter with Western music and had the opportunity to participate in music reform. Within Chinese music education reform, the Japanese influence was ubiquitous, from the emulation of Japanese school music curriculum and educational administrative organisations, to the employment of Japanese music instructors and teachers in the new Chinese schools.

However, Western musical influences came not only from Japan, but also from missionaries and other foreigners residing in China. Missionary educators worked untiringly to introduce Western ideas and concepts to China through translations in missionary periodicals, discussed in Chapter Four, but their influence was never officially recognised by the Qing court. Despite their limited and restricted sphere of influence, missionaries, nonetheless helped to broaden knowledge of the West among many Chinese reformers. Although a number of school song compositions illustrate the borrowing of Protestant hymns, school song songwriters" tended to conceal or deny the missionary source of their musical inspiration. Li Shutong, for example, writing in the preface to his *Anthology of National Songs* in 1905 stated that both Zeng Zhimin and Shen Xingong were responsible for 'introducing Western music to China'. The extent to which Li's musical ideas were derived from missionary publications in China therefore remains unclear.

Shanghai also played a vital and dynamic role in the emergence of a school song movement. As a treaty port and foreign enclave, Shanghai was both Chinese and modern and enjoyed varying degrees of autonomy from Chinese jurisdiction. This 'other China' afforded Chinese intellectuals, compradore-merchants, a growing urban middle class as well as foreigners a privileged international status. Three of the leading Christian Colleges were situated in Shanghai: St. John's University, Shanghai Baptist College and Aurora University. Many young Chinese had been educated by foreign missionaries in Shanghai, others had attended translation schools such as the *Tongwenguan* as well as military academies and new

schools academies. It was in Shanghai that a number of prominent Chinese intellectuals such as Cai Yuanpei and Zhong Tianwei were championing educational reform in the late nineteenth century. At St. John's University where Shen Xingong taught Chinese from the mid to late 1890s, he would have been exposed to foreign music and perhaps participated in the wide range of extracurricular activities that St. John's fostered. The extent to which another treaty port—Tianjin—was important in exposing foreign music to the young Li Shutong awaits further study. We do know, however, that Li gained further knowledge of Western music in Shanghai and his association with the *Shanghai Study Society* before he left for Japan was an important phase in his musical development. In the broader realm of educational reform, the commercial and economic activities of merchants, bankers and entrepreneurs in Shanghai were also significant. The Southern Seas Public School procured funds from the entrepreneur Sheng Xuanhuai and Zeng Zhimin's orphanage was financed in part by wealthy businessmen. Publishing houses in Shanghai were also important new commercial organisations in the emergent Chinese economy. The Commercial Press, Kaiming Bookstore, and Wenming Shuju, for example, played a vital role in the dissemination of new textbooks and various school song anthologies and music textbooks. In 1906 it was the Kaiming Bookstore that published and distributed Li Shutong's *Little Magazine of Music* and in November 1908, the Shanghai-based Illuminating Book Company (*Canhua shushe*) issued Zhang Wuwei's *Anthology of Illuminating Flowers*.

The urgent need for reform did not mean that Chinese intellectuals embraced everything foreign in a grab-bag fashion. With regard to music, the adoption and search for musical ideas took the form of an active and conscious process of selection. 'The term *choice*, writes Meyer, 'refers both to the use of newly devised means and to the replication of existing ones'(1989:104), School song songwriters responded to foreign musical influences as well as their own indigenous ones by seeking and selecting strands that were relevant and pertinent to their peculiar circumstances. As Fei Shi wrote in Japan in June 1906, 'we should

select from both Chinese and Western music in creating a whole range of innovative musical possibilities'.[3]Certainly, "new music" and "national music" described the synthesis of Western and Chinese music practices that could be regarded as both "modern" and yet still "Chinese". But in the process of selecting a pre-existing tune, how does one tune become an *actual* influence from an abundance of tunes to choose from? In other words, why did Chinese tunes such as *Laoliuban*, *Molihua*, *Mengjiangnü* or foreign melodies such as John P. Orway's 'Dreaming of Home and Mother' or the second movement from Beethoven's violin concerto become an influence? The act of compositional choices made by any composer, are 'difficult to comprehend and account for', but as Meyer points out, the choices made by a composer are difficult to explain because, 'the most important goals of composers are established to a significant extent by the often unconscious and unconceptualized beliefs and attitudes of the larger culture—above all, by ideology' (Meyer, 1989:100). There were a number of constraints that could affect compositional choices of school songs such as availability of musical instruments or the lack of qualified music teachers in the schools that had a direct influence on the musical competence and capability of students. Thus, Li Shutong's settings of foreign tunes in three and four part harmonies while teaching at the Zhejiang Two-Level Normal School in Hangzhou from 1913-1918 clearly suggests the teaching of part singing and a competent level of musical training of students to perform these works. The constraints of compositional choice are also evident in the competence of school song songwriters. The musical training and creative proclivities of these songwriters can be seen in the tendency for some to only set texts to pre-existing tunes, while others such as Shen Xingong and Li Shutong also wrote their own compositions and texts.

For Zhang Jingwei, the term *nalaizhuyi* (lit: "bring-here-ism") coined by Lu Xun in 1934 in an essay of that name in which Lu Xun stated: 'Use your head, open your eyes and

[3] Fei Shi, "Zhongguo yinyue gailiang shuo", *Jiangsu*, June 1906. Quoted in Wang and Yang (1996:7).

take whatever you need'[4]aptly describes the disparate musical influences that school song songwriters chose from. 'Take whatever you need' arguably encapsulates an ideology in the late Qing and early Republic that encouraged the belief that the essential value of songs (and other cultural forms) rested in their utilitarian function.

As we have seen, the importance of music in giving legitimacy to an existing order was a fundamental concern of Chinese rulers since antiquity. Ritual and court music was inseparably linked to statecraft and the stability of the empire. The purported vulgar and baleful influences of *suyue* was thus a potential threat on maintaining or preserving political order. It was no accident that many music reformers in the late Qing wrote of the importance of ritual music (*liyue*), court music (*yayue*) and the deleterious affects of *suyue* at a time of increasing foreign encroachment and dynastic decline. Reformers who had an implicit faith in the potency of music to transform China were also drawing on a long tradition. However, in the late Qing and early Republic, it was school songs, not ritual or court music that gave legitimacy to a new social and political order.

[4] Lu, Xun, "Nalaizhuyi", in "Qiejieting zawen" in *Lu Xun quanji*, vol. 6, 39. Quoted in Zhang Jingwei (1985c:26)

Laying the Groundwork for Further Research

For a period of music history so recent it is regrettable that so much of it is poorly documented. The present study has been greatly hampered by lack of direct access to primary source materials. When access to such materials becomes available, the following are further topics of research that could be explored on the groundwork provided by the present study.

1. More detailed studies on the three leading school song songwriters—Zeng Zhimin, Shen Xingong and Li Shutong. In particular, their early period in Japan, contacts with leading Japanese music educators, teachers, access to song books and music primers used within the Japanese school system at the turn of the century. Apart from these three figures, a study of other Chinese students in Japan who were also enrolled at music schools and classes and continued music activities when they returned to China. As the majority of students studied in Toyko, an important starting point is the Toyko School of Music and the Music Department of the Toyko University of Fine Arts and Music.
2. While the Japanese influence on Chinese education in the early part of the century was ubiquitous, we know very little about Japanese music teachers employed in new style Westernised Chinese institutions. What also remains unknown is the medium of instruction, availability of teaching materials, music instruments and so on. Japanese teachers were employed because of a lack of qualified music teachers able to teach in these new schools. Their musical activities and the extent to which they trained Chinese teachers remains sketchy.
3. A list of *all* foreign tunes found in songbooks and a study of how many of these tunes are direct borrowings from hymnals as well as marching songs introduced by German instructors and other foreigners in the late nineteenth century. To consider whether significant changes occurred in the choice of songs found in songbooks (i.e. songs that predominantly borrowed songs from Western sources but were gradually replaced with Chinese folk tunes and original compositions), it will be necessary to

compare earlier songbooks with later ones. Although a number of school songs have there provenance in tunes found in hymnbooks, particular attention must also be given to missionaries and their converts who, in efforts to advocate pentatonic tunes in Chinese hymnody, may have borrowed identical tunes that were set to new texts by school song songwriters as well. One example is the song 'Ancestral Land' by Li Shutong which appears in Chinese hymnals prior to the *Hymns of Universal Praise* (1936). While this may be totally coincidental, it draws our attention to Chinese tunes that were employed by both missionaries and school song songwriters.

4. Detailed list of essays and articles from vernacular journals pertaining to music reform published in the early part of the century. A more thorough list than the articles provided in this study will allow us to examine disparate opinions, alliances, aspirations among music reformers and educators.

5. A discography of school song recordings. Apart from the aforementioned cassette tapes of selected songs by Li Shutong, I have not been able to gain access to other commercial recordings. There is at least one reference to recordings of Li's songs issued by Pathé in Shanghai (date unknown) and arguably other important early recordings.[5] I have not been able to investigate what recordings of school songs, if any, are available in Taiwan or Hong Kong. A compilation of commercial recordings (cassette tapes, LP's) of school songs that are often subsumed under the titles of words such as 'revolutionary' and 'patriotic' would provide a valuable archive for further research on early modern Chinese music. It is also extremely important and urgent that still-living Chinese who attended new schools and sung school songs such the music theorist Qian Renkang (b. 1914). be

[5] An advertisement in *Phonographische Zeitschrift* in 1908 mentions sound recording offices of Pathé-Freres (Paris) in Toyko, Shanghai, Bombay and Singapore. See Gronow, 'The Record Industry Comes to the Orient'(1981:263). In 1908 a French businessman by the name of Mr E. Labansath opened a foreign branch in Shanghai, the Pathé-Orient Record Company [*Dongfang Baidai Changpian Gongsi*] located on the Nanyang Bridge (present-day Xizang nanlu) (Andreas Steen, 1998:5). Steen also writes that during the early Republican period 'Greater China' [*Da Zhonghua*] was 'largely involved in producing records for educational purposes(e. g: language lessons), children's songs as patriotic songs' (ibid).

interviewed.[6] Such interviews would be of great value as oral histories and perhaps reveal a large number of songs that have to date been barely documented in written sources.

[6] "Muqin jiao wode ge" ('Songs My Mother Taught Me'), *Qian Renkang yinyue wenxuan*, vol. I, 395-398. The recently deceased He Luting (1903-1999) would have been another ideal oral history source.

X. APPENDICES

Appendix I

List of Illustrations and Music Examples

This is a list of illustrations and music examples found in the text of the thesis, with their titles and their sources. 1:1 refers to Chapter One, illustration or musical example One. The page number refers to where the illustration or music example is found in the thesis. Both illustrations and musical examples are indicated in the thesis with square brackets [ ].

Source	Abbreviation
Dianshizhai Huabao [*Dianshizhai Pictoral*]	*DSZHB*
Dizi jiaocheng shiyong ben	*DZJCSYB* (Kong, Qingshan, ed., 1992:12).
Li Shutong--Hongyi fashi gequ quanji	*LHGQQJ*
London Missionary Society Collection	*LMSC*
Xingong yuege xuan	*XGYGX* (Shen Qia, Xu Changhui, 1988)
Zhongguo jinxiandai yinyuejia pingzhuan	*ZGJNYYJPZ* (Wang Yuhe,1992)
Zhongguo jinxiandai yinyueshi	*ZGJDXYYS* (Wang Yuhe, 1985)
Zhongguo yinyue shiluë	*ZGYYSL* (Wu Zhao and Liu Dongsheng, 1983)
Yinyue yanjiu	*YYYJ* (Hou, Ruiyun, Zhang Jingwei, 1986:92)
Yinyue xiao zazhi	*YYXZZ*

Illustration	Thesis page	Title/Illustration	Source
2.1	217	《卖野人头》	*DSZHB*
2.2	218	《西乐迎神》	*DSZHB*
4.1	219	《莫包脚》	*LMSC*
5.1	220	《送别》	*LHGQQJ*
5.2	221	'Rose Lee'	*LHGQQJ*
5.3	222-223	《行难路》	*LHGQQJ*
5.4	224	《老六板》	*DZJCSHB*
5.5	225	《祖国歌》	*LHGQQJ*
5.6	226	《何日醒》	*ZGJDXYYS*
5.7	226	《云南大纪念》	*YYYJ*
5.8	227	《勉学》	*ZGYYSL*
5.9	227	《云南男儿》	*YYYJ*
5.10	227	《中国男儿》	*ZGYYSL*
5.11	228	《竹马》	*ZGJNYYJPZ*

5.12	228	《体 操--兵 操》	*ZGJDXYYS*
5.13	228	《黄 河》	*ZGJDXYYS*
5.14	229	《月 下蛙 声》	*XGYGX*
5.15	230	《孤儿院》	*XGYGX*
5.16	231	《请 君 对 镜》	*XGYGX*
5.17	232	《春游 》	*LHGQQJ*
7.1	233	Front Cover 《音乐小杂志》	*YYXZZ*
7:2	233	Charcoal sketch of Beethoven	*YYXZZ*

賣野人頭

本埠四馬路第一樓春宴劇門有一美國人僱是一種門前懸掛大書新到美國野人有請來人觀覽云云日來逐日來觀人內圍幕重重每日中出張燈宣之來遠以期遠人至此不再遠觀內設果桌一座擺果桌之許即高且人頭表已現之二字上布用紅布遮滿遠中

最奇怪滿一方面外觀內室滿座物美價廉人人歡喜者有人數某一曲一座處有無法擁引大無近人觀即被人美號其實此上海來近日亂余故雖有觀者而自知之以此退出萬時不及一刻鐘心知其為騙寶之觀者各無妨不是雅設然觀者新聞曾寫出者


西樂迎神
西人喜事不用樂以于所見
選兵會操
也凡遇出殯色彩所事
之絕馬與
夫官員調任到岸之時也
哈：不自
可為節奏之疾徐擊以爲
為之樂業
如拍板與近則通商埠頭有力
而好奇者
間亦偶用之今年重陽令節事
人之隨首

