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Reforming Music Education in China, 1861–1937

Thesis presented by

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for the degree of

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University College Cork

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Abstract

This study takes as its starting point the historical context of China as a semicolony and semifeudal society to argue for the legitimacy and appropriateness of employing a postcolonial perspective in examining music educational reform. Building on this foundation, the research analyzes three specific cases to explore the roles and practices of three types of institutions, including missionary schools, professional music education institutions, and higher education conservatories, involved in the reform of music education in China.

The historical materials on which this study is based can be categorized into three types. The first consists of published historical documents and literature, such as *A Pictorial Chronicle of National Conservatory of Music (1927–1941)* (2013), and *The Journals of the National Conservatory of Music (1928–1937)* (2007). The second includes relevant sources from modern digitized historical databases, for instance: The National Index to Chinese Newspapers & Periodicals (NICNP). The third comprises original archival materials and documents personally collected by myself from institutions such as The Second Historical Archives of China (Nanjing), the Shanghai Municipal Archives (Shanghai), the Harvard Divinity School Library (Boston), and the Presbyterian Historical Society (Philadelphia). Drawing on these three categories of sources, I analyze the selected case studies using varied narrative frameworks, with the aim of reconstructing this historical process from a postcolonial perspective.

This dissertation is organized into six chapters. Chapter One outlines the feasibility of the theoretical perspective adopted in this study and explains the research methodology. Chapter Two reviews the historical background and relevant studies, with particular emphasis on the historical development of music education in China. Chapter Three focuses on the case of Hangchow Union Girls' School, examining the issue of subjectivity loss in the development of Chinese music education through both its religious and secular music curricula. Chapter Four is the case study of Conservatory of Music of the Peking National University. Through analyzing the establishment of Conservatory of Music of the Peking National University, this chapter explores the contradictions, changes, and developments in attitude faced by Chinese music educators as they sought to construct an indigenous professional music education system. Chapter Five uses the National Conservatory of Music (National School of Music) as a case study to discuss the concept of "hybridity" in the process of introducing and adapting Western music education models, and further considers whether this hybridity might be interpreted as a form of resistance by Western-trained Chinese musicians and music educators against Western cultural hegemony. Finally, Chapter Six serves as the conclusion, summarizing the three case studies and attempting to construct a broader historical narrative of the development of Chinese music education between 1861 and 1937. Additionally, I examine the research limitations and identify potential opportunities for future study.

摘要

本研究开篇以中国“半殖民地半封建社会”为历史背景，论证从后殖民角度审视音乐教育改革的合理性与适切性。随后，本文通过三个具体案例，分析中国音乐教育改革过程中三类学校的角色与实践，其中包含教会学校、中国专业音乐教育机构，以及中国的高等专业音乐院校。

本研究所依据的历史材料可分为三类。第一类为已出版的历史文献资料，例如：国立音乐院国立音乐专科学校图鉴（1927－1941）（2013），国立音乐院—国立音乐专科学校院校刊集（1928－1937）（2017）等。第二类为现代数字化历史资料库中收录的相关史料，例如：全国报刊索引。第三类为作者从中国第二历史档案馆（南京）、上海市档案馆（上海）、哈佛大学神学院图书馆（波士顿）以及长老会历史协会（费城）所收集的原始档案资料。结合这三类史料，作者从后殖民的视角出发，围绕研究中所选取的三个案例，运用不同的叙事框架，重构这段历史进程。

本论文共分为六个章节。第一章介绍本研究所采用的理论视角之可行性，并阐明研究方法。第二章主要梳理研究背景与相关的前人研究，重点分析中国音乐教育发展的历史脉络。第三章聚焦于杭州弘道女子学校这一案例。通过宗教音乐与世俗音乐两种课程，探讨中国音乐教育发展过程中主体性丧失的问题。第四章围绕北京大学附设音乐传习所展开。通过分析北京大学附设音乐传习所的创立过程，本章节探寻中国音乐教育家在建设本土专业音乐教育体系时所面临的矛盾、变化与发展。第五章则以国立音乐院（国立音乐专科学校）为例，讨论在引入与学习西方音乐教育体系的过程中所体现出的“杂性”，并进一步思考这种“杂性”是否可被视为接受过西方教育的中国音乐家和音乐教育家对西方音乐文化霸权的某种抵抗。第六章为结论章节。它不仅对前文所述三个案例进行了总结，也尝试建立起 1861 年至 1937 年间中国音乐教育发展的整体脉络；此外，作者还对本研究的局限性进行了反思，并指出未来研究的潜在方向。

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Semicolonialism in Modern China

> From the Opium War in 1840 to the eve of the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, this period marks the historical trajectory of China's gradual descent into a semicolony (banzhimindi, 半殖民地) and a semifeudal society (banfengjian shehui, 半封建社会). Simultaneously, it represents the persistent struggle of the Chinese people in their pursuit of national independence and the rejuvenation of the nation
>
> The process of China's transition into a semicolony and a semifeudal society is as follows:
>
> 1. The Treaty of Nanjing (Nanjing Tiaoyue, 南京条约, 1842) beginning the gradual decline from a feudal society to a semicolony and a semifeudal society.
> 2. The Treaty of Tianjin (Tianjin Tiaoyue, 天津条约)[1] and the Convention of Peking (Beijing Tiaoyue, 北京条约, 1860) further exacerbating the process of semicolonialism.
> 3. The Boxer Protocol (Xin chou Tiaoyue, 辛丑条约, 1900) formally establishing a semicolony and a semifeudal society in China.
>
> (Wang and Shi, 2020, pp. 33–36)

"Semicolony" is a term used since the 1920s and 1930s by Marxist critics, including Mao Zedong (1893–1976),[2] as a way of describing the coexistence of colonial and native feudal structures (Shih, 2001, p. 31).[3] Since the mid-nineteenth century, China gradually became a semicolony, and held this status until 1949. The Opium Wars (Yapian Zhanzheng, 鸦片战争)[4] led by the United Kingdom starting from the mid-nineteenth century ended the "closed-door" status of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911).[5] This situation prompted many Western countries[6] and Japan, all of whom had undergone an Industrial Revolution, to turn their attention to China in an effort to seek sources of raw materials and opportunities for

---

[1] The Treaty of Tianjin refers collectively to a series of treaties signed in Tianjin (formerly romanized as Tientsin) staring from 1858.

[2] Mao, courtesy name Runzhi, was a Chinese politician who was one of founders of the Communist Party of China (Zhongguo Gongchandang, 中国共产党) and was the first president of the People's Republic of China (Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo, 中华人民共和国, PRC) in 1949. In the Chinese context, a courtesy name is a respectful name traditionally given to a person upon reaching adulthood, used in formal or social settings instead of their given name.

[3] There is another term proposed by Sun Zhongshan (Sun Yat-sen, original name Wen, 1866–1925), who founded the Republic of China (Zhonghua Minguo, 中华民国, ROC) and its first political party, the Chinese Nationalist Party (Guomindang, Kuomintang, 国民党, KMT). Sun called "subcolony", which "emphasized the worse-than-colonial situation of China" (Shih, 2001, p. 32). But regardless of "semi" or "sub", the term is used to explain China's specific and unique social formation, and to help legitimize the commentators' respective political agendas (Shih, 2001, p. 32).

[4] Also known as the Anglo-Chinese War, these comprised a series of military confrontations fought between the British Empire and the Qing dynasty of China. See further, Spence, 2013, pp. 152–163.

[5] The sea ban was traced back to the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368), but Yuan did not adopt a large-scale sea ban. After Yuan replaced by Ming dynasty (1368–1644), a sea ban was initiated in its mid-period, primarily as a measure to resist the incursions of Japanese pirates (wokou, 倭寇). After the establishment of the Qing Dynasty, an even more stringent maritime sea ban policy was enforced, with its duration surpassing that of the previous two dynasties. As a result, China remained in a prolonged state of limited interaction with the outside world, a condition historically referred to as a policy of national seclusion or "closed-door policy."

[6] In this thesis, the term Western countries refers to the European nations and the United States.

market expansion. These imperial powers began to launch wars in China, competing for interests and ultimately aiming to partition the country. From 1840 to 1949, the Chinese experienced several wars with different foreign powers, including the Opium Wars (against the United Kingdom), the First Sino-Japanese War (Jia Wu Zhong Ri Zhanzheng, 甲午中日战争, 1894–1895, against Japan), and the Siege of the International Legations (involving the United Kingdom, Russia, France, Japan, the United States, Italy, the German Empire and Austria-Hungary, 1900).[7] Despite going through so many wars—and although any one nation could have potentially brought about its downfall—China managed to survive. This was not only because of its own strength and resilience, but also because the presence of multiple powers in China created a balance of mutual checks and restraints (Sun, 1924). The Nine-Power Treaty (Jiuguo Gongyue, 九国公约, 1922)[8] was a product of this situation. It confirmed the various rights of foreign powers in China, covering railroads, mining, loans, and treaty ports open to foreign trade.

In addition to foreign invasions, feudal forces remained a persistent presence within China. During the Opium Wars, the official government was the Qing dynasty—the last feudal monarchy in Chinese history. Although the Qing court attempted constitutional reforms, all such efforts ultimately failed. Even after the establishment of the Republic of China (Zhonghua Mingguo, 中华民国, ROC, 1912–1949), the continued existence of monarchist factions, such as the Royalist Party (Baohuangdang, 保皇党) demonstrated that feudal elements still lingered in Chinese society.

Under these circumstances, the term "*colonialism*" does not adequately capture the context of China. The concept of "*semicolonialism*"—which emphasizes fractured, informal, and indirect character of colonialism, as well as its multi-layeredness—is more appropriate for describing the cultural and political condition in modern China to foreground the multiple, layered, intensified, as well as incomplete and fragmentary nature of China's colonial structure (Shih, 2001, p. 34). In this context, "Chinese society was threatened and suppressed by highly organized Western states and the introduction of Western values undermined the perceived universality of Chinese ideology, causing deep intellectual and cultural shocks" (Linebarger, 2023, pp. 51–52). These clashes provide the broader research context for the main subject of this dissertation—the reform of music education in China under the conditions of the semicolony and the semifeudal society.

1.1.1. Semicolonialism in Its Political Dimension: Vacillation

Although China nominally maintained its sovereign independence, treaties[9] imposed by the Western powers following the two Opium Wars effectively enabled them to exercise "quasido-minance" (zhun tongzhiquan, 准统治权) over China, and thus, China was fully incorporated into the world system of capitalist states (Li, Li and Liu, 2011, p. 2). These

[7] For more information about the Opium Wars, see Waley, 1958. For more information about the First Sino-Japanese War, see Paine, 2009.

[8] This treaty was an international agreement signed in 1922 during the Washington Conference held in the United States. The nine signatory countries included China, the United States, the United Kingdom, Japan, France, Italy, Belgium, Portugal, and the Netherlands. Although the treaty ostensibly safeguarded China's interests, it ultimately failed to effectively prevent the imperialist powers from invading and interfering in China.

[9] There are three criteria for determining whether a treaty is unequal: first, it infringes upon China's national interests; second, it is assessed based on the principles of international law; and third, a combination of the previous two criteria. For more information about the definition of a unequal treaty, see Li, Li and Liu , 2011, p. 138–142.

treaties, now referred to in China as "unequal treaties", granted privileges to the imperialist powers, which exposed the incompleteness and fragmentation of China's political structure. Moreover, the linguistic ambiguities in different versions of the unequal treaties further reflected the undermining of China's sovereign authority. For example, the Chinese version of the Treaty of Tianjin (Sino-Russian, 1858; Sino-French, 1858; Sino-British, 1858; Sino-American, 1858; Sino-Danish, 1863; and Sino-Italian, 1866) explicitly indicated that foreign activities, such as building churches, hospitals, or schools, were permitted "at the ports and around the ports" (tongshang gekou yidai difang, 通商各口一带地方), whereas the English version stated "at the ports and at other places" (Li, 2011, p. 45–51). Such discrepancies blurred the distinction between treaty ports and the broader inland regions, which implied further intervention by foreign powers into China's interior. Similarly, in the Sino-Dutch version of the Treaty of Tianjin (1863), the Chinese text stipulated that "those who violate Chinese laws shall still be punished by local officials according to established regulations" (有犯中国法令之事，仍由地方官照例惩办) (Li, 2011, p. 51). However, the English and Dutch versions "deleted directly the clause that the believers who violate Chinese laws are punished by the Chinese officials" (Mayers 1902, p. 151), which laid the groundwork for subsequent phenomena, divide and rule, and a state within a state, in the foreign concessions, such as Shanghai.

In addition to the loss of sovereign authority, the multilayered situation also rendered China's resistance to imperialism and feudalism inherently "partial". Since the Self-Strengthening Movement (Yangwu yundong, 洋务运动, 1861–1894), successive Chinese governments—the late Qing regime and the subsequent Republican government—made considerable efforts to overcome the predicaments arising from confrontations with Western powers. Their objective was to establish a healthy, stable, and developmental society, but these endeavors achieved only limited success and ultimately failed to reverse the country's disadvantaged position, as Chinese governments adopted incomplete policies in their resistance against imperialism and feudalism. The late Qing dynasty Boxer Rebellion (Yihetuan yundong, 义和团运动, 1899–1900) under the banner of "Revive the Qing, destroy the foreign" (fu Qing mie yang, 扶清灭洋), illustrates this vacillation. "Powerful provincial officials wavered, as did the Qing court, sometimes protecting foreigners by meeting Boxer force with force of their own, at other times seeming to condone or even approve the Boxer show of antiforeign 'loyalty'" (Spence, 1999, p. 231). Furthermore, their anti-feudalistic position was also characterized by ambivalence and inconsistency, revealing the deep entanglement between reformist impulses and entrenched feudal structures. Although the Xinhai Revolution (Xinhai geming, 辛亥革命, 1911) brought an end to the feudal monarchical system and symbolized the initial establishment of a modernized and democratic country (Ma, 1995), the subsequent Warlord Era (1916–1928) showed the resurgence of authoritarianism, and even some previous revolutionaries, including Yuan Shikai (1859–1916) and Zhang Xun (1854–1923),[10] attempted or supported to revive the institution of an imperial court (fubi, 复辟). This wavering stance between imperialism and feudalism was a direct result of the complex and multilayered political structures and

[10] Yuan was the second provisional president and the first official president of the Republic of China. Zhang was a fanatical supporter of the Qing and supported the restoration of the abdicated Qing emperor Puyi. For more information about their activities about revival of hereditary monarchy, see Spence, 1999, pp. 277–283.

pressures inherent in the semicolonial context. In other words, the government often shifted allegiances strategically, choosing sides based on its own self-interest.

1.1.2. Semicolonialism in Its Educational Dimension: Western Superiority

Although missionaries were not much mentioned in the earliest main treaties, such as the Treaty of Nanjing, the complimentary treaties, such as with France and America (1844), granted permission to missionaries to build hospitals, schools and, surprisingly, "places of worship" (Brown, 1997, p. 27). The story of the missionary movement "is inextricably bound up with the whole history of the Western invasion of China" (Latourette, 1967, p. 4), and "the Church had become a partner in Western imperialism" (Latourette, 1967, p. 280).[11] Similarly, Adrian Hastings has noted that "in the course of the nineteenth century, the missionary enterprise became increasingly associated with expanding Western colonialism and imperialism" (2000, p. 386). Against this backdrop, it is essential to re-examine the educational initiatives undertaken by missionaries in China—not merely as instruments of religious dissemination, but as integral components of Western cultural export and the reconstruction of epistemological discourse.

With regard to education, missionaries held the following views:

> First, education is important to provide an effective and reliable native ministry; second, education is important to provide teachers to teach Christian Schools, and through them to introduce in China the superior education of the West; third, education is important to prepare men to take the lead in introducing into China the science and arts of Western civilisation; fourth, education affords the best means of gaining access to the higher classes in China; fifth, education is important to give the native Church self-reliance, and to fortify her against the encroachments of superstition from within and the attacks of educated skepticism from without. (Mateer, 1878, pp. 175–178)

Education was regarded as a crucial instrument of missionary work, serving not only the purpose of religious dissemination but also that of Western cultural export. However, this cultural transmission was deemed to require the direct involvement of missionaries themselves, for the following reasons:

> It is only as Christianity permeates philosophical and scientific study that it tends to humble the human heart and to lead men to bow in reverence before the Creator of the heavens and of the earth...China has need of that philosophical and scientific knowledge which Western scholarship is prepared to give, but she needs to receive such knowledge from the hands of Christian teachers...what [are] Western philosophy and science, divorced from Christianity...striving to accomplish? They are striving to deny that there is an Infinite Author of the universe, or if there may be such an Author, to relegate him to the region of the unknown and unknowable...If Western philosophy and science come to China divorced from Christianity, Confucian scholars will accept the new learning with proud self-complacency, and will find in it only a confirmation, and a more elaborate illustration, of the teachings of Confucian scholars for at least the last two thousand years. (Sheffield, 1890, pp. 470–471)

Within this context, Chinese intellectuals may have utilized Western science and philosophy as a means to comprehend modern civilization and, in doing so, reaffirm their identification with traditional Chinese culture. However, this potential was deliberately

[11] This book was first published in 1929 and reissued in 1967 by arrangement with Latourette.

suppressed within the missionary-dominated discursive framework. The tight interlinking of religion and knowledge rendered the Western epistemological system an extension of Christian belief, thereby reinforcing the perceived superiority of Western culture and intellectual traditions.

1.1.3. Semicolonialism in Its Cultural Dimension: Imbalance

Within the broader context of semicolonialism, the forceful entry of Western culture into China caused a significant deviation from a development path grounded in indigenous Chinese traditions. This cultural imposition was particularly evident in the missionary privileges granted under the unequal treaties. As previously mentioned, missionary activity in modern China consistently functioned as "a partner of Western imperialism", fundamentally differing from the relatively reciprocal exchanges seen during the late Ming and early Qing periods, such as the "Eastward spread of Western learning" (Xi xue Dong jian, 西学东渐) and the "Westward spread of Chinese learning" (Dong xue Xi chuan, 东学西传) (see further, Yu *et al*., 1997, pp. 20–43). As Western cultural dissemination intensified, Chinese attitudes toward the West evolved—from outright rejection and xenophobia to the adoption of the model of "Chinese learning as substance, Western learning for application" (Zhong ti Xi yong, 中体西用), and eventually to calls for wholesale Westernization. This trajectory reflects a significant shift in China's cultural posture. Yet, due to the multilayered dependencies embedded in the semicolonial condition, China's engagement with Western knowledge did not follow a linear path from rejection to acceptance. Instead, vacillations and reversals emerged as structural features of this process (discussed in the next chapter). For instance, the New Culture Movement of 1915 promoted "Mr. Democracy" (De xiansheng, 德先生) and "Mr. Science" (Sai xiansheng, 赛先生), advocating the absorption of Western values (Lü, 2011, p. 91). This was later counterbalanced by the New Life Movement (Xinshenghuo yundong, 新生活运动, 1934–1949), which emphasized national "renaissance" (see further, Dirlik, 1975, pp. 945–980). Nevertheless, a landscape of coexistence between Chinese and Western cultures had already taken shape. Regardless of the direction in which cultural development tilted—toward Western systems or native traditions—the process itself constituted an indispensable stage in China's search for a modern cultural identity.

1.2. Postcolonialism in Modern China

Postcolonialism emerged in the twentieth century as a critical response to European colonization and its enduring legacies. Although this period falls after that which we are studying, it produced several theoretical perspectives that are highly useful to us in considering the age in question.

After the Second World War (1939–1945), many formerly colonized nations broke free from imperialist colonial rule and embarked on the path toward political independence. However, such political liberation did not bring an end to the deep inequalities in social structures and the persistence of cultural hegemony inherited from the colonial era. Colonial power left profound historical imprints on the economies, politics, and cultures of these nations, producing enduring and pervasive influences. Moreover, in the process of global power restructuring, the formerly colonized states continue to confront challenges related to

identity and discourse power. It is precisely within this context—characterized by the enduring imperial legacies and the power reconfigurations in a globalizing world—that postcolonial theory emerged.

Academic research on postcolonial theory has developed into a rich and diverse intellectual field. Early colonial literary works, such as Frantz Fanon's (1925–1961) *Black Skin, White Masks* (first published in 1952) and Chinua Achebe's (1930–2013) *Things Fall Apart* (first published in 1958), introduced key concepts such as "colonial psychology" and "cultural cringe," laying the foundational groundwork for postcolonial theory. Edward W. Said's (1935–2003) *Orientalism* (first published in 1978), with its critical analysis of "binary oppositions" and the construction of the "Other," marked the formal establishment of postcolonial theory as a systematic field. Said systematically revealed the mechanisms through which Western discourse produced and disciplined representations of the Orient, highlighting the entanglement of knowledge and power. Subsequently, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1942), in *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics* (1987), integrated deconstruction, Marxism, and feminism in her in-depth analyses of postcolonial cultural politics. Homi K. Bhabha (1949–), in *The Location of Culture* (1994), introduced influential concepts such as "hybridity" and the "third space," further advancing postcolonial theory's exploration of relations between cultural identity and power, and contributing to the dynamic and pluralistic development of the field. In addition, "Ato Quayson, in *Postcolonialism: Theory, Practice, or Process?* (2000), sought to transcend the traditional binary framework of 'the West as subject and the East as other,' attempting to move beyond a unidirectional model of East-West interaction" (Song, 2002, p. 74). Instead, he explored multidirectional and interactive global postcolonial cultural structures. Through these ongoing theoretical developments and critical reflections, postcolonial studies has emerged as a more complex, open, and self-reflexive body of theory.

Overall, these perspectives examine not only the historical trajectory of colonialism but also the ways in which colonial culture, economy, and power structure continue to shape the social development and identity formation of formerly colonized nations. From the perspective of discipline, postcolonial theory represents a paradigmatic example of interdisciplinary scholarship. It integrates and synthesizes theoretical resources and methodological approaches from multiple fields, including literature, philosophy, history, anthropology, and sociology, thereby constructing a complex and heterogeneous body of knowledge. Furthermore, when examining individual intellectual trajectories, it is evident that postcolonial theorists exert profound mutual influence on one another, and thus, they became known as synthetic theorists (Zhai, 2013, p. 16).

The rapid dissemination of postcolonial theory in non-Western countries can be attributed to its alignment with the academic stance of Western decentralization among local scholars (Song, 2002, p. 73). However, due to China's unique semicolonial history, many Western scholars exclude it from their studies of colonial histories, resulting in the marginalization of Chinese experiences of exploitation and subjugation, the neglect of China within postcolonial discourse, and the consequently slow development of postcolonial perspectives in Chinese academia (Wang and Zhang, 2025, p. 78–79). Despite this, with the widespread dissemination of postcolonial theory and postcolonial criticism on a global scale, Chinese academia has gradually incorporated postcolonial perspectives to reassess its own

problematics and scholarly agendas. In the field of music studies, specifically, since the 1990s, scholars, such as Shen Qia, Wang Yaohua, Guan Jianhua, Ju Qihong, have published several articles exploring issues from a postcolonial perspective.[12] They have engaged in an enduring and profound debate centered on "twentieth-century Chinese music development". The initial impetus for this debate stemmed from a critical interrogation and deconstruction of the Eurocentrism that had long dominated the discourse on Chinese music since the nineteenth century. Over time, this critique extended to core issues commonly addressed within postcolonial discourse, including the reconstruction of music discourse power, the perceived crisis of Chinese traditional music, and the reestablishment of cultural identity. Spanning nearly fifteen years, this extensive academic debate was significant not merely for exposing the complexities and contradictions inherent in the historiography of twentieth-century Chinese music within a postcolonial context, but also for catalyzing reflection and theoretical reconstruction within the Chinese music system. As Ju Qihong observed,

> although this debate yielded no definitive conclusion—nor was such a conclusion necessary—the range of theoretical propositions and perspectives articulated by various scholars has proven profoundly enlightening for the development of Chinese music theory…the historical narrative of twentieth-century Chinese music history has been firmly inscribed as an objective reality, and it is only by embracing 'an egalitarian and open view of musical development'—both in reassessing this history and in envisioning the future possibilities— that Chinese music can aspire to flourish within the diverse and pluralistic cultural landscape of the world. (2006a, pp. 60–61).

In exploring the reforms of Chinese educational history, this thesis adopts postcolonial theory as its primary analytical framework, based on the following academic considerations. The history of Sino-Western cultural exchanges has been marked by a persistent issue of subjectivity absence (Guan, 1997, pp. 10–11). During the exchange, with the introduction of Western musical culture, the Chinese traditional music has not genuinely expressed itself as an equal subject of culture. This is reflected in the fact that indigenous music became constrained in its creative style and aesthetic standards. However, subjectivity is more than an artistic expression; it serves as an important agency for cultural expression, carries cultural connotations, national sentiments, and a sense of identity. Hence, given the absence of China's unique and distinctive cultural identity (see further, Xia and Ma, 2011, p. 20), the reconstruction of subjectivity becomes a crucial means of resisting cultural hegemony.

In addition, since the late Qing dynasty, cultural exchange between Chinese and Western music[13] has exhibited a pattern of structural imbalance. This is reflected in several

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[12] Shen Qia has published "The U-shaped Path of Chinese Music Thought in the 20th century" (Ershi shiji guoyue sixiang de "U zi" zhilu, 二十世纪国乐思想的 U 字之路) in 1994. Wang Yaohua published two articles named "The Achievements and Shortcomings of School Music Education in Modern China" (Zhongguo jinxiandai xuexiao yinyue jiaoyu zhi deshi, 中国近现代学校音乐教育之得失) in 1994 and 1995. Guan Jianhua published "Reflections on the Crisis of Subjectivity in the Development of Chinese Musical Culture" (Zhongguo yinyue wenhua fazhan zhutixing weiji de sikao, 中国音乐文化发展主体性危机的思考) in 1995. Ju Qihong published "Establishing a Human-centered Concept of Musical Development: A Review and reflection on the development Path of Chinese Music in the 20th Century" (Jianli yirenweiben de yinyue fazhanguan—guanyu "20 shiji zhongguo yinyue fazhan daolu de huigu yu fansi," wenti zhi wojian, 建立以人为本的音乐发展观—关于"20 世纪中国音乐发展道路的回顾与反思"问题之我见) in 1999.

[13] Although early Western music specifically referred to music from Europe , as European music spread to regions such as the United States and Japan, it gradually transcended geographical boundaries. In this study, "Western music" is used in the latter sense (of European music wherever it is found in the world) unless specified in the text—for example, when referring specifically to Japan, Germany, or the United States.

key aspects: the unidirectionality of cultural exchange, the inequality inherent in cultural exchange, and the asymmetry of cultural exchange (Guan, 2002, p. 5). First, during the modern era, China primarily engaged in the learning and adoption of Western musical systems and their underlying cultural values, while the West, according to its own standards of evaluation, treated Chinese music as undeveloped. This was a one-way infiltration of Western musical culture into China's indigenous musical discourse (Guan, 2002, p. 5). Second, in the process of engaging with Western music, traditional Chinese music was often marginalized. For instance, Chinese elements were not widely popular in music courses that were predominantly Western in inspiration and content (Stock, 1996, p. 143). Third, the asymmetry of cultural exchange: while China dispatched a large number of outstanding musicians to study Western music, there was no equivalent movement from the West to engage with or learn Chinese music (Guan, 2002, p. 5).

Furthermore, in the current Chinese music education system, Western pedagogical paradigms continue to occupy a dominant position. This phenomenon demonstrates typical characteristics of postcolonial cultural dynamics, whereby educational systems and aesthetic values remain deeply influenced by Western-centrism (Liang, 2019, p. 83). Against this backdrop, Chinese musicians and scholars have increasingly recognized that the construction of a diverse and hybrid cultural framework in the development of musical culture is crucial for dissolving cultural antagonism and hostility, fostering intercultural dialogue, acknowledging and respecting cultural differences, and realizing a complementary and symbiotic relationship between Eastern and Western cultures. This leads to "a cultural vision of mutual inclusion and integration—you are in me, and I am in you" (Wang, 2015, p. 82). In addition, an increasing number of Chinese scholars are emphasizing the need to study Western music from a "Chinese perspective" in order to overcome the dependence on Western discourses and to reconstruct the cultural subjectivity and identity of Chinese scholars (Qiu, 2013).

This thesis adopts key issues of postcolonial theory as its analytical framework to offer a critical reinterpretation of music education reform during China's semicolonial and semifeudal period. Its aim is to reconstruct the complexity that underpinned the transformations of music education in this historical context. By examining the specific practices of Sino-Western musical exchange from the late Qing dynasty to the Republican era, this research focuses on critical themes such as the construction of discursive power in music education, the reshaping of cultural identity, and the transformation of epistemological systems. Postcolonial theory—including cultural Other and subject, Sub-oppressor and ambivalence, hybrid culture—provides a theoretical framework for analyzing the cultural identity crises and the loss of subjectivity that marked Chinese music education under the pervasive influence of Western cultural hegemony.

1.2.1. Cultural Other and Subject

> For Egypt was not just another colony: it was the vindication of Western imperialism; it was, until its annexation by England, an almost academic example of Oriental backwardness; it was to become the triumph of English knowledge and power. (Said, 1978, p. 35)

Cultural Other is a form of identity representation that constructs power relations by distinguishing the Self from the Other. The production of the Other is not merely a matter of

cultural difference, but rather a construct rooted in asymmetrical power relations. According to Bhabha:

> the question of identification is never the affirmation of a pregiven identity, never a self-fulfilling prophecy—it is always the production of an image of identity and the transformation of the subject in assuming that image. The demand of identification—that is, to be for an other—entails the representation of the subject in the differentiating order of otherness. (Bhabha, 1994, p. 45)

From this, it becomes evident that identity is not something innate or naturally given. First, identification is not the affirmation of a pre-existing identity, but rather a participation in the construction of cultural identity. Second, the process of identification always relies on differentiation from the Other. Third, identification is not the result of individual choice, but rather a product of the interplay between power struggle, discourse power, and cultural mechanisms. Through the process of Othering, colonial powers reinforced their own cultural superiority (the superiority of Western civilization) and consolidated existing power structures. As a result, the cultural Other is frequently represented through labels such as barbaric, backward, primitive, and irrational, which in turn served to highlight and legitimize the perceived "advancement" and "rationality" of Western civilization. In addition, the colonized were deprived of their subjectivity in their cultural development, which undermined the possibility of developing their culture based on their own traditions.

1.2.2. Sub-oppressor and Ambivalence

> During the initial stage of the struggle, the oppressed, instead of striving for liberation, tend themselves to become oppressors, or "sub-oppressors." Their ideal is to be men; but for them, to be men is to be oppressors.... [A]t a certain moment of their existential experience, [the oppressed] adopt an attitude of "adherence" to the oppressor. (Freire, 1972, p. 22)

As Freire explains, cultural elites brought up under the dominance of colonial culture, having received a so-called "advanced" colonial education, gradually begin to accept—and even internalize—the value systems, language, education, and lifestyle introduced by the colonizers. In the process of seeking liberation, their identity unconsciously shifts to that of the oppressor since they perceive native culture as inferior. This internal binary—between identification and rejection, superiority and inferiority—gets them stuck in ambivalence.

> Quite simply, they are the instances in which the educated Negro suddenly discovers that he is rejected by a civilization which he has none the less assimilated. So that the conclusion would come to this: To the extent to which M. Mannoni's real typical Malagasy takes on "dependent behavior," all is for the best; if, however, he forgets his place, if he takes it into his head to be the equal of the European, then the said European is indignant and casts out the upstart—who, in such circumstance, in this "exceptional case," pays for his own rejection of dependence with an inferiority complex.
>
> Earlier, we uncovered in certain of M. Mannoni's statements a mistake that is at the very least dangerous. In effect, he leaves the Malagasy no choice save between inferiority and dependence. These two solutions excepted, there is no salvation. "When he (the Malagasy) has succeeded in forming such relations (of dependence) with his superiors, his inferiority no longer troubles him: everything is all right. When he fails to establish them, when his feeling of insecurity is not assuaged in this way, he suffers a crisis. (Fanon, 1967, pp. 93–94, 100)

Fanon's example shows us that the binary framework born out of this ambivalence essentially perpetuates the core logic of colonial discourse—dividing the world into oppositions such as "advanced" versus "backward," "Western" versus "non-Western," "civilized" versus "barbaric." This mode not only reinforces the colonizer's superiority but also subtly suppresses the capacity for creativity among the colonized, while their self-identification becomes impossible. Within such a structure, the colonized are forced to choose between these two extremes, unable to transcend the confines of this limiting colonial framework. However, this binary opposition is not absolute; rather, it is filled with ambiguities, hybridities, and gray areas.

1.2.3. Hybrid Culture

> Hybridity is the sign of the productivity of colonial power, its shifting forces and fixities; it is the name for the strategic reversal of the process of domination through disavowal (that is, the production of discriminatory identities that secure the 'pure' and original identity of authority). Hybridity is the revaluation of the assumption of colonial identity through the repetition of discriminatory identity effects. It displays the necessary deformation and displacement of all sites of discrimination and domination. It unsettles the mimetic or narcissistic demands of colonial power but reimplicates its identifications in strategies of subversion that turn the gaze of the discriminated back upon the eye of power. (Bhabha, 1994, p. 112)

The colonized create hybrid culture through mimicry. During the process of creating hybrid culture, the colonized's mimicry of the colonizer leads to a "rupture" in colonial discourse, because of a discursive process involving production of an ambivalence of mimicry that results in an excess or slippage (Bhabha, 1994, p. 86). During the process of creating hybrid culture, the colonized's mimicry of the colonizer leads to a "rupture" in colonial discourse, because of a discursive process by which the excess or slippage produced by the ambivalence of mimicry (almost the same, but not quite) (Bhabha, 1994, p. 86). Consequently, although the mimicry of the colonized may appear submissive on the surface, it actually contains a latent subversiveness due to its nature of being "almost the same, but not quite." This ambivalence within mimicry exposes the internal fragility and contradictions of colonial discourse, thereby challenging—and even eroding—the authority of the colonizer. Therefore, mimicry is at once resemblance and menace (Bhabha, 1994, p. 86).

1.3. Methodology

This dissertation primarily adopts documentary research as its main methodological approach. Given that the core focus of this study is to examine the reform of Chinese music education following the intervention of Western culture, three representative case studies have been selected to analyze the conditions and transformations of Chinese music education across different historical stages. In order to further reconstruct historical realities and ensure the accuracy and depth of the analysis, this research is grounded in a comprehensive review of published historical materials, supplemented by seven months of archival investigation. This combination of methods aims to provide a more nuanced and empirically substantiated understanding of the complexities inherent in the evolution of Chinese music education during the semicolonial and semifeudal period.

Firstly, regarding the overall development of mission schools in China after 1840, with a particular focus on the case study of Hangchow Union Girls' School (Hangzhou Hongdao Nüzi Xuexiao, 杭州弘道女子学校, HUGS), due to the limited availability of archival materials within China, I conducted a two-month archival research trip from May to July 2024 to the Harvard Divinity School Library (Boston) and the Presbyterian Historical Society (Philadelphia). The Presbyterian Historical Society holds an extensive collection of primary sources about the HUGS, including the complete personal archives of Elias B. Inslee, the founder of this School, as well as dedicated archival materials related to the school itself. These collections comprise pamphlets, catalogs (including detailed curriculum plans), announcements, minutes, mission station reports, and correspondence letters—such as applications for funding and manuscript drafts of articles. These primary sources provide critical documentation for this study. In addition, the Harvard Divinity School houses several unpublished statistical reports on Christianity in China, along with missionary interpretations and commentaries on regulations and policies specifically concerning their activities in China. These materials offer valuable insights into the operational mechanisms and educational strategies of mission schools during this period.

Secondly, in the case studies of the Conservatory of Music of the Peking National University (Beijing Daxue Fushe Yinyue Chuanxisuo, 北京大学附设音乐传习所, CMPNU) and the National Conservatory of Music (Guoli Yinyue yuan, 国立音乐院, NCM), in addition to consulting a series of archival materials published under the auspices of the Shanghai Conservatory of Music, I made extensive use of several digital platforms, such as the National Index Chinese Newspapers & Periodicals (Quanguo baokan suoyin, 全国报刊索引, NICNP), to systematically collect and review relevant documents. In order to further address potential gaps and enrich the research materials, I conducted on-site archival investigations at the Second Historical Archives of China (Zhongguo Di'er Lishi Dang'anguan, 中国第二历史档案馆) in Nanjing and the Shanghai Municipal Archives (Shanghaishi Dang'anguan, 上海市档案馆) in Shanghai between September and November 2023. Although these archival visits did not yield any major new discoveries, I was able to collect a number of scattered yet valuable documents, such as reports on the use of primary and secondary school textbooks across different regions, and official directives issued by the Ministry of Education. These materials have provided important supplementary evidence for the in-depth analysis and argumentation presented in this dissertation.

1.4. Research Question

In this thesis, I establish the broad outline of music-educational reform in China from 1861-1937. This generates the following questions in three stages:

1. How did the introduction of Western music education, marked by assumptions on its superiority and hegemony, contribute to the marginalization of traditional Chinese musical culture during a process of Othering?
2. What roles did Western-trained Chinese musicians and music educators play in the establishment of the Chinese music education system during this period? Within the context of Western musical cultural hegemony, how can the CMPNU's position be understood in the broader trajectory of China's music educational development?

3. How did a Chinese indigenous music education system gradually take shape during the process of introducing Western-style music curricula? In addition, how did Western-trained Chinese musicians and music educators embrace Western music while continuing the reform of Chinese traditional music; and to what extent did public awakening influence cultural colonization?

1.5. Framework

This thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapters One and Two provide research background. Chapters Three, Four, and Five serve respectively as case studies, focusing in turn on the HUGS, the CMPNU and the NCM. These chapters aim to correspond to and analyze the three phased research questions proposed above. Chapter Six is the conclusion. Through in-depth exploration of these cases, the thesis seeks to recover aspects of historical reality that have been overlooked or marginalized in traditional narratives. The details of each chapter are as follows.

The present Chapter One serves as an introduction, beginning with the context of a semicolony and a semifeudal Chinese society. It points out that semicolonialism is more complex than outright colonialism, and elaborates on its specific manifestations from political, educational, and cultural perspectives. Moreover, this chapter establishes postcolonial theory as the analytical framework for the thesis.

Chapter Two aims to outline the research context and literature review of the study, and follows two main lines of discussion. The first line traces a brief history of the development of music education in China, reviewing its evolution from clan-based societies to the Republican era. It clearly emphasizes that, although China does possess a tradition of music education, music was gradually withdrawn from the official government-run schools (guanxue, 官学)[14] following the establishment of the Music Bureau (Yuefu, 乐府),[15] leading to its marginalized status within institutionalized education. The second line focuses on the current state of research on the topic of "music education reform," covering relevant scholarship both domestically and internationally. It also builds on existing research related to the three selected case studies—the HUGS, the CMPNU and the NCM—clarifying the analytical approach and academic contribution of this thesis to each case.

Chapter Three presents a case study of the HUGS, focusing on two main aspects: Christian music and secular music curricula. It seeks to reveal how, during the gradual development of China's modern music education system, traditional Chinese music progressively lost its subjectivity and discursive authority under the dominance of Western music education models. It also shows how the missionary aim of teaching Christianity through musical activity is gradually supplanted by a rising trend of professional music education. This analysis also serves to lay the groundwork for the subsequent discussion on how China's professional music education system came to revolve around Western music curricula.

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[14] In addition to the official government-run schools, there also existed government-run music education institutions which provided entertainment (Xiu, 1997, p. 54).

[15] The Yuefu in the Qin dynasty (221–206 BCE) was named Qin Yuefu, and was a mature official institution with functions including manufacture or persevering and allocating musical instruments. In the Han dynasty, new functions were added, such as sacrificial offerings and composing lyrics; see Mai, 2018.

Chapter Four presents a case study of the CMPNU. As one of the earliest established institutions of professional music education in China, its historical significance and influence are already well recognized. Therefore, this chapter focuses on examining the reform trajectory through which it evolved from a student society into a formal institution of professional music education. Drawing on historical materials, the chapter reveals the deep dependence on Western music curriculum systems during the construction of China's music education framework, further highlighting the expanding influence of Western music in China. Throughout this process, the ambivalent attitudes of Chinese musicians toward the dominant position of Western music also begin to surface.

Chapter Five presents a case study of the NCM, focusing primarily on the expression of Chinese cultural elements within its curriculum and musical activities. This chapter demonstrates that, although Western musical influences were present in both its courses and events, its hybrid culture inherently carries a subversive potential. The *mimicry*, *differentiation, rewriting*, and *transformation* of Western musical culture can thus be seen as a form of response—and challenge—to the hegemonic power of Western music.

Chapter Six serves as a comprehensive conclusion. Building on the discussions from the previous case studies, I construct a developmental trajectory of Chinese music education spanning from 1861 to 1937. This framework helps to clarify the respective roles played by Christian music, Western music, traditional Chinese music, missionaries, and Western-trained Chinese musicians, and music educators in shaping modern Chinese music education. In addition, this chapter addresses the limitations of the study and outlines potential directions for future research on the topic.

Chapter 2.
The "Vanishing" and "Revival" of School Music Education—Research Context and Literature Review

2.1. A History of Music Education in China before the Nineteenth Century

The development of music education in China from its origins in clan society to the present day cannot be discussed without mentioning the works of three scholars: Xiu Hailin's *Ancient Chinese Music Education* (Zhongguo gudai yinyue jiaoyu, 中国古代音乐教育), Sun Jinan's *Chronology of Modern and Contemporary Chinese Music Education History* (1840–2000) (Zhongguo jinxiandai yinyue jiaoyushi jinian (1840–2000), 中国近现代音乐教育纪年 (1840–2000)), and Wu Yongyi's *Chinese Modern and Contemporary School Music Education* (Zhongguo jinxiandai xuexiao yinyue jiaoyu, 中国近现代学校音乐教育). All three works adopt a chronological perspective, offering a systematic account of music-related educational activities across different historical periods. By tracing the development of both institutional and informal music education, these studies serve as crucial references for understanding the broader historical and cultural framework of Chinese music education. These sources carry substantial academic value, contributing to discussions on the origins, developmental patterns, and socio-cultural dynamics underlying China's music education system. They provide both contextual information and a historical foundation for the new research presented in this thesis.

2.1.1. Music and Music Education: A Symbiotic Origin

There are many theories about the origin of music. Even in the late-nineteenth century these varied widely, such as the labor theory (laodong shuo, 劳动说, represented by Karl Bücher, 1874–1930), language theory (yuyan shuo, 语言说, represented by Herbert Spencer), witchcraft theory (wushu shuo, 巫术说, Edward Burnett Tylor, 1832–1917), imitation theory (mofang shuo, 模仿说, Thomas Henry Huxley, 1825–1895), and emotion theory (qinggan shuo, 情感说, represented by Lev Nikolayevich Tolstoy, 1828–1910) (Cai, 2018, p. 94).[16] Similar views can also be found in ancient Chinese texts, for instance, Liu An's (179–122 BCE) *Huainanzi* (淮南子, before 139 BCE)[17] mentions the labor theory; Wang Guowei's (1877–1927)[18] *A Research of Chinese Opera in the Song and Yuan Dynasty* (Song Yuan

[16] Bücher was a German economist and historian, whose key work was *Arbeit und Rhythmus* (1896). Tylor was a British anthropologist, whose key work was *Primitive Culture* (1871) and *Anthropology* (1881). Huxley was a British biologist and philosopher, famously known as "Darwin's Bulldog". Tolstoy was a renowned Russian novelist.

[17] Liu was a cartographer, monarch, and philosopher. *Huainanzi* is an ancient Chinese text composed of essays derived from scholarly discussions convened at the court of Liu An (?–122 BCE), prince of Huainan, before 139 BCE.

[18] Wang was a well-known master of Chinese classical studies.

xiqukao, 宋元戏曲考, 1913)[19] refers to witchcraft theory; and imitation theory is also included in *Master Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals: Midsummer—Ancient Music* (Lüshi chunqiu: zhongxiaji—guyuepian, 吕氏春秋: 仲夏纪—古乐篇, around 239 BCE)[20] (see further, RIMCAA, 2009a, p. 3).[21] In my view, the origin of music and the origin of music education share a symbiotic relationship. Regardless of which of the above theories one subscribes to, communication and transmission have always been the central themes. Under these circumstances, music education inevitably emerged alongside the birth of music. To fully grasp this perspective, it is essential to consider three fundamental questions.

First, what constitutes the functionality of music? To answer this question, I refer to key insights from Steven Mithen's *The Singing Neanderthals* (2005). Mithen highlights the functional role of music in several domains, such as emotional expression (see further, chapter 7, pp. 85–101), communication (see further, chapter 9, pp. 122–138), or social bonding (see further, chapter 14, pp. 205–220). These functions not only demonstrate the psychological and physiological effects of music on the individual but also illustrate its profound influence on group interactions and social structures.

These functions bring the discussion to the second question, namely, what is music education for? There are various perspectives on this issue, and no definitive conclusion has been reached. For example, Yuhwen Wang has considered that "Chinese music education has traditionally been conceived in terms of ethical education—in terms, that is, of cultivation of character and disposition rather than development in performing technique or musical knowledge" (Wang, 2012, p. 263). Wayne Bowman and Ana Lucía Frega argued that

> As John Dewey famously suggested, to educate is to develop the capacities and inclinations conducive to continued growth: the aim of educational growth is to facilitate further growth. Similarly, a crucial aim of philosophical inquiry in music education is to develop dispositions and habits that favor ongoing growth and change—to nurture the habit of changing habits when circumstances warrant, and the ability to discern when change is desirable or necessary. (2012, p. 35).[22]

In this thesis, from the perspective outlined above, I favor the opinion that, if the essence of music lies in emotional expression, then the goal of music education is to understand and master the means of expressing emotion; if music originates from the need for communication, then music education aims to cultivate effective communicative abilities; and if music serves to foster social bonds, then music education serves a crucial means of achieving social connection.

The third question: how did music education take shape? According to the aforementioned perspectives, since music originated from fundamental functions such as emotional expression and communication, it likely began as an informal means of transmitting musical behavior within families and communities. Over time, starting from clan society, certain ritual ceremonies involving music and dance began to exhibit a degree of

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[19] *Song Yuan xiqukao* was completed in 1913 by the renowned scholar Wang Guowei (1877–1927). In 1915, when it was first published by the Commercial Press, it was re-titled *A History of Song and Yuan Drama* (Song Yuan Xiqu Shi, 宋元戏曲史).

[20] *Lüshi Chunqiu* is a comprehensive classical Chinese text compiled circa 239 BCE under the auspices of Lü Buwei (292–235 BCE), the Chancellor of the late pre-imperial Qin state.

[21] RIMCAA is an abbreviation of the Research Institute of Music of the Chinese Academy of Arts (Zhongguo Yishu Yanjiuyuan Yinyue Yanjiusuo, 中国艺术研究院音乐研究所).

[22] For more discussion about music education, see further, Bowman and Frega, 2012.

standardization, and thus some individuals may have taken on the leading role in the music and dance of ceremony (Xiu, 1997, p. 5). This transition from daily communication to purposeful instruction reflects the complex of culture and the development of society. Within this process, the emergence of music education reveals its inherent necessity.

2.1.2. A Brief History of Music Education from Clan Society to Qing Dynasty

Since the era of clan society, music education has been intricately intertwined with general education, exerting a profound and lasting influence on social development (Xiu, 1997, p. 4; Mei, 2013, p. 82). The origins of Chinese music education can be traced back to the Neolithic period, on the evidence of the bone flute (gudi, 骨笛)[23] and its relevant religious usage (Xiu, 1997, p. 1–2). Chinese School music education can be traced back to Chengjun Academy (Chengjun Zhixue, 成均之学), which dated to the era of the Five Emperors (around 4000 BCE) (Ma, 1990, pp. 36–37).[24]

After the era of clan-based society, the Xia dynasty (around 2070–1600 BCE) marked the first slave-owning dynasty in China, followed by the Shang dynasty (around 1600 to 1046 BCE) and Zhou dynasty (1046–221 BCE) (for a timeline of Chinese dynasties, see appendix 1). "After gaining political power, the Western Zhou dynasty (1046–771 BCE)[25] soon established a formal system of rites and music around 1058 BCE. Within the ritual and civilized music system (liyue zhidu, 礼乐制度), the nobility and common people were divided into a strict hierarchy, with specific regulations and distinctions governing various aspects of life for each social class. At the same time, the Zhou rulers had already developed a considerable understanding of the social functions of music. They regarded ritual and music as equally important, integrating them closely as effective tools for maintaining social order and consolidating dynastic rule" (RIMCAA, 2009a, pp. 33–34). Within the ritual and civilized music system of the Western Zhou dynasty, a relatively well-developed educational structure had already taken shape, featuring a dual system comprising state schools (guoxue, 国学) and local schools (xiangxue, 乡学) (Xiu, 1997, p. 13).[26] Both types were official government-run schools, and as such, education in the ritual and civilized music system was naturally inaccessible to the common people (Xiu, 1997, p. 25). As the Zhou dynasty gradually declined, a state of "ritual collapse and music degeneration" (li beng yue huai, 礼崩乐坏) began to emerge (see further, Yang, 2014), with the decline of music education in the official government-run schools. And then music education separated from official schools began in the Spring and Autumn period (770–481 BCE) and was completed in the Qin (221–206 BCE) and Han dynasties (202 BCE–220 CE), a process which was marked by the establishment of the Music Bureau (Yuefu, 乐府) (Xiu, 1997, p. 30–32).[27] The formal separation between official education (guanxue, 官学) and music education also indicates that the classification of the latter should not be based solely on the distinction between

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[23] For more information about the gudi, see further, Chen, 2025, pp. 76–80.

[24] The Five Emperors were collectively referred to as "Chengjun." Therefore, Chengjun Academy was the educational institution of that time. For more information about the origins of music education in China, see further, Ma, 1990, pp. 38–40.

[25] The Zhou dynasty was divided into two periods: Western Zhou dynasty (1046–771 BCE), and Eastern Zhou dynasty (770–256 BCE). And the Eastern Zhou included the Spring and Autumn period (770–476 BCE) and Warring States period (475–221 BCE).

[26] These state schools were established for the nobilities with higher rank. The local schools were also reserved for the nobilities. For further details, see Xiu, 1997, pp. 13–15.

[27] See footnote 14 of chapter one.

official and private schooling. Instead, it should be analyzed from the perspective of the court music (gongting yinyue, 宫廷音乐) and folk music (minjian yinyue, 民间音乐) (Xiu, 1997, p. 32).

During the Sui dynasty (581–618) and Tang dynasty (618–907), the establishment of court music institutions was highly sophisticated and well-organized. For example, there were, in the Tang dynasty, the Imperial Music Bureau (Dayueshu, 大乐署), a central institution overseeing court music, which managed both court entertainment music (yanyue, 燕乐) and elegant music (yayue, 雅乐);[28] the Drum and Wind Music Bureau (Guchuishu, 鼓吹署) responsible for ceremonial music; the Imperial Music Academy (Jiaofang, 教坊) dedicated to entertainment music and dance; and the Operatic Circle (Liyuan, 梨园)[29] focused on fa music (faqu, 法曲).[30] Among these, the Imperial Music Bureau and Drum and Wind Music Bureau were subordinate to the Taichang Temple (Taichangsi, 太常寺),[31] which maintained a comprehensive system of education and evaluation for court musicians (see further, Xiu, 1997, pp. 109–110). In addition, "court-trained musicians and performers often left the palace and dispersed among the general population due to various reasons such as aging or dismissal. Some of them entered Buddhist temples, which were places that made extensive use of music in their rituals. As a result, court music was indirectly transmitted to the folk sphere through these channels, which in turn contributed to the development of later folk music traditions" (RIMCAA, 2009a, p. 228).

> From the Tang to the Song (960–1276) dynasties, significant changes took place in the musical life of society. Overall, the development of music culture shifted from the court-centered activities of the Sui and Tang periods to the more secular music in daily life for the common people...Correspondingly, music education became increasingly rooted in folk practices... Court music education, which had held a dominant role during the Tang dynasty, gradually lost its leading position. Even in the Song dynasty—when official education systems placed growing emphasis on the arts, with disciplines such as calligraphy (shuxue, 书学) and painting (huaxue, 画学) formally incorporated into the official government-run schools—music education still remained excluded from the official music education system... Music education largely detached itself from the official education system and continued to exist in the form of skill-based transmission (yi, 艺) carried out by musicians both in the folk domain and within the court. (Xiu, 1997, p. 141)

In practice, the state of music education during the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368) was quite similar to that of the Song dynasty. "Although the disciplines of poetry (ci, 词) and music (qu, 曲) were highly popular as artistic pursuits during the Yuan dynasty, they nevertheless failed to gain formal entry into the official educational system" (Xiu, 1997, 152).The official educational systems of the Song and Yuan dynasties did not include music either; however,

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[28] Elegant music refers to the music of ritual and music system. It stood in contrast to secular music (suyue, 俗乐), which was intended for entertainment and daily enjoyment. Yan music (yanyue), as a type of secular music, was commonly performed at banquets and social gatherings, serving primarily recreational purposes. For more information, see further, Zheng, 2007, pp. 38–49.

[29] Xiu indicated that "the operatic circle was a musical ensemble personally established by Emperor Xuanzong, Li Longji (685–762), of the Tang dynasty within the imperial court. Administratively, it was still under the jurisdiction of the imperial music academy" (1997, p. 114).

[30] Fa music was one type of music-and-dance composite (gewu daqu, 歌舞大曲) in the Dang dynasty, and it was used for Pūjā, a ritual devotional action made to a Buddha. For more information, see further Pang, 2011, p. 166.

[31] Taichang Temple also named as the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, was responsible for ritual music and sacrificial ceremonies.

musical training and activities in the folk sphere were remarkably vibrant, as evidenced by the rich and diverse musical forms that flourished during this period.[32]

During the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) and Qing dynasty, music education outside the official education system continued. Whether in the court or among the general populace, music education during this period remained primarily based on the transmission of practical skills and techniques (Xiu, 1997, pp. 179, 199). Nevertheless, certain musical forms—such as the Chinese seven-stringed zither (qin, 琴)[33] and Chinese opera (xiqu, 戏曲)[34]—went beyond mere practical transmission. Through the accumulation and reflection on performance and composition practices, they also gave rise to theoretical writings and systematic knowledge (see further, RIMCAA, 2009a; 2009b).

2.2. Music Education in China between the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

2.2.1. The Transmission of Western Music in China

The introduction of Western musical culture into China can be traced back to the Tang dynasty and the sacred chants of Nestorianism (Jingjiao, 景教)[35] (Wang, 2009, p. 33). The link between the Jingjiao's *Daqin Jingjiao sanwei mengdu zan* (大秦景教三威蒙度赞, Éloge de la Sainte Trinité) and the Western Christian hymn *Gloria in Excelsis* constitutes the earliest documented instance of Western music transmission into China (Tao, 1994, pp. 1–18). A large number of foreign musical instruments were introduced into China during the Tang, Song, and Yuan dynasties. With the advent of the Ming dynasty, the arrival of Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), a Jesuit missionary, marked a new phase in Sino-Western musical exchange (Tao, 1994, pp. 31-35).[36] However, until the mid of nineteenth century, missionaries' activities did not expand significantly.[37] As a result, even though elements of Western musical culture had entered China over several centuries, these influences did not have a substantial impact on indigenous Chinese music. Instead, Chinese music had continued to develop steadily within its own native culture. Yet after 1840 the situation began to change.[38]

2.2.2. Mission School Music Education with Colonial Overtones

In the first chapter, I have already demonstrated that missionaries were inseparable from imperialism, and that semicolonialism was deeply reflected in mission school education. Based on this understanding, mission school education also exhibited a certain degree of

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[32] On diverse musical forms, see further, Yang, 2009a, pp.272–431; Yang 2009b, pp. 1–250.

[33] The Qin is a plucked stringed instrument that has a long history in China, see further, Yuan *et al.*, 2023, pp. 424–432.

[34] Xiqu is a form of stage art integrating music, dance, literature, poetry, martial arts, acrobatics, choreography and other Chinese traditional folk arts (Yuan *et al.*, 2023, p. 269). For more information, see Yuan *et al.*, 2023, pp. 269–376.

[35] Nestorianism was a product of the feudal society of the East, and its adherents belonged to the Nestorian. For more information, see Zhu, 1993.

[36] In the Ming and Qing dynasties, in addition to Ricci, many other missionaries were also engaged in musical activities in China. For example, Jean Adam Schall von Bell (1591-1666), Thomas Pereira (1645-1708), Theodoricus Pedrini (1670-1746). For more information, see Tao, 1994, pp. 32-112.

[37] There were three periods during which Christianity was propagated in China. For more information, see Yan, 2009, pp. 25–28.

[38] The year 1840 is regarded as the beginning of modern Chinese history (Wang and Shi, 2020, p. 33).

complexity. Its primary function was to serve as an auxiliary tool for evangelism. Music courses functioned as a supplementary part of Bible courses, serving the Bible; missionaries recognized music as being helpful for memorization, and thus a great tool for disseminating Christian words and values. For instance, as Rev. R. Lechler wrote, "the Bible is explained to the scholars, they are also taught Bible history, as well as vocal and instrumental music" (1878, p. 168).

However, in this broader historical context, existing scholarship urges a dialectical approach to evaluating the role of missionaries in China's music education. While uncritical praise is unwarranted, it is equally inappropriate to dismiss their contributions outright—particularly in the areas of institutionalizing music instruction and cultivating musical talent, where their impact was indeed significant (Gong, 2007a, 2007b; Jin, 2008; Yuan, 2016; Chen, 2016). Additionally, it is worth noting that some scholars have argued that "mission school music education ended the dissemination mode of oral communication" (Cai, 2014, p. 63). This, in turn, serves as indirect evidence that systematic music education was indeed absent in China during that period.

Moreover, some studies approach this period of history by focusing on the individual musical activities of missionaries. One of the most influential scholars in this field is Gong Hongyu. Since 2008, he has published numerous articles that systematically examine the contributions of various missionaries to music in China. His research primarily unfolds along two lines. On the one hand, he assesses the role missionaries played in introducing Western music to China, considering figures such as Julia Brown Mateer (1837–1898) (Gong, 2008a; 2014a); John Fryer (1839–1928) (Gong, 2012); and other missionaries working in Ningbo (2016). These people were pioneers of school music education in China, initiating music instruction, implementing teaching practices, designing curricular content, and compiling textbooks, and also playing a pioneering role in establishing the theoretical foundation of school music education in China (2014a, p. 77). Therefore, from this perspective, missionaries served as agents in disseminating Western musical culture, including notation systems, music theory, and other related Western music knowledge.

On the other hand, Gong examines the influence of traditional Chinese musical culture on the missionaries themselves, with key figures including William Edward Soothill (1861–1935) (Gong, 2008b), Ernst Faber (1839–1899) (Gong, 2010), George Tradescant Lay (1800-1845) (Gong, 2013a), and Mrs. Richard (née Martian, 1843–1903) (Gong, 2021a). For instance, William Edwar soothill and Mrs. Richard acquired a deep understanding of Chinese traditional music. Not only did they learn Chinese instruments and knowledge, including gongche notation (gongchepu, 工尺谱) (Gong, 2013b),[39] but they also contributed to the integration of Chinese and Western musical traditions—for example, by incorporating traditional Chinese instruments into church worship. From this perspective, missionaries were not only transmitters of Western music but also learners and participants in Chinese musical culture (Gong, 2021a, p. 65).

In addition, another widely embraced approach to this historical period focuses on the cultural and musical exchange between China and the West. One of the earliest and most frequently cited works in this regard is Tao Yabing's 1994 publication, *The History of Musical Exchange Between China and Western World* (Zhong Xi yinyue jiaoliu shigao, 中西

[39] Gongche notation is a traditional musical notation method, see further, Li, 1993, pp. 69–76.

音乐交流史稿, 1994). Spanning from the Tang dynasty to the early twentieth century, this work offers a comprehensive historical overview supported by abundant primary sources. Regarding the period after the Opium War, it explores major themes such as Christianity, military music ensembles, modern educational institutions, and music groups. Another similar study is Gong Hongyu's *Musical Encounters in Sino-Western Cultural Intercourse* (Laihua xiren yu Zhongxi yinyue jiaoliu, 来华西人与中西音乐交流, 2017). This book examines the introduction of Western music into China and the in-depth study of Chinese music by Westerners from the Ming dynasty to the twentieth century, which covers not only missionaries but also musicologists, sinologists, merchants, and even sailors who were involved in this cultural exchange.

Moreover, mission schools also represent a popular area of research. Chen Jing's work is a representative study in this area. Based on her doctoral dissertation (2011), Chen published a book, *A Study of Female Music Education in Christian Girls' Schools in Shanghai* (Shanghai jidujiaohui xuexiao nüzi yinyue jiaoyu yanjiu, 上海基督教学校女子音乐教育研究, 2016), including three case studies, McTyeire School (Zhongxi Nüshu, 中西女塾, 1892), St. Mary Hall (Shengmaliya Nüxiao, 圣玛利亚女校, 1881), and Shanghai University (Hujiang Daxue, 沪江大学, 1915). She provided a lot of historical resources about music courses, music activities, and information of music teachers. While full-length monographs on this subject remain limited, a considerable number of journal articles and master's theses have contributed to research in this area. Relevant master's theses include Wang Yanyan's study of Huiwen Girls' School (Huiwen Nüzi Zhongxue, 汇文女子中学, 1902) (Wang, 2013) and Cai Yaoyao's thesis about mission schools in Wenzhou (Cai, 2019). Related articles include works about mission schools in Shangdong province by He Mengying (He, 2015) and mission schools in Yantai, Shandong province by Sun Xiaojun (Sun, 2018).

Finally, hymns also constitute an indispensable perspective in the study of music teaching materials. For instance, Yang Heping and Wang Zhifang's research on the dissemination of Christian music in China, indirectly present a microcosm of Christian music education (Yang and Wang, 2010); likewise, Guo Dengjie's doctoral dissertation, which focuses on hymns from 1807 to 1949, provides abundant evidence for discussions of music teaching materials (Guo, 2021).

All the aforementioned works are Chinese-language sources. Although there are relatively few English-language studies of this kind, there are still several noteworthy doctoral dissertations. One such example is Gong Hongyu's 2006 dissertation, "Missionaries, Reformers, and the Beginnings of Western Music in Late Imperial China (1839–1911)". Gong's thesis traces the development from the work of missionaries to the inspirations that led Chinese reformers to seek practical models from Japan, thereby demonstrating that the origins of China's musical modernity lay in Japan, while also affirming the important role missionaries played in the transformation of China's musical culture. Another notable work is Daniel Ho's 1990 dissertation, "A Chinese Evaluation of the Western Missionaries' Penetration of China: How They Responded to China's Problems from 1582 to 1937." While this paper is not centered on the field of music, its insights into missionary activities during the relevant period contribute valuable context for understanding the expansion of missionaries and mission schools.

To sum up, the roles played by missionaries in laying the groundwork, guiding, and nurturing the development of music education in China affirm the significance of studying the musical activities associated with them. Moreover, their pioneering contribution to the dissemination of Western music and music education in modern China establishes that any serious investigation into this history should begin with their involvement. Building on previous scholarship that has acknowledged the positive aspects of their work, my next chapter intends to focus more on the colonial dimensions of their efforts through a case study of the HUGS. I aim to emphasize the colonial overtones presented by missionary schools through new historical evidence.

2.3. The Establishment of Chinese Music Education from the 1900s to the 1930s

2.3.1. Self-Initiated Exploration of Music Education in China

It has been argued that "school music education in China originated in 1901, marking the beginning of a transition from nonexistence to gradual establishment" (Wu, 2011, p. 2). The establishment of new-type schools and the transformation of educational policies in the late Qing dynasty clearly support this view. In 1898, Kang Youwei (1858–1927)[40] submitted a memorial, "Please Open New-type Schools" (Qing kai xuexiao zhe, 请开学校折, 1898) to the Guangxu Emperor (1871–1908),[41] which mentioned "drawing on the institutional philosophies of Germany, and adopting the practical implementation methods of Japan, by which the school system shall be established" (1898, p. 99). His aim was to set up modern-style schools teaching Western "substantial learning" (shixue, 实学) (Wong, 1992, p. 529).

School education reform served as the foundation for the development of music education. Following this, a series of educational regulations were issued by the Qing or Republican governments, such as: "School Regulations" (Zouding xuetang zhangcheng, 奏定学堂章程, 1904) , "Girls' Primary School Regulations" (Nüzi xiaoxuetang zhangcheng, 女子小学堂章程, 1907), "The Reform of Middle Schools' Course, Arts and Sciences" (Zou biantong zhongxuetang kecheng fenwei wenke shike zhe, 奏变通中学堂课程分为文科实科折, 1909), "Primary School Regulations" (Xiaoxue xiaoling, 小学校令, 1912) and "Middle School Regulations" (Zhongxue xiaoling, 中学校令, 1912).[42] All of these stipulated that schools were required to offer music courses. In addition, the Republican government in 1914 issued a clarification regarding the music curriculum outlined in "Primary School Regulations". The clarification stated that "the original regulation, allowing for the omission of music courses under exceptional circumstances, was intended only for situations of particular difficulty and should not be invoked arbitrarily. It further emphasized that normal schools should not neglect the teaching of music" (Chen and Chen, 2005, p. 12). It is thus evident that music courses were gradually being established across schools at various levels in China.

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[40] Kang was a politician who facilitated in the Hundred Days' Reform (Wuxu bianfa, 戊戌变法, 1898).
[41] The Guangxu Emperor was the eleventh emperor of the Qing dynasty.
[42] Regarding these regulations, see Sun, 2004.