西歷一千八百九十八年

莫包腳歌

光緒二十四年歲次戊戌

漢鎮英漢書館鉛板印

4·1

长亭外，

古道边，芳草碧连天。晚风拂柳

笛声残，夕阳山外山。天之涯，地之角，

知交半零落，一瓢浊酒尽余欢，

今宵别梦寒。长亭外，古道边，芳草碧连

天。晚风拂柳笛声残，夕阳山外山。

羅薩·李

活潑地　　詞譜：袁仁

1. 當我住在這田納西，猫利阿利奥拉埃，我愛上了羅薩·李，
2. 我說你故事好姑娘，猫利阿利奥拉埃，比那甘蔗還要甜，
3. 還有故事我要講，猫利阿利奥拉埃，那天羅薩着了涼，

猫利阿利奥拉埃，眼睛黑似脚夫冬之夜；嘴唇好像紅番果，我
猫利阿利奥拉埃，雙大大真漂亮，啓子可以搖匣；一
猫利阿利奥拉埃，個大大來嘘，鞋大夫來了更糟糕；我

初次向地求你笑，地要地爱的一時，爱，笑，地地地說，"爹，要說，"爹，不要說，"再會，親道道道愛，惱惱的傻"。傻"。爹"。

(合唱)

猫利阿利奥拉埃，猫利阿利奥拉埃，猫利阿利奥拉埃，

我我我羅爱爱爱薩地地地躺在在在田田田納納納西，西，西，猫猫猫利利利阿阿阿利利利奥奥奥拉拉拉埃，埃，埃，香香香蕉蕉蕉樹樹樹下下下荒荒荒野裏。野裏。野裏。

5·2

李　　白詩
美国藝人歌曲(羅德·李)的曲調
李　　叔　　同配曲

Andante

金樽清酒斗十千，玉盤珍羞直萬錢。

停杯投筯不能食，拔劍四顧心茫然。欲渡黄河

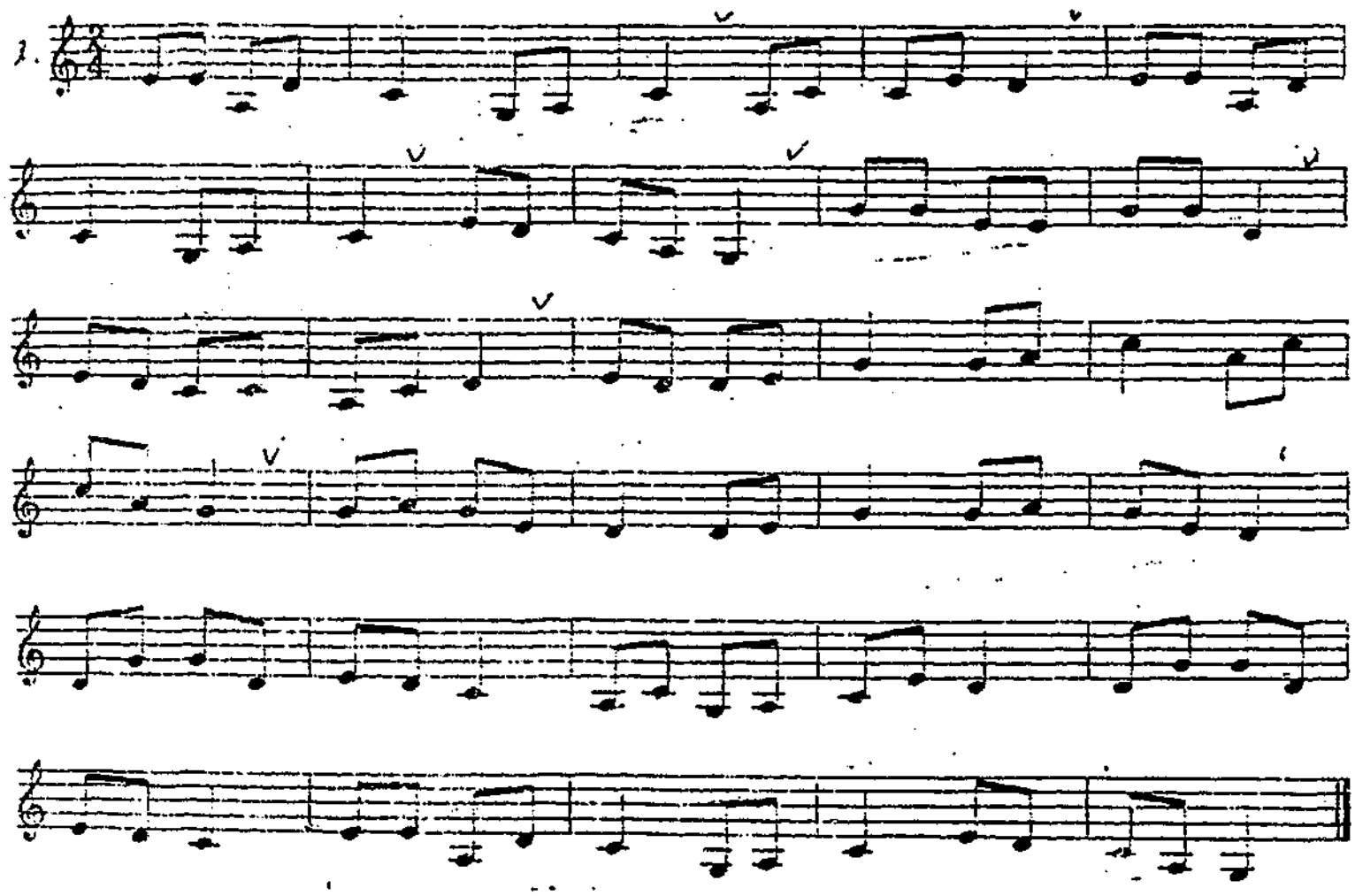
冰塞川，將登太行雪滿山。閑來垂釣坐溪上，

5·3

忽 復 乘 舟 夢 日 邊。 行 路 難， 行 路 難， 多 歧 路，

今 安 在？ 長 風 破 浪 會 有 時， 直 挂 雲 帆 濟 滄 海。

53



54

上下數千年，一脈延，文明莫與肩。縱橫數萬

里，膏腴地，獨享天然利。國是世界最古國，

民是亞洲大國民，嗚呼，大國民！嗚呼，唯我

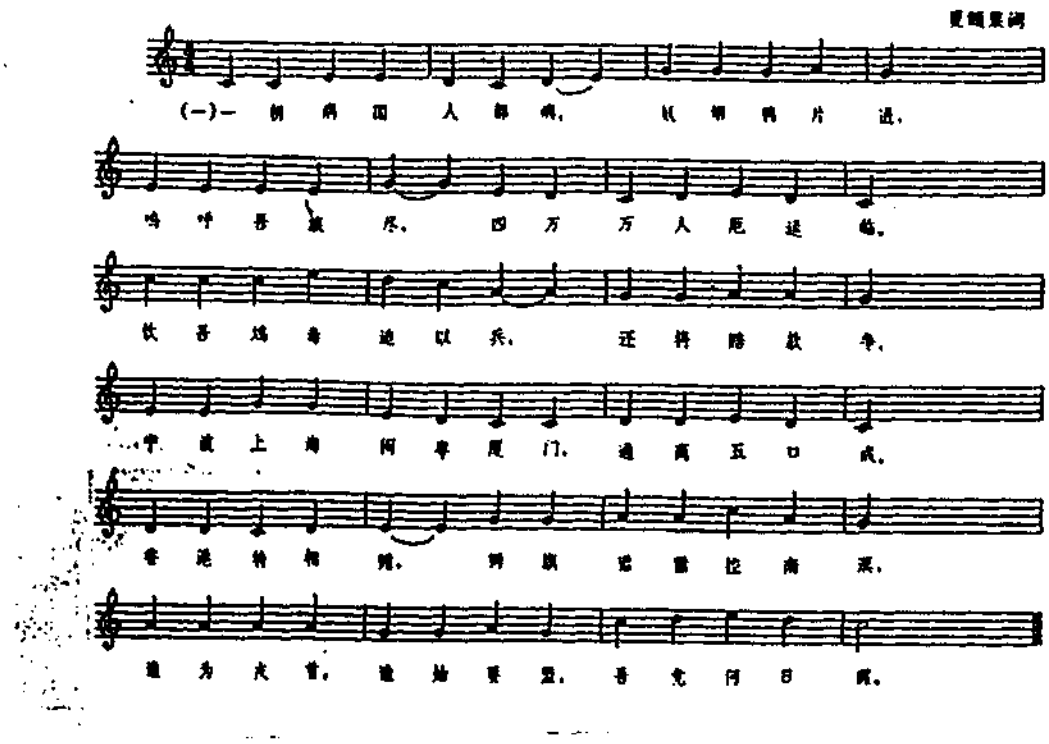
大國民！幸生珍世界。琳瑯，十倍增聲價。

我將騎獅越崑崙，駕鶴飛渡太平洋。誰與我仗

劍揮刀？嗚呼，大國民！誰與我鼓吹慶昇平？

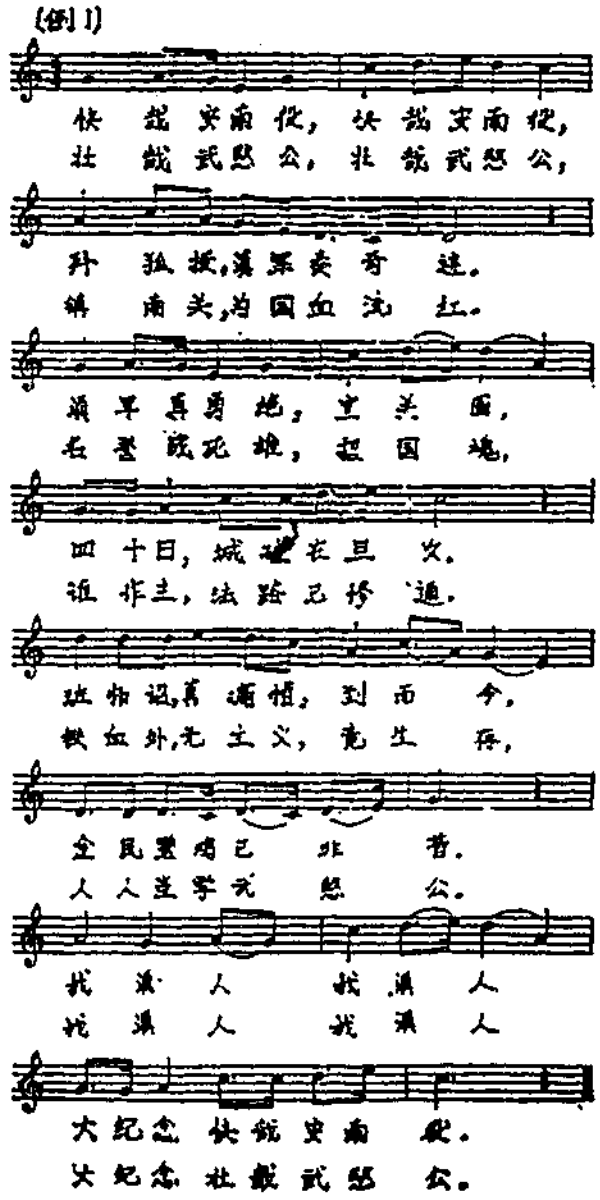
5·5

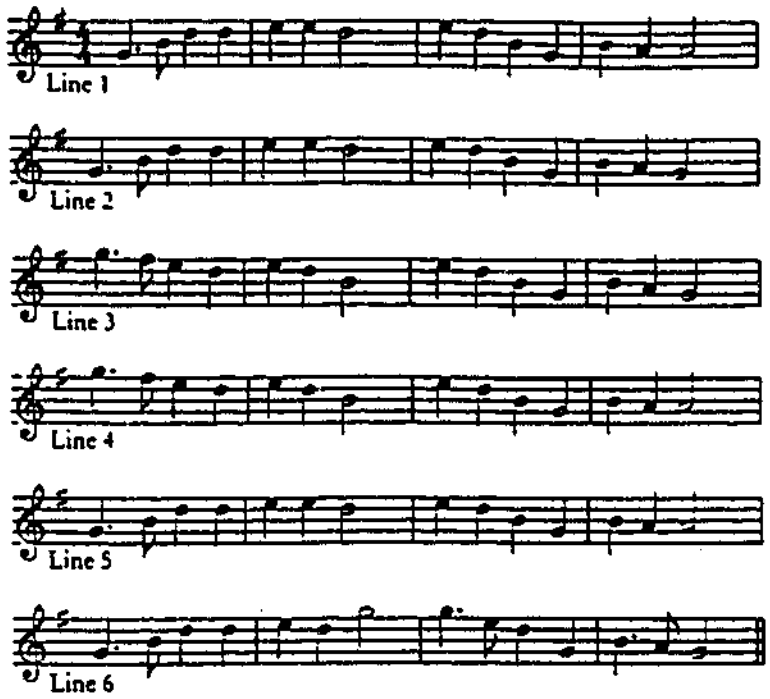
何日醒


夏明翰词
(一)一倒病国人都病，从知病片迟。
呜呼吾族尽，四万万人尼延临。
饮吾鸦毒迫以兵，迁将陪款争。
宁波上海闽粤厦门，通商五口成。
香港特相赠，列强瓜分控南溟。
谁为灾首，谁始罪魁，吾党何日醒。

5·6

(例1)

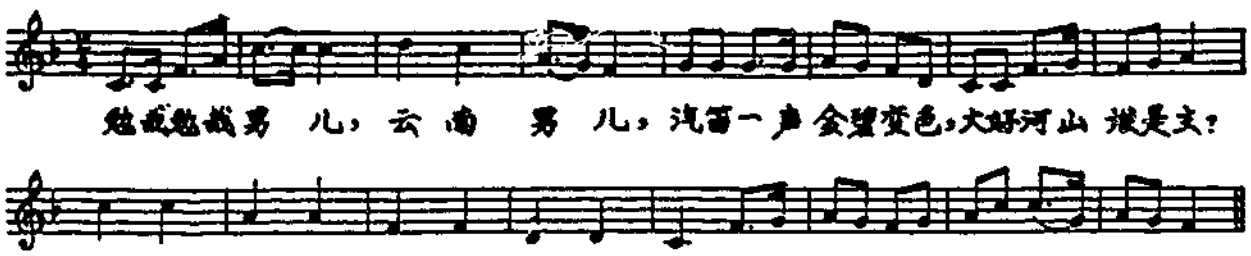

快 起 安南仗，快 起 安南仗，
壮 哉 武怒 公，壮 哉 武怒 公，
孙 孤 拔，满军安 有 逃。
镇 南 关，为国血 流 红。
满 军 真勇 绝，宝 关 固，
右 臂 既 死 地，超 国 境，
四 十日，城 墙 在 旦 夕。
谁 作主，法 路 已 修 通。
班 师 记，真 痛 惜，到 而 今，
铁 血 外，无 主 义，竟 生 存，
全 民 罢 鸦 已 非 昔。
人 人 望 学 武 怒 公。
找 满 人 找 满 人
找 满 人 找 满 人
大 纪念 快 哉 安 南 仗。
大 纪念 壮 哉 武 怒 公。