Alongside the development of music courses, China's music textbooks also began to take shape. During this period, these textbooks primarily featured school songs (xuetang yuege, 学堂乐歌), a genre specifically composed for use in music classes. The compositional method of school songs involved setting new lyrics to pre-existing melodies. These melodies were from Japan, Germany, France, the United Kingdom, the United States, church music, or even Chinese folk songs (Qian, 2001).[43] "School songs made political and social reforms *audible*.... 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' idealized social and political formations and the articulation of modern beliefs" (Micic, 1999, p. 205, author's emphasis). In addition, various studies on school songs generally agree that they possessed a strong mobilizing function and their possession of national characteristics raised awareness of the need for national salvation (Zi, 2008, p. 33; Wang, 2017, p. 73). Thus, the social functionality of music began to emerge and take shape within the context of contemporary society.

Music classes and music textbooks—school songs—had a positive and far-reaching impact on music education in China. They represented a significant turning point in the development of Chinese music education, marked the beginning of a new stage in its evolution (Yuan and Zhou, 1999, p. 71), and fostered a conducive environment that paved the way for the continued advancement of music education in China.

2.3.2. The Emergence of Aesthetic Educational Philosophy

The development of music education in China entered a new stage, not only due to the factors mentioned above, but also in connection with the rise of aesthetic education during that period.

> Aesthetic education uses aesthetic objects—particularly various works of art and artistic activities—as its primary medium to continuously enhance learners' aesthetic abilities and sensibilities. It aims to cultivate healthy aesthetic values, tastes, and ideals, ultimately fostering individuals who are free and well-rounded in their development...It is important to note that aesthetic education is not a specialized form of art education, but rather a type of general education that contributes to the holistic development of individuals. (Zhang and Zhang, 2016)

In the late Qing dynasty, the aesthetic thought of Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller (1759–1805) under the influence of the "Eastward spread of Western learning", was "gradually introduced into China and adapted by theorists through absorption and reinterpretation" (Wang, 2021, p. 190). Early representative figures influenced by the concept of aesthetic education included Liang Qichao (1873–1929)[44] and Wang Guowei (see further, Wang, 2021; Li, 2007). "Aesthetic education came into their view not solely because of an awareness of pedagogical principles, but also out of a deep concern for the broader social role and impact of education" (see further, Tan, 2001, p. 6). In addition to them, Cai Yuanpei (1868–1940),[45] known as a leading figure in the field of education, was not only a proponent[46] of aesthetic education but also an active practitioner. Cai's commitment to

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[43] For more research about the composition of school songs, see Fei, 1986, Zhao, 2011 (Zhao Li's article).
[44] Liang is a renowned Chinese politician and one of the Six Gentlemen of the Hundred Days' Reform (1898).
[45] Cai was a politician and a key figure in the development of modern Chinese education.
[46] Wang was the first to introduce the conception of aesthetic education to China, and Cai became a proponent of aesthetic education only after his return from Germany (Leong, 2009, p. 75). For more information about the

aesthetic education should not be viewed solely through his contributions to arts education, because, as noted, "arts education and aesthetic education should not be conflated.... In Cai Yuanpei's conception of aesthetic education, arts education—centered on music, fine arts, and film—was in fact the means and pathway through which aesthetic education was to be realized" (Fan, 2019. p. 164). Even so, Cai's contributions to arts education should not be overlooked. "Music was very much a part of Cai's plan of aesthetic education (Leong, 2009, p. 85). He was the central figure in the reform, establishment, and development of the CMPNU (see further Liu, 2013a; Shen, 2023), and the supporter in the foundation and development of the NCM (see further Zhang, 2024).[47] Besides, Xiao Youmei (1884–1940),[48] Huang Zi (1904–1938),[49] and other core faculty members of the NCM were among the pioneers of aesthetic education in China (see further, Zhang and Cheng, 2013; Xu, 2019; Zhang, 2019; Qiang, 2024). This clearly demonstrates that the emergence of aesthetic education as an ideological framework actively contributed to the founding and advancement of specialized music education institutions in modern China.

2.3.3. The Establishment of Professional Music Education in the Clash of Chinese and Western Cultures

After the 1920s, Western-trained Chinese musicians and music educators began to establish a Chinese music education system. Xiao Youmei was a prominent representative. Xiao persistently advocated for the establishment of a dedicated institution for music education, grounded in his conviction that "music is a subject that must be taught as an independent discipline" (Xiao, 1933, p. 589). However, in an era marked by intense clashes between old and new ideologies, as well as between Chinese and Western cultures, the path to establishing such institutions was far from smooth.

> The substantial step taken by Chinese music education in transitioning from tradition to modernity began during this period of 'modern transformation.' Yet behind this transformation lingered a series of deep-seated issues that continue to influence modern society today—issues such as the tension between Chinese and Western paradigms, the conflict between tradition and modernity, and the ongoing struggle between radicalism and conservatism. (Cai, 2014, p. 63)

Thus, "using the historical issues of China's modern transformation as a foundation for rethinking and transcending current challenges has not only shaped the 'century complex' of Chinese music education, but also constitutes a key trajectory in the direction and evolution of ongoing educational reforms" (Cai, 2014, pp. 63–64). In that period, "openness did not necessarily signify progress, nor did conservatism inherently imply backwardness, as the constant negotiation between these two poles had already become a 'normalized mechanism'" (Li, 2011, p. 47). It is thus evident that the path of reform at the time advanced through a continuous cycle of affirmation and negation. This not only adds complexity to our understanding and interpretation of this period of transformation in music education, but also offers a plurality of research perspectives. Consequently, this study adopts a postcolonial theoretical lens to critically examine the colonial undertones embedded in this history—not to

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formation about his aesthetic education, see Leong, 2009, pp. 38–86.

[47] Zhang, 2024 indicates Zhang Yanli's articles.

[48] Xiao was a Western-trained musician and music educator who facilitated the development of the CUPNU and founded the NCM.

[49] Huang was a Western-trained musician and music educator who facilitated the development of the NCM.

wholly negate the period, but to engage in a deeper, more nuanced analysis of its implications.

Two key works should be mentioned in relation to the ideological tensions discussed above: *The Thoughts of Music in Modern China* (Zhongguo jindai yinyue sichao yanjiu, 中国近代音乐思潮研究, 2007) by Feng Changchun,[50] and *A Research on the History of Modern Chinese Music Philosophy* (Jindai zhongguo yinyue sixiang shilun, 近代中国音乐思想史论, 2009) by Yu Feng. These two books provide a nuanced analysis of the ideological currents of the time, avoiding the tendency to approach the study of thought by taking "a part for the whole, where the ideas of one or two prominent figures were used to generalize the entire intellectual landscape" (Lee, 2005, p. 22). Drawing on the theoretical insights from these two works, this thesis identifies two central agents in the development of music education. This analytical framework responds to the historical condition that arose when, following the entry of Western music into China, the development of music education diverged from a path rooted in traditional Chinese musical heritage.

The first agent is "Western-style with Chinese characteristics", represented by the early musical practices of missionaries in church schools and the early generation of Chinese musicians and music educators. Those in this camp were profoundly influenced by Western musical thought. Whether they advocated for traditional Chinese music or Western music as the foundation for creating a new Chinese music, their central pursuit remained an in-depth and holistic engagement with Western musical knowledge and technologies; their commitment to assimilating the Western music education system was distinctly evident in their educational endeavors (Feng, 2021, pp. 115–178).

The second agent is "Chinese-style with Western characteristics", represented by the evolving musical practices of Chinese musicians and music educators, who, through continuous engagement, gradually adapted, adjusted, and reformed their approaches in response to the changing cultural and educational landscape. They did not represent a faction that rigidly upheld Chinese tradition while rejecting Western music. Rather, they sought to discover a Chinese style within the practice of Western music and music education. Therefore, in light of the aforementioned concept of a "normalized mechanism," the emergence of movements such as National Essence-ism (guocui zhuyi, 国粹主义) should not be viewed as a misstep in the process of development, but rather as part of the ongoing adjustments within this mechanism—a continuous search for a more suitable path.

These two types of subject also serve as concrete manifestations of hybridity following the loss of traditional Chinese musical subjectivity in the development of music education, and they are evident in all three case studies discussed in this research. I wish to reiterate that the loss of traditional subjectivity in Chinese music education does not imply a surrender to Western music education or cultural dominance. Rather, within the space of hybridity, there emerges a process of resistance and reconstruction—a search for a renewed model of Chinese music education and musical culture.

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[50] Feng's book has been republished in 2021, but the new version has not undergone significant changes; Feng stated that only annotations and wording have been revised. The new version has changed the English title to *A Study of the Trends of Musical Thoughts in Modern China*. In this thesis, the page numbers are from the new version.

2.3.4. The Development of Music Education under the "Music for National Salvation"

> If by our manner of education we can cultivate and develop the inner nature of our citizens, we will be raising up a nation full of vitality, striving after ideals, and ever pressing on to higher and higher stages. Even the weariness of life, which is felt so deeply by many of us, will disappear with our new ideals, for the art of music will give the means for self expression, and will provide a new interest in life. (Yorke Trotter, 1914, p. 136)

Stephanie E. Pitts has explained that "in Yorke Trotter's vision, an education with music at its heart will transform society, by equipping citizens to live fulfilling and creative lives, and so banishing the despair which is also strongly evident in his statement (situated as it is near the outbreak of the First World War)" (2017, p. 160). Music education, as one of the means of fostering spiritual resilience during times of war and hardship, played a significant role in China as well.

While the 1930s–1940s are commonly recognized as the height of the ideology of "Music of National Salvation" in China (Feng, 2021, p. 288), the origins of this ideological current can be traced as far back as the 19th century.

> The concept of "national salvation" had already become a central theme in late Qing and early Republican China, embodying the patriotic demands of the people to resist imperialist invasion and to achieve national strength and survival…. Yet it was only after the Mukden Incident (Jiuyiba shibian, 九一八事变, 1931) that the urgency and clarity of this theme intensified, shaping cultural and educational discourse in more pronounced ways. (Feng, 2021, p. 288)

The wartime context significantly shaped the activities of music conservatories in China. Professional musicians engaged in music education were drawn into composing works that served the Anti-Japanese National Salvation Movement. Regarding the development of music education in the context of war, Ho Wai-chung came to the conclusion that

> The growth of nationalism in music education or song singing in schools was further reinforced by the military invasion by foreign countries during the Second World War. Songs were embodied in the musical propaganda used to spur the Chinese people toward nationalist views and actions. We can conclude that the transformations which music education undergoes are shaped by the values, attitudes and beliefs of the people and/or the state that comprises any particular political culture (2003, p. 301).

She articulated clearly that "protest songs were used to widen the scope of music education between the late 1910s and 1940s" (Ho, 2003, pp. 290–291). She explicitly pointed out that "with specific reference to Shanghai, the shared meanings of songs and singing, spurred by both official and unofficial agencies, have informed collective social understandings and collective political behavior in political and educational settings" (Ho, 2012, p. 203). In response to the socio-political climate of the time, the creation of revolutionary songs began to take on specific and recognizable features—"the traditional concept of tonal focus and key change has been changed through a series of attempts by modern Chinese song writers, from complete adoption of the Western system to a return to the traditional practice" (Yuen, 1988, p. 313). From a broader perspective, the faculty and students of the National Conservatory of Music were also increasingly engaging with this emerging trend in their approaches to both song composition and music pedagogy.

Moreover, faculty and students at institutions such as the NCM also took an active role in organizing fundraising concerts to support the resistance. These concerts, characterized by their professional quality, became a vital part of the cultural and propagandistic machinery of the wartime mobilization effort (Feng, 2021, pp. 301). In addition, they also actively participated in the compilation of textbooks with national spirit, such as, the *Music Textbook of Fuxing Secondary School* (Fuxing chuji zhongxue yinyue jiaokeshu, 复兴初级中学音乐教科书) edited by Huang Zi *et al.* (Yang and Wu, 2006, p. 73; Li, 2020, p. 75).

These activities fully reflect the patriotic actions undertaken by the faculty and students of the NCM under the inspiration of the anti-Japanese national spirit. Through practices such as composing songs, organizing concerts, and compiling textbooks, they not only actively responded to the historical context of the time, but also engaged in an exploration of the emerging form of new Chinese national music. These efforts marked significant steps toward building a music education system based on this new national music and can also be regarded as part of the broader movement toward modern educational reform in China.

2.3.5. The Conservatory of Music of the Peking National University and the National Conservatory of Music

There has been considerable research on the CMPNU, which can be broadly categorized into three areas: first-hand recollective materials, studies on its educational model, and research on related educators. Early accounts include two memoirs by Tan Shuzhen (1981, 1993), which, using the CMPNU as a point of entry, provide valuable firsthand references for studying this historical period. In terms of the institutional model, early research was conducted by Han Guohuang (1990a; 1990b), followed by works by Li Jing (2001, 2004) and Zhou Yincheng (2006). These studies mainly concentrate on three aspects—curriculum design, concert activities, and performance repertoire—aiming to showcase the CMPNU's educational model and teaching achievements in music. Moreover, the contributions of key individuals have also been a major focus. Some studies explore Xiao Youmei's approach to professional music education through the lens of CMPNU (see Xu, 2021), while others examine the personal accomplishments of figures such as Chen Meng (see Lin, 2019), Yang Zhongzi (see Tang and Zhang, 2015a; 2015b), and the Russian musician Vladimir A. Gartz (Yang and Lou, 2018), especially their work and achievements during their tenure at the school.In addition, Kunqu opera and the school's journals have drawn scholarly attention. Chen Jun's research (2019) discusses the practical forms of Kunqu education in higher institutions, while Tang Huan (2014) uses quantitative methods to analyze the contents of *Music Journal* (Yinyue Zazhi, 音乐杂志), discusses their significance and value in the development of music education.

These studies together provide a solid foundation for reconstructing the CMPNU's educational model. Building upon these existing works, this chapter instead emphasizes the CMPNU as a case study of a transitional period, demonstrating how Western music education models gradually became embedded within China's emerging system of professional music education. It is important to note that the establishment of the National Conservatory of Music was not achieved overnight, but the result of years of exploration and reform. Therefore, Chapter Four of this study will focus on tracing the transformation of the CMPNU from a spontaneous organization into a formal educational institution. Through detailed multi-dimensional analysis, my Chapter Four aims to reveal the sustained efforts and

strategies of Chinese music educators in constructing a modern system of professional music education.

The research on the NCM is also considerably rich, encompassing various topics such as its institutional history, pedagogical and administrative structures, and its core faculty. First, representative works focusing on the founding and development of the NCM include Chang Shouzong and Zhu Jian (1982), Xiao Fan (1984), Chen Lingqun (2007), Liu Zaisheng (2013), and Luo Qin (2013). The common feature of these studies is the establishment of the NCM's position and significance in the field of music education.Second, with regard to the teaching and administrative mechanisms of the conservatory, the contributions of scholar Xiao Yang are particularly noteworthy. In addition to her monograph on the NCM's educational system (2022), she has published a series of related articles (2015; 2016; 2017; 2018; 2019; 2021). Xiao's research offers a substantial body of primary-source analysis, making significant contributions especially in tracing the evolution of curriculum models and assessing faculty members' roles. Finally, studies on the NCM's core faculty have primarily centered on several key figures whose academic vision and pedagogical practices profoundly shaped the conservatory's early development. Among them, Xiao Youmei (see further Lu, 1984; Chen, 1987; Jin, 2003) has been widely recognized as the pivotal architect of China's modern music education system. Scholars have explored his efforts toward introducing Western conservatory models, establishing systematic curricula, and promoting the integration of composition, theory, and performance training. Huang Zi (see further Li, 2008; Lin, 2015; Sun, 2017), another leading figure, has been examined in his dual role as educator and composer, particularly his contributions to the localization of Western compositional techniques and the cultivation of a generation of Chinese musicians with modern musical sensibilities. In addition to these Chinese pioneers, foreign faculty members have also attracted scholarly attention that has noted their indispensable roles in shaping the NCM's academic foundation and performance standards. Notably, Boris Zakharoff (Борис Степанович Захаров, Zhahaluofu, 查哈罗夫, 1888–1943), a Russian pianist and music educator, taught at the NCM and played a crucial part in the establishment of piano pedaggy and performance curricula (see further Liao, 1985; Wang, 2013; Li, 2023). Similary, Arrigo Foa (Fuhua, 富华, 1900–1981), a distinguished Italian violist who also served in the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra (Shanghai Gongbuju Yuedui, 上海工部局乐队), contributed significantly to the development of string education and orchestral training at the NCM (see further Xu, 1991; 2007).

Collectively, these figures—both Chinese and foreign—embodied the NCM's dual mission of cultivating national talent while absorbing and adapting international pedagogical models. Their combined efforts laid the groundwork for a professional music education system that blended Western methodologies with Chinese cultural contexts, a theme that continues to attract scholarly interest in studies of early twentieth-century Chinese music education.

Although there are relatively few English-language works that take these two institutions (CMPNU and NCM) as case studies, two doctoral dissertations are worth noting: "The Western Influence on Chinese Music in the Early Twentieth Century" by Liang Yongsheng (1994) and "Representing China Musically: A Chinese Conservatory and China's Musical Modernity 1900–1937" by Maria M. Chow (2005). Both papers share a common

focus on the development of Chinese music under the influence of Western music from the late Qing to the Republican era, and both discuss the cases of the CMPNU and the NCM. However, Liang approaches the topic through the lens of key figures and the establishment of professional music institutions, while Chow analyzes it from the perspective of contemporary music types. Besides, one more dissertation which should be mentioned is Jeremy Leong's dissertation, "A Study of German Perspectives: Musical Contributions of Three Chinese Scholars and Jewish Immigrants in Republican China" (2009). Leong's study focuses specifically on Chinese scholars and Austro-German Jewish émigrés influenced by German musical thought. In particular, his analysis covers the transference of German educational models, musical ideas, and methodologies by Cai Yuanpei and Xiao Youmei, which provides some information for my cases.

Building on the foundation laid down by these existing studies, my research does not aim to re-outline "the what and the how" of the formation of the NCM. Rather, it draws on the historical evidence provided in these works to carefully unravel the elements of Chineseness embedded within the NCM. I further examine the sustained efforts and explorations of Chinese musicians and music educators in constructing a professional music education system, with the goal of uncovering more evidence of cultural hybridity.

Chapter 3.
The Christian Missionaries' Contributions to the Foundation of Music Education in China—Case Study: Hangchow Union Girls' School

3.1. Two Categories of Mission School Music Education

After the Opium Wars, the development of mission schools in China was be divided into three distinct periods. The first period went from the Opium War to the signing of the Convention of Peking, during which approximately 50 schools were established, and they were generally small in scale and were mostly attached to churches (Gu, 1991, p. 225). The second period, from 1860 to 1875, saw a significant expansion, with the number of church schools increasing to over 800 and student enrollment rising to around 20,000 (Gu, 1991, p. 227). The third period, from 1875 to 1899, witnessed further growth, as the number of schools exceeded 2,000 and student enrollment surpassed 40,000 (Gu, 1991, p. 228).

The initial purpose of establishing mission schools was to expand ecclesiastical influence and to cultivate Chinese assistance for missionary work, and thus whether founded by Catholic or Protestant missions, these schools prioritized religious content as their core curriculum and imposed strict requirements on participation in religious activities (Gu, 1991, p. 229). Compared with boys' schools, girls' schools have an additional purpose "to fit women to adorn Christian homes by a godly life and chaste conversation, and to be examples of the power of the Gospel to the heathen neighbors" (Plumb, 1890, p. 453). However, evangelistic work remained the primary objective, and religious content continued to be at the heart of education.

After 1860, the rapid proliferation of mission schools was driven by the growing number of countries that had secured missionary privileges in China (Li, 2011, p. 49). This increase was to meet the needs of cultivating individuals familiar with Western customs, foreign languages, and the foundational knowledge of modern industry and commerce, by the increasing number of foreign enterprises, foreign-controlled Chinese institutions, and the Self-Strengthening Movement (Gu, 1991, p. 228). In response to these needs, the curriculum gradually shifted toward secular subjects (Gu, 1991, p. 230).

In order to accommodate both the religious propagation and the growing demand for practical societal functions, music education in mission schools was accordingly divided into two categories: one focusing on sacred music for religious rituals, and the other on secular music. This curriculum framework reflected the adjustments made by mission schools in response to evolving social needs throughout their development.

The existing research reminds us of the need to adopt a dialectical perspective when evaluating the role of missionaries in disseminating Western music. On the one hand, we must not overlook the inherent sense of superiority and dominant position embedded in

Western musical culture; on the other, it would be reductive to assume that the missionaries' transmission of Western music was merely an extension of imperial aggression, or to interpret the spread of Western musical culture solely as a manifestation of cultural imperialism (Gong, 2007b, p. 45). Consequently, in this chapter, building on existing research findings—such as the recognition of mission school music education as a pioneering force in the development of music education in China, as the birthplace of school songs and as the basis for the cultivation of musical talents (see further, Gong, 2007a; 2007b; Jin, 2008; Chen, 2016)—I will focus on re-examining how the introduction of Western music education, marked by its superiority and hegemony, contributed to the marginalization of traditional Chinese musical culture during the process of Othering, despite its undeniable contributions to modern Chinese music education. These discussions will lay the groundwork for subsequent analysis of the ambivalent responses of Chinese musicians toward the superiority and dominance of Western music.

3.2. Background: Hangchow Union Girls' School

After the first Opium War, missionary work spread around five treaty ports, Guangzhou, Xiamen, Fuzhou, Ningbo, and Shanghai.[51] Hangzhou (Hangchow),[52] with a population of one million during the nineteenth century and the capital of Zhejiang province, was an important location and many missionaries in Ningbo were assigned to Hangzhou to develop their evangelistic work (Brown, 1997, p. 72). Inslee was one of those who sought a new place in which to expand his work. When Rev. Elias Brown Inslee (1822–1871) finished his work under the Presbyterian Board in Ningbo from 1856 to 1861, he spent some time in Canada, where funds were raised to enable him to return to China as an independent missionary from 1861 to 1863 (Bear, N.A.). After 1864, he was back to China and worked near Shanghai under the London Missionary Society for two years (Bear, N.A.). In 1867, he established the Southern Presbyterian Mission in Hangzhou (Bear, N.A.). In the second year, he and his wife, Eugenia Elizabeth Margaret Sherburn (1843–1917)[53] established Hangchow Girls' School (Zhencai Nüxiao, 贞才女校) that was one of the predecessors of the HUGS. It is worth noting that the school refused to write contracts for educating girls unless their feet could be unbound and their parents and guardians gave them the right of choice in marriage (Matthews, N.A.a, p. 1).After 1870, Rev. Inslee, quite worn out with the many hardships he had endured, returned home where he died shortly afterwards (Bear, N.A.). However, the school was taken over by different women, such as Mrs. Elizabeth Anne Priscilla Edgar Randolph (1827–1902) and Mrs. Mary Louisa Stuart (1842–1925) (Matthews, N.A.b, p. 5). Even though the school had many different principals, the number of pupils and graduates steadily increased over time.

After the turn of the twentieth century, China's population was starting to grow tremendously. Hangzhou's population was also increasing, and more and more girls and

[51] These five treaty ports were included in the Treaty of Nanjing.

[52] Hangzhou and Hangchow, both of them indicate the capital of Zhejiang province. Hangchow was the prevalent term used in the Republican period. Its current name in pinyin is Hangzhou. In this thesis, I utilize Hangzhou to denote the location, whereas Hangchow is used in the name of the school, the Hangchow Girls' school and the Hangchow Union Girls' school.

[53] Eugenia Sherburne was his second wife. They married on 6 March 1867 (FamilySearch, N.A.). His first wife Euphemia Helen Ross (1840–1866) passed away in 1866.

women sought the opportunity to receive an education (A Catalog, 1912, p. 14). “The crying need today is for a great many primary girls’ schools, but we are handicapped by an almost absolute dearth of teachers. Because of lack of equipment or faculty, or because the need has not been sufficiently realized, neither native nor foreign schools have been able to rise to this emergency. Aware of this great need and also feeling the inability to cope singly with this situation, two Presbyterian schools and one Baptist school have decided to unite.” (A Catalog, 1912, p. 14). As early as 1905, the Northern Presbyterians proposed uniting Mrs. J. C. Garritt's Girls’ School (Yucai Nüxue, 育才女校, founded in 1899),[54] with Hangchow Girls School, and in 1907, the union of the two Presbyterian girls’ schools was approved and they provided the building vacated by their boys’ college (Matthews, N.A.b, p. 8). Then, the Baptist School of Rev. and Mrs. W. S. Sweet (Huilan Nüxiao, 惠兰女校, founded in 1902)[55] from the Northern Baptist Mission also jointed this union plan. Finally, in 1912, this amalgamation was approved by the Southern Presbyterian, Northern Presbyterian, and Northern Baptist communities, after which the HUGS was founded (see figure 3.1; 3.2).

Figure 3.1 Alumnae Group, Southern Presbyterian Mission School



ALUMNÆ GROUP, S. P. M. SCHOOL.

[54] At the close of nineteenth century, Mrs. J. C. Garritt opened a day school for girls in the neighborhood near where she lived; in 1899, the Chinese Christian community of the Northern Presbyterian Church expressed their warm approval of her work; with their support, the Girls' School of the Northern Presbyterian Mission was opened (Matthews, N.A.b, pp. 6–7).

[55] In 1898 Rev. and Mrs. W. S. Sweet of the Northern Baptist Mission were transferred to Hangzhou; in 1901 Mrs. Sweet founded a school for her neighbors. In 1907 the board granted an appropriation and sent out two young ladies, Miss Nourse and Miss Wickenden, to establish a boarding school for girls (Matthews, N.A.b, pp. 7–8).

Figure 3.2 Eighth Grade Graduates



EIGHTH GRADE GRADUATES, WAYLAND.

(Two Pictures from A Catalog, 1912)

According to Matthews, “the advantages of this union in economy, in efficiency, and above all in spiritual inspiration and uplift must be apparent to all” (N.A.b, p. 9). Because of economic and resource consolidation, the HUGS began to grow in size, consisting of primary school, intermediate school, high school, and normal school. Their educational purpose shifted from the development of Christian leaders (Brown, 1997, 141–143) to the training of graduates for work in commercial trading companies and the new government bureaus (Morsch, 1956, p. 130). Therefore, the curriculum had also begun to undergo reforms, gradually becoming more secularized. Mission schools emphasized such subjects as modern

science, mathematics, world history and English (Morsch, 1956, p. 130). According to the curriculum framework of the HUGS, the teaching objectives and course content at different stages were clearly defined. It is evident that, over the years, mission schools gradually developed a systematic and mature education system, which also came to be increasingly accepted by the Chinese.

After the foundation of the Republic of China, church education experienced a short "golden year" (Hunt, 1983, p. 293). The number of students registering in mission schools reached its peak around 1920. In 1922 Christian schools and colleges numbered 7382 with 214,254 students (Chandler, N.A.). The increase in students promoted an increase in demand for education, resulting in the reform of music education. In addition to related Christian music, the music course was constantly evolving. However, under the influence of the May Fourth Movement (Wusi yundong, 五四运动, 1919), the Anti-Christian Movement (Fei jidujiao yundong, 非基督教运动, 1922–1927) was ignited in accordance with the Repatriation of Educational Sovereignty Movement (Shouhui jiaoyuquan yundong, 收回教育权运动, 1920s) (Gao, 1994, pp. 255–274). Consequently, the Beiyang government[56] issued "The Rule of Foreign Investment in Schools" (Wairen juanzi sheli xuexiao qingqiu renke banfa, 外人捐资设立学校请求认可办法, 1925) and "The Regulations of Private Schools (Draft)" (Sili xuexiao guicheng cao'an, 私立学校规程草案, 1926), the golden year in the development of Church schools was ended and many began to transform into normal public schools. There are two reasons for this phenomenon. First, missionaries lost their leadership position as the Beiyang government required the principal to be Chinese (Gao, 1994, p. 277). Second, the Ministry of Education also ruled that the school could not force students to participate in religious ceremonies (Gao, 1994, p. 279). In this chapter, my investigation of these schools concludes with this particular period, as my primary focus regarding mission schools centers on the role of missionaries and their influences on music education in China.

In the following discussion, as mentioned above—on the two kinds of music course in church school music education, I will examine the sacred music curriculum through an analysis of the Christian music textbook compiled by Rev. Inslee. Furthermore, I will investigate the secular music curriculum by drawing upon primary sources such as pamphlets, catalogs, announcements, conference records, and related archival materials uncovered from the Presbyterian Historical Society. This exploration aims to provide a more nuanced historical foundation and detailed evidentiary support for evaluating both the contributions and the adverse impacts of mission school music education in the broader trajectory of modern Chinese music education.

3.3. Elias B. Inslee and *Sing-san-yia-ko*

Rev. Inslee published a hymnbook, *Hymns Set to Music* (Sing-san-yia-ko, Sheng shan xie ge, 圣山协歌),[57] in 1858 while he was working in Ningbo during the period of 1856 to 1861. The Hangchow Girls' School was also founded by Inslee and his wife in Hangzhou in 1868

[56] The international community recognised the Beiyang Government as the legitimate Chinese government from 1912–1927.

[57] This book is available at Harvard Library (online): https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:42848664 7$1i (Assessed: 8 July 2024).

after he had established the Southern Presbyterian Mission there in 1867. Even though there is no conclusive evidence to directly prove *Hymns Set to Music* was the music textbook at the Hangchow Girls' School, the connection can be inferred. First, Mrs. Inslee was co-founder, and also taught the music course in the school (Brown, 1997, p. 96). Therefore, it was highly probable that she adopted this music textbook written by her husband. Second, this book was written not only in the Latin phonetic alphabet in Ningbo dialect, but also in Mandarin Chinese characters (guanhua, 官话), which made it possible for the textbook to be used in other regions. This aspect will be further discussed in a later section.

Existing research has provided some key information about this textbook. "*Hymns Set to Music* was perhaps the first music textbook of staff notation published in Chinese" (Huang, 2006, p. 361). It consisted of music theory, Christian hymns, and tonic sol-fa method (Gong, 2016, pp. 47–50). It adopted a layout that combined both horizontal and vertical text arrangements. The horizontal text that matched the melody was more suitable for those learning to sing (Gong, 2016, p. 76).

Hymns Set to Music was representative of products that the missionaries used in their evangelistic work through hymns in Chinese. It incorporated a total of 113 hymns and the lyrics encompassed common subjects such as God and Jesus, church, or social relationships, thereby familiarizing individuals with Christianity. Some hymnals like this one also incorporated Chinese characteristics. The subsequent analysis will explore and synthesize the characteristics of this hymnal from the perspectives of lyrics, melody, and pedagogy.

3.3.1. Lyrics

In terms of lyrics, first, the majority of hymnals followed the hymn tradition, in terms of a metrical index of the songs, and the Chinese hymns under discussion were no exception. I have compiled the metrical patterns found in this hymn textbook, and discovered that the majority adhere to the traditional structures of English hymns, while only a few have been changed (see figure 3.3).

Figure 3.3 Metrical Patterns

Term	Syllables	Term	Syllables	Term	Syllables
D.B.	8.8.8.8.(4.)	6.4.B.	6.4.6.4.	8.7.4.B.	8.7.8.7.
C.D.B.	8.6.8.6.8.8.	6.4.7.B.	6.4.6.4.6.7.6.4.	8.9.6.B.	8.9.8.9.6.9.8.9.
C.B.	8.6.8.6.	7.B.	7.7.7.7.	9.4.6.B.	9.4.9.6.
T.B.	6.6.8.6.	7.5.B.	7.7.7.5	9.8.B.	9.8.9.8.
D.C.B.	8.8.6.8.8.6.	7.6.B.	7.6.7.6.	9.8.6.B.	9.9.8.9.9.6.6.8.8.
K-L.B.	6.6.6.6.8.8.	8.B.	8.8.8.8	11.B.	11.11.11.11.
		8.4.B.	8.8.4.8.8.4.	12.11.B.	12.11.12.11.
		8.7.B.	8.7.8.7.	9.8.B.	9.8.9.8.

(Information from Inslee's *Hymns Set to Music*)

Based on this figure, I found that "B." stood for "metre" as it consistently appeared in this context. The term "D.B." (8.8.8.8.) represented "L.M." (Long Metre); that of "C.B." (8.6.8.6.) was "C.M." (Common Metre); that of "T.B." (6.6.8.6.) was "S.M." (Short Metre); and "K-L. B." (6.6.6.6.8.8.) was for "H.M." (Hallelujah Metre). These conformed to the metrical conventions that are widely observed in traditional English hymnody. However, there were

also some hymns that were exceptions to this. “YIÆ-LU-SAH-LENG” (Yelusaleng, 耶路撒冷, p. 24, see figures 3.4 and 3.5)[58] was classified as “C.B.”, but, based on the meaning of the lyrics and the distribution of syllables, it did not follow the 8.6.8.6. metrical pattern. In fact, each line appeared to have a different structure. The first line followed an 8.6.8.6.4 pattern, while the second clearly returned to the standard 8.6.8.6. structure. The third and fourth lines, however, displayed no discernible metrical pattern at all.

Figure 3.4 Score of YIÆ-LU-SAH-LENG (Bar 1–26)



[58] The page number follows that of *Hymns Set to Music*.