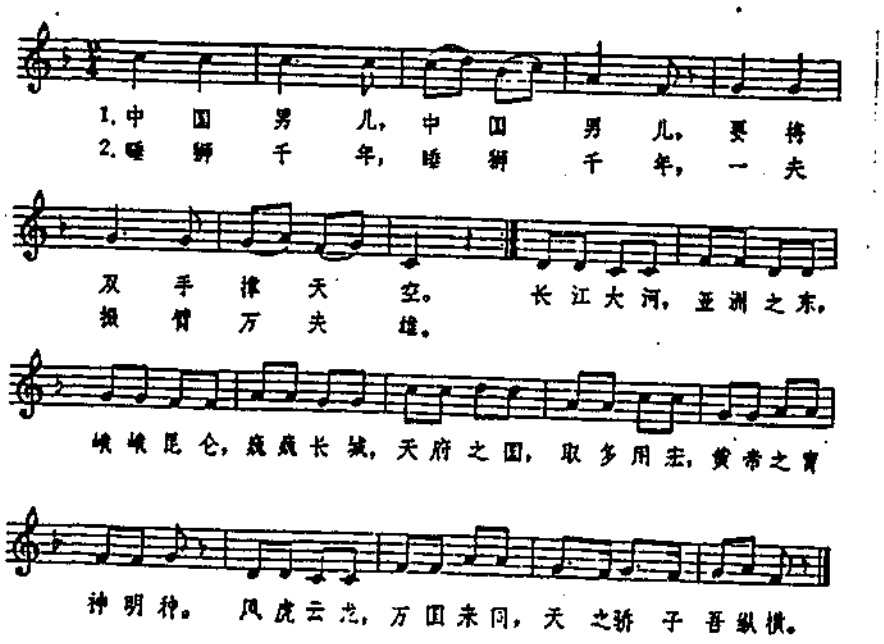
5·8

云 南 男 儿

Moderato　　伯 祥 填 词

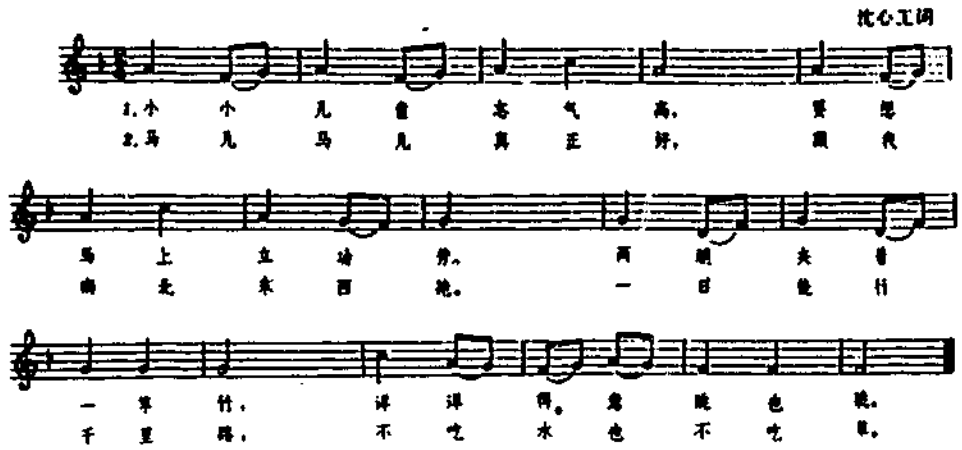


5·9

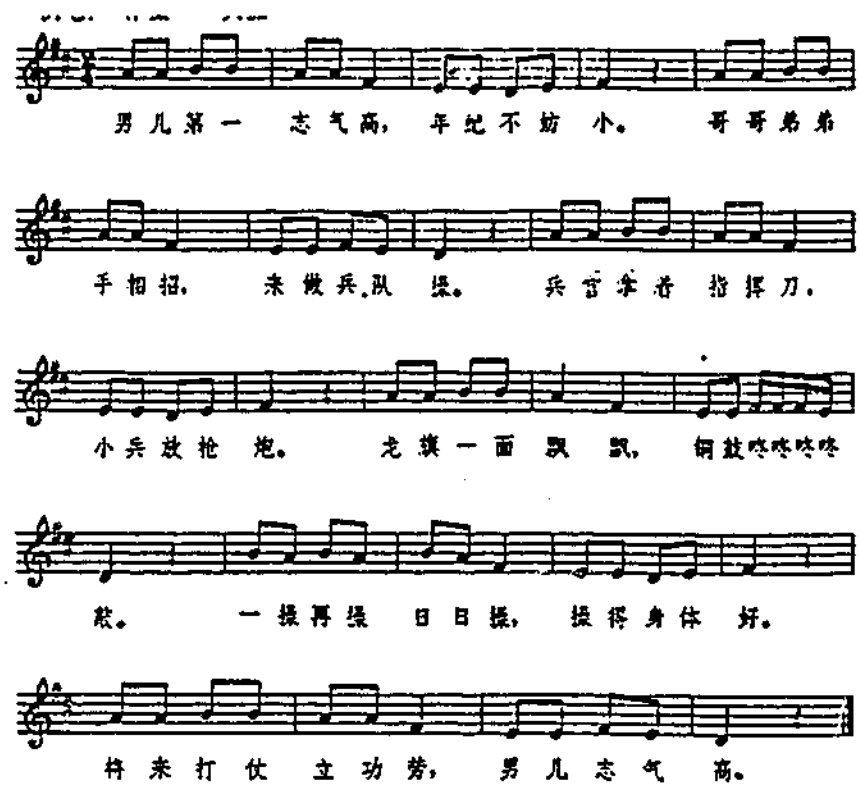


5·10

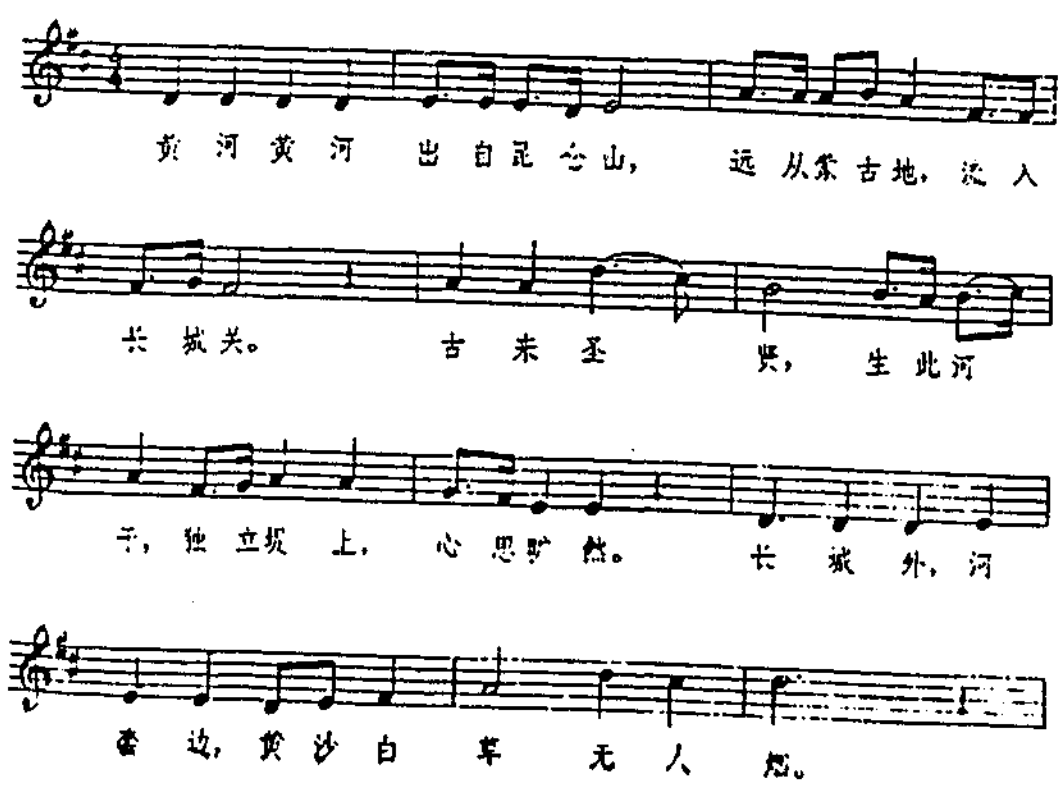
沈心工词



5·11



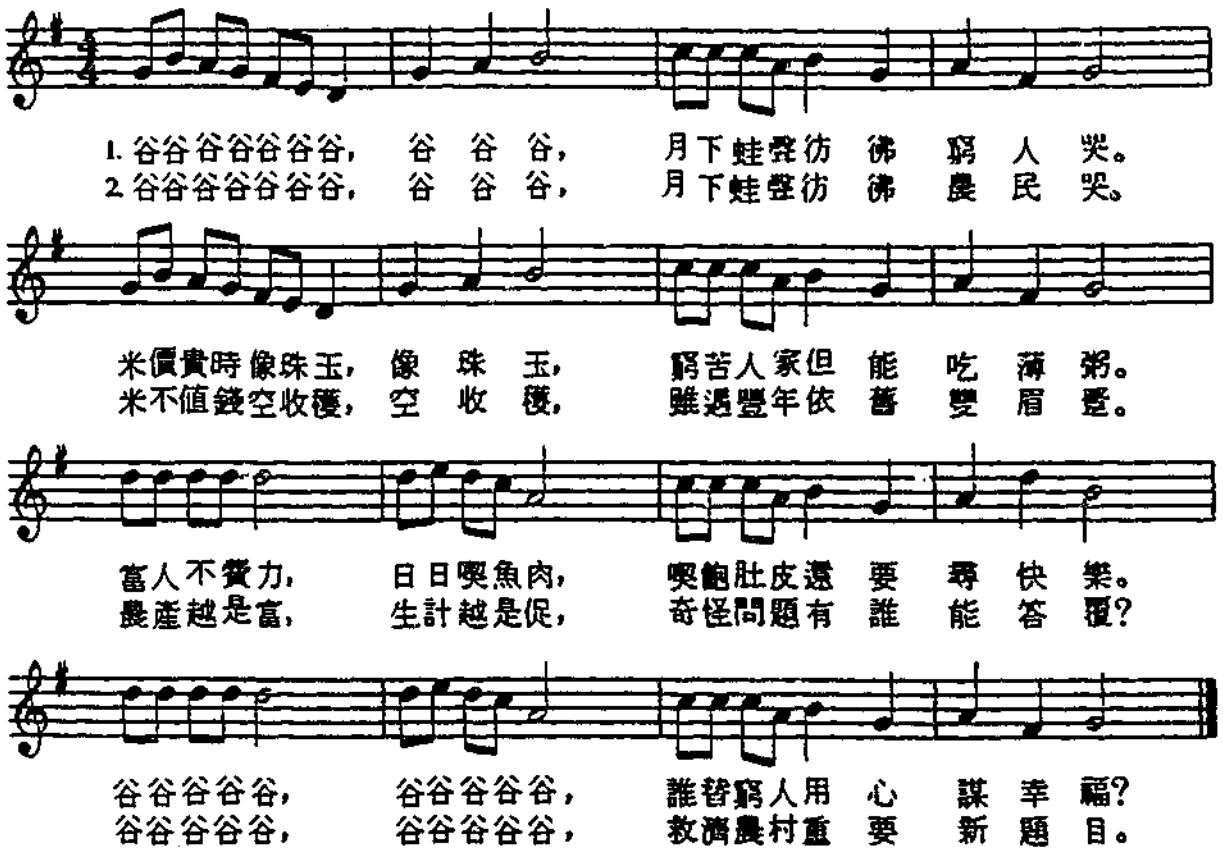
5·12



5·13

月下蛙聲

沈心工 作歌



5·14

1. 吾本是無依無靠，苦苦惱惱一個人。怎能
2. 吾本是無知無識，懞懞懂懂一個人。怎曉
3. 從今後吾等孤兒，可以消滅無家恨。最要

彀有喫有著，安安穩穩到如今？幸
得用心用力，勤勤懇懇學做人？幸
緊自家學好，個個成功有用人。也

有吾孤兒院，哀憐吾這苦惱人，收
有吾孤兒院，開導吾這懞懂人，教
許吾孤兒院，出個人才有大名。老

留我，撫養我，愛我如同父母心。
我書，教我工，望我成材好立身。
古話說得好，舜亦人也我亦人。

副歌

親愛的孤兒院，你是吾的家

庭，吾決不忘吾院恩。

5·15

甲　乙

1.請君對鏡看君衣。我衣清潔合時宜。
2.請君對鏡看君面。我面熱血都發現。
3.請君對鏡看君心。我心磊落又光明。

甲

整君衣冠，威儀翼翼。小師不修，終累大德。
愛君面目，須知羞惡。忽妄嬉笑，忽輕喜怒。
鍊君心膽，如鉛鋼鐵。質淨功深，自然堅深。

甲　乙

請君對鏡看君冠。我冠高雅壯瞻觀。
請君對鏡看君目。我目正氣常完足。
請君對鏡看君膽。我膽果斷又勇敢。

乙

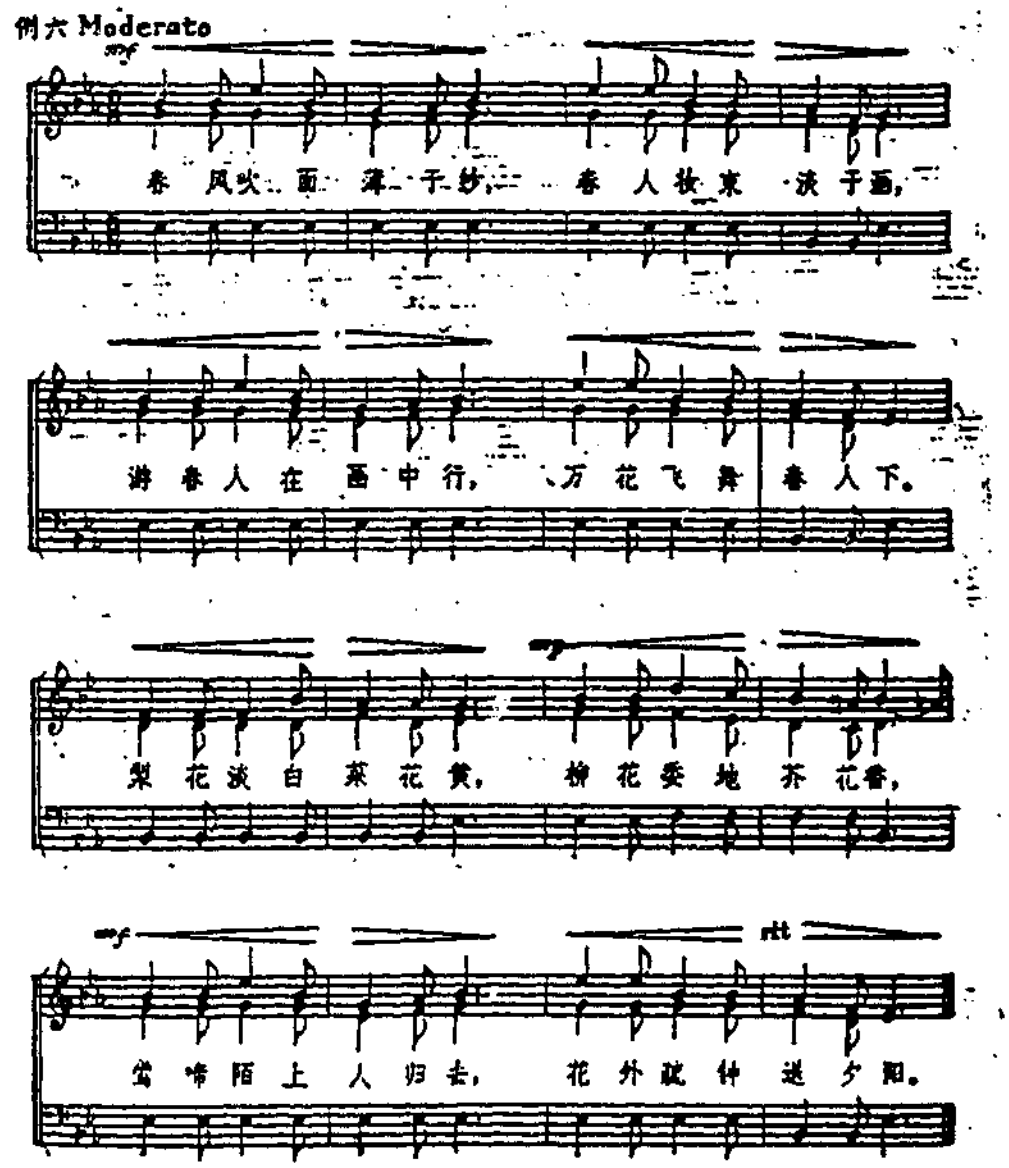
cresc. Slower & slower

寶鏡寶鏡益我多！我愛寶鏡日摩挲！
寶鏡寶鏡益我多！我愛寶鏡日摩挲！
寶鏡寶鏡益我多！我愛寶鏡日摩挲！

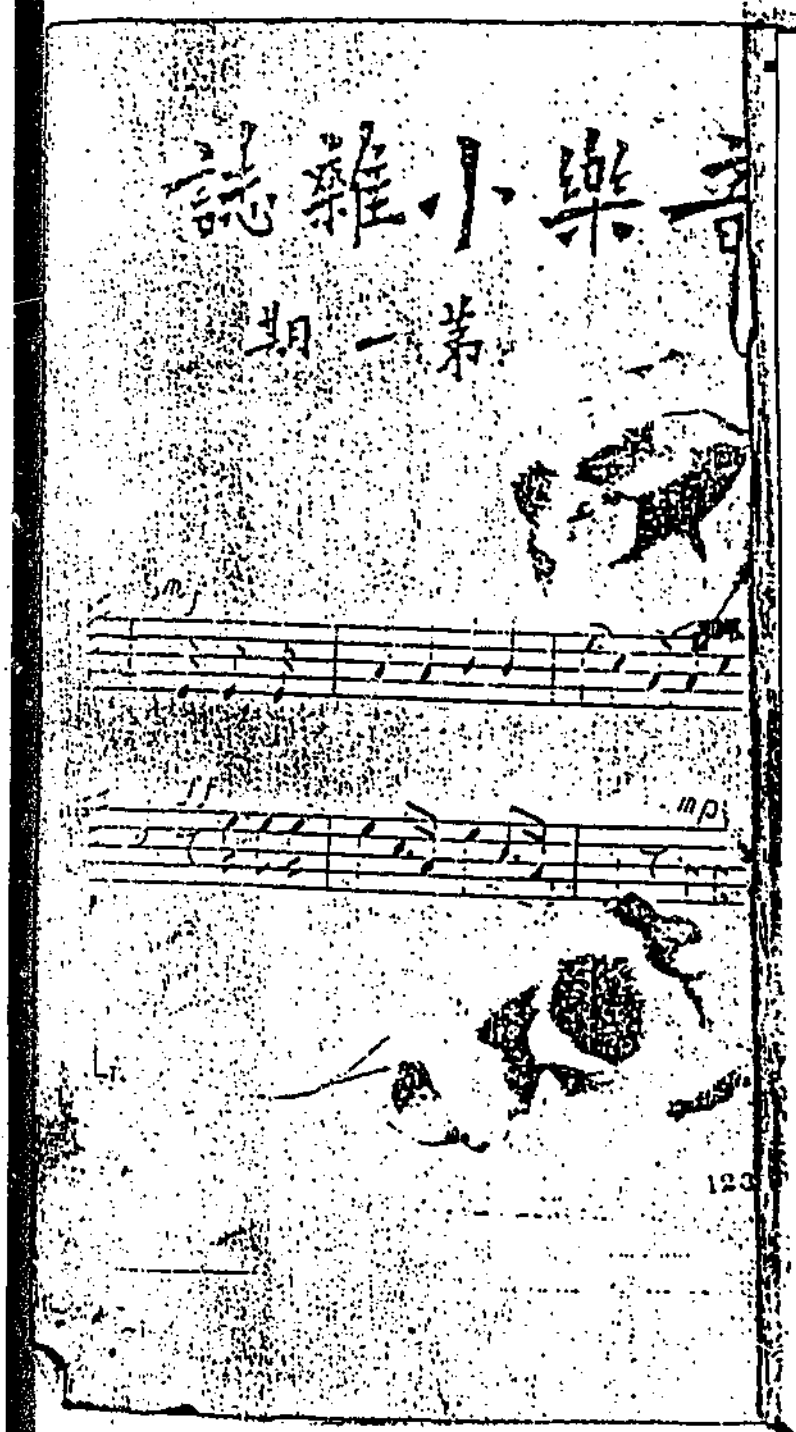
cresc. Slower & slower

5·16.

例六 Moderato



5·17



7·1

樂聖比國芬像

Beethoven

藩 魯（北庚未）

7·2

Appendix II

Melodic Contours and Linguistic Tones of Ten Schools Songs

1. 'Ancestral Land' [*Zuguoge*]
2. Sui Palace' [*Suigong*]
3. 'Last Night's Dream' [*Zuoyemeng*]
4. 'Fine Horse' [*Liangma han*]
5. 'Green Poplars and Willows' [*Yangliu lü yiyi*]
6. 'High Aspirations of our Men is Essential' [*Nan 'er diyi zhiqi gao*]
7. 'Buying Cloth' [*Selling Cloth*]
8. 'Yellow River' [*Huanghe*]
9. 'Rifle Bullets of a Soldier' [*Junrende qiangdan*]
10. 'The Revolution Must First Reach Out to the Hearts of all Men' [*Geming bixian geren xin*].

1.祖 國 歌

李叔同作詞

上下數千年，一脈延，文明莫與肩。繼機數萬
里，膏腴地，獨享天然利。國是世界最古國，
民是亞洲大國民，嗚呼，大國民！嗚呼，唯我
大國民！幸生珍世界。琳瑯，十倍增聲價。
我將騎獅越崑崙，駕鶴飛渡太平洋。誰與我仗
劍揮刀？嗚呼，大國民！誰與我鼓吹慶昇平？