Figure 3.5 Score of YIÆ-LU-SAH-LENG (Bar 27–61)



(Scores from Inslee's *Hymns Set to Music*, pp. 24–25)

Another example can be found in the metrical forms 8.7.B. and 8.7.4.B., both of which are derived from the standard 8.7.8.7. pattern. The difference lies in the degree of adherence to the structure: 8.7.B. strictly followed the metrical rule, 8.7.8.7., typically presented in a two-line stanza form, while 8.7.4.B. also followed this pattern but with slight variations. For example, the final line of "ÔH-LI-FÆN" (Wolifan, 沃理繙， p. 32, see figure 3.6) was repeated, resulting in a metrical pattern of 8.7.8.7.7.. Or "SI-PI-LI-Ü̈Ô" (Xibiliya, 西比利亚, p. 31, see figure 3.7) consisted of three lines, and thus its pattern was 8.7.8.7.8.7..

Figure 3.6 Score of ÔH-LI-FÆN's



Figure 3.7 Score of SI-PI-LI-ÜÔ



(Scores from Inslee's *Hymns Set to Music*, pp. 31–32)

Secondly, Rev. Inslee employed repetition of certain words and phrases in his writing, which aligned with common practices in Christian hymnody. Such repetition served musical purposes, facilitating easier singing, enhancing the hymn's rhythmic and melodic qualities, and emphasizing key messages. According to Ni Siwen's study of the Chinese Christian hymnals held at the Harvard-Yenching Library, frequent repetition of words, phrases, and sentence structures can be observed throughout many of these hymnals (Ni, 2016, pp. 45–48). These characteristics could also be observed in Rev. Inslee's hymnbook. As mentioned in the first example above, "YIÆ-LU-SAH-LENG", in the third line he employed the phrase "even better" (genghao, 更好, highlighted in red) three times. Or an additional character "be" (zai, 在, highlighted in blue) was inserted before the fourth sentence. Due to the linguistic differences between Chinese and English, the original melodies of English hymns often became incompatible when set to Chinese lyrics. To address this issue, Rev. Inslee frequently employed the repetition of characters, words, or entire phrases. While such repetition disrupted the original metrical structure, it reflected his nuanced understanding of and adaptation to the Chinese linguistic context.

Thirdly, Rev. Inslee adopted Chinese place names, classical poetry titles, or the names of traditional Chinese music tunes as titles for some of the hymns, even though these titles often appear to bear little or no direct relation to the lyrics or the melody. For example, in "HYIANG-KÔNG" (Xianggang, HongKong, 香港), the content centred on faith in Jesus and had no obvious connection to the city of Hong Kong. The use of such a title may have stemmed from the missionaries' strategic use of indirect or subtle methods of evangelism during that period (Guo, 2021, p. 78). However, I propose that some of the melodies may have originated from specific regions in China, such as Hunan or Beijing, which could also explain the use of these place names as hymn titles. A third possibility was that Rev. Inslee was inspired by the music or cultural elements from these areas while composing the melodies.

The fourth notable feature of the lyrics is their use of the Ningbo dialect, as previously mentioned. This aligns with the characteristics of early Chinese hymnals, which often adopted local dialects. In the early stages of missionary work, such localization of language was intended to make the hymns more accessible, relatable to everyday life, and easier for local communities to understand and sing (Long, 2010, p. 39). In addition to the use of the Ningbo dialect, this hymnal also incorporates Mandarin. Although versions of hymns in this language were relatively uncommon at the time, their emergence—and gradual increase in number—suggested "a shift in both the readership and the circulation scope of Christian hymnals that reflected a broader trend in the geographic expansion of Christian publications, moving from southern regions toward the north" (Zhao, 2012, p. 206).[59]

Finally, only 13 out of the 113 hymns exceeded eight sentences. All remaining hymns contained eight lines or fewer, with four-line hymns being the most common. Among these 13 hymns, seven, including "TS‘ING-IH" (qingyi, 青邑, p. 29), "SHING-SÆN" (xunshan, 郇山, p.33), "‘ENG-KYI-BUN" (hengjipan, 恒基磐, p. 33),
"HA-NÔ" (hana, 哈拿, p. 34), "P‘U-T‘IN-LOH" (putianle, 普天乐, p. 34), "SI-LO" (xiluo, 细罗, p. 36), and "MING-PO" (mingbo, 明波, p. 36), exceeded this four-line length because

[59] There were nine Mandarin hymnals published between 1857 and 1911 (Zhao, 2012, p. 206).

of the repetition of phrases or whole lines (for example, see "TSʿING-IH", figure 3.8). The remaining six, including "YIÆ-LU-SAH-LENG", "VEH-LÆN-Sİ" (folanxi, 佛兰西, p. 40),[60] "YÜÔ-MEH" (yamo, 雅抹, p. 43), "FOH-JIH" (furi, 福日, p. 61), "S-LU" (silu, 死路, p. 64), and "ʿO-WE-PʿÔ" (heweipa, 何为怕, p. 65), were longer hymns by nature, with more extended textual content (for example, see "YIÆ-LU-SAH-LENG", figure 3.4). Overall, the predominance of shorter hymns reflected an intentional adaptation, as concise content was more easily accepted and internalized by local congregations.

Figure 3.8 Score of TSʿING-IH



(Score from Inslee's *Hymns Set to Music*, p. 29)

3.3.2. Music

> The music of hymns is a study in itself, and no appraisal of the hymnbook can be complete without recognizing the importance and worth of the music. Only one who has attempted to harmonize a melody, in hymn style, can fully appreciate this type of music. To write according to strict rules for four-part harmony, to keep it from sounding labored, and to make all the parts interesting, constitutes quite an order. The music and the words must match in mood and message. (Morsch, 1956, p. 34)

Hymns Set to Music were notated using staff notation. All hymns uniformly adopted four-part settings. Rev. Inslee explained in the introduction to this textbook that the first part was named the "high part" (shangsheng, 上声) with the lyrics written in Chinese characters below and was suitable to be sung by boys; the second part was called the "second part" (ersheng, 二声) and was to be sung by girls; the third part was the melodic part (bensheng, 本声), and also named the "soloist part" that could be sung either solo or along with the other parts (Inslee, 1858, p. 88–92). The fourth part was called the "bass part" (xiasheng, 下声), but Inslee did not mention its function in the preface. Since it was usually too low to be sung, this part would have been played by the accompanist on piano or organ. For example, in "PE-TEH-PAO" (bidebao, 彼得堡, p. 17, see figure 3.9), the range of the other three parts was from D to D that was restricted to one octave and the highest note did not exceed the E above middle C. However, the fourth part, the lowest part was G below the middle C, which was not suitable to be sung by people in general.

[60] This title was pronounced as the English word "France".

Figure 3.9 Score of PE-TEH-PAO



(Score from Inslee's *Hymns Set to Music*, p. 17)

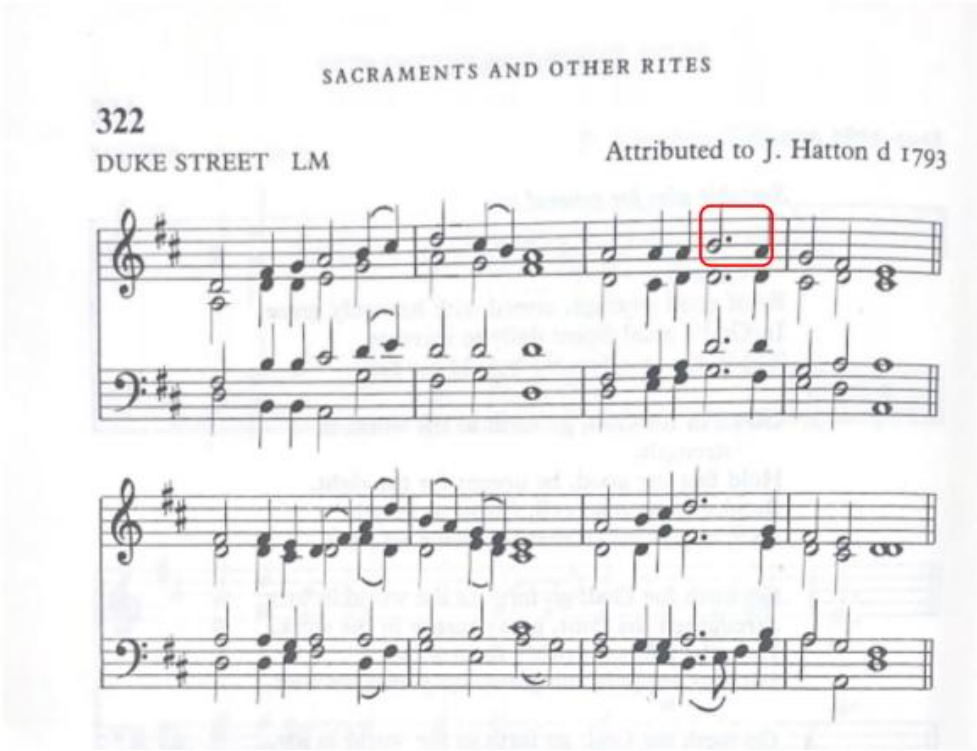
In the nineteenth century, many Chinese-language hymnals used direct translations of English hymns. As a result, the original melodies were often retained without modification. This practice was consistent with the general approach to hymn translation during that period. For example, "YING-DAO" (yingdao, 引导, p. 7, see figure 3.10) was from the tune of "Duke Street" (see figure 3.11). A comparison of the two pieces reveals that their melodies and rhythms are an exact match, except for a slight difference in the sixth measure. In "YING-DAO", two half notes are used, while in "Duke Street", a dotted half note followed by a quarter note is used instead (both highlighted in red). However, the harmonic arrangements in the scores are different, which could be due to the melody being assigned to different parts.

Figure 3.10 Score of YING-DAO



(Score from Inslee's *Hymns Set to Music*, p.7)

Figure 3.11 Score of Duke Street



(Score from *New English Hymnal*, p. 702)

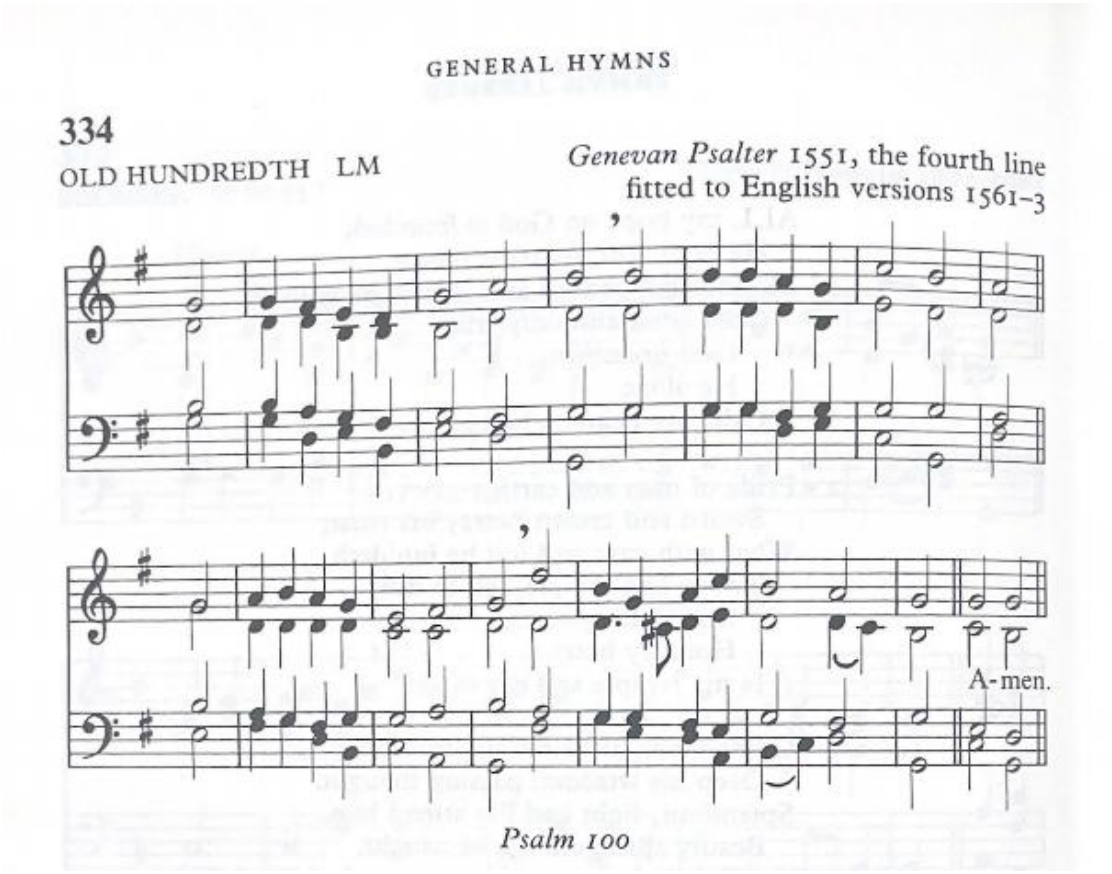
Another example is "LAO-PAH" (laobo, 老柏, p. 10, see figure 3.12) that was from the tune of "Old Hundredth" (see figure 3.13). Apart from changing all the quarter notes in "Old Hundredth" to half notes, "LAO-PAH" retains the same notes and rhythms throughout. Moreover, this hymn's title was a literal translation.

Figure 3.12 Score of LAO-PAH



(Score from Inslee's *Hymns Set to Music*, p. 10)

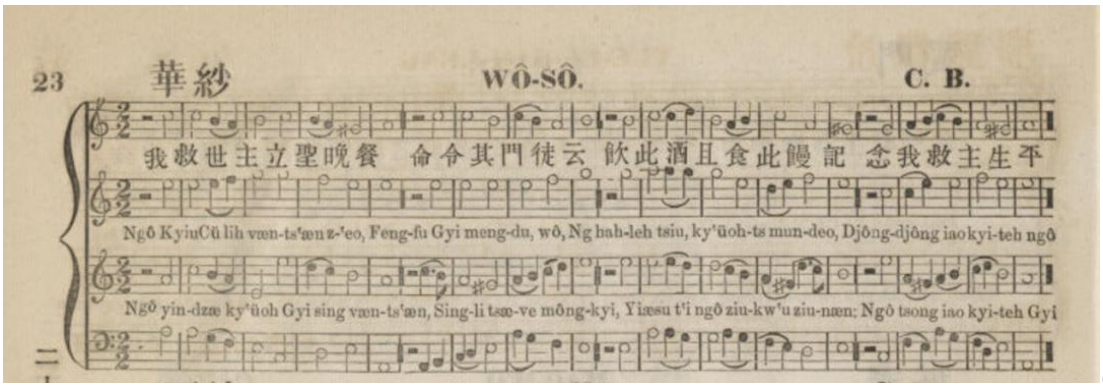
Figure 3.13 Score of Old Hundredth



(Score from *New English Hymnal*, p. 726)

In addition to the singable character, the relationship between different parts uses a basic harmonic technique. Except for counterpoint (an, for example, "WÔ-SÔ", huasha, 华纱, p. 23, see figure 3.14), no other techniques were used. Simplifying complex hymns was more appropriate for promoting Christian music that served an evangelistic purpose. And the rise of four-part harmony in China, introduced by Christian music, changed the path of traditional Chinese music, which came to be seen as backward, due to its lack of harmony.

Figure 3.14 Score of WÔ-SÔ



(

Score from Inslee's *Hymns Set to Music*, p. 23)

Moreover, there are no rules limiting the tonality and time-signature of hymns. Both adhered to the lyrics, which rendered the message more persuasive. Regarding tonality, most of the hymns in this textbook were in major keys, while ten were in minor keys. The key was chosen in accordance with the meaning of the lyrics. For example, "WÔ-SÔ', in the key of A harmonic minor, talks about remembering the savior. The last words invoking remembrance of the life of the savior were set to the melody, "A G# A B C D B A", which was more affecting than any major melody (see figure 3.14). The third part as a melodic part could be soloist or leading. This flexibility is well suited to teaching.

Regarding time-signature, there were some that were standard in the composition of music for hymns. For example, 6/8, 9/8, 12/8, and often 6/4 time-signatures are most likely to be secular rather than religious in quality; dotted rhythms, unless used with great skill, are likely to be both trivial and jerky (Schwantes, 1942–1950, p. 16–17). Nevertheless, must composers adhere precisely to these rules? The answer is negative. The music and the words must match in mood and message (Morsch, 1956, p. 34), no matter what rhythm, melody or harmony were adopted by the composer. For example, "EN-TSÔNG" (Anzang, 安葬, p. 49, see figure 3.15) is the only 3/8 song in this hymnbook, and it talks about a burial ceremony. The piece is in quavers throughout, along with some dotted rhythms, which is similar to a monologue. Thus, there is nothing inappropriate about using a 3/8 time-signature in this song. A repeated rhythmic pattern with some small changes is adopted in most songs. The fundamental rhythmic pattern in "EN-TSÔNG" is composed of three quavers, with the dotted note serving as a variant of this pattern.

Figure 3.15 Score of EN-TSÔNG



(Score from Inslee's *Hymns Set to Music*, p. 49)

3.3.3. Musical Pedagogy

With regard to music pedagogy, *Hymns Set to Music* included the Tonic Sol-fa Method (pp. 71–72). "This pedagogical approach, closely associated with the Protestant church, was specifically designed to facilitate congregational singing, and was well-suited for beginners in music education, especially teaching melodies, harmonies, modes, and tonalities that are relatively simple in structure" (Gong, 2012, p. 2). In addition, Rev. Inslee annotated each syllable name with the corresponding Chinese character, providing explanations that made the teaching process more accessible and comprehensible for learners. Seven Chinese characters, 陀, 雷, 米, 弗, 琐, 西, are used for naming do, re, mi, fa, so, la, si. 高字 (raise), 低字 (lower), 中字 and (restore), are used to illustrate Sharp, Flat, and Natural, respectively. Moreover, semibreve, minims, crotchets, quavers, semiquavers and demi-semiquavers were shown in a simple chart of relative note-values. At the same time, Inslee also provided explanations using the Ningbo dialect, demonstrating careful consideration and thoroughness.

Overall, this hymnal not only embodied the core elements of Western sacred music traditions, but also reflected an integration with Chinese local culture. In compiling the text, Rev. Inslee paid close attention to the prosody of the local language, as well as the educational background and cognitive levels of the locals, which made it more acceptable.

3.4. Hangchow Union Girls' School and Music Department

As previously mentioned, with the growing influence of foreign powers and the evolving domestic demand for skilled professionals, the curriculum of mission schools began to shift in response to the needs of Chinese society. Religious education was no longer the dominant focus. According to the curriculum framework issued after the establishment of the HUGS, while Bible class remained a compulsory weekly component, it was limited to 2–3 sessions per week and this proportion was relatively modest (A Catalog, 1917–1918, pp. 5–9, see figure 3.16, 3.17, 3.18).

Figure 3.16 Primary Course

PRIMARY COURSE

Studies	First Year	Second Year	Third Year	Fourth Year
Bible	3 Bible Stories Memory Work	3 Same	3 Same	3 Same
Chinese	15 Character Study Writing Composition National Readers	15 Same	15 Same	15 Same
Mathematics	5 Numbers to 100 Four Processes to 20	5 Numbers to 1,000 Four Processes to 50	5 Four Processes to 200 Begin Fractions	5 Four Processes to 1,000 Continue Fractions
Geography	2 Home Geography and Stories Expression Work	2 Local Geography and Stories Expression Work	2 Geography of Province Map of China Stories of Chinese Famous Men and Places	2 Stories of Other Lands
Hygiene	1 Health Stories Daily Inspection	1 Same	1 Same	1 Simple Textbook

Figures refer to number of thirty-minute periods per week.
Singing, Sewing, Drawing, and Physical Training are required throughout the course.

[5]

Figure 3.17 Intermediate Course

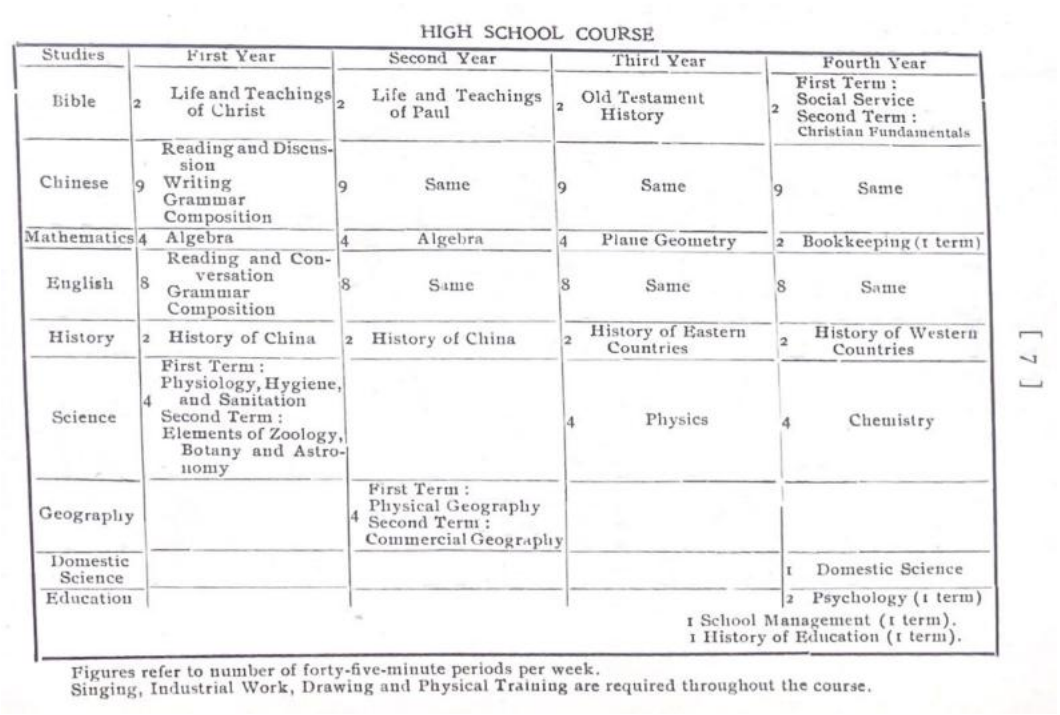
INTERMEDIATE COURSE

Studies	First Year	Second Year	Third Year
Bible	2 Studies in the Gospels Memory Work	2 Heroes of the Bible Memory Work	2 Same
Chinese	15 Reading Writing Grammar Composition	15 Same	15 Same
Mathematics	4 Arithmetic, Book 1	4 Arithmetic, Book 2	4 Arithmetic, Book 3
English	6 Direct Method Used Reading Conversation Writing Sentence Building	6 Reading Conversation Composition	6 Reading Conversation Composition Grammar
History	2 Chinese History	2 Same	2 Same
Science	2 Science Readers	2 Same	2 Hygiene and Sanitation
Geography	3 Geography of China	3 Geography of Other Countries	4 Geography of Other Countries

Figures refer to number of forty-five-minute periods per week.
Singing, Industrial Work, Drawing, and Physical Training are required throughout the course,

[6]

Figure 3.18 High School Course



HIGH SCHOOL COURSE

Studies	First Year	Second Year	Third Year	Fourth Year
Bible	2 Life and Teachings of Christ	2 Life and Teachings of Paul	2 Old Testament History	2 First Term: Social Service Second Term: Christian Fundamentals
Chinese	9 Reading and Discussion Writing Grammar Composition	9 Same	9 Same	9 Same
Mathematics	4 Algebra	4 Algebra	4 Plane Geometry	2 Bookkeeping (1 term)
English	8 Reading and Conversation Grammar Composition	8 Same	8 Same	8 Same
History	2 History of China	2 History of China	2 History of Eastern Countries	2 History of Western Countries
Science	4 First Term: Physiology, Hygiene, and Sanitation Second Term: Elements of Zoology, Botany and Astronomy		4 Physics	4 Chemistry
Geography		4 First Term: Physical Geography Second Term: Commercial Geography		
Domestic Science				1 Domestic Science
Education				2 Psychology (1 term)
			1 School Management (1 term). 1 History of Education (1 term).	

Figures refer to number of forty-five-minute periods per week.
Singing, Industrial Work, Drawing and Physical Training are required throughout the course.

[7]

(Tables from A Catalog, 1917–1918)

From these curriculum frameworks, music instruction was not assigned a specific number of weekly hours. However, the 1912 catalog clearly indicated that, in the primary, intermediate, and high school, “Singing, Sewing, Drawing, and Physical Training are required throughout the course”. The number of weekly hours was indicated in both kindergarten and primary normal course, and was divided into singing and instrumental music (see figure 3.20, 3.21) (picture of students from normal class, see figure 3.22).

Figure 3.19 Kindergarten Normal Course

KINDERGARTEN NORMAL COURSE

First Year, 1st Term

2. Bible, Life and Teachings of Christ
8. Chinese
5. *English
4. Physiology, Hygiene, and Sanitation
1. Story Telling
1. Gifts and Occupations
10. Practice Teaching

Second Year, 1st Term

2. Bible, Normal Methods
8. Chinese
5. English
1. Kindergarten Program
2. Psychology
1. School Management
1. Kindergarten Songs
15. Practice Teaching

First Year, 2nd Term

2. Bible, Life and Teachings of Christ
8. Chinese
5. English
1. Handwork
1. History of Education
1. Theories of Plays and Games
4. Elements of Zoology, Botany, and Astronomy
15. Practice Teaching

Second Year, 2nd Term

2. Sociology and Social Service
8. Chinese, Normal Methods
5. English
1. Child Study
2. Nature Study
1. Life and Teachings of Frœbel
15. Practice Teaching

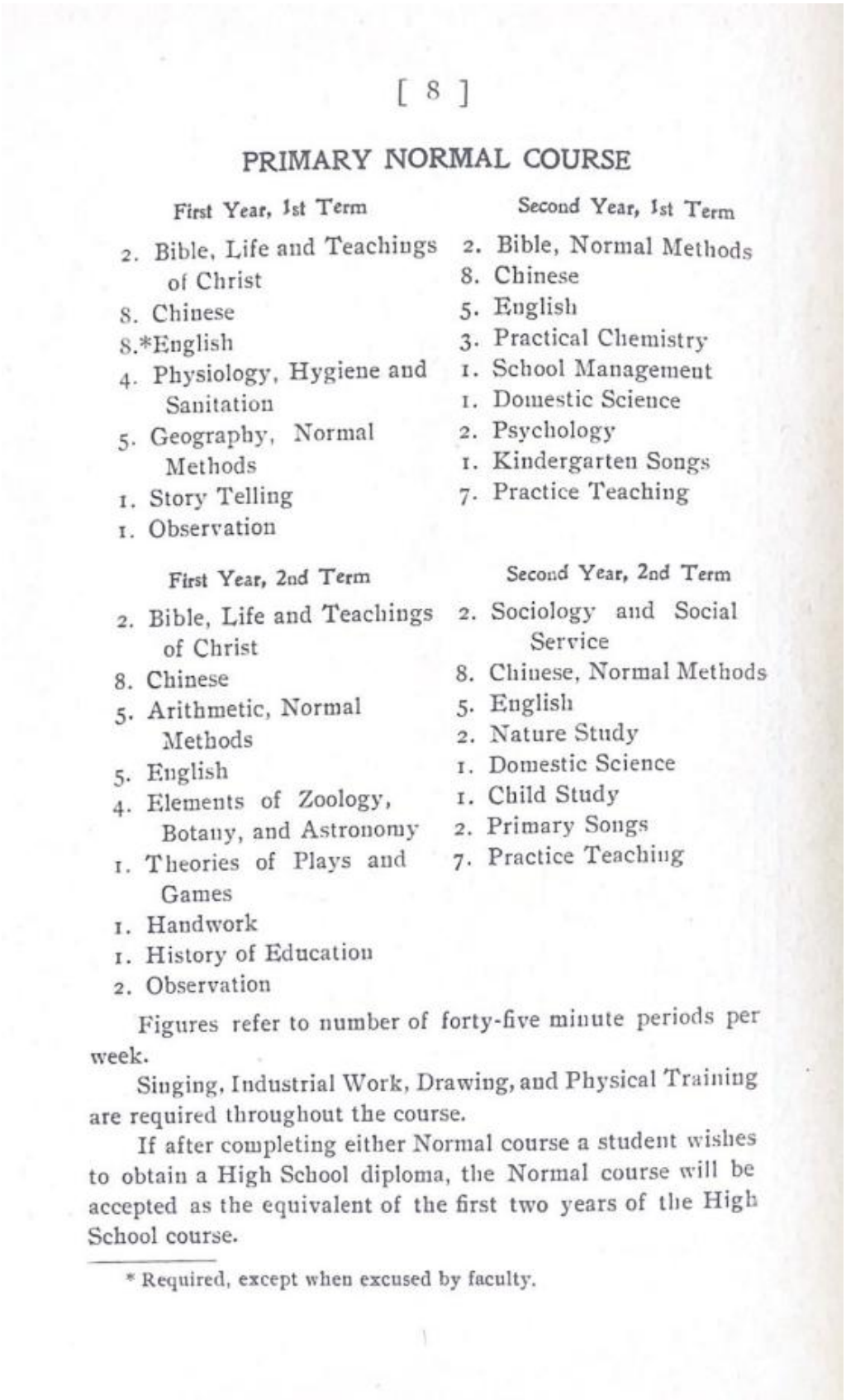
Figures refer to number of forty-five minute periods per week.

Instrumental Music, Singing, Industrial Work, Drawing, and Physical Training are required throughout the course.

If after completing either Normal course a student wishes to obtain a High School diploma, the Normal course will be accepted as the equivalent of the first two years of the High School course.

* Required, except when excused by faculty.

Figure 3.20 Primary Normal Course



[8]

PRIMARY NORMAL COURSE

First Year, 1st Term

2. Bible, Life and Teachings of Christ
8. Chinese
8.*English
4. Physiology, Hygiene and Sanitation
5. Geography, Normal Methods
1. Story Telling
1. Observation

Second Year, 1st Term

2. Bible, Normal Methods
8. Chinese
5. English
3. Practical Chemistry
1. School Management
1. Domestic Science
2. Psychology
1. Kindergarten Songs
7. Practice Teaching

First Year, 2nd Term

2. Bible, Life and Teachings of Christ
8. Chinese
5. Arithmetic, Normal Methods
5. English
4. Elements of Zoology, Botany, and Astronomy
1. Theories of Plays and Games
1. Handwork
1. History of Education
2. Observation

Second Year, 2nd Term

2. Sociology and Social Service
8. Chinese, Normal Methods
5. English
2. Nature Study
1. Domestic Science
1. Child Study
2. Primary Songs
7. Practice Teaching

Figures refer to number of forty-five minute periods per week.

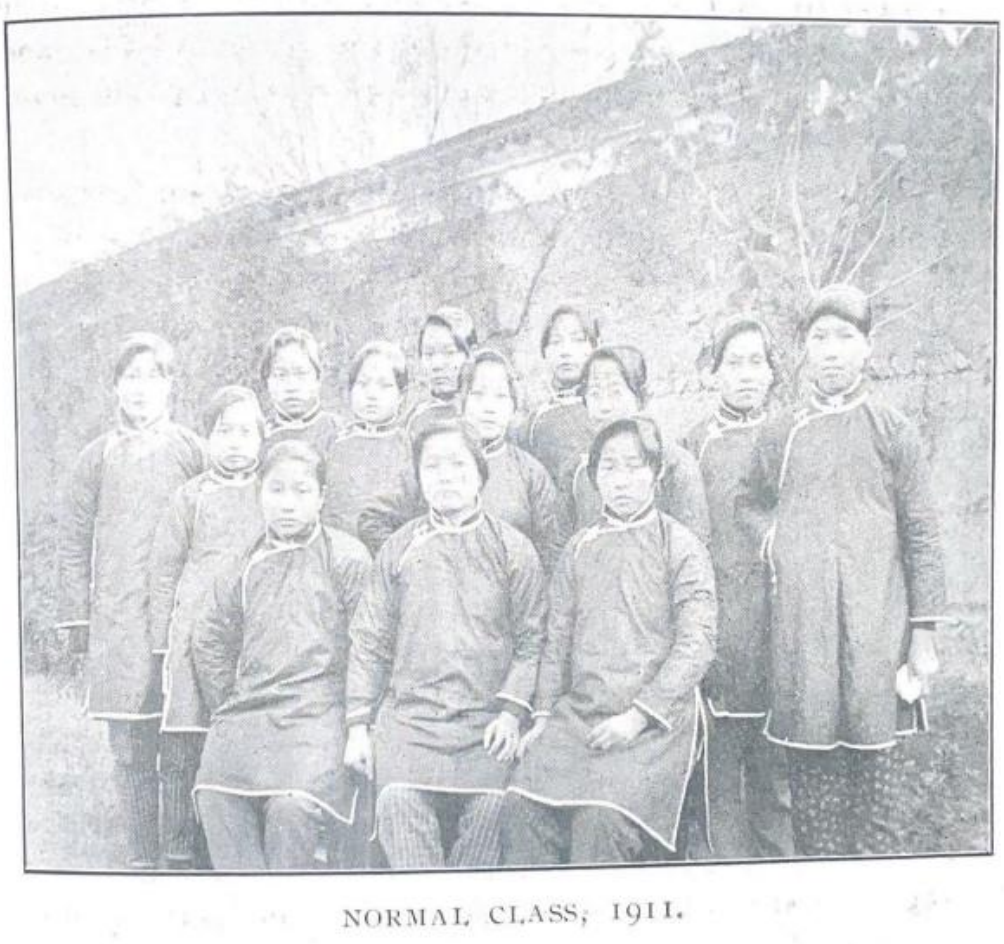
Singing, Industrial Work, Drawing, and Physical Training are required throughout the course.