2.隋　　宮

（《国學唱歌集》"修詩"之什）

李商隱詩
李叔同配曲

紫泉宮殿鎖煙霞，欲取蕪城作帝家。玉璽不緣
歸日角，錦帆應是到天涯。於今腐草無螢火，
終古垂楊有暮鴉。地下若逢陳後主，豈宜重問《後庭花》？

3. 昨夜夢

沈心工 作歌

昨夜夢，夢歸家。忽坐船，忽坐車。

到家裏，滿院花，見吾爹，見吾媽。

爹見我便與我談話，說道爹媽心中常牽掛。

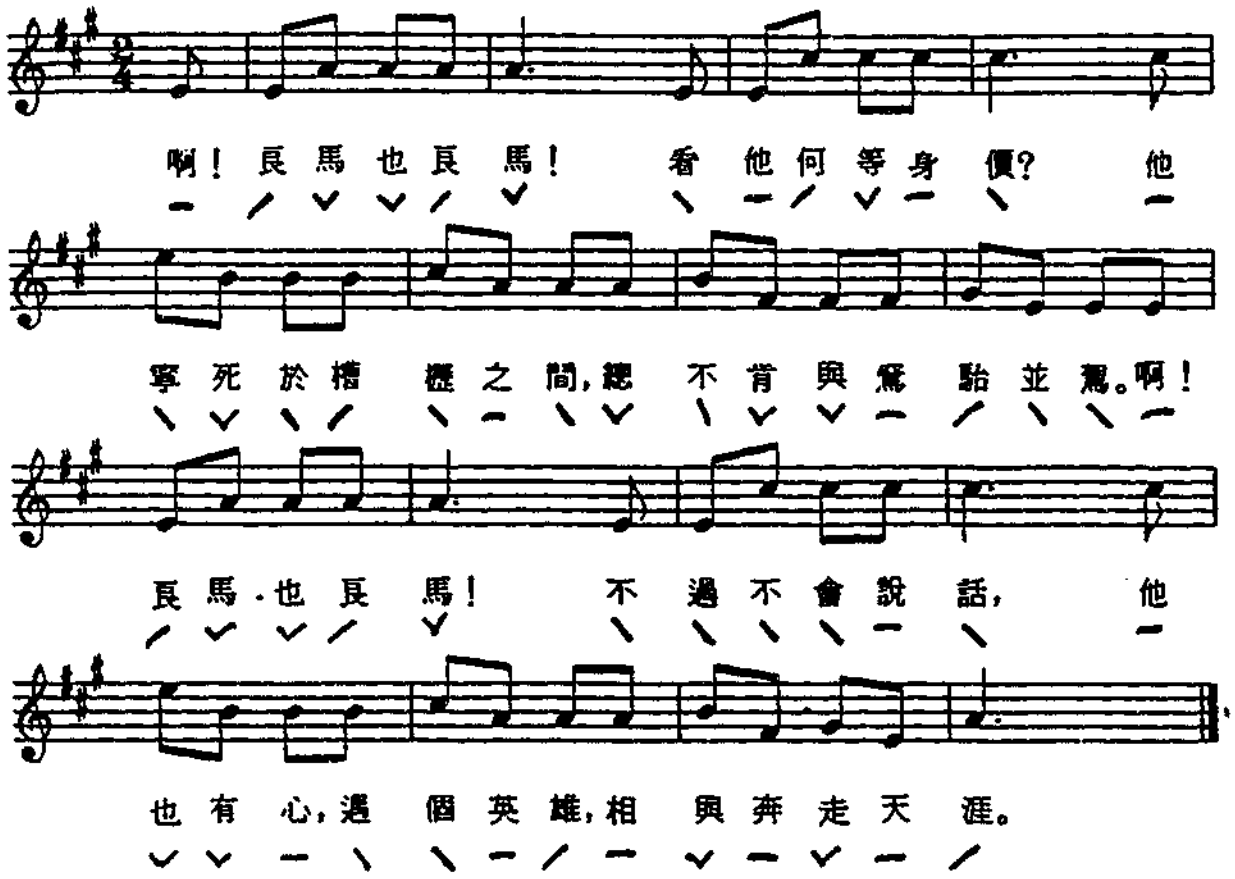
媽見我匆匆入廚下，爲我做飯又做茶。

家中茶飯滋味佳！家中茶飯滋味佳！

忽驚醒，在天涯。問何日，眞在家？

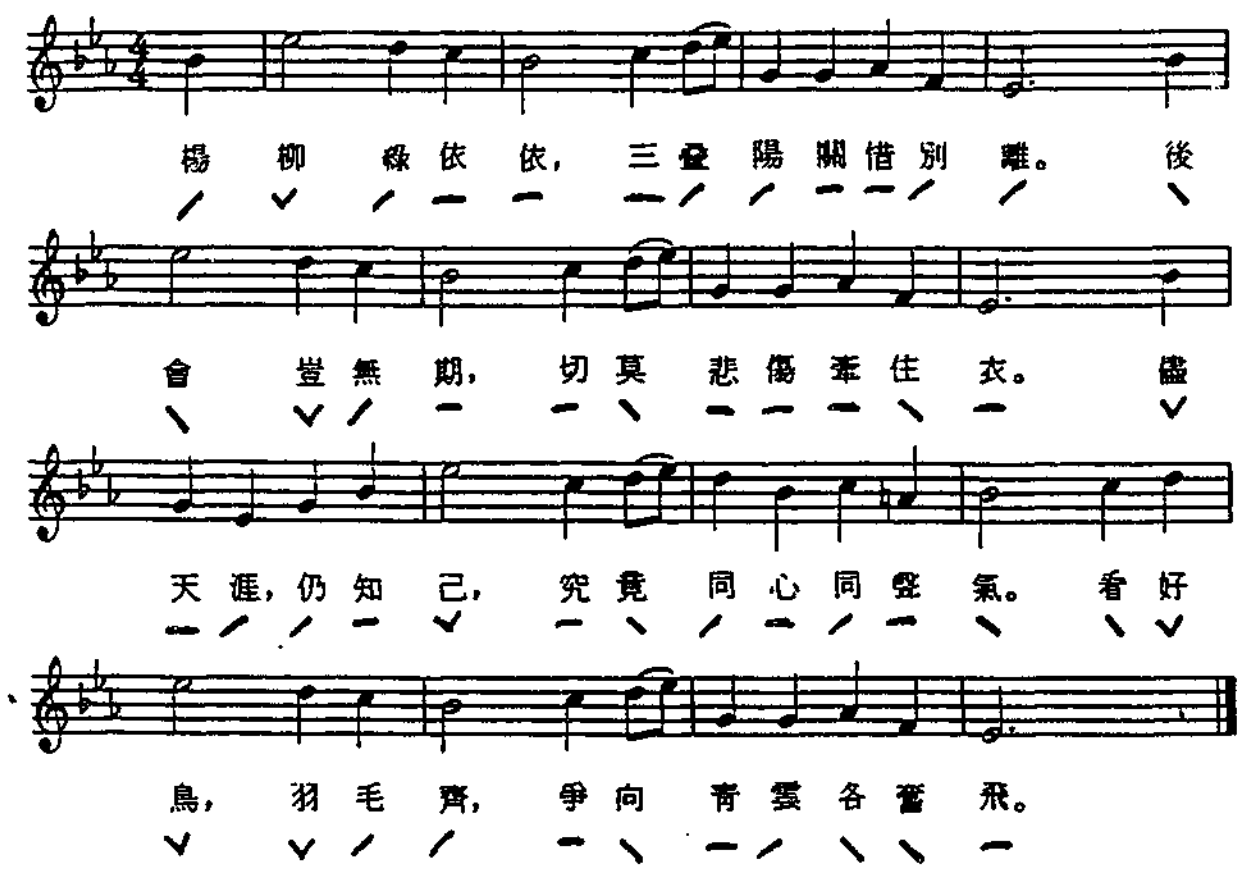
4. 良馬嘆

沈心工 作歌


啊！良馬也良馬！ 看他何等身價？ 他
寧死於槽櫪之間，總不肯與駑駘並駕。啊！
良馬也良馬！ 不過不會說話， 他
也有心，遇個英雄，相與奔走天涯。

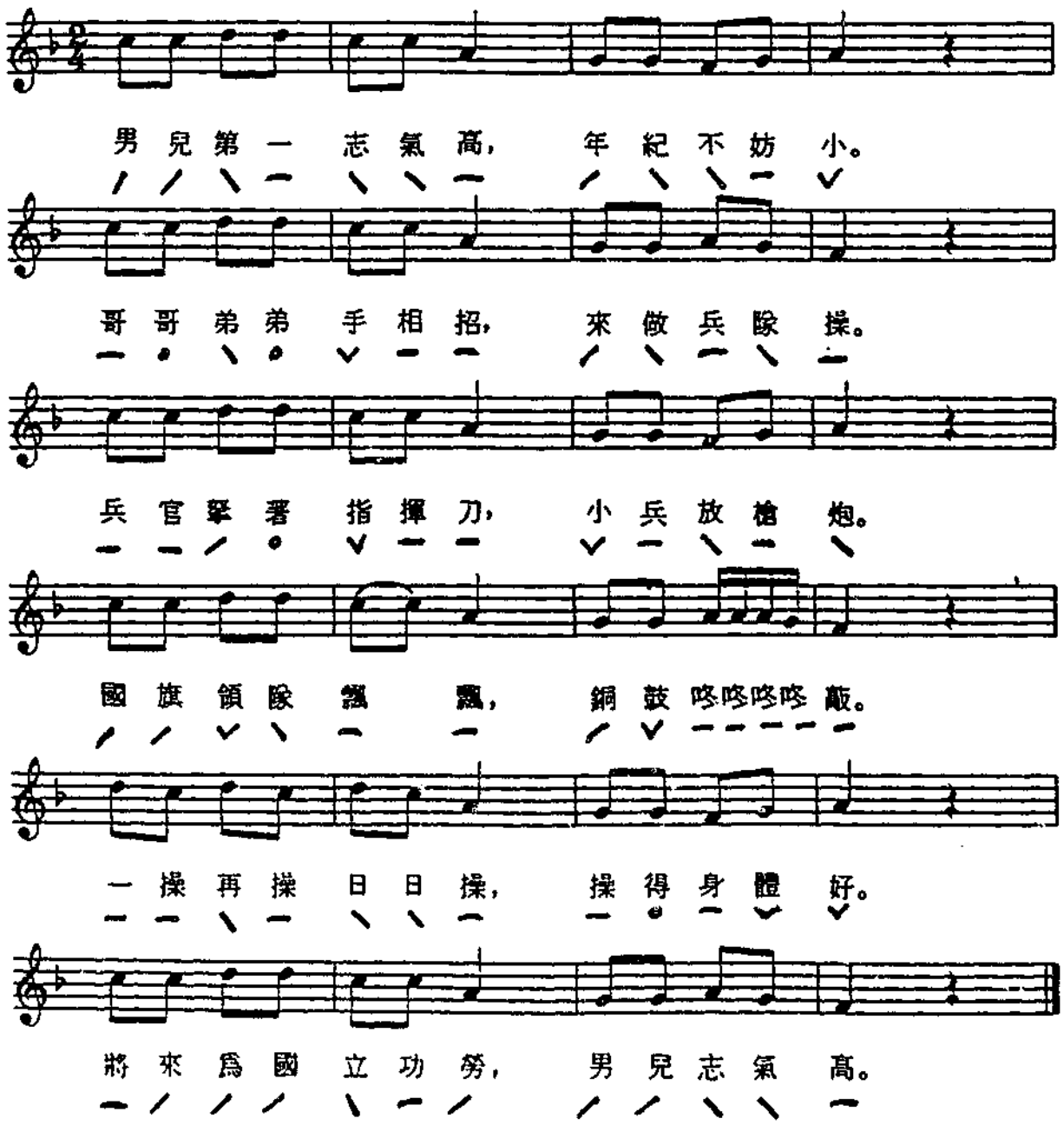
5. 楊柳綠依依

沈心工 作歌



6. 男兒第一志氣高

沈心工 作歌



1. 賣　布

沈心工 作歌

賣　布！賣　布！吾　有中國　布。

賣　布！賣　布！弗　有外國　貨。

請　諸位　買幾　匹，　做　鞋　做　襪　做　衣　袴。

價　便　宜，材　堅　固，　好　布眞　好　布。

8. 黄　河

楊哲之　作歌
沈心工　作曲

黄河黄河出自崑崙山，遠從蒙古地，流入長城關。

古來聖賢，生此河干，獨立堤上，心思曠然。

長城外，河套邊，黄沙白草無人烟。

思得十萬兵，長驅西北邊，飲酒烏梁海，策馬烏拉山，

誓不戰勝終不還。君

作鏡吹，觀我凱旋。

9. 軍人的槍彈

沈心工 作歌
作曲

我有槍，敵有槍，兩兩比較誰爲強？

人人皆說子彈多，臨陣必然打勝仗。

吾說子彈不怕少，只要手段眼光好。

槍槍命中無虛發，以少勝多左券操。

若把子彈不看重，子彈放盡槍無用。

愛惜子彈勿浪費，包管克敵建奇功。

10. 革命必先格人心

沈心工 作歌
作曲

革 命 必先 格 人 心，人心 齷 齪 日 紛 爭。 爭

利 爭權 不爭 氣， 年年革 命 總 無 成。 若問

良 心 人 盡 有，塵遮 鏡 面 失 光 明。 須將

大 學 從 頭 讀， 誠正修 齊 即 治 平。

Appendix III

Phonetic Loan Words of Western musical Terms and Names in Chinese in Late Qing and Early Republican Texts

Inseparable from the rise of the Chinese press was the influx of transliterated foreign words as well as the coining of neologisms and loan words. Language schools such as the *Tongwenguan* and the Kiangnan Arsenals, travel journals of Chinese diplomats, interpreters, translators and students studying abroad in the late Qing and early Republic all played a crucial role in the formation and desultory diffusion of new words and into the modern Chinese lexicon.

Japan was an important source in the importation of foreign loans. Writers such as Liang Qichao began to suffuse their works with terms such as 'society' (*shehui>shakai*) and 'economy' (*jingji>keizai*) as well as specialized terms and everyday concepts. Nathan has pointed out Liang could have chosen much older Chinese terms, 'but he preferred the Japanese variants because their allusions, if any, to ancient Chinese were less well known to his readers, so that they could be used exclusively in their modern senses' (1985:140). Despite such optimism and hope, the importation of these lexical borrowings also had their fair share of critics. Some like Yan Fu, for instance, preferred to use the Buddhist term *jiaozong* instead of *zongjiao* for religion (Masini, 1993:222). Liang, who was championing reform in the Chinese language as evinced in his 'new style prose' also imbued his work 'with ideas and vocabulary form Chinese Buddhism, Taoism, the *I Ching*, poetry, popular novels and folk sayings' (Nathan, 1985:48). [1]

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[1] Critics of Japanese loans also came from foreigners. One possible reading of the following account by the Dutch sinologist Gustaf Schlegel published in *T' oung Pao* in 1892 reveals a foreign sinologue eager to defend the Chinese lexicon against the onslaught of these "foreign loans" :

> I must decidedly recuse the capability of the Japanese to coin good Chinese terms for foreign ideas. It is, in most cases, almost unnecessary, because the Chinese language possesses excellent equivalents for most of those newfangled

In the late Qing and early Republic there was no standardized or uniform system of transliterating foreign words and names. At the turn of the century, Liang Qichao complained of identical names 'being translated in a hundred different ways by a hundred people' (quoted in Masini, 1993:79). Protestant missionaries in the nineteenth century such as Robert Morrison, Elijah C. Bridgman and William Milne grappled with attempting phonetic transcriptions as did many of their Chinese collaborators. Much of their efforts to apply alphabetic writing to Chinese was carried out among missionaries in South China and their work was to subsequently influence the Chinese in applying phonetic transcriptions to their own language (De Francis, 1950:32). One of the earliest pioneers in this field was Lu Ganzhang (1854-1928) a native of Tong' an in Fujian Province. After a decade of persistent application and hard work in 1892, Lu published a book on applying an alphabetic script to the Amoy and other dialects entitled *First Steps to Complete Understanding at a Glance: A New Chinese Script for the Amoy Dialect* (De Francis, 1950:33).[2]

The problems of uniform transcription systems in rendering foreign musical terms and names in the early twentieth century is aptly described by Liu Ching-chih (1995: 678-679):

> *Most of the translations were for teaching purposes, especially in the first half of the 20th century during which there was practically no music textbooks on the development of European music, compositional techniques and aesthetics. In view of this, teachers at conservatories of music and university music faculties had no choice but to compile their own text books by rendering articles and books in foreign languages into Chinese or writing their own lecturer notes. However, great difficulties were encountered in the work because (1) names of musicians and musical terms and phrases are in Italian, Latin, German, French, Dutch, Spanish, Greek, English, Bohemian, Russian, etc; (2) translators from various parts of China favoured their provincial pronunciation and therefore it was difficult to arrive at uniform transliterations; (3) different foreign languages represented different cultures and different conceptual approaches might be required for the same terms; and (4) the*

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ideas, and I have been at great pains to collect them and pick them up out of the ocean of Chinese literature...The terms coined by the Japanese sinologues are unintelligible for genuine Chinese (Schlegel, 1892:184).

[2]Zhou Guangqing and Liu Wei (1997:203-204) list twenty-five Chinese who applied phonetic transcriptions to their own language, including Lu Ganzhang.

same terms in different periods of historical development might also have different connotations. Translation of terms, phrases and names of composers was therefore more complicated and difficult than people had expected. Despite almost 90 years of experience since the beginning of the 20th century, there are still erroneous, misleading and inconsistent translations. [3]

The vocabulary below includes phonetic loan words and borrowings of Western musical terms into Chinese found in a limited sample of books, magazines and dictionaries in the late Qing and early Republican Period. I have also included some later variations of terms in the Republican Period when they are related. The list draws mainly from Tao (1994:235-236) and lexical items gleaned from Masini (1990), Liu (1995:259-378) and Sanetô (1982:199-243). I have also drawn examples from dictionaries compiled by missionaries and foreign lexicographers. While Gao and Liu (1958:116-118) provide an invaluable list of musical terms and their etymology, they give us no indication of when these terms began to appear in texts.

As the list below reveals, transcription rules in the late Qing and early Republic were highly arbitrary and we encounter foreign words and names which are rendered into Chinese characters in more than one way. Some include a phonetic loan word with the foreign-derived word in parenthesis. For example, Xiao Youme's 'Introduction to Music' published in the Toyko-based student journal *Xuebao* in February 1907:

> (四)击乐器(Percussion instruments). 泰西击乐器之发达远逊我国。其普通所用者, 只小鼓 (Side Drum) 大鼓 (Big-Drum) 半圆鼓 (Kettle drum) (以上革属) 铙钹 (Cymbal) 三角铁 (Triangle) 铜锣 (Gong) 铃 (Bell) (以上金属) 和可斯他捏 (Castanets).
>
> Translation: (4) Percussion instruments. Percussion instruments in the West lag behind our own. The family of percussion instruments only consists of the side drum,

[3] Liu rightly points out that variations in transliterating the same foreign word or name is due in no small part to how dialect or regional interference invariably determines how standard Chinese is pronounced. To remedy this variations, Liu suggests that 'translators engaged in transliterations of composers' names must be competent Guoyu/Putonghua speakers...' (Liu, 1995:700).

the big drum, the kettledrum (the above classified under the category skin)[4], the cymbal, triangle, gong (the above classified under metal) and castanets.[5]

In the following list, pronunciation in *Hanyu Pinyin* is followed by (1) the Chinese characters; (2) the English equivalent; (3) the original Japanese loan word where applicable; (4) its modern equivalent and finally its source.

A. Musical Terms and Instruments

abaodi	阿保笛	Oboe. *Shuanghuangguan* 双簧管. Used by Xiao Youmei in 'Yinyue gaishuo" ('Introduction to Music'), *Xuebao*, no. 1, 1907. (Wang and Yang, 1996:30-31).
a'ergeng	阿尔赓	Organ. *Fengqin* 风琴. Used by Guo Songdao in *London and Paris Diaries* (1876-1879) [*Lundun yu Bali riji*]. Quoted in Zhong Shuhe (1985:146). By the early twentieth century *fengqin* had already supplanted *a'ergen*. *Fengqin* is used by Zeng Zhimin in "Yinyue jiaoyulun" (1904) and by Xiao Youmei in *Yinyue gaishuo* (1907). Cf. *datongqin* 大筒琴 rendered as European organ' in Lobscheid (1867, vol. 3:1256). According to Liu *et. al.*, (1984:103) *fengqin* is a loan word from the Japanese *fûkin*.
danchun	单纯	Dance. *Tiaowu* 跳舞. Used by Wang Tao in *Random Thoughts of my Travel*, *Manyou suilu*, 1887). Reprinted in Chen *et.al.*, (1982:155).
daxiao	大箫	Flute. *Changdi* 长笛. Used by Xiao Youmei in "Yinyue gaishuo" ("Introduction to Music"), *Xuebao*, no. 1, 1907 (Wang and Yang, 1996:30).
huai'eling	坏俄玲	Violin. Used by Feng Zikai (1926:14).

[4] Traditionally, the Chinese classified their instruments based on the materials from which they were made. They were classified into 'eight sounds' (*bayin*): *jin* (metal) *shi* (stone) *tu* (earth) *ge* (skin; hide), *si* (silk) *mu* (wood) *bao* (gourd) and *zhu* (bamboo).
[5] Quoted in Wang and Yang (1996:31).

fanhualin	繁华令	Violin. Used by Tianxu Wosheng "Zhongguo Yuelü tongyuankao" (*Nüzi shijie*, issues 1-4 1914). (Liu, 1994:57).
fangluo genafu	方罗格纳夫	Phonograph. *Liushengji* 留声机. Used by Guo Songdao *London and Paris Diaries, 1876-1879)* [*Lundun yu Bali riji*]. (Zhong Shuhe, 1985:786).
gulaliao niedi	古拉料捏笛	Clarinet. *Danshuangguan* 单双管. Also referred to colloquially as *heiguan* 黑管. Used by Xiao Youmei in "Yinyue gaishuo", *Xuebao*, no. 1, 1907. (Wang and Yang, 1996:31). Cf. *diandi* 掂笛 in Lobscheid (1867, vol.I:395).
heshengxue	和声学	Harmonics, *waiseigaku*. According to Liu (1995:350), *xue* as a suffix can be found in earlier missionary-Chinese texts and, therefore, should be regarded as a Chinese neologistic usage rather than a Japanese import.'
Hua'errzi	娃尔姿	Waltz. *Hua'errzi* 华尔兹. Also *yuanwuqu* 圆舞曲. Used in Zhao Yuanren 'Peace March', [*Heping jinxingqu*], Science issue no. 1, 1915 (Tao, 1994:236).
kangtata	康塔塔	Cantata. *Dahechang* 大合唱. Used by Feng Zikai in "Erbainian lai xiyang yuetanzhi shengkuang", *Xiaoshuo yuebao* (1930). (Wang and Yang, 1996:301).
ke'errnie	可尔捏	Cornet. *Duanhao* 短号 Used by Xiao Youmei in "Yinyue gaishuo", *Xuebao*, no. 1, 1907 (Wang and Yang (1996:31).
shouqin	手琴	Violin, fiddle. *Xiaotiqin* 小提琴. Used by Mateer *New Ideas for New Ideas* (1913:70).
shuonada	朔拿大	Sonata. *Zoumingqu* 奏鸣曲 Used by Li Shutong in "Biographical Sketch of Beethoven", *Yinyue xiaozhazhi*, issue no. 1, 1906. (Tao:1994:235-236).
tulangfeng laba	吐郎逢喇叭	Trombone *Changhao* 长号. Used by Xiao Youmei in"Yinyue gaishuo", *Xuebao*, no. 1, 1907. (Wang and Yang (1996:31). Cf. *haojian* rendered as 'Trombet' in Hemeling (1916:1538).

wei'errlin	卫尔林	Violin. *Xiaotiqin*. 小提琴 Used by Sun Shi Music and Education', in *Yunnan Education Magazine*, no. 7, 1919. (Tao (1994:236). Cf. *Sixian* 四弦 in *The Tourists' Guide and Merchants'* Manual... (1864) and Lobscheid (1867, vol. 4:1928). Also *sixian tiqin* 四弦提琴 in Hemeling (1916:1595).
ximafuni	西麻福尼	Symphony. *Jiaoxiangqu* 交响曲. Used in Li Shutong in "Biographical Sketch of Beethoven", *Yinyue xiaozazhi*, issue no. 1, 1906. (Tao, 1994:235-236).
xiaosi xiantiqin	小四弦提琴	Violin. *Xiaotiqin*. Used by Xiao Youmei in "Introduction to Music", *Xuebao*, no. 1, 1907. (Wang and Yang (1996:30).
xiaoxiao	小箫	Piccolo. *Duandi* 短笛. Used by Xiao Youmei in "Introduction to Music", *Xuebao*, no. 1, 1907. (Wang and Yang (1996:30).
xinhao laba	信号啦叭	Trumpet. *Xiaohao*. Used by Xiao Youmei in "Yinyue gaishuo", *Xuebao*, no. 1, 1907. Cf. *haojian* rendered as Trumpet' in Lobscheid (1867, vol. 4:1833); *haojian* 'Trumpet' in Stent (1898:191) and *yanghao* (lit: 'Foreign horn'), rendered as Cornet or 'Trumpet' in Mateer *New Terms for New Ideas* (1913:70) and MacGillivray *A Mandarin-Romanized Dictionary of Chinese* (1921:1036).
yanchu	演出	Perform, 'put on stage', *enshutsu*. Used by Wang Tao in *Travel Notes in Japan* [*Fusang youji*, 1879:441] with the modern meaning of 'to put on stage" (Masini:211). According to Sanetô (1982:235) it was an original loan word from Japanese.
yangqin	洋琴*	Piano, *Gangqin* 钢琴. Zhang

* *Yangqin* 扬琴 (also written as 洋琴) is a Chinese struck zither found in ensembles throughout China. It is an adaptation of the Persian santur, introduced to the coastal areas of Guangdong province in the late Ming dynasty. (See entry for *yangqin* in Thrasher, 1984:882).

		Deyi *Hanghai shuqi* (1866:451) (Masini, 1993:211). Also used by Li Shutong in 'Biographical Sketch of Beethoven', *Yinyue xiaozazhi*, issue no. 1, 1906 (Tao:236). Cf. *dayangqin* 大洋琴 'Pianoforte' in Lobscheid (1867, vol. 3:1313), *piyana* 皮亚娜 used in Zhao Yuanren Peace March', *Science*, issue no. 1, 1915 (Tao, ibid:236) and *piyana* 披雅娜 used by Zhao Yuanren in 'Time to Tell' in *Science*, issue no. 2, vol. 10, October 1916 (Tao, 1994:236).'Pianist' in Hemeling 1916:1038) is rendered as *tan gangqinjia* 弹钢琴家 and *dayang qinjia* 大洋琴家. The term 钢琴 already used by Mateer *New Terms for New Ideas* (1913:70).
zhongsi xiantiqin	中四弦提琴	Viola. 中提琴 Used by Xiao Youmei in "Introduction to Music" [*Yinyue gaishuo*], *Xuebao*, no. 1, 1907. (Wang and Yang (1996:30).
zouyue	奏乐	Concerto. *Xiezouqu*. 协奏曲. Used by Lobscheid (1867, vol. I:456).
zuida sixian tiqin	最大四弦提琴	Double-bass. *Diyin datiqin* 抵音大提琴 Used in Xiao Youmei "Yinyue gaishuo", *Xuebao*, no. 1, 1907. (Wang and Yang (1996:30).

B. Western Composers and Works

Beican geyue	悲惨阁乐	Pathetique Symphony. *Beican jiaoxiangqu* 悲怆交响曲. Used by Zhao Yuanren, 'Peace March', *Science*, issue no. 1, 1915 (Tao, 1994:236).
Peixie	裴獬	Bizet. *Bicai*.比才 Used by Zeng Zhimin in "The Future Bizet in China", *Xingshi*, no. 4, April 1906 (Tao, 1994:235-236).

Bidufen	比独芬	Beethoven. *Beiduofen* 贝多芬. Used by Li Shutong in "Biographical Sketch of Beethoven', *Yinyue xiaozazhi*, issue no. 1, 1906 (Tao, 1994:236). Cf. *Peilunwen* 培伦文 (Zhao Yuanren, 'Peace March', *Science*, issue no. 1, 1915) (Tao:236), *Peidekefen* 培得可芬 (Lu Xun, *Kexueshi jiaobian*, 1908) (Tao:236). Cf. *Baitihuofen* 白提火粉. Used by Wang Wang Guangqi *Concise History of Music*, 1930 (Liu, 1995:699)
Caikefusiji	蔡柯夫斯基	Tchaikovsky. *Chaikefusiji* 柴可夫斯基. Used by Zhao Yuanren in 'Peace March', *Science*, issue no. 1, 1915). (Tao, 1994:236)
Doupushe	窦埔舍	Debussy. *Debiaoxi* 德彪西. Used by Luo Luo in 'The Musician Debussy', *Dongfang zazhi*, vol. 15., no. 11, November 1918 (Tao, 1994:235-236).
Haidun	海登	Hadyn. Used by Wang Guangqi *Concise History of Western Music* (1930) (Liu, 1995:699).
Hongchi	鸿池	Swan Lake. *Tian'ehu* 天鹅湖. Used by Wang Zhichun *Notes as a Diplomat in Russia* [*Shi'ecaoji*] 1895. (Tao, 1994:236).
Maosatuo	毛萨脱	Mozart. *Mozhate* 莫扎特. Used by Li Shutong in "Biographical Sketch of Beethoven', *Yinyue xiaozazhi*, issue no. 1, 1906 (Tao, 1994:236). Cf. *Mocarti* 摩擦尔提 (Wang Guangqi, *Concise History of Western Music* (1930) (Liu, 1995:699). *Mozha'erte* 莫扎尔德 (.Feng Zikai in *Erbainian lai xiyang yuetanzhi shengkuang*, *Xiaoshuo yuebao* (1930).
Wakanglai	瓦康来	Wagner 瓦格纳. Used by Wang Guangqi, *Concise History of Western Music*, 1930 (Liu, 1995:699)

Appendix IV

Selected Discography

Few commercial recordings of school songs exist or are readily accessible. I include here the two commercial recordings (cassette tapes) issued with Qi Shi and Pei'an's anthology of Li Shutong's songs (1990).

Li Shutong—Hongyi fashi gequ ji 李叔同--弘一法师歌曲选
上海音乐家协会室内合唱团 (Shanghai Musicians' Association Chamber Chorus)
Conductor: Ma Geshun 马革顺
Music consultant: Jiang Mingdun 江明
Editor: Lin Pei'an 林培安
Jointly produced by the Shanghai Buddhist Association (上海佛教协会) and the Shanghai Conservatory of Music (上海音乐学院), Shanghai Publishing House,
WY077. .

Side A:

《我的国》	*My Country*
《春游》	*Spring Outing*
《行难路》	*Arduous Path*
《丰年》	*Bumper Harvest*
《黄鸟》	*Yellow Bird*
《早秋》	*Early Autumn*
《满江红》	*Manjianghong*
《爱 》	*Love*
《秋夜》	*Autumn Evening*
《送出师西征》	*Dispatching Troops to the Western Campaign*
《武陵花》	*Wulinghua*
《西湖》	*West Lake*

Side B:

《隋堤柳》	*Sui Dyke Willow*
《忆儿时》	*Recollections of Youth*
《清平调》	*Qingpingdiao*
《山鬼》	*Mountain Spirit*
《涉江》	*Fording the River*
《归燕》	*Returning Swallows*
《月》	*Moon*
《男儿》	*Men*
《送别》	*Farewell*
《大中华》	*Greater China*

:

Li Shutong—Hongyi fashi fojiao gequ ji 李叔同--弘一法师佛教歌曲选
上海音乐家协会室内合唱团 (Shanghai Musicians' Association Chamber Chorus)
Conductor: Ma Geshun 马革顺
Music consultant: Jiang Mingdun 江明
Editor: Lin Pei'an 林培安
Jointly produced by the Shanghai Buddhist Association (上海佛教协会) and the Shanghai Conservatory of Music (上海音乐学院), Shanghai Publishing House,
WY078.