If after completing either Normal course a student wishes to obtain a High School diploma, the Normal course will be accepted as the equivalent of the first two years of the High School course.

* Required, except when excused by faculty.

(Course Framework from A Catalog, 1917–1918)

Figure 3.21 Normal Class, 1911



NORMAL CLASS, 1911.

(Picture from A Catalog, 1912)

While the curriculum framework confirmed the inclusion of music as a subject, some reports provided further evidence of students' genuine enthusiasm for music. According to a report on the HUGS (Autumn Term, 1912), principal Venie J. Lee said that "we feel the great need of developing our music department: with over forty pupils taking organ lessons we sorely need someone prepared to teach them properly, and more instruments for practices, including a piano, which will attract many pupils" (Minutes, 1913, p. 8). According to this report, the total number of pupils was 148, therefore there was around one third of students with music needs (Minutes, 1913, p. 8). The 1920 and 1922 Minutes also proved this conclusion. In the 1920 Minutes, it said that "the Music Department is very popular and in this Miss Graham finds one assistant insufficient. Miss Graham's schedule is very heavy. In addition to her instrumental music work, she has the responsibility for some of the singing classes and teaches a Bible class in the High School" (p. 18). According to the 1922 Minutes, "the number reached seventy-six, including fifty-eight for organ and eighteen for piano" (p. 24).

From the perspective of teaching content, some classical music was included in the courses, as in the following music diploma syllabus (see figure 3.23).

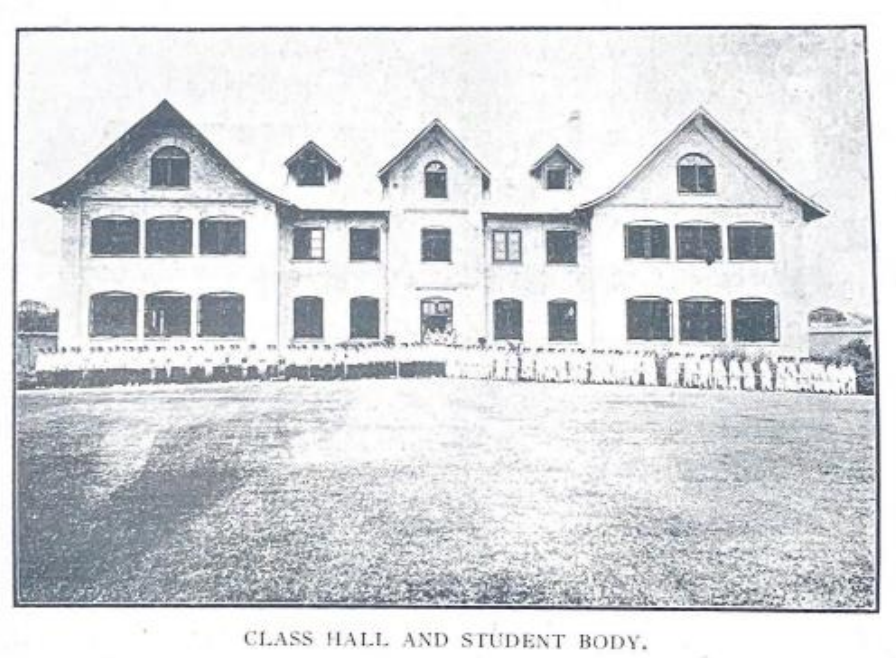
Figure 3.22 Requirements for the Music Diploma

A music diploma is granted to those students who satisfactorily fulfill the following requirements:
1. Ability to play two sonatas — Beethoven — or their equivalent, in selected movements, several movements of which must be memorized.
2. Ability to play from memory compositions by Schumann, Chopin, Grieg, Mendelssohn, and other standard composers.
3. Ability to play advanced studies by Clementi, Czerny, Cramer. Bach's inventions, and at least one Fugue.
4. Ability to read by sight simple compositions.
5. Completion of the course offered in Harmony, Musical History and Musical Biography.
6. The giving of a recital.

(Information from A Catalog, 1917–1918)

Piano was regarded as a formal and independent course. Students were required not only to learn piano performance techniques but also to undergo sight-reading training. In addition, subjects such as harmony, music history, and composer biographies were also part of the curriculum. These areas of study encompassed both theoretical and practical components, making the learning experience quite comprehensive. Moreover, students were required to hold a recital in order to obtain this music diploma. For example, in 1922, two girls were responsible for giving a recital before their graduation (Minutes, 1922, p. 24).

Figure 3.23 Class Hall and Student Body



CLASS HALL AND STUDENT BODY.

(Picture from A Catalog, 1919–1920)

Regarding Western classical music education, I would like to use some additional

materials to further explain this issue.

> The HUGS places great emphasis on music education. In the first year of intermediate school, songs, operas, and folk songs from various countries are selected from the works of both Chinese and Western famous musicians and poets. These include works by Bach, Beethoven, Handel, Schubert, Mozart, Schumann, Mendelssohn, Brahms, Wagner, Shakespeare, Goethe, Li Bai, Du Mu, Wen Tingjun, Yan Shu, among others. All pieces are taught using staff notation for sight-singing. (Pan, 2008, p. 120)

This is a memoir from *In Memory of Hangchow Union Girls' School* (Hongdaonüzhong Jiniankan, 弘道女中纪念刊), written by alumna Pan Dajun.[61] Although she enrolled at HUGS in the years just before the founding of the People's Republic of China, her account still serves as evidence that the school had always placed importance on music education. After Christian music ceased to be the primary focus, secular music courses began to take on a more prominent role.

The successful development of these secular music courses at that period was closely related to the popularity of music education in church girls' schools. "During this period, many girls' mission schools began incorporating specialized disciplines into their curricula, aiming to equip students with practical expertise and enhance their career prospects. These disciplines included teacher education, nursing, domestic science, nutrition, and music" (Li, 1999, p. 64). This indicates that music had become a vocational skill for girls and women, contributing to the enhancement of their employment opportunities.

Moreover, influenced by Western culture, learning music—particularly the piano—was a manifestation of social class. Piano, as a symbol of Western culture, also brought in its implications about Western social classes. For example, domestic music was well established for the wealthier in London by 1800, which induced an increasing demand for piano (Taylor, 2010, p. 116, 125). From this, it is evident that the piano had already become a symbol of wealthy families. Thus music was a symbol of wealth, and the piano, in particular, also served as a representation of affluence. Under the influence of Western music of a higher order, "Western instrumental music, as represented by piano and violin, satisfied the pretensions of the rising Chinese middle class to superior social status" (see further, Gong, 2006, p. 373). During the 1920s and 1930s, Western music emerged as a cultural and ideological expression of the Chinese middle class, fostered by favorable social and political conditions that allowed it to flourish (Liang, 1994, p. 228). To further support this argument, I would like to present two additional pieces of evidence. First, the students enrolled at the HUGS were no longer from impoverished backgrounds as in the early days. They were now required to pay tuition and other fees. This situation was completely different from that of the previous century, when mission schools would distribute money and supplies to the poor while recruiting for students. Second, of the number of students, a total of 280 graduated from the school between 1912 and 1931. Of these, 101 became homemakers, 31 continued their studies, and 102 entered the teaching profession (Zhao, 2011, pp. 29–30).[62] The number of homemakers and teachers was equal. It is evident that many people at the time pursued education not for employment or livelihood, but to fulfill a desire for social status and recognition.

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[61] She was admitted to the HUGS in 1948, then transferred to Huilan Middle School in 1949, where she completed her junior high school education in 1951. In the same year, she returned to Hongdao and remained there until 1952, when she left to pursue further studies elsewhere.

[62] Zhao, 2011 indicates Zhao Pingping's Master thesis.

As mentioned earlier, Christian music played a role in promoting the development of school songs. However, during the two decades of their rise, school songs became almost the only form of music education in new-type schools, with only a few offering courses in music appreciation or instrumental study (Chen, 2016, p. 131). In contrast, church schools, through their long-term development, gradually established a relatively formal Western music curriculum that met social needs. This effectively filled the gap left by the school songs and, "together with them, contributed to the advancement of music education in China" (Chen, 2016, p. 131).

3.5. Othering, Subject, the Establishment of Colonial Culture

> Well might De Guignes and Waln[63] concur in pronouncing Chinese music a mass of detestable discord, and a "bruit epouvantable [épouvantable]," for in fact the sounds produced by the instruments of a Chinese band do richly merit the appellation of "musique infernale." The din and discord to an ear at all sensitive on the subject of harmonious sounds is shocking, the principal effort of the performers appearing to be the production of noise, without regard to time, or any thing [anything] else…Generally speaking, the Chinese music is mournfully monotonous, or boisterous and loud, a few airs only corresponding with our ideas on this score. (Wood, 1830, p. 155)

The above assessment of traditional Chinese music clearly carries a dismissive tone. However, Western evaluations of Chinese traditional music have not always been so negative. At least in the eighteenth century, Europeans and their musicians showed great interest in Chinese music, and their enthusiasm for it was notably enduring (see further, Tao, 1994, pp. 113–131). However, the notion of Western musical superiority developed as a result of the negative shift in perception of China in the early nineteenth century (Irvine, 2020, pp. 25–52). As various European countries completed the Second Industrial Revolution, they began to accelerate their imperialist expansion and no longer treated the cultures of the countries they invaded as equals. Moreover, this negative perception intensified after the Opium War — "they often saw themselves as conquerors, frequently speaking more ill than well of China, with bias and even disdain" (Gu, 1991, p. 455).[64] This kind of bias and disdain is a typical act of "Othering" Chinese music.

As mentioned in the Chapter One, through the process of Othering, colonizers reinforce the superiority of their own culture, thereby consolidating their political power. The Othering of Chinese culture contributes to further strengthening the perceived superiority of Western culture, which in turn helps solidify the privileges established by Western powers in China. Against this backdrop, traditional Chinese music was also subject to Othering. Although it cannot be said outright that the Western music introduced by missionaries was a direct tool of Western imperialist aggression (Gong, 2007b, p. 45), as part of culture, the Othering of traditional Chinese music is indeed a fact.

In previous paragraphs, I discussed a lot of the Western elements introduced by

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[63] Joseph de Guignes (1721–1800) was a French orientalist, Sinologist and Turkologist. Robert Waln Jr. (1794–1825) was a son of Robert Waln who was a merchant in the East India and China trade, and he was an author and poet.

[64] Not all missionaries in the nineteenth century despised Chinese music. For more information, see further Gong, 2014b.

missionaries, such as staff notation, counterpoint, four-part harmony, and instrumental teaching systems. Such techniques increasingly found widespread adoption among Chinese musicians. The first generation of school song music educators in China, such as Shen Xingong (1870–1947) and Li Shutong (1880–1942),[65] were directly influenced by mission schools in their study of Western music techniques (Gong, 2007b, pp. 43–44). In addition, the use of Western staff notation became increasingly common among Chinese musicians. The staff notation was not used in their Western-style music, but also used it in their tradition-style music, such as Huang Xing's[66] *half* (Yiban'er, 一半儿, labelled tune, 1923), Li Rongshou's (1895–1965)[67] *Techniques of Two-String Fiddle in Beijing Opera* (Pihuangqu Huqin Yanzoufa, 皮黄曲胡琴演奏法, 1927); Yang Yinliu's (1899–1984)[68] *Scores of Chinese Zither* (Qin pu, 琴谱, 1947).[69] Moreover, following their exposure to Western music techniques, numerous Chinese Chinese musicians composed works characterized by polyphonic texture after the twentieth century. Such as Huang Zi's vocal works, "Canon Song" (Kanong ge, 卡农歌, 1935) and "Folk Song of Huainan" (Huainan minge, 淮南民歌, 1935). Hence, within the context of Western musical hegemony, "harmony is widely recognized as the greatest colonizing power" (Agawu, 2003, p. 8).

Given this process of Otherization and the loss of subjectivity in Chinese traditional music culture, the question arises: how modern Chinese music was established on the basis of Western music system? How can music education further deepen its engagement with hybrid culture? And can these deeper forms of hybridity be seen as responses by a new generation of Chinese musicians and educators to Western musical hegemony? These issues will be explored in the following chapters.

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[65] Shen was a pioneer musician during the period of modern China, see Shen, 1994b, pp. 1–12. Li was also a pioneer musician in that period, see Sun, 1994, pp. 58–69.

[66] Huang was a music teacher in Changjun Middle School (Changjun Zhongxue, 长郡中学) in Changsha. Unfortunately, there is no detailed resource about him.

[67] Li Rongshou, original name Li Huaxuan was a music teacher. See further Yang, 1994, pp. 311–319.

[68] Yang was a music historian. See further Hua and Wu, 1994, pp. 380–396.

[69] Information are from Chen and Chen, 2005.

Chapter 4.
The Beginning of Professional Music Education in China—Case Study: Conservatory of Music of the Peking National University

4.1. Pioneering Professional Music Education

> Today the music society holds a celebratory concert. It has been six months since the youth assembly in May of this year. Though there were interruptions along the way, it is with great emotion that we gather again today—an achievement that has not come easily. As a vital branch of the arts, music is intimately connected with the development of culture. In their pursuit of cultural advancement, nations around the world have developed in both science and arts. In recent years, our country has made notable progress in science; however, the advancement in art remains in its initial stages. In European countries, not only are there specialized conservatories dedicated to cultivating musical talent, but public concerts are held regularly...Our country still lacks formal institutions of higher music education. Our own university has yet to establish a dedicated department of music. Nevertheless, thanks to the initiative of our students and our instructors, the Music Research Society of the Peking National University has been founded. It may be regarded as a promising beginning in the development of musical culture at our institution. We sincerely hope that everyone present today recognizes the unique role of music in cultural progress. Let us pursue the study of music theory, nurture talents capable of composition, and draw on the strengths of Western music to address the limitations of traditional Chinese music. In doing so, we may ensure continued advancement and remain faithful to the founding of this association. (Cai, 1919a, p. 355)

Since the start of the twentieth century, under the dual influence of school songs in the new-type schools and the secular music curricula of mission schools, the development of music education in China began transitioning into a new phase—shifting from the advancement of general music education toward the establishment of a professional music education system. The case study discussed in this chapter, the CMPNU, represented a foundational milestone in this process. Although it was a student music society in the earlier stages, it "evolved into a formal institution primarily dedicated to the teaching of Western musical knowledge and techniques—an influence that continues to impact music education today" (Zhou, 2006, p. 37). Therefore, it has also been recognized as the earliest institution of professional music education in modern China (Wei, 2014, p. 83).[70] From an institutional

[70] The historical status of the CMPNU in China's music education has been contested. In 1995, Xiu Hailin published an article entitled "Cai Yuanpei's Theory and Practice of Music Aesthetics" (Cai Yuanpei de yinyue meixue lilun yu shijian, 蔡元培的音乐美学理论与实践) in which he asserted that the earliest modern professional music school in China was the National Conservatory of Music, established in 1927 (p. 8). However,

perspective, "the CMPNU was incorporated under the unified administration of the Peking National University (Beijing Daxue, 北京大学, PNU), receiving funding from the university, with student recruitment and graduate placement handled by the educational authorities. The organization was well-structured, with independent curriculum and faculty appointments. However, its institutional status was somewhat unique—it operated semi-independently from the PNU. The CMPNU was open to the public and offered three types of programs: undergraduate (benke, 本科), normal (shifanke, 师范科), and elective (xuanke, 选科). The undergraduate program aimed to cultivate specialized professionals; the normal program focused on preparing music teachers for primary and secondary education; and the elective program was intended to provide opportunities for individuals with a personal interest in music. Among these, the subject of composition and theory, as well as the entire elective program, closely resembled the model of professional music education found in Western universities. Not only did the CMPNU play a pioneering role in the training of China's earliest generation of professional musicians and music educators, but its academic system, curriculum structure and concerts also set important precedents and were emulated by several later professional music institutions (Wei, 2014, pp. 83–184). Zhou Yingchen indicated that "without the political turmoil following 1927, the CMPNU would be a formal department of music. However, with the outbreak of political instability in Beijing that year and the subsequent departure of Xiao Youmei to the south, the CMPNU was forced to close. Nevertheless, the development of professional Western-style music education in China did not cease, while it became increasingly systematized in the years that followed" (2006, p. 37). Therefore, the CMPNU can be seen as both a manifestation of China's efforts to emulate Western approaches to music education and a cornerstone in the exploration and construction of a professional music education within the Chinese context.

Given that contemporary scholars have generally affirmed the positive role of the CMPNU in the development of China's music education system, this chapter will examine an alternative perspective on its role—one shaped by the context of Western musical cultural hegemony—and explore how its establishment may also reflect broader dynamics within the evolution of music education in China. On the one hand, I aim to further examine how hybrid culture manifested itself in music and music education during this period, through analyzing the identities of Western-trained Chinese musicians and music educators, in order to assess their roles and significance in the reproduction of Western music education in China. On the other hand, I explore the inferiority complex exhibited by Western-trained Chinese musicians and musical educators. Compared to the earlier generation of musicians, who were the representative figures of school songs, this generation, recently returned from a time spent studying music in the West, possessed a deeper and more systematic understanding of

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in 1998, Huang Xudong published two consecutive articles criticizing Xiu's claims (1998a; 1998b), arguing that the CMPNU, founded in 1922, did constitute a formal music education institution and should be regarded as a school (1998a, p. 50). As part of his argument, Huang cited the English translation of the name of the CMPNU by Xiao Youmei—The Conservatory of Music of the Peking National University—as convincing evidence supporting its institutional identity as a conservatory (1998a, p. 5). In 1999, Xiu responded to Huang's critique with a follow-up article, in which he acknowledged that the CMPNU was generally considered a music society, and clarified that it was not formally incorporated into the official university curriculum system and should not be considered a professional music education institution. Nonetheless, I prefer to consider that the CMPNU should be considered a professional music education institution, as it had a complete Western music education system, including entrance and graduation procedures. Nonetheless, it had imperfections as such an institution, particularly in relation to curricula and duration of study.

Western music, and thus the inferiority complex they experienced manifested in more specific and complex way. This chapter centers on two core questions. First, as Western-trained Chinese musicians and music educators, what roles did they play in the establishment of the Chinese music education system? Second, within the context of Western musical cultural hegemony, how can the CMPNU's position be understood in the broader trajectory of China's music educational development?

4.2. Background: Conservatory of Music of the Peking National University

4.2.1. Reorganization and Name Changes

The CMPNU evolved from a student-organized society into a professional music institution over two developmental periods. The first was characterized by a primary focus on traditional Chinese music (Tang, 2014, p. 10).[71] In the autumn of 1916, twelve students[72] set up this society, named the Music Group of the Peking National University (Beijng Daxue Yinyuetuan, 北京大学音乐团, MGPNU, Autumn 1916–February 1918). In February 1918, after considerable discussion among its members, the society decided that "the existing name was inappropriate and renamed it the Music Association of the Peking National University (Beijing Daxue Yinyuehui, 北京大学音乐会, MAPNU, February 1918–June 1918); the society was subsequently divided into two: a Chinese music division (Zhongyue men, 中乐门) and Western music division (Xiyue men, 西乐门). The Western Division was limited to instruments available within the university, while the Chinese Division encompassed all forms of traditional Chinese music, including metal, stone, silk, bamboo, gourd, clay, and plant materials" (Liao, 1918). However, despite the revisions made to the association's charter, contemporary course announcements published in the *Daily Newspaper of the Peking National University* (Beijing daxue rikan, 北京大学日刊)[73] indicated that the renamed organization did not, in fact, offer any Western music courses during this period. All listed courses were focused exclusively on traditional Chinese music. As a result, some scholars have referred to this stage as the "Period of Chinese Music Reform" (Zhou, 2006).

The second period was marked by the introduction of Western music courses in according with three name changes. In June 1918, "under the suggestion of the university president, the MAPNU was renamed the Music Society of the Peking National University (Beijing Daxue Yueli Yanjiuhui, 北京大学乐理研究会, MSPNU, June 1918–January 1919),[74] and the range of content was significantly broadened" (*Daily Newspaper* 161, 12 June 1918, p. 3). Moreover, two Western music courses—in piano and violin—were explicitly listed in the course schedule (*Daily Newspaper* 161, 12 June 1918, p. 3). The second change took place on January 8, 1919, when the Daily Newspaper published a "Notice of Reorganization of the Music Society of the Peking National University," officially announcing its new name as the

[71] In this chapter, Tang, 2014 indicates Tang Huan's master thesis.
[72] These twelve students were: Zhou Wenxie, Lin Shimo, Tang Hongzhi, Lin Bingzhong, Yu Mingyu, Dai Chenshui, Dai Mingzhi, Tan Weilie, Liao Shucang, Qin Yuancheng, Zha Shijian, and Xia Zonghuai (Liao, 1918).
[73] I abbreviate its name to the *Daily Newspaper* in the following paragraphs.
[74] According to the English notice published in No. 261 *Daily Newspaper* (2 December 1918, p. 2), "Music Society" was the official translation for the MSPNU. Unfortunately, I did not find an official translation for the other three.

Music Seminar of the Peking National University (Beijing Daxue Yinyue Jiangxihui, 北京大学音乐讲习会, MSePNU, January 1919). Following this, two additional notices were published under the name MSePNU between January 8 and 22. Beginning on January 23, 1919, the name Music Research Society of the Peking National University (MRSPNU, Beijing Daxue Yinyue Yanjiuhui, 北京大学音乐研究会, January 1919–August 1922) was used in official notices. As no formal reorganization announcement accompanied this transition, it can be inferred that the change from Music Seminar to Music Research Society was part of the same internal reform and thus constitutes the third renaming in this period.[75] During the second period, not only were Western music theory courses introduced, but a *Music Journal* (Yinyue Zazhi, 音乐杂志) was also established.

In May 1922, at the request of Cai Yuanpei, the PNU constituted a new committee for the reorganization of student societies. Xiao Youmei was one of the members of this committee.

> Xiao reported that "...After research, it [the MAPNU] needs to be reorganized. If it is transformed into a formal music education institution, it will not be easy to get the necessary funding. If it is still following old rules, it will be difficult for staff to take care of the administration, because they have to attend classes and do self-study every day. It is difficult to make progress in any area unless it is managed by specialized people". (*Daily Newspaper* 1138, 23 December 1922, pp. 2–3)

In August 1922, the CMPNU officially issued its prospectus, marking its successful transformation from a student music society into a formal institution of music education. It consisted of "an independent student admission system, independent curriculum, and credit system", and operated as "a formally organized educational institution under the university" (Li, 2004, p 141). Although it functioned as an educational institution, "its model has never been seen in Chinese history, as its graduation timeline was quite flexible—in some cases, the program could be completed within just a few months" (Xiao, 1923, p. 208). Xiao Youmei consistently advocated for renaming the institution as a "Conservatory of Music" (Yinyue Yuan, 音乐院), so that it would be immediately recognized as a specialized institution dedicated to the study of music theory and practice. Although Cai Yuanpei supported this proposal, it was ultimately rejected by the University Council, on the grounds that the title "Conservatory of Music" conflicted with the term "University Council" (Daxueyuan, 大学院),[76] thereby undermining the dignity and hierarchical distinction of the university system (Xiao, 1923, p. 208). "In 1927, Liu Zhe was appointed Minister of Education, and he thought that music was detrimental to public morals and irrelevant to the moral cultivation of society. Thus, he issued an order to abolish the CMPNU with the result that China's first modern institution of higher professional music education only lasted five years and then came to a premature end" (Li, 2004, p. 141).

Building on the developmental trajectory of the CMPNU, the following discussion unfolds along two interrelated lines. In order to clarify the contributions of significant reformers, I first need to clarify the timeline of the development of the CMPNU. I have divided its evolution into three periods: two from before its foundation — namely, the

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[75] The CMPNU was formally founded in December 1922, while it released notices and organized activities throughout August 1922. I explain this point in a later paragraph.

[76] This term explain in next chapter.

Kunqu-only (Kun song, 昆曲)[77], the period of the parallel development of traditional Chinese music and Western Music, and the period of the Professional Music Education Institution in accordance with the construction of the CMPNU. The second line focuses on the core contributions of reformers, whose efforts not only helped in the reform of the CMPNU but also constitute an underlying narrative interwoven throughout this historical account.

4.2.2. Cai Yuanpei's Aesthetic Education and the Foundation of the Student Society

> When Cai Yuanpei became president at the PNU, although it was already the [fifth year, 1916][78] after the foundation of the Republic of China, the university remained deeply entrenched in feudal traditions. Rather than resembling an institution for learning, it functioned more like a government. Professors lacked commitment to teaching, and students showed little genuine interest in learning, pursuing education primarily as a means of acquiring social status. Cai initiated a series of reforms, one of which was to cultivate a spirit of academic inquiry in order to transform students' attitudes and spark their intellectual curiosity. He placed particular emphasis on student societies, actively encouraging and supporting their formation and activities through various means. These included organizations such as the Painting Society (Huafa Yanjiushe, 画法研究社), the Journalism Society (Xinwenxue Yanjiuhui, 新闻学研究会), the Philosophy Society (Zhexue Yanjiuhui, 哲学研究会), the Marxism Society (Makesi Xueshuo Yanjiuhui, 马克思学说研究会), the National Journal Society (Guomin Zazhishe, 国民杂志社), the New Tide Society (Xinchaoshe, 新潮社), the Popular Education Lecture Group (Pingmin jiaoyu Jiangyantuan, 平民教育讲演团) and the Music Research Society, as well as more ideologically or morally oriented groups such as the Meditation Society (Jingzuohui, 静坐会) and the Self-Cultivation Society (Jindehui, 进德会), which attracted considerable student participation. (Li, 2012, p. 20)

The MGPNU, one of the earliest student societies, was established prior to Cai Yuanpei's tenure at the PNU. Most of the earliest student societies were oriented towards the arts. This was largely because such activities "had a broad base of enthusiasts and enjoyed strong popular support" (Li, 2012, p. 34). At the end of 1916, after Cai Yuanpei was appointed president of the PNU, he actively supported the establishment and development of various student organizations. Among them, the MGPNU was one of the key groups he promoted, a decision closely aligned with his advocacy of aesthetic education.

As mentioned in the Chapter Two, Cai Yuanpei was not the first and sole Chinese educator to advocate for aesthetic education, but the positions he took up provided a powerful platform for the implementation of his aesthetic education ideas, allowing them to exert a far-reaching influence on a wider scale. The origins of Cai's aesthetic educational philosophy could be traced back to his period of study in Germany (see further, Xiu, 1995). In 1917, Cai delivered a speech entitled "Substitution of Aesthetic Education for Religion" (Yi meiyu daiti zongjiao shuo, 以美育代替宗教说), in which he emphasized the purity and universality of beauty. He argued that "when aesthetic education is attached to religion, it is often

[77] Kunqu is one of the old Chinese opera (xiqu) genres, see further, Yuan *et al.*, 2023, pp. 287–304.
[78] The original text states that Cai became the president in the sixth year after the foundation of the Republic of China (1917), but in truth the year was 1916,

constrained by religious doctrine, thereby losing its nurturing function and instead serving to overstimulate emotions" (Cai, 1917, p. 32). Moreover, in his essay, "Do not Forget Aesthetic Education during the Culture Movement" (Wenhua yundong buyao wangle meiyu, 文化运动不要忘了美育), Cai also noted that at the time, "scientific education in China began to take root, whereas arts education—apart from the mechanical teaching of music and drawing in primary schools—was virtually nonexistent" (1919b, p. 361). He also indicated that "for cultivating a civilized and progressive people, not only must the implementation of scientific education be accompanied, but also the widespread promotion of arts education. In terms of skill training, not only should art schools, music conservatories, schools of applied arts, and Chinese opera schools be opened, but the university should also offer lectures in literature, aesthetics, art history, and music theory and set up a music research institute" (Cai, 1919b, pp. 361–362). When Cai assumed leadership of the PNU, he initiated a series of reforms, which included the implementation of his ideas on aesthetic education in practice. He emphasized that the aim was "to cultivate students' moral characters through music and art" (Liang, 1996, p. 154).[79]

In putting his aesthetic education philosophy into practice, Cai advocated the adoption of Western models. In the field of music, he expressed this view in a speech delivered at the MRSPNU, stating that "In European countries, aside from conservatories to cultivate professional musicians, music concerts are held regularly. Even in small villages, music is played in public parks or cafes on Sundays. The music atmosphere is more vibrant in Berlin, Paris, or other metropolises" (Cai, 1919a, p. 355). Cai's advocacy for adopting Western models also reflected a sense of inferiority in his attitude toward traditional Chinese music. He believed at the time that there was a need "to [draw] upon the strengths of Western music to remedy the shortcomings of traditional Chinese music, thereby enabling it to progress with the times" (Cai, 1919a. p. 355). His view of traditional Chinese opera was even more deprecating. He described it as "performing simplistic music and base theatrical texts in noisy theaters" (1919b, p. 362). Therefore, Cai appointed a number of Western-trained musicians and music educators, such as Chen Meng (1880–?)[80] and Xiao Youmei, which was another key factor in facilitating the establishment of the CMPNU.

Although the above statements clearly reflect his Western inclinations, in practice, Cai also supported the development of traditional Chinese music. Prior to the formal establishment of the CMPNU, courses in kunqu, guqin (古琴)[81] and the four-stringed lute (pipa, 琵琶)[82] were made possible precisely because he appointed instructors specializing in these traditional forms. For example, the flourishing development of kunqu was attributed to the presence of instructors such as Wu Mei (1884–1939),[83] Chen Wanli (1892–1969),[84] and

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[79] For more information about Cai's aesthetic education,see Liang, 1996, pp.148–157.

[80] Chen Meng, also called Chen Zhongzi, was born in Ganzhou, Jiangxi province. In 1904, he came to the attention of Liu Jingxi (1858–1917), the leader of the new policy for industry in Gannan (the southern of Ganzhou) at the end of the Qing Dynasty, and got an opportunity to study railway technology in Japan. But he changed to the study of music in Tokyo Music School. In 1918, Chen came back to China and started to serve as a music teacher in Yinyuehui. For more information about Chen, see the online resource, Ganzhou Municipal Archives (Ganzhoushi Dang'anguan, 赣州市档案馆), 2022.

[81] Guqin was another name for qin, see chapter 2.1

[82] The pipa was an old lute-like instrument in China. It was a pear-shaped, four-string, fourteen-fret instrument. For more information about the pipa, see Yuan *et al.*, 2023, pp. 438–454.

[83] Wu Mei, who styled himself as "Qu'an", "Shuangya", was an educator and writer in modern China, see further, Wang, 1995.

[84] Chen Wanli was a ceramic connoisseur in Modern China. But he was versatile. He graduated from Beijing

Zhao Shenheng (1848–1924),[85] who were able to offer specialized courses. Similarly, the inclusion of pipa and guqin courses was made possible through Cai Yuanpei's appointment of Wang Lu (1877–1921)[86] as an instructor.

This kind of "ambivalent" attitude—simultaneously valuing Chinese tradition while actively embracing a Western influence—was not unique to Cai, but rather a broader phenomenon observed among many intellectuals and reformers in the early twentieth century. Such a stance was recognized as a response to the encounter between cultural hegemony and nationalism.

4.3. Two Periods before the Foundation of the Conservatory of Music of Peking National University

With the support of Cai Yuanpei, the development of this music society prior to the formal establishment of the CMPNU can be roughly divided into two periods. In the first period, although there were plans to introduce Western music courses, there was a lack of instruments and qualified instructors. Thus, kunqu was the only course actually offered. In the second period, the society gradually began to offer instrumental courses related to traditional Chinese music, as well as Western instrumental and theoretical courses, thus forming a parallel development between traditional Chinese and Western music.

4.3.1. The Kunqu-only Period

In 1918, following its reorganization, the MAPNU issued a new organizational prospectus (see figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1 Prospectus of the MAPNU

Chapter I General Rules
1. The Association is named "Music Association of the Peking National University". 2. The association is dedicated to the study of music with the aim of cultivating character. 3. The association is organized by the students of the PNU. Anyone who participates in music activities must be a member of the MAPNU. 4. All expenses of the MAPNU are borne by its members, but may be subsidized by the PNU. 5. Members are free to choose Chinese or Western music, but they must provide their own musical instruments. 6. The MAPNU will employ one or two teachers, and their salaries will be paid by the PNU. 7. The address is Jinshandongjie Huameichun.
Chapter II Personnel and Meeting
8. The officers of the association shall be elected by a majority vote of the members: one chairman; two clerks; two office workers.

Medical School (Beijing Yixue Zhuanmen Xuexiao, 北京医学专门学校). He served as a doctor at the PNU. During this period, he taught kunqu in the MAPNU.

[85] Zhao, whose given name was "Zijing", but who styled himself as "Yisou", was a Kunqu artist and educator from the late Qing Dynasty to the early years of the Republic of China. He started to teach ci poem music (ciqu, 词曲) in the PNU from 1917, and then started to teach kunqu in the MAPNU in 1918.

[86] Wang Lu, who styled himself as "Xinkui", "Yufan" and "Lubai", was a famous guqin and pipa performer. See further, Pang and Ding, 1994, pp. 40–46.

9. There are two types of activities[87]: regular and temporary. The regular activity is held once a week. In the event of special circumstances, the chairman shall have the authority to issue a notice and convene the association. All matters must remain within the scope of this notice.
10. This prospectus may be amended during the meeting.

(Information from *Daily Newspaper* 63, 3 February 1918, p. 4)

Compared to the MGPNU, the reorganized MAPNU became significantly more formalized. Although it remained a student-led society in nature, its operations began to follow a more structured and institutionalized model. The MAPNU was allocated a suitable space for storing musical instruments and organizing regular activities.

> Since its [MAPNU] foundation, it has never held a formal activity because of the lack of space, and the lack of music teachers. Therefore, we have not been able to organize any activities. When we move to the west building, our facilities [music instruments] will gradually be in order. (*Daily Newspaper* 85, 7 March 1918, pp. 2–3)

Moreover, Wu Mei and Chen Wanli started to teach kunqu at the MAPNU. Later, Zhao Shenheng joined. A notice regarding Wu Mei revealed the popularity of kunqu at the time. "Since Mr. Wu Qu'an began teaching kunqu, the number of students has grown remarkably. However, due to the overwhelming number of students and the wide range of courses on offer, Mr. Wu has found it increasingly difficult to meet the demand" (*Daily Newspaper* 110, 13 April 1918, p. 5). Due to its immense popularity, kunqu was eventually listed separately in the prospectus as an independent group—the Kunqu Division—alongside the Chinese Music Division and the Western Music Division (*Daily Newspaper* 161, 12 June 1918, p. 3). As mentioned earlier, the MAPNU originally had just two divisions: the Chinese Music Division and the Western Music Division. Although the documents do not specify why kunqu was singled out as its own division, based on the previously cited information, it is reasonable to infer that its exceptional popularity was the primary factor behind this organizational change.

4.3.2. The Period of Parallel Development of Traditional Chinese and Western Music

As mentioned earlier, the society entered a new stage of development following the appointment of Wang Lu. In May 1918, he was invited by the PNU to give a concert. This was highly successful and received great acclaim from numerous students. One writer gave him high praise, saying that "because of him, traditional Chinese music was revitalized" (*Daily Newspaper* 142, 21 May 1918, p. 2). After several days, on 6 June, he was hired to teach traditional Chinese music, including guqin, pipa, zither se (瑟)[88] and other traditional Chinese music instruments (*Daily Newspaper* 156, 6 June 1918, p. 2). His inclusion marked the end of the curriculum being limited solely to kunqu.

On 12 June, a new prospectus was published (see figure 4.2). This new prospectus reflected the trend of integrating both Chinese and Western musical developments. However, due to a lack of appropriate teachers, only traditional Chinese instrument classes were offered. Western instrumental music and music theory courses had not yet been introduced at this

[87] The original term used is "huiqi (会期)," which translates literally as "meeting." However, considering the context, I believe it is more appropriate to translate it as "activities" related to music.

[88] Se consists of at least 23 or 25 strings. It was a sister instrument of the zheng zither that is popular now. See further, Yuan *et al.*, 2023, pp. 432–433.

stage. Besides this, it specified that off-campus students could also participate in activities, which further demonstrated the institution's growing influence.

Figure 4.2 Prospectus of the MSPNU

1. The Society is named as the Music Society of the Peking National University.
2. The purpose is to focus on music education and to promote Aesthetic Education.
3. The research areas are

A. Musicology

B. Music History

C. Musical Instruments

D. Opera

4. Since the establishment does not yet have the appropriate teaching staff, it will start with three categories. Other categories will follow later.

A. Traditional Chinese music division: guqin, pipa, se

B. Kunqu division: kunqu, di

C. Western music division: piano, violin

5. All individuals, whether from within or outside the university, are welcome to join the association as members.
6. Applicants from outside the school must submit their resume for approval by the principal before they can become members.
7. Members shall pay 6 yuan for one category (Qin and Kunqu constitute their own category). External members shall pay a fee of 24 yuan. Students from other schools, upon joining with the approval of their respective principals, shall pay 12 yuan. The fee is to be paid in three installments.
8. Fees are non-refundable.
9. This prospectus serves as a brief outline of the association. Detailed matters concerning the association will be discussed and decided upon collectively after its formal establishment.

(Information from *Daily Newspaper* 161, 12 June 1918, p. 3)

In the same year, Chen Meng who had studied Western music in Japan, joined this music society in December 1918. He started to teach music theory (yuedian, 乐典), harmony (hesheng, 和声), and piano (*Daily Newspaper 312*, 19 Feburary 1919, p. 2), and later he also taught vocal music and Chinese vertical end-blown flute (xiao, 箫)[89] (*Daily Newspaper* 520, 21 January 1920, p. 1). After his arrival, the parallel development of Chinese and Western music was firmly established, and the society experienced another reform. When the official prospectus was released on 7 February, its name was changed to the MRSPNU (see figure 4.3).[90]

[89] Xiao is an ancient Chinese flute instrument. For more information, see Yuan, 2000, pp. 22–32.

[90] Before MRSPNU was officially used, the society's name was Music Seminar of the PNU, and it said that this society "expands on a large scale, adding more instruments and courses. All tasks are currently being processed" (*Daily Newspaper 281*, 8 January 1919, p. 2). But according to my research, this brief renaming did not constitute a full reform.

Figure 4.3 Prospectus of the MRSPNU

1. The Society is named as the Music Research Society of the Peking National University.
2. The purpose of the Society is to study music and cultivate the human spirit.
3. The association is based within the PNU.
4. The association shall initially be comprised of five groups: piano, violin, guqin, pipa, and kunqu. Other musical instruments will be added progressively.
5. Members are divided into two categories: on-campus and off-campus members. All faculty, staff, and students of the PNU who are interested in the study of music may join as on-campus members. Those outside the university who share an interest in music may also join as off-campus members (membership procedures for off-campus applicants will be determined separately).
6. The staff are divided into four roles: chairman, chief director, director, and clerk.

A. One chairman shall be appointed by the principal, taking charge of guiding all activities.

B. Each group shall have one director, elected by the members of that group, who will be responsible for managing the affairs of the group.

C. One chief director, elected from all directors, will be responsible for overseeing all affairs of the association.

D. The Chinese clerk and the English clerk are elected by all members, taking charge of all paperwork. (All accounting work shall be undertaken by the Accounting department of the PNU)

7. After the start of the autumn semester, the association shall convene a general assembly to discuss association affairs and to hold elections for new staff members. Those receiving the highest number of votes shall be elected (Staff shall be selected from among the on-campus members).
8. If any staff member resigns, the vacancy shall be filled by the candidate who received the next highest number of votes in the previous election.
9. There are five categories of activities:[91]

A. The General Assembly shall be held in accordance with the provisions of Article 7.

B. The Regular activities are to be held for the study of music theory and the practice of instruments; the schedule shall be determined independently by each group.

C. Special meetings may be convened at any time in the event of extraordinary circumstances. If one-third of the members propose such a meeting, it shall be held to discuss the matter collectively, with decisions made by majority vote.

D. Staff meetings are held for all matters to be undertaken by the association, which shall be decided upon by a majority vote of the staff members.

E. Music concerts are to be held once or twice per year.

10. Members pay 3 yuan for one category per year. Students from other schools pay 6 yuan. External members shall pay a fee of 12 yuan. The fee is to be paid in three installments in accordance with the university's academic system.
11. The president shall invite teachers, who will guide the members in the study of music.
12. This prospectus shall take effect from the date of its promulgation.

(Information from *Daily Newspaper 300,* 30 January 1919, p. 2–3)

Compared with the two previous prospectuses, several noteworthy points emerge, revealing the initial signs of the transition from student society to formal music institution, a

[91] In the Chinese version, the term "hui (会)" should more correctly be translated as "meeting" or "assembly", but here it includes two meaning: meeting and music-related activities.

fact which was reflected in the following aspects. First, the curriculum gradually became more diverse, encompassing traditional Chinese instrumental and vocal music, Western instrumental and vocal music, and theoretical knowledge (see figure 4.4). Western and Chinese vocal music were added on 18 March and 30 April 1920, respectively (*Daily Newspaper* 565, 18 March 1920, p. 2; *Daily Newspaper* 595, 30 April 1920, p. 2). After Xiao Youmei joined in March 1920, the harmony class originally taught by Chen Meng was taken over by Xiao, who also began teaching a music history course. More traditional Chinese instrumental music classes were also added, including Chen Meng's organ class, Zha Shijian's two-string fiddle (huqin, 胡琴)[92] class and Yang Zhaoshu's classes for moon lute (yueqin,月琴),[93] three-stringed lute (sanxian, 三弦)[94] and dulcimer (tongsiqin, 铜丝琴)[95] (*Daily Newspaper 694*, 16 September 1920, p. 1).[96]

Figure 4.4 Music Class Schedule

Category	Music teachers	Time	Location
Music Theory	Chen Zhongzi	Tuesday (5 pm–6 pm)	No. 15 Lecture room of science building
Harmonics	Chen Zhongzi	Saturday (5 pm–6 pm)	No. 15 Lecture room of science building
Piano	Bao Yuying	Tuesday (4 pm–5 pm) Saturday (5 pm–6 pm)	Piano classroom
	Chen Zhongzi	Wednesday (5 pm–6 pm)	
Violin	Niulun (Newland)	Wednesday (4 pm–5 pm) Friday (3 pm–4 pm)	Newland's restroom
Guqin	Wang Xinkui	Monday (7 pm–8 pm) Wednesday (7 pm–8 pm) Friday (7 pm–8 pm)	No. 4 lecture room of science building
Pipa	Wang Xinkui	Monday (8 pm–9 pm) Friday (8 pm–9 pm)	No. 4 lecture room of science building
Kunqu	Zhao Zijing	Monday (4 pm–6 pm) Tuesday (4 pm–6 pm) Wednesday (4 pm–6 pm) Friday (4 pm–6pm)	No. 5 lecture room of science building
	Wu Qu'an	Tuesday (4 pm–6 pm)	
	Chen Wanli	Saturday (4 pm–6 pm)	

[92] Huqin refers to a family of Chinese bowed string instruments. Here, according to another document, this course, sometimes, was also called erhu (*Daily Newspaper* 2523*,* 18 December 1930). Erhu is a modern term used to refer to huqin instruments in general (Yuan *et al*., 2023, p. 413). For more information about bowed instruments, see Yuan *et al*., 2023, pp. 412–424.

[93] Yueqin is a traditional Chinese string instrument. For more information, see Cheng, 1986.

[94] Sanxian is a three-stringed traditional Chinese lute. For more information, see Zhou, 1987.

[95] During the Republican period, yangqin (扬琴) was called tongsiqin (铜丝琴) (Li, 2001, p. 18). For more information, see further, Li, 2001.

[96] According to the teacher's name list published in *Music Journal* vol. 1(7) in 1920, Zha was a music teacher who taught sheng, di, and huqin. According to the student's name list also published there, Yang was a student but also taught the Chinese instrument classes.

(Information from *Daily Newspaper 312,* 19 February 1919, p. 2)

Second, the administrative structure of the society became increasingly sophisticated. In addition to the position of chairman, each division was assigned a secretary, and a chief secretary was appointed to oversee all society affairs. The appointment of Chen Meng as chief secretary, succeeding Li Wuzhen,[97] marked a shift in which certain responsibilities began to be undertaken by teachers (*Daily Newspaper* 294, 23 January 1919, p. 2). This development was seen as an early indication of the society's transition toward a new organizational model.

The third point was the establishment of a concert system. From this period, concerts were held regularly. According to the program list during this period (Li, 1920, p. 2), the concerts featured a balanced representation of Chinese and Western music. Meanwhile, in order to diversify performance, the MRSPNU opened some new instrumental classes. For example, it planned to add three new musical instruments, mouth organ (sheng, 笙),[98] se, and xiao, which could be played with guqin as well (*Daily Newspaper* 499, 29 December 1919, p. 2).

Overall, from the prospectus, the society had become more mature in terms of curricular diversity, institutional structure, and personnel appointments. It was characterized by the parallel development of Chinese and Western music. This trend is also reflected in the enrollment numbers of Chinese and Western music teachers, as well as in the registration patterns of students. According to the name list of ten lecturers, half were specialists in Western music and the other half in Chinese music (*Music Journal*, 1920, vol. 1(7), p. 3). Similarly, the number of students enrolled in Chinese and Western music courses showed a relatively balanced development between the two (see figure 4.5).

Figure 4.5 Member Statistics Table

Group Name	number of members
Silk and bamboo music group	68
Kunqu group	32
Guqin group	19
Piano group	64
Violin group	10
Western vocal music group	11
Special class[99]	2

(Data from the student name list published in *Music Journal,* 1920, vol. 1(7), pp. 2–3)

Although the number of Chinese and Western music instructors and students suggests a trend of parallel development, the latter part of this period began to show a growing preference for Western music. To support this point, I cite data from Tang Huan's dissertation (2014), which reflects this shift. In 1920, the MRSPNU, under the joint efforts of key faculty members such as Wang Lu, Li Rongshou, and Yang Zhaoshu, founded a *Music Journal*. "The

[97] According to the student's name list published in *Music Journal* vol. 1(7) in 1920, Li Wuzhen was a student.
[98] Sheng is probably the oldest reed instrument in China with its origin dating to the Yin Period (1401–1122 BC). For more information, see Yuan *et al.*, 2023, pp. 409–410.
[99] The term "Special class" here indicates a class of students taking instruction from their work in school music lessons. See further below.

primary purpose of the journal was to study music theory and evaluate musical scales, publishing research results to play a role in spreading new musical knowledge" (Tang, 2014, p. 21). However, according to statistics,

> as regards the content of Music Journal, articles on Chinese and Western music theory accounted for two-thirds of the total volume. The shift in the proportion of articles on Chinese and Western music theory indirectly reflected the changes in the research focus of the MRSPNU. Articles on Chinese traditional music theory generally showed a declining trend, remaining above 20% in the first volume but averaging less than 15% in the second volume; meanwhile, articles on Western music theory displayed an upward trend, particularly after Dr. Xiao Youmei returned to China and joined the editorial team of Music Journal, leading to the publication of a series of textbooks popularizing Western music knowledge (Tang, 2014, p. 41).

4.4. The Period of the Professional Music Education Institution

On 2 December, 1922, the CMPNU moved to a new address (No. 2 Dajiao Hutong), marking the official establishment of the institution (Xiao, 1923, p. 207). It also marked the moment when this student association moved definitively into professional music education and began offering a diversified curriculum to meet the learning needs of students at the time. The success of this transformation was due to the institution's alignment with the needs and foundational conditions of its students, as well as the leadership of key figures.

As early as the MRSPNU period, the special music class (tebie ban, 特别班) had already begun to demonstrate certain educational and training functions, although strictly speaking, it was still a student group at that time. Because Shanxi Provincial No.1 Normal School sent three students to Beijing for study, at the request of Cai Yuanpei, a special music class was established for them, and Chen Meng took the responsibility for teaching this class (*Daily Newspaper* 619, 28 May 1920, p. 4).

> ...three music teachers from primary schools in the Shanxi province have been dispatched to Beijing to study music. Principal Cai has introduced them to Yinyuehui. As a result, a special class for one year has been opened for them. Mr. Chen Meng will be teaching this class... (*Daily Newspaper* 619, 28 May 1920, p. 4)

The educational aim of the special class was self-evident, both in terms of the systematic study of music and the certificate earned on completion of all courses. The students' demand for systematic and professional music education had already begun to emerge at this stage.

In addition, based on the development from 1917 to 1922, "the MRSPNU has conditions for opening a music department or a music school, with music teachers, musical instruments, and venues" (Yang, 1921). Although there were several teachers with a background in Western music, Xiao Youmei was the key figure to facilitate the foundation of the CMPNU. After returning to China in 1920, Xiao Youmei was quickly invited by Cai Yuanpei to participate in the teaching work of the MRSPNU, where he offered many Western music courses (already mentioned above). In the same year, he expressed the idea of establishing a professional music education institution and he said that "If we do not hurry to establish a music education institution today, I fear that in the future, the music world will find it difficult for Chinese people to have a voice" (Xiao, 1920, p. 7). In May 1922, Xiao joined the Student Society Reorganization Committee. After conducting investigations, he

concluded that reorganization was indeed necessary (*Daily Newspaper* 1138, 23 December 1922, pp. 2–3). This initiative ultimately became a key factor leading to the establishment of the CMPNU.

Overall, with the student demand and teachers appointed, as well as the support of Cai Yuanpei and the facilitation of Xiao Youmei, the establishment of the CMPNU was inevitable. According to the prospectus, there are several changes. One of the biggest changes was that the courses were divided into different types, undergraduate, teacher training, and elective (see figure 4.6). And clear requirements for admission and graduation were established (see figure 4.7). Moreover, the two types of teacher training programs had become well developed which, reflecting the urgent need for training music teachers (see figure 4.8; 4.9).[100] In addition, the concert system had been further refined, now comprising teacher, guest, and student concerts, held with greater frequency. A music seminar had been introduced to facilitate academic exchange (see figure 4.10). These details clearly demonstrated that the CMPNU had already begun to function as an educational institution, even though the duration of study at the time was still quite flexible.

Figure 4.6 Prospectus of the CMPNU: Chapter I

Organization
1. Purpose The institution is to cultivate musical talents who, on the one hand, study Western music, including theory and technology, and on the other, preserve and disseminate Chinese traditional music. 2. Staff The institution shall appoint one principal, one academic dean, one departmental head for each program (Where the departments are not yet fully established, these staff positions shall remain temporarily vacant), one secretary, and one scribe. 3. Program The institution offers three types of program: the undergraduate program, the teacher training program, and the elective program. (1) the undergraduate program. Aimed at cultivating specialized talent, the institution is divided into five [six] majors: theory, composition, piano, strings, pipe instruments, and vocal music. Graduation is based on completion of the program requirements rather than a fixed number of years—students may graduate upon fulfilling the designated curricula. (2) the teacher training program. Aimed at cultivating music teachers in primary and secondary schools, the duration of study is tentatively set at four years for program A and two years for program B. (3) the elective program. It is designed for those who have a passion for music but limited time to study. It is divided into several categories, including theory, vocal music, piano, organ, Western pipe music, Western string music, Chinese pipe music, and Chinese string music. It has no time limitation. Upon leaving the school, students will receive a certificate indicating completion of this program. Classes are mostly scheduled after 4 p.m. each afternoon.

[100] The urgent need to train music teachers not only drove the development of teacher training programs, but also led to strong advocacy for the establishment of independent institutions. For more information on the latter, see Liang, 1994, pp. 86–97.

(Information from *Daily Newspaper* 1069, 19 August 1922, p. 3)

Figure 4.7 Prospectus of the CMPNU: Chapter II

Enrollment, Dropout, Tuition Fees, Practice Fees
4. Those who wish to enroll in undergraduate programs or teacher training program A must meet the following requirements: be in good health, have good moral character, be over eighteen years of age, and have graduated from a secondary school or junior normal school, or have passed an entrance examination proving equivalent academic qualifications. 5. Those who wish to enroll in undergraduate programs or teacher training program B must meet the following requirements: be in good health, have good moral character, be over eighteen years of age, and have graduated from a primary school, or have passed an entrance examination proving equivalent academic qualifications. 6. There are no specific qualifications required for the elective program, but only those who are in good health, of good moral character, and over thirteen years of age are permitted to enroll. 7. For all students, the first semester serves as a probationary period. Should a student's performance during this term be deemed unsatisfactory, and the head instructor considers them unfit for the current course of study or unlikely to complete it successfully, the student may be advised to transfer to a different department or to another institution. 8. Those who study a musical instrument must provide their own instruments. Those who cannot do so will not be enrolled. Only those studying piano or organ courses are allowed to rent and practice on the instruments provided by the institution. 9. The tuition fees are as follows: (1) the undergraduate program, the teacher training program: an annual tuition fee of 50 yuan shall be paid in two installments. (2) the elective program (piano): an annual tuition fee of 40 yuan shall be paid in two installments. (3) the elective program (music theory, organ, Western string instruments, Western pipe instruments): an annual tuition fee of 30 yuan for senior students shall be paid in two installments. (4) the elective program (organ, Western pipe instruments): an annual tuition fee of 10 yuan for junior students shall be paid in two installments. (5) the vocal music and Chinese instruments: an annual tuition fee of 10 yuan shall be paid in two installments. 10. Practice fees: Students who practice piano at the CMPNU for two hours daily shall pay an annual piano rental fee of 30 yuan; those who practice organ for two hours daily shall pay an annual organ rental fee of 10 yuan. These practice fees must be paid together with the tuition at the beginning of the semester.

(Information from *Daily Newspaper* 1069, 19 August 1922, p. 3)

Figure 4.8 Prospectus of the CMPNU: Chapter III (A)

Course Schedule Teacher Education Program A							
1st Year	Credit Hour	2nd Year	Credit Hour	3rd Year	Credit Hour	4th Year	Credit Hour
Ethics Studies	2	Education	2	Education Administration	2	Pedagogy in Theory and Practice	2
Psychology	2	Education History	2	Vocal Performance*	2	Vocal Performance *	2
Logic (Philosophy)	1	Music Terminology (1st semester)	1	Art of Composition and Practice	2	Composi-tional Practice	2
Rhetoric	2	Rhetoric	2	Song Writing and Practice	2	Song Writing and Practice	2
First Foreign Language (English)	7	same as left	7	same as left	7	same as left	7
General Musicology (1st semester)	3	Music History (2nd semester)	1	Music History	1	Form Analysis	1
Fundamentals of Harmony (2nd semester)	3	General and Applied Harmony	3	Counterpoint*	3	Fug[u]e*	2
Acoustics (2nd semester)	1			Second Foreign Language (French or German)	4	same as left	4
Sight Singing	4	same as left	3	same as left and Aural Dictation	2	Aural Dictation	1
				Instrumenta-tion	1	In-depth Analysis of Composition	2

Choir	2	same as left	2	same as left	2	same as left	2
Piano (or Organ) Class	1	same as left	1	same as left	1	same as left	1
Instrumental Studies	12	same as left	12	same as left	12	same as left	12
Total	37 [40] [101]	Total	36	Total	39 [41] [102]	Total	38 [40] [103]
Notes:* is an elective course. Beginning in the third year, students are required to select one of the following—music theory, vocal music, or instrument—as the major, and another as the minor. It is not permitted to declare two subjects as major.							

(Information from *Daily Newspaper* 1069, 19 August 1922, p. 3)

[101] According to the number of credits assigned to each course listed in the table, I correct the number to 41.
[102] According to the number of credits assigned to each course listed in the table, I correct the number to 42.
[103] According to the number of credits assigned to each course listed in the table, I correct the number to 40.

Figure 4.9 Prospectus of the CMPNU: Chapter III (B)

Course Schedule Teacher Education Program B			
1st Year	Credit Hour	2nd Year	Credit Hour
Ethics Studies	2	Education	2
Psychology	2	Pedagogy in Theory and Practice	2
Logic (Philosophy)	1	Education Administration	2
Education History	2	Aural Dictation and Beat Practice	2
Chinese (Rhetoric)	2	Rhetoric and Song Writing	2
English	4	English	4
General Musicology (1st semester)	3	Music History	1
Fundamentals of Harmony (2nd semester)	3	General and Applied Harmony	3
Sight Singing	4	Sight Singing	3
Choir	2	Choir	2
Piano (or Organ) Class	1	Piano (or Organ) Class	1
Instrumental Studies	12	Instrument Studies	12
Total	35 [38][104]	Total	36

(Information from *Daily Newspaper* 1069, 19 August 1922, p. 3)

[104] According to the number of credits assigned to each course listed in the table, I correct the number to 38.

Figure 4.10 Prospectus of the CMPNU: Chapter IV

Concert, Seminar
11. The concert is divided into two types: (1) Teacher or guest concert, once per week (2) Student concert, once per semester 12. Seminar Organized by the instructor along with experts in Chinese and Western music, the initiative aims to promote knowledge exchange and comparative research between Chinese and Western musical traditions. The results of these studies are published in the form of internationally standardized musical scores each year.

(Information from *Daily Newspaper* 1069, 19 August 1922, p. 3)

From the perspective of curriculum structure, the courses offered by the CMPNU were a *mimic* system of Western music education. Because of Xiao Youmei's educational background, he had been greatly influenced by the German education system. For example, according to the curriculum of the University of Music and Theatre "Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy" Leipzig (Hochschule für Musik und Theater "Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy" Leipzig, 1843), harmony and applied harmony were compulsory courses in the first year; counterpoint was taught in the second year, double counterpoint and fugue were introduced in the third year (Sowa, 1973, p. 193). This closely aligns with Figure 4.8: fundamentals of harmony (first year); General and applied harmony (second year); counterpoint (third year); fugue (fourth year). It is thus evident that a systematic harmony curriculum had already been implemented at the CMPNU.[105] Besides, within the framework of the Western-style curriculum, traditional Chinese music was included solely as part of the elective offerings (see figure 4.11). Despite the diversity of these elective subjects, it is evident that traditional Chinese music had been marginalized and deliberately excluded from the core curriculum. This reflected a broader trend of mimicking Western musical traditions in formal education during that period, while positioning indigenous musical practices as peripheral or supplementary to the main body of professional music education.

Figure 4.11 The Elective Subject

1. Theory, Choir
2. Piano, Organ, Violin, Viola, Cello, Flute, Clarinet, Oboe, Cornet, Bariton, Horn
3. Xiao, Di, Sheng, Pipa, Sanxian, Yueqin, Guqin, Tongsiqin, Huqin, Kunqu, Zheng[106]

(Information presented in the table has been compiled by me based on the content of the prospectus from *Daily Newspaper* 1069, 19 August 1922, p. 3)

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[105] Due to Xiao Youmei's educational background, it is evident that the curriculum design at CMPNU was heavily influenced by the German system. For more information on the German influence, see Leong, 2009. In his work, Leong provides a statistical analysis of German composers featured in concert and examination repertoires, offering valuable reference material for further research on the impact of German music on the school's educational system.

[106] Zheng is a Chinese zither whose the number of strings has been increased first to 21, then 25, and 26. For more information see Yuan *et al.*, 2023, pp. 432–436.

In addition, an examination of the society's concert programs for 1923 reveals that the repertoire consisted entirely of Western music, traditional Chinese pieces having completely disappeared (see example, figure 4.12). Despite the inclusion of more Chinese music pieces in the later concerts, the overall composition of the programs remained largely unchanged. Over the period of the CMPNU, 25 concerts were held, comprising 252 performances in total, of which only 41 featured Chinese music. These Chinese pieces fell into three categories: traditional instrumental pieces, Chinese choral pieces, and newly composed Chinese-style or Western-style instrumental pieces. Most of these pieces were composed by Xiao Youmei and Liu Tianhua (1895–1932),[107] indicating that the number of Chinese pieces available for performance at that time was quite limited.

Figure 4.12 The fourth Concert

The First Part	
Repertoire and Composer	Performer
1. Kélèr Béla (1820–1882) Ungarische Konzert-Ouverture	Players in the Orchestra
2. W.Balfe (1808–1870) Cavatine "Das Herx vom Kummer tief gebeugt"	the same as above
3. Fr. Schubert (1797–1828) Marche militaire No.3	the same as above
4. Fr. Neruda (1843) Cello: Reverie	Mr. Li Tingxian
5. G. Meyerbeer (1791–1864) Fackeltanz No.1.	Players in the Orchestra
6. Eduard Strauss (1835–1916) Bettelstudent Quadrille	the same as above
7. Termination: 10 minutes	
The Second Part	
8. G. Lortzing (1801–1851) Ouverture "Der wildschuetz"	the same as above
9. M. Moszkowski (1854) Malaguena	the same as above
10. W.Popp Flute solo: Walzer Rondo	Mr. Li Tingzhen
11. Beethoven (1770–1827) Trauermarsch	Players in the Orchestra
12. Fr. Chopin (1810–1849) Piano: Polonäse in A major	Mr. Gartz
13. K,Komzàk (1850–1905) 2 volksliedechen	Players in the Orchestra
14. Johann Strauss(1825–1899) An der Wolga (Polka-Mazurka)	the same as above

(Information from *Daily Newspaper* 1069, 8 March 1923, p. 3. Cited in Huang (ed.), 2016, pp. 49–51. Some typos have already been revised by Huang)

[107] Liu was a Chinese music reformer. For more information, see Xiao, 1994, pp. 280–291.

From the information revealed in the regulations, as one of China's earliest professional music education institutions, the curriculum framework of the CMPNU had already been fully established. The proportion of Western music courses had completely surpassed that of traditional Chinese music, and the once-popular Kunqu opera had disappeared entirely from the regulations. Traditional Chinese music courses were now offered only as elective subjects, with only three instruments available for selection. This relative lack of integration of Chinese music courses into the framework of Western music courses marked a distinct departure from the phenomena presented in earlier stages. While Chinese traditional music could still be seen thriving in the first two stages, in this stage, it had quietly faded into the background. The reason for this phenomenon lies in the fact that, by that time, a basic system of music education had already begun to take shape, with music courses being introduced in primary and secondary schools across the country (as mentioned above). Consequently, the demand for qualified music teachers grew rapidly. However, a professional curriculum for Chinese music had yet to be established, leaving a gap in localized educational models. Faced with this reality, musicians had no choice but to draw upon Western music education systems, adopting their structures and content to construct a relatively complete curriculum in order to meet the growing societal demand for trained music professionals.

4.5. Sub-oppressor, Inferiority Complex, Ambivalence

The CMPNU's transformation from a student association to a professional music education institution was achieved through the gradual maturation of multiple conditions. The educational policies, social demands, and student enthusiasm discussed earlier all clearly reflected the fact that Chinese music education had entered a new stage. The development of this stage was now being led by a new generation of Western-trained Chinese musicians and music educators. Having been influenced by Western values (mentioned in the Chapter 3.5), they, in the process of struggling against Western hegemonic culture, experienced an ambivalent role I referred to as "sub-oppressors" in the first chapter. A contextual background needs to be introduced to better understand this issue. Following a series of military invasions of China by Western powers, they gradually turned to cultural infiltration as a supplementary means. Some perspectives suggest that the cultivation of modern talents was intended to exert spiritual control over the Chinese people, thereby serving the broader goals of imperialist aggression (SYDTU, 1950, p. 1104).[108] While this perspective may appear somewhat categorical, it does capture certain aspects of the truth. To some extent, China's initiative to "learn from the West" can be seen as part of the success of Western cultural infiltration.

Here, the "sub-oppressors" referred to the secondary discriminators of Western musical cultural values. This is because, in their pursuit of self-liberation,

> at a certain point in their existential experience the oppressed feel an irresistible attraction towards the oppressor and his way of life. Sharing his way of life becomes an overpowering aspiration. In their alienation, the oppressed want at any cost to resemble the oppressor, to imitate him, to follow him. (Freire, 1972, p. 38)

[108] STDTU is an abbreviation of the Second-Year Youth League Branch of Department of Economics, Tsinghua University (Qinghua Daxue Jingjixi Ernianji Tuanzhibu, 清华大学经济系二年级团支部).

Therefore, they actively propagated Western music culture. Not only did they establish related courses, but they also launched the *Music Journal*, further expanding the social influence of Western music culture. Ultimately, the CMPNU established a music education system that *mimicked* that of Western music, excluding traditional Chinese music entirely from the core curriculum of this system. Viewing this issue through the lens of the superiority of Western music culture (as discussed in the third chapter), the "adherence" to the Western music education system can be seen as a necessary stage in the pursuit of self-liberation. I will explain this from two perspectives: inferiority complex and ambivalence.

In the previous chapter, I mentioned that under the influence of Western cultural colonialism, the colonized people developed an inferiority complex.

> If he is overwhelmed to such a degree by the wish to be white, it is because he lives in a society that makes his inferiority complex possible. (Fanon, 1967, p. 100)

This point is especially evident in this stage. For example, Cai Yuanpei and Xiao Youmei were typical representatives of the idea that Chinese music theory, music education, music views, and music composition were backward (see further, Feng, 2021, pp. 117–131). This inferiority complex stemmed from the admiration for Western culture, which led the Chinese to develop a sense of attachment to the Westerners (as discussed in the Chapter One). This, in turn, resulted in a contradictory psychological phenomenon towards these Westerners. In this case, it manifests in the notion of "learning from the West." Although the final product of the CMPNU was a *mimicry* of learning the Western music education system, this does not mean that the new generation of reformers fully embraced Western music or the concept of learning from the West. In addition, the conclusion from Jeremy Leong's thesis that the emphasis on the study of Western music directly reflects Xiao's low opinions about traditional Chinese musical forms, and that this in turn explains the lact of respect for Chinese music at these institutions (the CMPNU and the NCM), remains open to debate (Leong, 2009, p. 140).