Side A:

《祖国颂》	*Ode to the Ancestral Land*
《幽居》	*Seclusion*
《清凉i	*Qingliang*
《留别》	*Parting Souvenir*
《梦》	*Dreams*
《山》	*Mountain*
《知恩念恩	*Knowing and Thinking Kindness*
《落花》	*Falling Flowers*

Side B:

《花香	*Fragrance of Flowers*
《化身	*Incarnation*
《世梦》	*Worldly Dream*
《观心》	*The Heart of Guanyin*
《晚钟》	*Evening Bell*
《人与自然界》	*Man and the World of Nature*
《三保歌	*The Song of the Triratna*

Appendix V

《中国雄立于宇宙间》 (p. 92)

中国雄立于宇宙间
廓八埏，华胄来从昆仑巅，
江河浩荡山绵连，
共和五旗尧天，亿万年.

《何日醒》 (p. 98 – 99)

一朝病国人都病，
妖烟鸦片进，
呜呼吾族尽，
四万万人厄运临，
饮吾鸩度毒追以兵，
还将赔争，
宁波上海闽粤厦门，
通商五口成.
香港持相赔，狮旗猎猎控南溟，
谁为戎首，谁始要盟，
吾党何日醒.

《中国男儿》(p. 99)

中国男儿，中国男儿，
要将双手张撑天空，
我有宝刀，慷慨从戎，
击楫中流，泱泱大风，
决胜疆场，气贯长红.
古今多少奇丈夫，碎首黄尘，
燕然勒功，至今热血犹殷红.

《泊秦淮》(p. 100 fn5)

烟笼寒水月笼沙，
夜泊秦淮近酒家.
商女不知亡国恨，
隔江犹唱后庭花.

《喝火令》(故国今谁主)(p. 100)

故国今谁主?
胡天月已西.
朝朝暮暮笑迷迷.
记否天津桥上杜鹃啼?
记否杜鹃声里几色顺民旗?

《隋堤柳》(p. 101)

甚西风吹醒隋堤衰柳,
江山非旧,
只风景依稀凄凉时候.
零星旧梦半沉浮,
说阅尽兴亡,
遮难回首.
昔日珠帘锦幕,
有淡烟一抹,
纤月盈钩.
剩水残山故国秋,知否,知否?
眼底离离麦秀.
说甚无情,
情丝 到心头.
杜鹃啼血哭神州,
海棠有 泪伤秋瘦,
深愁浅愁难 消受,
谁家庭院笙 歌又?

哀祖国(p. 101)

小雅尽废兮
出车采薇矣;
豺狼当途兮,
人类其非矣.
凤鸟兮,
河图兮,
梦想为劳矣.
冉冉老将至兮
甚矣吾哀矣.

勉女权(p. 102 – 103)

我辈爱自由,勉励自由一杯酒.
男女平等天赋就,岂甘居牛后.
愿奋然自拔,一洗从前羞耻垢.
若安作同侍,恢复江山劳素手.

旧习最甚羞,女子竟同牛马偶.
曙光新放文明候,独立占头筹.
愿奴隶根除,智识学问历练就.
责任上肩头,国民女杰期无负?

《婚姻祝辞》 (p. 103)

《诗》 三百,
《关雎》第一,
伦理重婚姻.
夫妇制定家族成,
进化首人群.

天演界,
雌雄淘汰,
权力要平分.
遮莫说男尊女卑,
一般是国民.

《勉学》(p.103)

黑奴 红种相继尽,
惟我黄人鼾未醒,
东亚大陆将沉没,
一曲歌成君且听,
人生为学须及时,艳李浓桃百日姿,
莫遣韶光等闲老,老大年华徒自悲.
近追日本远欧美,世界文明次第开,
小年 奴隶咸自爱,时乎时乎不再来.

《男儿》(p.104)

男儿自有千古,
莫等闲觑.
孔,佛,耶,回精谊,
道毋 陂岐.
发大愿作教皇,
我当炉冶群贤.
功被星球十方
赞无数年.

《孤儿院》(p.105)

吾本是无依无靠,
苦苦脑脑一个人.
怎能彀有吃有著,
安安稳稳到如今?
幸有吾孤儿院,
哀怜吾这苦恼人,
收留我,抚养我,
爱我如同父母心.
亲爱的孤儿院,
你是吾的家庭,
吾决不忘吾原恩.

《体操--兵操》(p.105 – 106)

男儿第一志气好,
年纪不妨小.
哥哥弟弟手相招,
来做兵队操.
兵官拿着指挥刀,
小兵放枪炮.
龙旗一面飘飘,
铜鼓咚咚咚咚敲.
一操再操日日操,
操得身体好.

《光复纪念》(p.107)

八月十九武昌城,起了革命军,
张彪与瑞征,纷纷出城去逃生.
都督黎元洪黄兴总司令,
渡江收复汉口镇,汉阳龟山树汉旗.
文明,文明,鸡犬不惊武汉平.
延吓得心胆惊,遣将帅,发救兵,
陆军派荫昌海军萨镇冰,
屯兵不敢进,三战三败笑杀人.
中原十数省,不月皆反正,江水水清,历史增荣名.

《革命军》(p.107)

吾等都是好百姓,
情愿去当兵,
因为腐败清政府,
真正气不平.
收吾租税作威福,
牛马待人民,
吾等倘使再退缩,
不能活性命.

《竹马》(p.108)

小小儿童志气高,
要想马上立功劳.
两腿夹着一竿竹,
洋洋得意跳也跳.

《请君对镜》(p.108)

请君对镜看君衣.
我衣清洁合时宜.
请君对镜看君冠.

我冠高雅壮胆观.

请君对镜看君面.
我面热血都发现.
请君对镜看君目.
我目正气常完足.

请君对镜看我心.
我心磊落又光明.
请君对镜看君胆.
我胆果断又勇敢.

《春郊赛跑》(p. 109)

跑, 跑, 跑!
看是谁先到?
杨柳青青,
桃花带笑,
万物皆春,
男儿年少.
跑, 跑,跑, 跑, 跑!
锦标夺得了.

直隶省立第一师范附属小学校歌 (p.109 – 110)

文昌在天,
文明之光.
地灵人杰,
效师长;
初学根本,
实切强;
精神腾跃,
成文章.
君不见,
七十二沽水,
源远流长.

《春游》(p.110)

春风吹面薄于纱,
春人妆束淡于画.
游春人在画中行,
万花飞舞春人下.

梨花淡白菜花黄,
柳花委地芥花香.
莺啼陌上人归去,
花外疏钟送夕阳.

Appendix VI

This glossary contains words, names and song titles referred to in the text.

1. Chinese Names

Cai Yuanpei	蔡元培
Chen Diexian (Tianxu Wosheng)	陈蝶仙天
Chen Duxiu	陈独秀
Chen Shoude	陈守之
Chen Yunxian	陈芸仙
Confucius	孔子
Cao Rujin	曹汝锦
Chen Shubao	陈叔宝
Dao Xuan	道宣
Deng Jiaren	邓家仁
Du Mu	杜牧
Duan Qirui	段祺瑞
Fei Shi	匪石
Feng Guifen	冯桂芬
Feng Liang	冯梁
Feng Yaxiong	冯亚雄
Feng Yiyin	丰一吟
Feng Zikai	丰子凯
Fu Sheng	伏生
Gao Yanyun (Gao Shoutian)	高砚耘(高寿田)
Hu Shi	胡适
Hua Hangchen	华航琛
Huang Jiyu	黄辑虞
Huang Zi	黄自
Huang Zunxian	黄遵宪
Jia Jiying	贾季英
Jing Hengyi	经亨颐
Jing Ke	荆轲
Jing Yuanshan	经元善
Li Baoshan	李葆珊
Li Shutong (*Xi Shuang*; *Hongyi fashi*)	李叔同(息霜;宏一法师)
Hong Xiquan	洪秀全
Li Hongzhang	李鸿章
Li Huaxuan	李华萱
Li Jianhong	李剑红
Li Mingde	李明德
Li Xiaolou	李筱楼
Li Yanxing	李雁行
Li Yuzhen	李虞贞
Liang Qichao	梁启超
Liang Zhaomin	梁肇敏
Lin Kanghou	林康侯
Lin Shu	林纾
Liu Feilie	刘斐烈
Liu Zhiping	刘质平
Lu Xun	鲁迅
Luo Peijin	罗佩金

Luo Zhenyu	罗振玉
Kang Youwei	康有为
Mencius	孟子
Ouyang Yuqian	欧阳予倩
Pan Boying	潘伯英
Pan Mingzhi	潘铭之
Pu Yi	溥仪
Qian Xun	钱恂
Qiu Jin	秋瑾
Qu Yuan	屈原
Shen Caonong	沈草农
Shen Xingong	沈心工
Sheng Xuanhuai	盛宣怀
Shi Fengbao	史凤宝
Shi Geng	石更
Sun Shi	孙时
Tang Jiyao	唐继尧
Tang Xueyong	唐学咏
Wei Liangfu	魏良辅
Wang Guangqi	王光祈
Wang Guowei	王国维
Wang Houyu	王侯余
Wang Rongbao	汪荣宝
Wang Tao	王韬
Wang Yincai	王引才
Wei Liangfu	魏粮辅
Wei Yuan	魏源
Wu Fulin	吴福临
Wu Jingheng	吴敬恒
Wu Jingluě	吴景略
Wu Mengfei	吴梦非
Wu Rulun	吴汝纶
Wu Wanjiu	吴畹九
Yang Zhenhong	杨振鸿
Yuan Shikai	袁世凯
Xi Shengmo	席胜魔
Xia Mianzun	夏丏尊
Xia Songlai	夏颂莱
Xiao Youmei	萧友梅
Xin Han	幸汉
Xu Qian	徐谦
Xu Shubin	许淑彬
Xue Fucheng	薛福成
Xunzi	荀子
Yan Fu	严复
Yan Xiu	严修
Yang Du (Yang Xizhi)	杨度(晰之)
Yang Xiang	阳襄
Yao Xiguang	姚锡光
Ye Zaoting	叶藻庭
Ye Zhongling	叶中冷

You Heshan	由鹤山
Yu Yue	俞樾
Zeng Guofan	曾国藩
Zeng Zhimin	曾志忞
Zhang Binglin	张炳麟
Zhang Chunyi	张纯一
Zhang Guangqi	张广祺
Zhang Jian	张謇
Zhang Wuwei	张无为
Zhang Xuchu	张旭初
Zhang Zhidong	张之洞
Zhang Ziqian	张子谦
Zhao Shen	赵伸
Zhao Yuanren	赵元任
Zheng Guanying	郑观应
Zhong Tianwei	钟天纬
Zhou Kaiji	周开基
Zhou Zuoren	周作人
Zhu Shaoping	朱少屏
Zhu Zhiyun	朱织云
Zhu Zhuang	竹庄
Zhuang Zi	庄子

Japanese Names

Isawa Shûji	伊泽修二
Kawahiro Misoko	河原操子
Kondo Ideki	近藤来治
Kuroda Seiki	黑田清辉
Maraoka Hani'chi	村岗范为驰
Muraki Shôtaro	村钢详朗
Nakamura Ketsujrô	中村治郎
Ôishi Seiki	大石正己
Ôno Kyoko	大野
Narushima Ryûboku	成岛柳北
Sanetô Keishû	实藤惠秀
Suzuki Yonejirô	铃木米次郎
Tamaura Torazô	田村虎藏
Tane Chikusanjin	种竹山人
Tzutzumi Masao	堤正夫
Watanabe Ryûsei	渡边龙圣
Yukiko	雪子

2. Chinese/Japanese Terms and Expressions

Aiguo xueshe	爱国学社
baihua	白话
Bairi weixin	百日维新
baxian	八仙
Baiyang	白阳
beihuan jiaoji	悲欢交集
Beijing daxue yinyue yanjiu hui	北京大学音乐研究会
Beiping aimei xueshe	北平爱美学社
bianfa tongyi	变法通议
biangong	变宫
bianqu	编曲
bianwen	变文
bianzhi	变徵
bieti changge	别体唱歌
bijiao yinyuexue	比较音乐学
bo'ai	博爱
Bo Qinhuai	泊秦淮
buru gui qu	不如归去
caifeng	采风
Canhuaiji	《灿花集》
Chahuanü	《茶花女》
Chengnan caotang	城南草堂
Chengnan wenshe	城南文社
chongban	重版
chudeng xiaoxue	初等小学
chumu jieshi	触目皆是
Chunliushe	春柳社
Chuntai	春台
cihua	词话
daguan	大馆
danyin changge	单音唱歌
Daqin jingjiao dasheng tongzhen guifa zan	《大秦景教大圣通真归法赞》
Daqin jingjiao sanwei mengdu zan	《大秦景教三威蒙度赞》
Dasiyue	大司乐
Datongshu	大同书
Datong yinyuehui	大同音乐会
Dayueshu	大乐书
dexing	德行
Dongyou conglu	《东游丛录》
duanluo	段落
erhuang	二黄
ershouhuo	二手货
erxi	儿戏
fakanci	发刊词
fugu	复古
Fusang liangyue ji	《扶桑两月记》
fuyinge	复音歌
geming gequ	革命歌曲
geyao	歌谣
gezhi	格致