> The chain of stereotypical signification is curiously mixed and split, polymorphous and perverse, an articulation of multiple beliefs. (Bhabha, 1994, p. 82)

The contradiction between Chinese and Western music is an important issue that runs through this period and even the entire twentieth-century development of Chinese music. Whether it is necessary to draw on and learn from Western music culture, and how Chinese music should develop, became the core issues within this contradictory relationship (Feng, 2021, pp. 8–10). There were differing opinions on how to learn Western music and the depth of that learning. These viewpoints often presented clear differences, reflecting the complex and multifaceted responses arising from the collision between the hegemony of Western music culture and the ethnic identity of Chinese indigenous culture. As I mentioned in the second chapter, Feng Changchun's study provided a detailed analysis of this, so I do not focus on the contradictions from this particular perspective. Instead, I focus on the ambivalence in musicians' individual attitudes toward Western or Chinese traditional music cultures. From their statements and thoughts, one cannot draw a simple affirmation or negation. This attitude can be seen both as a manifestation of openness and as a reflection of the cognitive uncertainty generated in the context of the conflict between Western cultural hegemony and local ethnic identity.

For example, Cai's evaluation of Chinese traditional music was full of contradictions. In his article "Cultural Movements Should Not Forget Aesthetic Education" (Wenhua yundong buyao wangle meiyu, 文化运动不要忘了美育), he described Chinese drama as

happening “in a noisy theater, performing that simple music, the foul drama texts” (1919a, p. 362). However, in the second year, in a foreword he wrote for the *Music Journal* he stated, “In our country, the most ancient and refined work on music theory is *The Record of Music* (Yueji, 乐记). Since then, many musicians have emerged, and the composition of music, lyrics, and notation has evolved, no longer constrained by the simple style of ancient times. However, the music theory has become superficial” (1920, p. 396). Although in the former work Cai referred to “simple music” and “foul drama texts,” in the latter he affirmed the development of traditional Chinese music in terms of its melodies, lyrics, and notation.

Another example is Xiao’s open and “uncertain” attitude toward learning Western music and whether or not it helped to create new Chinese music. Although Xiao adopted a generally negative attitude toward all relations to traditional Chinese music in many of his writings (as mentioned earlier), there were contradictions in his thoughts on the matter. In an interview published in 1938, entitled “Xiao Youmei's Response” (Xiao Youmei da, 萧友梅答), he was asked the following question: “some people advocate that in order to revive our country’s music, we must first fully accept Western music, so that it can encounter our culture and create a new music with the spirit of our country and the texture of Western techniques. What is your opinion on this view?” Xiao Youmei’s reply was, “This is, of course, a very good experiment, but unfortunately, no one has fully implemented it yet” (p. 678). Another question posed was, “Some believe that the revival of Chinese music must follow a path similar to that taken by five Russian musicians, meaning that it must form a ‘national music school.’ What is your opinion on this? Under what conditions can a national music school in China emerge?” Xiao Youmei responded, “This is a very important issue. I believe that when Chinese composers are unwilling to surrender to Western music, they must create a new style that sufficiently represents the characteristics of the Chinese nation and distinguishes it from the music of other nations in order to form a ‘national music school.’ However, the musical environment in our country is far from what it was in Russia a hundred years ago. Therefore, whether this music school can be established within this century depends entirely on the intentions and efforts of our new composers, which will ultimately determine the outcome” (p. 679). According to another article, “The Speech of Mr. John Hazedel Levis about Chinese Music” (Tingguo Laiweisi xiansheng jiangyan Zhongguo yinyue zhihou, 听过来维斯先生讲演中国音乐之后, 1932a), he agreed with Mr. Levis’s point that “traditional Chinese melodies are not well-suited to Western harmonic structures, and suggested instead exploring harmony rooted in Chinese musical traditions” (p. 602). From Xiao’s responses above, it is clear that he held an open attitude toward how to establish a national music style and was not insistent on “surrendering” to Western music.

Under the influence of the inferiority complex and ambivalence, the CMPNU’s adherence to the Western music education system became a necessary preliminary stage in the pursuit of self-liberation. Though Western-trained musicians and music educators could be seen as “sub-oppressors” in this stage, they were not submitting to Western music culture; rather, they were going through a phase marked by ambivalence and tensions. Furthermore, the continuous rewriting in the process of *mimicry* formed a more hybrid culture. The CMPNU found itself in such a transitional phase, where both the focus on traditional Chinese music or on Western music represented different manifestations of hybrid culture. This

diversity in hybrid cultures can be seen as a form of resistance and defiance against hegemony and is the main point I will discuss in the next chapter.

Chapter 5.
Surviving in the Western Musical Cultural Hegemony—Case Study: National Conservatory of Music

5.1. Shifting the Spotlight: from Beijing to Shanghai

> On April 18, 1927, the National Government was established in Nanjing.
> On April 27, Cai Yuanpei was appointed as a member of the Education Administration Committee.
> In June, he submitted a proposal to the National Government to reform the educational administrative system by changing the Ministry of Education into the University Council (Daxueyuan, 大学院)[109] and implementing a university district system nationwide.
> On June 17, he was appointed President of the University Council of the National Government.
> In early October, the University Council was officially established, and he was sworn into office.
>
> (Liang, 1996, pp. 328–329)

Cai Yuanpei's appointment in the Nanjing National Government[110] was one of the key reasons for relocating the music conservatory from Beijing to Shanghai. Xiao Youmei once remarked that "after running the music department in Beiping[111] for seven years, I endured many unpleasant setbacks. In July of the sixteenth year of the Republic, as the National Government was about to be established and nine universities in Beiping were on the verge of closing, I made the decision to move south. I submitted a request to Mr. Cai, asking him to establish a music conservatory in Shanghai upon the founding of the University Council" (Xiao, 1933, p. 589). At the same time, Xiao also believed that the faculty environment in Beijing was not as favorable as that in Shanghai.

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[109] According to the online publication from the Nanjing University Archives (Nanjing Daxue Dang'anguan, 南京大学档案馆), Cai Yuanpei advocated for adopting the French education system's "university district system" (daxuequzhi, 大学区制), which proposed making the university district the basic unit of educational administration. Within each district, university-related administrative affairs would be handled by the university president. This was aimed at addressing the abnormal situation in which educational affairs were separated from academic authority.

[110] The sixteenth year of the Republic was 1927. In April, the National Government founded in Nanjing was commonly described as the Jiang Jieshi regime, and it was known as the Nanjing National Government. Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek, or also named Jiang Zhongzheng, 1887–1975) was the leader. The National Government was restructured after the inclusion of Wang Jingwei (also name Wang Zhaoming, 1883–1944) and other factions in September. Xiao Youmei said: "the National Government was about to be established", which meant the new government after the recombination in September. In the book, *The Completed Works of Xiao Youmei* (2004), the editors explained in an that "after July, the Nanjing National Government was being prepared (it began in September)" for the National Government that Xiao mentioned (p. 591). This endnote can cause misunderstanding as the government Xiao mentioned was the restructured government while the Nanjing National Government could easily be confused with Jiang Jieshi's government.

[111] Beiping was another name of Beijing during the Republican period.

> He (Xiao Youmei) informed me that the music department in Beijing would be discontinued due to the insufficient teacher qualifications, which did not meet Mr. Xiao's standards for academic excellence. In contrast, Shanghai boasts a greater pool of talent and a higher concentration of foreign musicians, making it a more suitable location for establishing a music conservatory. (Tan, 1981, p. 8)

As a result, the NCM came into being in Shanghai. Regarding the particularity of the time and place of its founding, many scholars conducted related research, such as Jin Qiao (2003), Luo Qin (2013), and Chen Lingqun (2017). Jin in his doctoral thesis, "Xiao Youmei and Music Education in Modern China" (Xiao Youmei yu Zhongguo jindai yinyue jiaoyu, 萧友梅与中国近代音乐教育, 2003), explicitly identified the presence of the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra (Shanghai Gongbuju Yuedui, 上海工部局乐队)[112] as the primary reason for Xiao's choice of Shanghai, noting that the Band not only symbolized the emergence of a new musical environment in the city, but also that many of its distinguished musicians subsequently became faculty members at the NCM (pp. 93–94). Luo published an article, entitled "Music Narrative 1927—Chinese History, Society and People at the Moment of the Birth of the National Shanghai Conservatory" (Yinyue 1927 nian xushi—Guoli Yinyue Yuan (jin Shanghai Yinyue Xueyuan qianshen) dansheng zhong de Zhongguo lishi, shehui jiqi ren, 音乐 1927 叙事—国立音乐院(今上海音乐学院前身)诞生中的中国历史、社会及其人, 2013), that conducted an in-depth analysis and clearly outlined various political and social events of the time to demonstrate that Shanghai's environment was well-suited for establishing "a music conservatory of international caliber" (Luo, 2013, p. 20). Chen's discussion of the concept of "Shanghai-style culture" (Haipai wenhua, 海派文化)" in his essay, "'Shanghai-style Musical Culture' and the National Conservatory of Music" (Lun "haipai yinyue wenhua" yu Guoli Yinyue Yuan—Guoli Yinzhuan, 论"海派音乐文化"与国立音乐院—国立音专, 2017) also demonstrates that Shanghai was the most suitable place for establishing the school. Evidently, it is for all these reasons that Shanghai became Xiao's first choice to establish a higher music education institution.

Shanghai, as one of the first group of treaty ports to be opened after the First Opium War, Western culture made an early appearance here. And "Shanghai was the largest site in China where Chinese had intensive and extensive contacts with Western forces" (Cheung, 2008, p. 431). It "may be considered a 'semi-colony' — not necessarily in the Maoist double-negative sense (that is, of colonial status aggravated by being combined with 'semi-feudalism') but in the hybrid sense of a mixture of colonial and Chinese elements" (Lee, 1999, p. 309). After several decades of development, the economic, cultural and social development of Shanghai weakened the predominance of Western culture, thus providing a chance for Chinese culture to coexist with it (Xiao, 2022, p. 73).[113] Besides, Shanghai's "fluid crossing of the colonial divides stimulated the emergence of new Chinese musical practices and establishments" (Cheung, 2008, p. 83).[114] Regarding this coexistence, a more

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[112] Shanghai Municipal Orchestra also has another Chinese name, Shili Guanxian Yuedui yu Chuizou Yuedui (市立管弦乐队与吹奏乐队). For more information about this orchestra, see Tang, 2014 (Tang Yating's book).

[113] For more details about the coexistence of Chinese and Western cultures in Shanghai, see Xiao, 2022, pp. 70–82.

[114] "The fluid crossing of the colonial divides" indicates "the music practices and establishments between Chinese and Western forces were simultaneously separted from and connected to one another". For more information, see Cheung, 2008.

nuanced explanation is required. “Shanghai itself offered a contrast of old and new, Chinese and Western. This does not mean, however, that the Chinese occupied only the old sections of the city and the Westerners the modern concessions” (Lee, 1999, p. 7). A new order was being formed through the continual collision and fusion of old and new, East and West. It is precisely because of this that Shanghai contributed to the establishment and growth of the NCM and its success not only validated this decision but also continuously advanced the development of professional music education in China.

5.2. Background: National Conservatory of Music

The NCM was established in Shanghai on 27 November 1927. Learning from the failed experience of running the CMPNU, Xiao insisted on opening a music conservatory that would be independent in governance and funding (Xiao, 2022, p. 85).[115] This was clearly reflected in his remarks during the conservatory’s fifth anniversary celebration. The idea of establishing an independent music institution had been on Xiao’s mind since his return to China.

> In 1920, he proposed “the plan to the Ministry of Education in Beijing, which was approved by the Minister of Education at the time. He even prepared a budget—requesting an initial establishment fund of 350,000 yuan, an annual operating budget of 150,000 yuan, and a student quota of 200. However, due to budget cuts in 1921 and the continuation of the 1919 budget framework, the Ministry of Finance returned the proposal to the Ministry of Education. Later, Minister Fan Yuanlian (1875–1927)[116] asked Xiao to prepare a revised, reduced budget. Xiao cut the proposed budget down to one-third of the original, but before he could finish copying it, Fan had already resigned” (Xiao, 1933, p. 589).

In that time, Xiao realized that “the funding for universities in Beijing was becoming increasingly strained by the day. The existing budgets were already insufficiently disbursed, and there was no hope of discussing new ones” (Xiao, 1933, p. 589). Therefore, the smaller budget plan he had drafted was never brought up. In 1927, as the civil war in the interior had not yet ceased, the central government found its finances even more strained (Xiao, 1933, p. 590). Having learned from previous experience, Xiao did not dare to propose a large budget. Therefore, he revised “the budget to adopt a method of annual incremental increases — admitting 50 students each year, with a monthly operating expense of 3,000, increasing year on year. The plan was to stop admissions after the fifth year. By then, there would be 250 students enrolled, with a monthly operating expense of 15,000. This plan was quickly approved by the University Council” (Xiao, 1933, p, 590). This reflected the experience Xiao had accumulated from his previous efforts in running the school.

In October, the NCM issued its course prospectus in the press and classes began in the next month. Its opening ceremony, held on 27 November, was a sign of “the establishment of the first professional music conservatory” (Chen and Chen, 2005, p. 96), and was also a sign of “the beginning of a new period for music in China with the institutionalization of the teaching of Western classical music” (Borel, 2019, p. 29). Its task was not only to cultivate

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[115] Xiao Yang’s research (2022) has provided a detailed exploration of the curriculum and its changes during the period from 1927 to 1937, for more details see pp. 84–132.

[116] Fan, courtesy name Jingsheng, was a renowned modern Chinese educator who studied in Japan in his early years.

musical talent within the school, but also to spread music in China (Li, 1929, p. 48). The NCM came to be known as the cradle of musicians in modern China, which nurtured a group of renowned musicians, both domestic and international, who later played pivotal roles in the development of China's musical culture (Wang, 1998, p. 104). According to incomplete statistics, during Xiao's tenure, more than 800 students studied at the NCM, many of whom later became the central figures of the modern and contemporary music field (Liu, 2013b, p. 51).[117] The institution opened a new chapter in professional music education in China and marked a significant milestone in the advancement of the New Music Movement (Wang, 1998, p. 104).

As the number of students at the NCM increased, the regular funding it received did not grow as planned. In August 1929, the Nanjing national government revised the University Organization Law (Daxue zuzhifa, 大学组织法, 1929). According to the Revised Regulations of College (Xiuzheng zhuanke xuexiao guicheng, 修正专科学校规程, 1931), the NCM was designated as a specialized college, and the funding was provided according to the regulations for the fourth type of school (Luo and Qian, 2013, p. 32). Thus, its name was changed to the National School of Music (Guoli Yinyue Zhuanke Xuexiao, 国立音乐专科学校, NSM).[118] It received start-up funding in accordance with the status of a specialized college. However, this decrease in finances did not affect its development. Xiao continued to hire music talents to teach in the college, and organized different kinds of social activities to expand its influence, including different societies, music magazines, and charity concerts. For example, in October 1929, Huang Zi returned from the United States and was appointed as professor of music theory and composition, as well as director of academic affairs; his arrival ushered in a new era for the NCM's teaching, composition, and performance activities (Wang, 1998, p. 104). Although the name was changed, it should not be regarded as a technical secondary school (Huang, 2009, pp. 52–53).[119]

In 1937, following the Marco Polo Bridge Incident (Lugouqiao shibian, 卢沟桥事变, 7 July 1937) and the full-scale outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan,[120] Shanghai fell on 12 November. The foreign concessions became an "isolated island" (Luo and Qin, 2013, p. 104). The NCM was temporarily renamed the Private Shanghai Conservatory of Music (Sili Shanghai Yinyue Yuan, 私立上海音乐院) and continued its educational activities. In April, Xiao requested to relocate the school, but the attempt was unsuccessful. In 1940, the reorganized National Government led by Wang Jingwei was established as a puppet government of Japan. When it began implementing and indoctrinating pro-Japanese cultural policies, many schools started relocating out of Shanghai (Li, 2012, p. 16). The NCM was

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[117] For a list of some central figures, see Liu, 2013b, p. 51.

[118] Although its name was changed, I use the acronym NCM in the following paragraphs to maintain consistency.

[119] Huang's article, "Is 'National Music School' Equal to 'Technical Secondary School' ('Guoli yinzhuan' shi 'zhongdeng zhuanke xuexiao' ma?—yu Chen Lingqun xiansheng jiaoliu, '国立音专'是'中等专科学校'吗?—与陈聆群先生交流, 2009)", was written to refute what he saw as an unclear opinion of the NCM in Chen's paper, "Ten Founding Years of the National Conservatory of Music (Cong guoli yinyue yuan dao guoli yinyue zhuanke xuexiao de chuangye shinian, 从国立音乐院到国立音乐专科学校的创业十年, 2007)" . However, a thorough reading of Chen's article reveals that it clearly states the school was "run as a higher music institution under the name of a secondary music school" (p. 53). This indicates that Chen did not deny the NCM's status as a higher music institution. Although Huang may have targeted the wrong point in his rebuttal, the evidence he presented to support the classification of the NCM as a higher music institution is valuable. Therefore, this paper also considers the NCM to be a higher music institution.

[120] The Marco Polo Bridge Incident initiated the Second Sino-Japanese War (Kang Ri Zhanzheng, 抗日战争, 1937–1945).

unable to do this due to factors such as the large number of foreign faculty members, the extensive collection of music books, and the abundance of musical instruments (see further Li, 2012, p. 17). As a result, in 1942, it was taken over by the Wang Jingwei regime and renamed the National Conservatory of Music, with Li Weining (1906–1985)[121] appointed as its president. Despite the increasingly difficult academic environment, under President Li Weining's leadership, the school continued to operate normally, with classes, exams, and concerts all proceeding as usual (see further Li, 2012). On 1 September 1949, it was renamed the Shanghai Branch of the National Conservatory of Music, with He Lüting (1903–1999)[122] appointed as its president.

After 1937, this school faced increasingly pressing challenges directly tied to its survival. Although the school continued to function and achieved certain accomplishments in teaching and composition, this period in its history is deeply intertwined with political issues. Moreover, based on existing historical evidence, the nature of most musical activities during that time is difficult to define clearly. Therefore, to fully understand the development during this phase would require more in-depth research and careful analysis. Therefore, the post-1937 developments will not be the main focus of this chapter.

This chapter will focus instead on the ten-year period from 1927 to 1937, examining how a Chinese indigenous music education system gradually took shape during the process of introducing Western-style music curricula. In addition, it will focus on how Western-trained musicians and music educators embraced Western music while continuing the reform of Chinese traditional music; and to what extent did public awakening influence cultural colonization. Finally, we will see how hybrid culture prompted educators from Western musical training backgrounds to actively explore pathways for constructing a professional music education system suited to China's national context.

Information related to the NCM—such as government directives, institutional charters and academic systems, curriculum arrangements, meeting minutes, student rosters, examination repertoire, faculty appointments, concert programs, and students' literary and artistic works—was thoroughly documented in three periodicals published at the time: *Journal of the National Conservatory of Music* (Yinyue yuan yuankan, 音乐院院刊), *Journal of the National School of Music* (Guoli yinyue zhuanke xuexiao xiaokan, 国立音乐专科学校校刊) and *Music* (Yin, 音).[123] These important historical materials were recompiled and republished in 2017, in the *Journals of the National Conservatory of Music*, edited by Luo Qin, Qian Renping, and Zhang Xiong (2017a; 2017b).[124] Therefore, this chapter does not focus on the collection of primary sources. Instead, it draws primarily on these published materials and previous scholarly research to provide the historical background necessary for addressing the aforementioned research questions.

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[121] Li was a Western-trained musician and music educator. More information see Li, 2012.

[122] He was a renowned composer, theorist, and music educator. His famous works included "A Buffalo Boy Playing His Small Flute (Mutong duandi, 牧童短笛). See further, Chang, 1994, pp. 485–501.

[123] The *Journal of the Conservatory of Music* was the first publication after the foundation of the NCM. A total of three issues were published between 1927 and 1929. After the NCM was renamed as NSM, the first issue of the *Journal of the National School of Music* was published on 1 November 1929 and the second one published on March 1930. The *Journal of the National School of Music* only published two issue and then, renamed as *Music*, continued to publish. These two periodicals published a total of 64 issues between 1929 and 1937. For more information about these three publications, see further, Luo and Zhang (2017), pp. 1–7.

[124] All three scholars are from the Shanghai Conservatory of Music. According to information publicly available from the website of the Shanghai Conservatory of Music, Luo is an ethnomusicologist and music historian. Qian is a composer. Zhang is associate researcher (from his last published article in 2017).

5.3. The Expression of "Chineseness" in the Practice of Western Music Curricula

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, "Chineseness" refers to "the quality or state of being Chinese, or of displaying Chinese characteristics". This is a concept that is difficult to define, as it embodies spatial and temporal complexities (Hoon and Chan, 2021, pp. 3, 5). In some studies, Chineseness is used to discuss the presence of Chinese traits in the music of diasporas. These music of Chineseness are "often closely intertwined with the identity politics and external societal forces of their new contexts" (Lau, 2008, p. 162). For this very reason, Chineseness can be understood as "an open process of identity work" (Zhang, 2023, p. 514). In this study, the term "Chineseness" is used instead of "Chinese characteristics." The choice of Chineseness—understood as an open process of identity construction—reflects not only the search for traces of the past, but also the expression of current collective or individual features, and the exploration of future directions for development. In the following discussion, Chineseness is framed within the temporal context of the Republican period and the spatial context of Western-trained Chinese musicians and music educators practicing Western music curricula, which focuses on how these musicians and music educators adapted to and adjusted Western curricula. In this discussion, Chineseness is not limited to trace elements of traditional Chinese musical culture. Instead, it provides a way, a "third space" in which hybridity actively resists Western cultural hegemony.

5.3.1. The "Continuation" of Western Music Curricula, the Establishment of China's Indigenous Music Education System

In the previous chapter, it was shown that the CMPNU's curriculum was primarily based on Western music courses, with Chinese music appearing only as elective offerings. Furthermore, I have already demonstrated that the structure of the CMPNU's curriculum clearly reflected the influence of German higher music education models. The NCM's curricula also followed this model. "Due to Xiao Youmei's educational experience in Germany, it was natural for the teaching system and course design to draw heavily from German models. After Huang Zi returned to China in 1929 upon graduating from the Yale School of Music, he succeeded as the director of academic affairs and infused the program with insights from his studies in the United States. It can be said that the early development of modern professional music education in China was primarily shaped under the influence of Western—particularly German—educational models. This is clearly reflected in the course schedules of the preparatory, undergraduate, and teacher training programs of the then NCM" (Wang, 2007, pp. 153–154).

While the NCM was founded with reference to Western models of higher music education, its faculty placed considerable emphasis on contextualizing the curriculum within China's socio-historical realities, developing programs that were responsive to the specific needs of the time and society. These culturally hybrid educators, equipped with Western musical backgrounds, continuously sought to establish a music education system tailored to China's specific needs. First, they designed a diversified curriculum to meet the learning requirements of students at different stages and with varying goals. For example, the 1929

preparatory curriculum[125] clearly shows an emphasis not only on the training in general cultural and foundational music knowledge, but also on the study of both major and minor subjects; and its goal was to pursue a balanced development between musical cultural literacy and specialized musical skills (Xiao, 2015, pp. 35–36). Whether it was establishing high school or middle school programs, the goal was to provide musically gifted individuals with the opportunity to begin formal music studies as early as possible (Huang, N.A., p. 78). Undergraduate education, on the other hand, placed greater emphasis on the training of musical skills and techniques (Xiao, 2022, p. 148). Huang Zi gave a speech during the graduation ceremony in which he said that "even after achieving fame, great musicians continue to study and explore... It is hoped that all graduates will likewise persist in their practice and research throughout their lives" (1933, p. 73). It is clear that the undergraduate program was designed with the aim of training musicians, and therefore placed a strong emphasis on technical and artistic skill development. In contrast, the teacher training program focused more on the cultivation of cultural literacy and foundational musical knowledge (Xiao, 2022, p. 148), which was intended to train music educators and address the shortage of qualified music teaching personnel (Huang, N.A., p. 79).

Secondly, traditional Chinese music was established as a major subject, and the proportion of Chinese music courses was increased. "In 1930, traditional Chinese music was officially incorporated into the core curriculum and was no longer classified as an elective. On the one hand, in addition to the existing instruments such as pipa, erhu, and dizi (di), new subjects were added—guqin, zheng, sanxian, and sheng—broadening both the content and significance of Chinese music education. On the other hand, according to the course and credit distribution chart provided by Xiao, 'Chinese Music Composition Methods' was made a required course for students majoring in music theory and composition. Furthermore, it was mandated that students majoring in theory, composition and piano must take at least one Chinese instrument for a minimum of one academic year" (Xiao, 2022, p. 151).

Thirdly, the NCM attached great importance to the publication of educational research results and began, in 1929, planning to compile these outcomes into a series of collected works, because "within two years of its establishment, the NCM had cultivated a collaborative atmosphere between teachers and students, resulting in substantial academic progress" (Yi, 1929, p. 20). Publishing a book series would "allow for the inclusion of works compiled, translated, and edited by teachers and students, as well as the collection of rare and significant publications. This initiative would not only foster the development of individual talents but also offer valuable resources to music enthusiasts, fulfilling their aspirations for focused study and continuous learning" (Yi, 1929, p. 20). "Much of the original musical material in China has already been lost, and efforts to reorganize what remains are both time-consuming and arduous. The newly introduced content has yet to be fully mastered, and its profound and intricate aspects cannot be easily grasped in a short time. Therefore, in addition to oral instruction, it has become urgently necessary to document and disseminate knowledge through the publication of books and musical scores. In light of this, our institution has decided to follow the example of our predecessors by compiling and publishing our own series of works, a task that is both essential and of great significance" (Yi, 1929, p. 20). "According to statistics, this series of publications includes works on music composition

[125] The preparatory curriculum essentially functioned as a high school-level program.

theory, collections of vocal and instrumental pieces, as well as treatises on music aesthetics and history, demonstrating its rich and diverse content. Moreover, the difficulty level of the series was appropriately tailored to China's national conditions at the time, and it emphasized an editorial philosophy that integrated both Chinese and Western elements" (see further, Liu, 2018, pp. 28–85) The series not only contributed to "the cultivation of talent", but also "deepened research in music theory" and "promoted the flourishing of music composition" (Liu, 2018, pp. 88–91).

5.3.2. The study of Western Musical Techniques, the Creation of Music with National Characteristics, the Concerts in China

One noticeable aspect at the NCM was the musicians' ambivalent attitude toward traditional Chinese music—a point I discussed in the previous chapter. They all shared the belief that Western musical techniques were essential for creating a "new" Chinese music. But what exactly constituted this new music? Although no explicit answer to this question has been found in the available historical documents, certain traces and clues within the existing materials hint at their possible visions and lines of thinking.

Xiao proposed that "the development of Chinese traditional music necessitated the adoption of Western compositional techniques, including harmony, counterpoint, instrumentation and pattern analysis" (1934a, p. 638). Xiao also indicated that "learning Western music does not mean all of us will become the sons of Bach, Mozart or Beethoven, but that we become their students...We should use their harmonic [techniques] to create our new music" (Xiao, 1934b, p. 616). Moreover, Xiao said that "to reform Chinese music meant to extract its essence, discard its dross, and express it through new forms. Therefore, all techniques and tools had to be drawn from the West, but the spirit of the music must be preserved in order to retain its national character" (1938, p. 679). Finally, Xiao thought of the cultural heritage as a resource to create a new form of national music for modern China" (1939, p. 737).

Huang Zi insisted that

> not all Western music is good, and we have to select [the good parts]...now we should learn their techniques and use them to develop our old music, and then we could create new music with a national identity. (1934a, p. 57)

It is evident, then, that all of these individuals consistently emphasized the importance of *national character*, which in this context can be understood as Chineseness. However, this should not be seen as a fixed identity construct, but rather as a dynamic, ongoing, and often contested process of construction. At times, it manifests as a pursuit of cultural heritage; at others, it serves as a collective response to societal conditions. As for the former, both Xiao and Huang had clearly pointed out that "reforming traditional music" was one of the key approaches. As for the latter, I would like to present more historical evidence.

As the leader of the NCM, Xiao Youmei attached great importance to the ethnic style of the work. He encouraged students to compose works imbued with Chinese characteristics, particularly in response to contemporary social events. For example, in order to respond the Jinan Incident (Wusan can'an, 五三惨案, 1928), teachers and students created a series of patriotic songs and published a *Special Issue of the National Conservatory of Music: Revolution and National Humiliation* (Guoli yinyue yuan tekan geming yu guochi, 国立音乐

院特刊・革命与国耻), such as "National Disaster Song" (Guo nan ge, 国难歌), "National Humiliation Song" (Guo chi ge, 国耻歌), and "National Revolutionary Song" (Guomin geming ge, 国民革命歌) (see further, ECTCWXY, 2007, p. 539).[126] Xiao Youmei composed "Song of Enlistment" (Congjun ge, 从军歌, 1931) after the Mukden Incident (1931). The other is music with Chinese characteristics composed by teachers or students in the NCM, such as Huang Zi's "Blowing Flag" (Qizheng piaopiao, 旗正飘飘, 1932) and "Song of Everlasting Regret" (Chang hen ge, 长恨歌, 1932), and Xiao Youmei's "Summer Garden Party" (Xiari youyuan, 夏日有缘, 1931). Against the historical backdrop of the time, the composition of patriotic songs also reflected a form of national character—an expression of a distinct national spirit shaped by the specific conditions of that era.

The increasing creation of China's new music was also reflected in the repertoire of concert performances.

> The concert first appeared in parts of Italy, Germany and England during the 17th century and by 1800 was a basic component of musical life in almost all European and American cities. During the 19th century some concert institutions evolved into a ritual of a lofty, spiritual nature that became central to civic and cultural life. (Weber, 2001)

With the spread of Western music in China, the concert format gradually gained popularity and became widespread within that country as well. As a "student" of Western music curricula, the NCM placed great importance on organizing various types of concerts. Participants included students and faculty members, as well as musicians from the broader community. These concerts served multiple purposes—providing performance opportunities for examinations, responding to invitations to participate in events or celebrations, and more. In the beginning, the NCM's concerts primarily featured Western music and could be considered classical Western concerts, since they contained much less Chinese repertoire. For example, according to the program list of the 1931 disaster relief concert (Zhenzai yinyuehui, 赈灾音乐会) organized by the NCM, a total of 19 pieces were performed, of which only 4 were Chinese compositions (Huang, 2016, pp. 127–129). However, in the 1934 concert held at the invitation of the Great China University (Daxia Daxue, 大夏大学),[127] of the twenty-five pieces performed, twelve were Chinese compositions (Huang, 2016, pp. 184–186). This demonstrates that concerts in China had gradually developed and had begun to take on forms and content with distinct Chinese characteristics.

5.3.3. Social Music Activities

Although the NCM was a professional institution dedicated to music education, throughout its development it placed particular emphasis on addressing the needs of society and responding to the prevailing social environment. The school actively sought to align its educational content with the context of the times, striving for harmony between its curriculum and the broader historical and cultural backdrop. For instance, the MRSPNU (discussed in the fourth chapter), the Chinese Aesthetic Education Society (Zhonghua Meiyuhui, 中华美育会, 1919), the Datong Music Club (Datong Yuehui, 大同乐会, 1920), the Beijing Aimei Music Society (Beijing Aimei Yueshe, 北京爱美乐社, 1927) and the Society for the Reform of National

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[126] "National Disaster Song" (lyric: Dai Bingxin; Music: Xiao Youmei); "National Humiliation Song" (lyric: Feng Guowen; Music: Xiao Youmei); "National Revolutionary Song" (lyric and Music: Guo Shaoyou).

[127] The Great China University was a private university and also one of predecessors of the East China Normal University (Huadong Shifan Daxue, 华东师范大学).

Music (Guoyue Gaijinshe, 国乐改进社, 1927) provided valuable experience for the establishment of professional music institutes (Chen, 2005, p. 25). The professional music institutes, such as the NCM, facilitated the establishment of more music societies and they had a greater influence in society. The rise and development of these associations solved many music problems within the society of that time. For example, the establishment of the Song Society (Geshe, 歌社, 1931) addressed the lack of songs suitable for school and society (Xiao and Long, 1931, p. 175). Xiao Youmei and Long Muxun indicated the importance of the reform of lyrics (1931, p. 174–175). Consequently, more suitable songs could be sung by the masses.