Guanhua shige	官话 诗歌
guchuishu	鼓 吹 书
guici	鼓 词
Guihexuan	归 鹤 轩
guocui	国粹
Guoli yinyuehui	国立 音乐会
Guomin yinyuehui	国民音乐会
guoqing	国情
Guangxuehui	光 学会
Geyao zhoukan	《歌谣周刊》
gongche	工 尺
guqin	古 琴
guyue	古 乐
Guiju	关 雎
guwei jinyong	古 为 今 用
guodu shidai	过渡时代
Guomindang	国民党
guoyu	国语
guoyue	国 乐
Haizimen de yinyue	《孩子 们的音乐》
haiyanqiang	海 盐 腔
haozi	号 子
Hechun	和春
Heinu yutianlu	《黑奴 吁 天录》
huaju	话剧
huangse gequ	黄色歌曲
Huaxinghui	华兴 会
huairou yuanren	怀 柔 远 人
huangzhong	黄 钟
huihua	绘画
Huxuehui	沪 学会
jiandu	监督
jiangxisuo	讲习 所
Jiaofang	教 坊
jiaohuang	教皇
Jiaoyubu	教 育 部
Jiaoyuhui	教育 会
Jiaoyu shijie	《教育世界》
jingji	经济
jingjun dagu	京 韵 大鼓
Jinshi shida yinyuejia	《近 世 十 大 音乐家》
Jinshi yuedian dayi	近世 乐 典 大意
jinweijun	禁卫 军
jiuge	九 歌
jiuguo	救国
Jiujie zhengdao jingzhou	《救 劫 证 道 经 咒》
jiuqu tianci	旧 曲填词
junxunguan	军训 官
kenqinhui	恳 请 会
Kongzi gaizhi kao	《孔 子 改制考》
Kongzihui	孔 子 会
Kun	鲲

kunqu	昆曲
Laoliuban	《老六板》
liuyi	六艺
Liyuan	梨园
liqu	俚曲
Lisao	离骚
Liuxuesheng huiguan	留学生会馆
lü	律
Lüzong	律宗
Manjianghong	满江红
mengguan	蒙馆
Mengxue duben	《蒙学读本》
mimi zhiyin	靡靡之音
minge	民歌
Mohai shuguan	墨海书馆
muban	木板
nalaizhuyi	拿来主义
Nanci yinzheng	《南词引正》
Nanshe	南社
Nanyang gongxue	南洋公学
Ningbo baihuabao	《宁波白话报》
niyin	溺音
Nüzi shijie	《女子世界》
Onkagu no tomo	"音楽の友"
Ongaku shinpô	"音楽進歩"
pei	配
peiqu	配曲
peng	鹏
pihuang	皮黄
pingyi danyin yuege	平易单音乐歌
pingze	平仄
pipa	琵琶
putong	普通
sichang	齐唱
Qinding xuetang zhangcheng	《秦订学堂章程》
sinxue	琴学
Qingyibao	《清议报》
Quanpan xihua	全盘西化
Quanxuepian	《权学遍》
Quanxuesuo	劝学所
Qulü	曲律
sunzhong gequ	群众歌曲
supai	曲牌
Qutongde xianxing	趋同的现象
Renjianshi	《人间世》
Riben guozhi	《日本国志》
Riben shumu zhi	《日本书目志》
sanqing	三庆
sanxian	三弦
shange	山歌
Shangnü buzhi wangguo hen	商女不知亡国恨
Shehui	社会
Shenghuo yu yinyue	生活与音乐

shexue	社学
Sheng Shipu	《圣诗谱》
shibaide shiye	失败的事业
Shijing	书经
shinian haojie	十年浩劫
shiwen	诗文
shôka	唱歌
shiyi	师夷
Shuguan	书馆
Shujing	书经
shutang	书堂
shuochang	说唱
shuyuan	书院
sida huiban	四大徽班
Sixi	四喜
sishu	私塾
suiyike	随意科
Suzhou baihuabao	《苏州白话报》
Taipingbao	太平报
Taiping tianguo	太平天国
Taiping zanmeige	《太平赞美歌》
tanci	弹词
tangli zhihua	棠隶之花
tangzhang	堂长
Taohuayuan	桃花圆
teban	特班
tianci	填词
ticao	体操
Tianle zhengyinpu	《天乐正音谱》
Tianya qu: xihu tianya fangcaoguan zhuren	天涯曲：西湖天涯芳草馆主人
tiyong	体用
Tongmenhui	同盟会
Tongwenguan	同文馆
Tuhua	图画
Wai yinyue	外音乐
Wangguo zhiyin	亡国之音
Wanqing shufang	晚晴书房
Wenhuashan	文化衫
Wenhui zazhi	《文汇杂志》
Wenmeibao	《文美报》
Wujun baihuabao	《吴郡白话报》
Wusheng dianying	无声电影
xili	洗礼
xipi	西皮
Xixue zhongyuan	西学中源
xiyi	悉夷
xiali baren	下里巴人
xianzhang	县长
Xiao bingdui	小兵队
xiaoqu	小曲
Xiao shipu	《小诗谱》
Xiaji yinyuehui	夏季音乐会

xiaozhang	校长
xiehe taidu	谐和态度
xinbing	新兵
xin guomin	新国民
xin jiyuan	新纪元
Xinping zhuang jiujiu	新瓶装旧酒
xinpu	新谱
xin shidai	新时代
xin wenti	新文体
Xin xuechao	《新学潮》
xinshi gequ	新式歌曲
Xingshi	《醒狮》
xinge	新歌
Xinxue weijing kao	《新学伪经考》
xin yinyue	新音乐
Xixue zhongyuan	西学中源
xiucai	秀才
xiushenke	修身科
xizitie	习字贴
xuanchuan	宣传
xuanqu	选曲
Xuebu	学部
Xueguan	学馆
Xueshengchao	学生潮
xuetang yuege	学堂乐歌
xuexiao	学校
Yaya yinyuehui	亚雅音乐会
yanyue	雅乐
Yangchun baixue	阳春白雪
xangwu	洋务
Yangxin shenshi	《养心神诗》
xiqing poce	夷情叵测
xiqing guijue	夷情诡谲
xiyangqiang	弋阳腔
Yinbinshi	饮冰室
xinshengren	音声人
xinyue	淫乐
yinyue de changshi	《音乐的常识》
yinyue jiangxihui	音乐讲习会
yinyue qianke	音乐捐客
yinyue sheji	音乐设计
Yinyue zhoukan	《音乐季刊》
yinyue minzuxue	音乐民族学
Yinyue rumen	《音乐入门》
Yinyue xiao zazhi	《音乐小杂志》
yishu gequ	艺术歌曲
Youzhiyuan	幼稚园
yubei	预备
Yuebian	乐辩
Yuefa Qimeng	《乐法启蒙》
Yuefu	乐府
yuege	乐歌

yuege de gongzuozhe	乐歌的工作者
Yueji	《乐记》
zhengfu taidu	征服态度
Zhejiang chao	《浙江潮》
zheng	筝
zhengwei zhiyin	郑卫之音
zhongxi tiyong	中西体用
Zhiyi	制夷
Zhongguo baihua bao	《中国白话报》
Zhongguo jiaohui xinbao	《中国教会新报》
Zhongguo yinyue gailiang shuo	《中国音乐改良说 <请合法使用软件>
Zhongguo yinyueshi	《中国音乐史》
Zhongxi shuyuan	中西书院
Zhongyong zhi tongzi	忠勇之童子
Zhongxi yuezhi zhi yanjiu	中西乐制之研究
Zhou Li	《周礼》
zidishu	子弟书
Zini xiwen	自拟檄文
Zongzhu shuzhang	《宗主诗章》
Zouding xuetang zhangcheng	《奏订学堂章程》
zuoci	作词
zuoge	作歌
zuoqu	作曲

Anthologies and song titles

1. Zeng Zhimin

a. Publications and Anthologies

Changge ji jiaoshoufa	《唱歌集教授法》
Fengqin lianxifa	《风琴练习法》
Guomin changeji	《国民唱歌集》
Hesheng luëyi	《和声略意》
Heshengxue	《和声学》
Jianyi jinxingqu	《简易进行曲》
Jiaoshou yinyue chubu	《教授音乐初步》
Jiaoyu changge ji	《教育唱歌集》
Mingren yuelun: Riben zhi yinyue fei zhen yinyue	《名人乐论: 日本之音乐非真音乐》
Yinyue jiaoyulun	《音乐教育论》
Yinyue Quanshu	《音乐全书》
Yinyue siku	《音乐四哭》
Yuedian jiaokeshu	《乐典教科书》
Yueli Dayi	《乐理大意》

b. Songs

Lianbing	《练兵》
Chunyou	《春游》
Yangzijiang	《杨子江》
Haizhan	《海战》
Xin	《新》
Qiuchong	《秋虫》

2. Shen Xingong

a. Song anthologies

Chongbian xuexiao changge ji	《重编学校唱歌集》
Minguo changge ji	《民国唱歌集》
Xingong changge ji	《心工唱歌集》
Xuexiao changge ji	《学校唱歌集》

b. Song titles

Bo gugu	《鹁鸪鸪》
Cai Chaqu	《采茶曲》
Cailian qu	《采联莲曲》
Cangying ge	《苍蝇歌》
Chanzu ku	《缠足的苦》
Chundiao	《春调》
Chunguang hao	《春光好》
Chuodaoge	辍悼歌
Chaozhong niao'er ti	《巢中鸟儿蹄》
Mengjiangnü	《孟姜女》
Fengyangge	《凤阳歌》
Geming bi xian geren xin	《革命必先格人心》
Geming jun	《革命军》
Guangfu zhi bai	《光福之柏》
Gu'eryuan	《孤儿院》
Guitu	《龟兔》
Hanghai chuan	《航海船》
Hequn zhi le	合群之乐
Huanghe	《黄河》
Huanghe lou	《黄鹤楼》
Hudie lai	《蝴蝶来》
Jinyuqin she shege	《今虞琴社社歌》
Junrende qiangdan	《军人的枪弹》
La Qiange	《拉纤歌》
Lang lai	《狼来》
Lianhuange	《连环歌》
Liangma tan	《良马叹》
Lüxing ge	《旅行歌》
Maibu	《卖布》

Maihua	《卖花》
Meizai Zhonghua	《美哉 中华》
Murenxi	《木人戏》
Nan'er diyi zhiqi gao (Ticao—bingcao)	《男儿第一志气高 体操--兵操》
Nüxue changge	《女学唱歌》
Pingmin yexiao	《平民夜校》
Qing jun duijing	《请君对镜》
Tiejiang ge	《铁匠歌》
Tongbao tongbao xu aiguo	《同胞 同胞须 爱国 <请合法使用软件>
Tongzijun	《童子 军 <请合法使用软件>
Wode jia	《我的家》
Xincun	《 新村》
Yangliu lü yiyi	《杨柳 绿 依 依 》
Yishuang zhong tianniu	《 一双 种 田 牛》
Youhuo chong	《游 火 虫》
Youyi	《友谊 》
Yuexia washeng	《月 下蛙 声》
Zuoyemeng	《昨 夜 梦 <请合法使用软件>

3. Li Shutong

a. Song anthologies

Guoxue changge ji	《国学 唱歌集》
Haichao yin	《海潮音》
Zhongguo minge wushige (Feng Zikai, ed)	《中国 民歌 五 十 歌》

b. Song titles

Ai zuguo	《哀 祖国 》
Beiqiu	《悲 秋》
Changshi	《长 逝》
Chunjiao saipao	《春郊 赛跑》
Dong	《冬》
Fengnian	《丰 年》
Guanxin	《观 心》
Hunyin zhuci	《婚 姻 辞》
Huashen	《化 身》
Nan'er	《男儿》
Qiming	《乞 命 》
Qingliang	《清凉》
Qiuye	《秋 夜》
Shangui	《山鬼》
Shanse	《山色》
Songbie	《送别》
Suidiliu	《隋 堤 柳》
Suigong	《隋 宫》
Wode guo	《我的国》
Xihu	《西 湖》
Xiamen diyi jie yundonghui ge	《厦门 第一届 运动 会 歌》
Yangbian	《扬鞭》

Yi ershi	《忆儿时》
Ying	《莺》
Zaoqiu	《早秋》
Zhili shengli diyi shifan fushu xiaoxue ge	《直隶第一师范附属小学歌》

4. Other anthologies, song titles and national anthems

Aiguo changge ji	《爱国唱歌集》
Gonghe guomin changge ji	《共和国民唱歌集》
Gonghe youzhi ge	《共和幼稚歌》
Gongjin'ou	《巩金瓯》
Junguomin jiaoyu changge ji	《军国民教育唱歌集》
Miaoyinji	《妙音集》
Nüzi xin changge	《女子新唱歌》
Qingyunge	《卿云歌》
Xiaoxue changge chuji	《小学唱歌初级》
Yingwen changge ji	《英文唱歌集》
Yingyong changge ji	《应用唱歌集》
Zhongxue changge ji	《中学唱歌集》
Zhongxiaoxue changge jiaokeshu	《中小学唱歌教科书》
Zhongguo xiongli yuzhou jian	《中国雄立宇宙间》

Songs.

Da Yangguizi	《打洋鬼子》
Diqiu	《地球》
Dizhenge	《地震歌》
Dong	《冬》
Fangzu ge	《放足歌》
Hong Xiuquan qiyi	《洪秀全起义》
Huan Zhongguo	《欢中国》
Huanghe	《黄河》
Hunan Shaoniange	《湖南少年歌》
Jingzhong ganfu	《警钟感赋》
Kuanggong ku	《矿工苦》
Mayi	《蚂蚁》
Nüzi ticao	《女体操》
Nüzi zhuzuo	《女著作》
Mianxuege	《勉学歌》
Oumei erjie	《欧美二杰》
Saichuan	《赛船》
Tongbaoku	《同胞苦》
Wanli changcheng	《万里长城》
Women zheci juhui you ge yuangu	我们这次有个缘故
Wo xian Oumei renmin a	《我羡欧美人民啊》
Yangzijiang	《杨子江》
Yapian qu	《鸦片曲》
Zhina zhu mo ge	《支那逐魔歌》

Zhong dayan	《种大烟》
Zhongguo nüjie	《中国女杰》
Zhuyin zimu	《注音字母》
Zunjun	《尊君》
Zunkong	《尊孔》

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