In addition, Shanghai's "material development," such as electric light, movies, radio, and phonograph, brought changes to the city (Li, 2024, p. 81). Starting in 1923, when Shanghai established China's first radio station, this became the most popular form of entertainment among the urban public within just a decade (Li, 2024, p.82). Although radio was a foreign import introduced into China amid a wave of Western cultural influence, it was still adapted for use of a distinctly Chinese orientation (Lin, 2019, p. 26). The Music Broadcasting Committee (Yinyue Boyin Weiyuanhui, 音乐播音委员会, 1934) was required to broadcast music to the public by the Shanghai Education Bureau in order to allow more people to hear good music, because music has a strong infectious power, and it was believed that "vulgar song" (mimi zhiyin, 靡靡之音) had led to a deterioration in people's moral character (Xiao, 1934c, p. 650). Xiao aimed to use this approach to bring music to the masses and, in doing so, to transform certain prevailing attitudes toward musical aesthetics at the time. Although he planned for most of the broadcasts to feature Western music, he did not believe that Chinese music was entirely lacking in value (Xiao, 1934c, p. 650). However, not everyone in the general public accepted his ideas. For example, Nie Er (1912–1935) believed that music broadcast on the radio—performed by a group of "schooled experts"—was not compelling enough to appeal to the general public. However, the divergence was primarily caused by differing social and political positions, which in itself was not sufficient to cause a fundamental conflict between them (see further, Zhang, 2024, pp. 103–131).[128] In fact, as China's musical landscape continued to evolve, members of the NCM constantly revised and renewed its original lofty musical vision to keep it from becoming outdated, and in doing so, reshaped musical representations of the nation to include the more common musical traditions, such as China's folk music (Chow, 2005, p. 263).[129]

Finally, the NCM held a lot of off-campus concerts given by teachers and students, while also facilitating the dissemination of new Chinese music. I have compiled statistics on off-campus musical activities between 1930 and 1937 (see figure 5.1).

[128] Zhang, 2024 indicates Zhang Mengwei's article.
[129] For more information about the adjusting and renewing the initial musical vision of the NCM, see Chow, 2005.

Figure 5.1 Off-campus Music Activities

Time	Name	Location
May 26, 1930	The First Student Concert	American Women's Club
May 16, 1931	The Second Student Concert	American Women's Club
November 27, 1931	Disaster Relief Concert	Young Men's Christian Association, New Hall
June 22, 1933	The 1st Graduating Class Concert	Young Men's Christian Association, New Hall
October 11, 1933	Special Student Recital	Nanjing Jinling Nüzi Wenli Xueyuan
November 27, 1933	6th Anniversary Commemorative Concert	Young Men's Christian Association, New Hall
May 23, 1934	The Fifth Student Concert	Young Men's Christian Association, New Hall
October 29, 1934	Teacher Concert	New Asia Hotel
November 26, 1934	7th Anniversary Commemorative Concert	New Asia Hotel
1935	Student Recital	University of Nanking; Spiritual Encouragement Society
April 29, 1935	Student and Teacher Recital	Great China University
May 11, 1935	The 2nd Graduating Class Concert	New Asia Hotel
May 20, 1935	Spring Concert	New Asia Hotel
May 24, 1937	The Eighth Spring Student Concert	New Asia Hotel
June 16, 1937	The 5th Graduating Class Concert	Young Men's Christian Association, New Hall

(Information from Huang, 2016, pp. 99–228)

As can be seen from the table, after 1933, the number of outside performances by teachers and students increased, and they were invited to perform at other universities. It is worth noting that in the second performance at the University of Nanking 15 of the 16 programmed pieces were new Chinese music composed by Chinese musicians of that period, such as Huang Zi, Xiao Youmei, Liu Xue'an (1905–1985).[130]

5.3.4. School Music Education

Modern school music education, marked by the singing classes introduced by the emergence of school songs in the new-type schools (mentioned in the third chapter), saw further development during the early 1920s (Ho, 2017, p. 193). It was because "music education was a valuable component of the school curriculum. Music performance such as singing was seen as contributing to the formation of personal intelligence, ethical discernment and moral responsibility" (Ho, 2017, p. 193). Although the NCM was established as a higher music institution, it also made a contribution to the development of school music education.

[130] Liu was a composer and music educator. His famous music works included popular songs of the Republican era, "When Will You Return? (Heri junzailai, 何日君再来)", "The Great Wall Ballad (Changcheng yao, 长城谣)", Lied, "Red Bean Song (Hongdou ci, 红豆词)". See further, Liu, 1994, pp. 668–690.

Xiao Youmei noted that secondary school music education nationwide was facing several notable issues: first, there were not enough class hours; second, the teaching content, such as harmonics and music history, was not suitable for middle and high school students to learn, and the level of difficulty of course, of such things as solfeggio, made it too difficult for the beginner to learn music (1937, pp. 661–663). On the one hand, efforts were directed toward the training of primary and secondary school teachers to alleviate the widespread shortage of qualified personnel across the country. For example, in 1935, "at Xiao Youmei's request, made in the name of the NCM, the Ministry of Education sent letters to the education departments and bureaus of remote provinces such as Gansu, Shaanxi, Sichuan, Yunnan, and Guangxi, requesting that they recommend two to three students to apply for admission to the NCM (with one student eligible for public funding and exemption from the entrance examination). After completing their studies, these students would return to their home regions to work, in order to improve the standard of local music education" (Huang and Wang, 2007, pp. 395–396). On the other hand, the NCM placed great importance on the quality of music textbooks for primary and secondary schools. As early as 1929, an article in the first issue of the *Journal of the National Conservatory of Music* explicitly pointed this out, that "at present, the singing taught in primary and secondary schools, as well as the musical performances and theatrical productions frequently staged, may not seem problematic from the perspective of the layman. However, those with even a basic understanding of music would secretly find it laughable... It is therefore suggested that the research institution of the University Council conduct a review, and prohibit the circulation of any materials or performances that fail to meet the required standards" (Long, 1929, p. 6). Between 1927 and 1937, NCM teachers actively joined various music education committees and participated in multiple key initiatives, such as curriculum review, to promote the development of music education nationwide (see figure 5.2).

Figure 5.2 Event List

Year	Matter
March 1933	Xiao Youmei was invited to serve as a member of the Jiangxi Provincial Committee for the Promotion of Music Education, which operated under the Jiangxi Provincial Department of Education (p. 339).
May 1933	The Ministry of Education established the "Committee for the Compilation of Music Textbooks for Primary Schools, Secondary Schools, and Kindergartens." NCM faculty members, such as Xiao Youmei, Wang Ruixian,[131] Du Tingxiu,[132] Hu Zhoushu'an (1894–1974), and Li Qingzhu(1893–1959),[133] were among the appointed committee members (pp. 340–341).
December 1933	Xiao Youmei, on behalf of the NCM, submitted a report to the Ministry of Education requesting the appointment of inspectors to evaluate music teachers nationwide, review music textbooks, and eliminate the spread of vulgar popular music in society. On the same day, responding to the NCM's proposal, the Ministry of Education instructed the education departments of various provinces and municipalities to establish specialized administrative bodies responsible for reviewing music textbooks for primary and secondary schools and for banning the circulation of decadent popular music in society (p. 353).
May 1934	The Ministry of Education established a Music Committee, appointing the NCM faculty members including Xiao Youmei, Hu ZhouShu'an, Huang Zi, Zhao Meibo (1905–1999),[134] and Wang Ruixian (1893–1971)[135] as its members (p. 369).

(Data from Huang and Wang, 2007)

In addition to the publication of the music education achievements mentioned earlier, the creation, compilation, and publication of music textbooks for primary and secondary schools also became one of their important contributions. In this regard, it is essential to highlight the representative figure, Xiao Youmei. From the time he returned to China, Xiao continuously engaged in the compilation and publication of music textbooks for schools. According to statistics, he had compiled and published more than ten music textbooks since his return (see figure 5.3). These textbooks covered a wide range of subjects, including music theory, singing, and instrumental performance. In addition to Xiao Youmei's contributions, there was also Hu Zhou Shu'an, known as a "music expert well-versed in children's psychology," who produced *Children's Song Collection* (Ertong gechang quji, 儿童歌唱曲

[131] According to the teacher's name list (1928), Wang was a piano teacher in the NCM (Xiao, 2022, p. 99).
[132] According to the teacher's name list (1928), Du was a teacher who taught choir, Chinese music and PE class in the NCM (Xiao, 2022, p. 99).
[133] Hu Zhou Shu'an, originally named Zhou Shu'an, later adopted her husband's surname after marrying Hu Xuanming. She was a vocal music teacher at the NCM and also composed and published many works. For more information see Hu, 1994, pp. 269–279. Li's original name was Liao Shangguo (1893–1959). He was a music aesthetician and served as the chief editor of the quarterly journal *Music Art* (Yueyi, 乐艺) and journal *Music* (Yin, 音) at the NCM. For more information see Wang, 1994, pp. 238–247.
[134] Zhao (1905–1999) was a vocalist, conductor, and music educator. After returning to China, he was appointed by Xiao Youmei as a professor and head of the vocal department. For more information see Liu and Tan, 1994, pp. 647–659.
[135] Wang was a pianist who studied in the Boston Conservatory, supported by the Chinese government through the Boxer indemnity. For more information, see Gong, 2021b.

集) (Xiao, 1932b, p. 402), and *New Children's Songs* (Ertong xinge, 儿童新歌) compiled by composition students Jiang Dingxian (1912–2000),[136] Chen Tianhe (1911–1955),[137] and Liu Xue'an (Huang, 1934b, p. 70). The publication of these teaching materials not only enriched the content of music education in primary and secondary schools at the time, but also became an important milestone in the efforts of Chinese music educators to independently explore and develop a localized path for music textbook creation.

Figure 5.3 Textbooks Compiled by Xiao Youmei

Year	Textbook	
October 1922	*First Collection of Contemporary Music* Jinyue chuji 今乐初集	co-authored with Yi Weizhai[138]
August 1923	*First Collection of New Songs* Xinge chuji 新歌初集	co-authored with Yi Weizhai
March 1924	*Music Theory Textbook (for Junior Schools) (vol. 1)* Yueli jiaokeshu (chuji zhongxue yong) (diyice) 乐理教科书 (初级中学用) (第一册)	
May 1924	*Singing Textbook (for Junior Schools) (vol. 1)* Changge jiaokeshu (chuji zhongxue yong) (diyice) 唱歌教科书(初级中学用) (第一册)	co-authored with Yi Weizhai
October 1924	*Singing Textbook (for Junior Schools) (vol. 2)* Changge jiaokeshu (chuji zhongxue yong) (di'erce) 唱歌教科书(初级中学用) (第二册)	co-authored with Yi Weizhai
December 1924	*Organ Textbook (for Junior Schools)* Fengqin jiaokeshu (chuji zhongxue yong) 风琴教科书 (初级中学用)	
December 1924	*Singing Textbook (for Junior Schools) (vol. 3)* Changge jiaokeshu (chuji zhongxue yong) (disance) 唱歌教科书(初级中学用) (第三册)	co-authored with Yi Weizhai
December 1924	*Music Theory Textbook (for Junior Schools) (vol. 2)* Yueli jiaokeshu (chuji zhongxue yong) (di'erce) 乐理教科书 (初级中学用) (第二册)	
August 1926	*Piano Textbook (for Junior Schools)* Gangqin jiaokeshu (chuji zhongxue yong) 钢琴教科书 (初级中学用)	

(Data from Huang and Wang, 2007)

[136] Jiang was a composer. For more information see Jiang, 1994, pp. 296–306.
[137] Chen was a composer. For more information see Chang and Shi, 1994, pp. 181–191.
[138] Yi (1874–1941), also known as Yi Dachang, was a lyricist and a Chinese language teacher in the NCM. More information see Shanghai Conservatory of Music History Museum (SCMHM), 2024.

5.4. Hybrid Culture Resists the Hegemony of Western Musical Culture

In the case of the CMPNU, I examine how the reliance on Western music curricula constituted a necessary phase in China's pursuit of a localized music education path under the influence of Western cultural hegemony. Firstly, in the context of the long-standing absence of school music education, drawing on Western experience became an active and pragmatic choice for rapidly establishing a comprehensive music education system. Secondly, under the dominance of Western cultural hegemony at that time, such borrowing also carried a certain degree of passivity. Given the difficulty of altering the external environment, using Western music curricula as a foundational framework to explore the construction of indigenous music education became an inevitable stage. Consequently, CMPNU can be regarded as occupying the "mimicry stage" in this exploratory process, while NCM represents the "awakening stage," characterized by cultural self-awareness and the pursuit of localized identity. Although the NCM initially followed a similar trajectory to that of the CMPNU, Western-trained Chinese musicians and music educators soon began to embark on an independent exploration of their own educational and artistic directions.

In the first chapter, I presented Bhabha's logic of mimicry, which is founded on "ambivalence". This form of mimicry generates "a difference", and such a difference destabilizes what originally appeared to be a stable colonized system, rendering it "incomplete" and "virtual" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 86). Furthermore, the Other is visualized through the act of "appropriation". In this context, "visualization" can be interpreted as the construction of the Chinese music education system that I have discussed above (Bhabha, 1994, p. 86). The Chineseness that these "mimic musicians and music educators" demonstrated in the practice of Western music education represents a form of "rewriting" and "appropriation" of Western musical culture. This also showed that they were not to be merely "submissive subjects" of that culture. To support this point, I would like to cite a case from another cultural group as supplementary evidence.

In the book, *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930-1945* by Leo Ou-Fan Lee, he first demonstrates that "the concessions had been fully accepted by the residents of Shanghai" (1999, p. 308). He argues that "Chinese writers, living as 'submissive subjects' in a city with all the trappings of European colonialism, still proclaim themselves to be Chinese" (1999, p. 307–308). He constructs an explanatory logic grounded in Bhabha's postcolonial theory and summarizes by saying that "the 'partial representation' of the colonial object can be both submissive and subversive" (1999, p. 309). Subsequently, numerous examples are presented to demonstrate that, "the Shanghai writers treated in this book never imagined themselves, nor were they regarded, as so 'foreignized' (yanghua) as to become slaves to foreigners (yangnu)" (Lee, 1999, p. 312). This is because "their sense of Chinese identity was never in question in spite of the Western colonial presence in Shanghai...because of their unquestioned Chineseness these writers were able to embrace Western modernity openly, without the fear of cultural colonization" (Lee, 1999, p. 312). Lee argues that the Shanghai writers he examines share a similar mode of existence with the Shanghai Western-trained musicians and music educators in my case study. Both groups

maintain their Chinese identity within the context of Western culture and continue to strive toward the creation of a hybrid culture.

Certainly, the situation faced by these musicians and music educators, in my view, is even more complex. At the forefront of this complexity lies the issue of the subjectivity of Chinese music in the development of music education in China. When these Chinese musicians and music educators influenced by Western-style music education began to independently explore music education, they took back the initiative in their exploration of music. In addition, "colonial modernity entails embracing the new introduced by the colonial, and post colonialism entails reconstruction from shadows or ruins of colonialism; both engage complex tensions and negotiations" (Cheung, 2015, p. 109). Thus, the process of reconstruction was filled with different voices and practices, that could collaborate with or encounter each other. On the one hand, insisting on the development of Western music does not mean a wholesale compromise with colonial culture; while on the other, neither can an insistence on the improvement of Chinese music be regarded as a result of wholesale resistance to colonial culture. In addition, the gradual increase in new Chinese music represented the gradual exploration of its own developmental path by Chinese musicians in an environment dominated by Western music. On the one hand, it was to highlight Chinese culture and resist the influence of Western music cultural colonization by creating musical works with Chinese elements; on the other, it was to change the aesthetic preferences of the public by increasing the influence of musical works with Chinese elements, by means of performances, recordings, and broadcasting.

In summary, the Western symbols they display—such as the use of staff notation, harmony, and concert formats—should not be simply regarded as evidence of their subjugation. It is a fact that the NCM did not abandon Chinese traditions (Wang, 1987; Ju, 2006b; Qian, 2007). On the contrary, these elements should be understood as part of their active efforts to construct a hybrid culture. Chinese musicians with Western musical backgrounds were not passive recipients in the process of engaging with Western music curricula; rather, they actively participated in the development of China's music education system. They were committed to cultivating music with distinctly Chinese characteristics and to continuously creating a unique Chinese musical culture. It is precisely through such practices of hybrid culture that a new Chinese music system capable of challenging the hegemony of Western musical culture could emerge.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

> He lives in a society that makes his inferiority complex possible, in a society that derives its stability from the perpetuation of this complex, in a society that proclaims the superiority of this complex, in a society that proclaims the superiority of one race; to the identical degree to which that society creates difficulties for him, he will find himself thrust into a neurotic situation....
> In other words, the black man should no longer be confronted by the dilemma, *turn white or disappear;* but he should be able to take cognizance of a possibility of existence. In still other words, if society makes difficulties for him because of his color, if in his dreams I establish the expression of an unconscious desire to change color, my objective will not be that of dissuading him from it by advising him to "keep his place"; on the contrary, my objective, once his motivations have been brought into consciousness, will be to put him in a position to *choose* action (or passivity) with respect to the real source of the conflict—that is, toward the social structures. (Fanon, 1967, p. 100)

Since 1840, China was forced to become part of the world system and has consistently interpreted Western incursions through a "center/periphery" framework based on an ideology of "Chinese civilizational supremacy" reflected in both the doctrines of "Chinese learning as substance, Western learning for application" and "learning from the foreigners in order to gain command of them" (shi yi changji yizhi yi, 师夷长技以制夷) (He, 2012, p. 197). The Western powers, in turn, viewed China as the "Other". This "self/other" framework reflected a continuation of the notion of Western civilizational supremacy. The "Othering" China experienced generated a sense of "inferiority" within the Chinese context. However, this inferiority did not originate from China itself, but rather emerged in the process of gazing and being gazed at by the West — a psychological response constructed through the unequal relations of discourse. As Fanon pointed out above, such a sense of inferiority is the result of specific social structures. Therefore, the solution should not be confined to the structural binary of *turn white or disappear*, but should instead involve a deeper reconstruction of cultural subjectivity and discursive agency. Therefore, whether expressed as center versus periphery, self versus Other, or Chinese civilizational supremacy versus Western civilizational supremacy, these all represent dualistic modes of understanding. Such models fall short in helping us grasp the complex dynamics of this historical period, including the reform of music education. Therefore, a postcolonial perspective—which challenges and moves beyond binary modes of thinking—has served as a central focus in the preceding chapters.

As cross-cultural workers, missionaries were engaged in thousand of activities (Glasser, 1983, p. 20). In the case study of the HUGS, I presented that their musical contribution lay in the dissemination of the Western music and its knowledge system during the nineteenth century. With the widespread dissemination of Western music elements in China as presented in Christian music textbooks, including staff notation, counterpoint, four-part harmony, and instrumental teaching system, traditional Chinese music—having been Othered—gradually reinforced the superiority of Western culture and lost its subjectivity in the development of Chinese music education. Moreover, in order to illustrate that colonial culture is not a

monolithic entity; it, too, possesses a shifting history, I presented the details of the secular music curriculum in mission schools, including singing and piano lessons. In this context, the shift is from music as a tool for missionization (Christian music) to music education as a means of life preparation and professional development (secular music), which reflected how colonial culture changed within that context. In fact, regardless of the changes that music itself or music curricula have undergone, the colonial nature interwoven with the introduction of Western musical culture into China cannot be ignored, given the unequal exchange of Sino-Western musical culture. This also laid the foundation for the subsequent development of music education based on the Western music education model in China.

In the study of the CMPNU, I provided a detailed account of its transformation from a student society into a professional music institution. This transformation illustrates how China, in the process of learning from Western music, progressed from offering isolated courses—such as violin, piano, or Western music theory—to establishing a comprehensive educational system. I also clearly pointed out that this process of *mimicry* was only temporary; any differentiation and rewriting that emerged represented a form of resistance. Furthermore, in the ongoing process of constructing music education in China during the modern period, the continual *mimicry*, *differentiation*, *rewriting* and *transformation* of Western music education systems have been interwoven with *contradictions*, *doubts*, and *cycles*, which have shaped a complex and diverse space for the development of music education in China. Thus, in the discussion, I attempted to emphasize the ambivalent attitudes displayed by Chinese scholars of the time when confronting Western and Chinese music. This ambivalence was not only reflected in the cultural tensions between China and the West, but also in the varying assessments of Western music from different perspectives or historical stages. More prominently, it manifested in the multiple, and at times conflicting, stances taken toward the understanding and evaluation of traditional Chinese music. Even as Western art music rose up in that school setting, so in the wider political domain there were new arguments about cultural identity and influence. Alongside those pressing for Total Westernization (quanpan xihua, 全盘西化) the concurrent rise of the National Essence-ism (guocui zhuyi, 国粹主义) and the Traditional Music Reform (guoyue gailiang, 国乐改良) demonstrates that Western music culture was never the sole or dominant subject in the evolution of Chinese music education.

In the case of the NCM, I placed greater emphasis on the processes of differentiation, rewriting, and transformation that occurred in the course of adopting Western music education systems to develop a uniquely Chinese path for music education. This is particularly evident in the manifestations of "Chineseness" across various aspects of the NCM. As Bhabha stated that

> The paranoid threat from the hybrid is finally uncontainable because it breaks down the symmetry and duality of self/other, inside/outside. In the productivity of power, the boundaries of authority—its reality effects—are always besieged by "the other scene" of fixations and phantoms. (Bhabha, 1994, p. 116)

According to He Yugao's explanation of Bhabha's hybridity,

> This model of identity of hybrid culture transforms the traditional understanding of colonial texts: the incursion of Western culture does not necessarily have to be interpreted as one culture completely engulfing another. A marginalized culture can leverage its own cultural differences

> to make its voice heard, turning the construction of cultural identity into a continuous process of hybridization, negotiation, and contestation. (He, 2012, p. 116)

Thus, the emergence of an undeniable "Chineseness" serves as clear evidence that the development of Chinese music and music education was not swallowed up by Western culture. Here, I draw an analogy with the progressive nature of national music (guoyue, 国乐) in that period. The progressive character of the nationalistic guoyue lies not in a complete rejection of tradition, but rather in its openness to modification, professionalization, and development (Stock, 1996, p. 144). Under this interpretation, China's learning from the West constitutes a rewriting of its own musical heritage, rather than its erasure. To sum up, this learning from the West may appear, on the surface, to reinforce the hegemony of Western musical culture; yet from the perspective of hybrid culture, such "compliance" can itself be seen as a form of subversion. Even in the seemingly submissive acceptance of the culture from the colonizing power, the imported cultural structure inevitably differs from that of the colonizer, as it is inevitably permeated and influenced by local culture. This process of infiltration and influence is precisely what was previously referred to as differentiation, rewriting, and transformation. However, in the early stages of such reactions, there is often no awareness that it constitutes a form of resistance. Therefore, what appears to be compliance on the surface can, in fact, be understood as a form of implicit resistance.

Ultimately, this study circles back to a fundamental and central question: whether the influence of Western music in the development of Chinese music education needs to be judged by the ideology of post-colonialism to determine its value, and if so, how to eliminate the colonial overtones it brought with it. I approach this question from two aspects. First, it would be reductive to define the role of missionaries in the development of music education solely as the assistant of Western cultural intrusion. However, as demonstrated by the historical evidence cited earlier, the arrival of missionaries in China — closely tied to the imposition of unequal treaties—does indeed bear the marks of cultural intrusion. The existing research has made it clear that although missionaries initiated the introduction of Western musical culture in China, they were not the principal agents driving its development.[139]

Second, the establishment of Chinese music education was ultimately driven by the Western-trained Chinese musicians and music educators. The duplication of Western music education systems was merely an initial expression in the rise of a hybrid culture. From a broader historical perspective, this "duplication" stage lasted only a short time. The colonial elements embedded in it were gradually dissolved and deconstructed through the emergence of this hybrid culture. Moreover, the musicians who became sub-oppressors along this path did not passively accept Western music culture, but instead consistently approached the learning of Western musical culture with an active and engaged attitude. A multitude of voices and positionalities emerged along this path; as Bhabha notes, "the chain of stereotypical signification is curiously mixed and split, polymorphous and perverse, an articulation of multiple beliefs" (1994, p. 82). Yet, even in the presence of differing viewpoints and priorities, the musicians' undeniable sense of Chineseness allowed them to embrace Western musical culture—an act that should not be mistaken for surrender. Although

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[139] In Gong Hongyu's research, in the era of missionaries' dissemination of Western culture, "Western music as represented by Christian psalms and hymns, still failed to attract a large following in China" (2006, p.370). He explicitly indicates that the Japanese-trained musicians and music educators were the first generation who disseminated Western music culture in China in the modern period.

the balance between Western musical culture and indigenous Chinese musical traditions continued to shift throughout this process, such "swing" represents a "mechanism of normalization".

Although this study has adopted a postcolonial perspective and preliminarily constructed a narrative framework tracing the development of modern Chinese music education from "nonexistence" to "emergence," there remain certain limitations in terms of case selection, research methodology, data accessibility, and theoretical perspective. First, the study is structured around a longitudinal narrative, thus involving limited horizontal comparisons. The three selected cases lack parallel comparative analysis, making it difficult to validate the findings through cross-case examination. Consequently, the conclusions are inferred primarily from individual case studies, which may limit their generalizability. Second, this research primarily relies on document analysis and builds its narrative logic on first-hand materials. While existing scholarly work is referenced in the case analyses, there is no systematic comparison between these studies, which may introduce a degree of subjectivity in the historical interpretation. Third, regarding data access, the study faced restrictions due to the archival policies and availability at the Shanghai Conservatory of Music. Apart from the published archival materials, it was challenging to acquire additional first-hand sources related to the NCM case. Moreover, the seven-month duration allocated for archival research objectively limited the breadth and depth of source collection. Finally, while the study is grounded in postcolonial theory and attempts to analyze the reform of music education within the historical context of a semicolony and a semifeudal society in China, certain key concepts—such as "colonial practices" and "imperialist legacy"—remain contested within academic discourse. Additionally, the interpretation of musicians' roles from a postcolonial perspective may inevitably carry a degree of subjectivity.

Building upon the aforementioned limitations, several promising avenues for future research can be identified. First, future studies may incorporate horizontal comparisons by selecting different cases from the same historical period to test and enhance the generalizability of existing conclusions. For instance, a comparative analysis of teaching materials used in missionary schools across various regions could shed light on both the regional specificities and commonalities within Chinese music education; or a comparative study with similar cases from other semicolonial regions around the world could further illuminate the complexities inherent in semicolonial contexts. Second, in addition to documentary analysis, the incorporation of oral histories from the relevant individuals would offer richer and more nuanced qualitative data. Such narratives could contribute a more human dimension to the case studies, thereby enhancing both the depth and credibility of the research. Finally, the study of modern Chinese music education history could benefit from the integration of diverse theoretical perspectives, such as localization theory and world-systems theory. By moving beyond a singular postcolonial framework, future research may engage with the historical process from multiple analytical viewpoints, ultimately constructing a more complex and pluralistic historiographical landscape.

Abbreviation

Full Name	Abbr.
Chinese Nationalist Party	KMT
National Index Chinese Newspapers & Periodicals	NICNP
Communist Party of China	CPC
Conservatory of Music of the Peking National University	CMPNU
Editorial Committee of The Complete Works of Xiao Youmei	ECTCWXY
Hangchow Union Girls' School	HUGS
Music Association of the Peking National University	MAPNU
Music Group of the Peking National University	MGPNU
Music Seminar of the Peking National University	MSePNU
Music Society of the Peking National University	MSPNU
National Conservatory of Music	NCM
National School of Music	NSM
People's Republic of China	PRC
Peking National University	PNU
Republic of China	ROC
Research Institute of Music of the Chinese Academy of Arts	RIMCAA
Shanghai Conservatory of Music History Museum	SCMHM
Second-Year Youth League Branch of Department of Economics, Tsinghua University	SYDTU

Appendix 1: Timeline of Chinese Dynasties and Governments

As this study covers multiple historical dynasties, a timeline has been compiled to outline the major dynastic transitions from the slave society to the feudal society. Some dynasties may not be directly discussed in this research, but they are included in the table for the sake of completeness. This timeline is according to "A Chronological Table of Chinese Dynasties" (Lishi jinian jianbiao, 历史纪年简表) published in official website of The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China.
Available: https://www.gov.cn/test/2005-06/24/content_9306.htm (Assessed: 26 May 2025).

English Name of Dynasty	Chinese Name of Dynasty	Period
Xia Dynasty	Xia 夏	Around 2070–1600 BCE
Shang Dynasty	Shang 商	Around 1600–1046 BCE
Zhou Dynasty	Zhou 周	1046–221 BCE
Western Zhou Dynasty	Xi Zhou 西周	1046–771 BCE
Eastern Zhou Dynasty	Dong Zhou 东周	770–256 BCE
Spring and Autumn Period	Chun Qiu 春秋	770–476 BCE
Warring States Period	Zhan Guo 战国	475–221 BCE
Qin Dynasty	Qin 秦	221–206 BCE
Han Dynasty	Han 汉	202 BCE–220 CE
Three Kingdoms	San Guo 三国	220–280 CE

Jin Dynasty	Jin 晋	265–420 CE
Sixteen Kingdoms	Shiliu Guo 十六国	304–439 CE
Northern and Southern Dynasties	Nan Bei Chao 南北朝	386–589 CE
Sui Dynasty	Sui 隋	581–618 CE
Tang Dynasty	Tang 唐	618–907 CE
Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms	Wudai Shiguo 五代十国	907–979 CE
Song Dynasty	Song 宋	960–1276 CE
Yuan Dynasty	Yuan 元	1271–1368 CE
Ming Dynasty	Ming 明	1368–1644 CE
Qing Dynasty	Qing 清	1644–1911 CE
Republic of China	Zhonghua Minguo 中华民国 ROC	1912–1949 CE
People’s Republic of China	Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo 中华人民共和国 PRC	1949 founded

Appendix 2: Name of Archives

All archives consulted in the course of this research are listed in the table below.

English Name if used	Chinese Name if used (Pinyin and Chinese Characters)	Location
Ganzhou Municipal Archives	Ganzhoushi Dang'anguan 赣州市档案馆	Ganzhou Jiangxi China
Harvard Divinity School		Boston Massachusetts the United States
Nanjing University Archives	Nanjing Daxue Dang'anguan 南京大学档案馆	Nanjing Jiangsu China
Presbyterian Historical Society		Philadelphia Pennsylvania the United States
Shanghai Conservatory of Music History Museum	Shanghai Yinyue Xueyuan Xiaoshiguan 上海音乐学院校史馆	Shanghai China
Shanghai Municipal Archives	Shanghaishi Dang'anguan 上海市档案馆	Shanghai China
The Second Historical Archives of China	Zhongguo Di'er Lishi Dang'anguan 中国第二历史档案馆	Nanjing Jiangsu China

Glossary

All significant Chinese words used in this thesis are listed below, together with a short translation and explanation for each item. Terms (or of more than one charterer in length) are ordered according to romanization of the characters (or individual characters) of the term. The glossary is divided into sections for names of political figures, movements, policies and documents, wars and treaties, institutes, musicians and music educators, music terms, other terms, and publications.

Names of Political Figures

Chinese Name of Political Figures (Pinyin)	Chinese Name of Political Figures (Chinese Characters)	Explanation
Cai Yuanpei	蔡元培	educator, 1868–1940
Fan Yuanlian	范源濂	educator, 1875–1927
Kang Youwei	康有为	politician, 1858–1927
Liang Qichao	梁启超	politician, 1873–1929
Mao Zedong (Runzhi)	毛泽东 (润之)	politician founded the PRC, 1893–1976
Sun Zhongshan (Sun Yat-se)	孙中山	politician founded the ROC, 1866–1925
Yuan Shikai	袁世凯	the second provisional president and the first official president of the ROC, 1859–1916

Zhang Xun	张勋	Qing loyalist, 1854–1923
Wang Zhaoming (Wang Jingwei)	汪兆铭 (汪精卫)	politician, 1883–1944
Jiang Zhongzheng (Jiang Jieshi, Chiang Kai-shek)	蒋中正 (蒋介石)	politician, president of the ROC 1887–1975

Names of Movements

English Name of Movements	Chinese Name of Movements (Pinyin and Chinese Characters)	Time
Anti-Christian Movement	Fei jidujiao yundong 非基督教运动	1922–1927
Boxer Rebellion	Yihetuan yundong 义和团运动	1899–1900
Hundred Days' Reform	Wuxu bianfa 戊戌变法	1898
Jinan Incident	Wusan can'an 五三惨案	1928
New Life Movement	Xinshenghuo yundong 新生活运动	1934
Marco Polo Bridge Incident	Lugouqiao shibian 卢沟桥事变	7 July 1937
May Fourth Movement	Wusi yundong 五四运动	4 May 1919
Mukden Incident	Jiuyiba shibian 九一八事变	18 September 1931
Repatriation of Educational Sovereignty Movement	Shouhui jiaoyuquan yundong 收回教育权运动	1920s

Self-Strengthening Movement	Yangwu yundong 洋务运动	1861–1894
Xinhai Revolution	Xinhai geming 辛亥革命	1911

Names of Policies and Documents

English Name of Policies and Documents	Chinese Name of Policies and Documents (Pinyin and Chinese Characters)	Time
Girls' School Regulations	Nüzi xiaoxuetang zhangcheng 女子小学堂章程	1907
Middle School Regulation	Zhongxue xiaoling 中学校令	1912
Please Open New-type Schools	Qing kai xuexiao zhe 请开学校折	1898
Primary School Regulations	Xiaoxue xiaoling 小学校令	1912
Revised Regulations of College	Xiuzheng zhuanke xuexiao guicheng 修正专科学校规程	1931
School Regulations	Zouding xuetang zhangcheng 奏定学堂章程	1904
The Reform of Middle Schools' Course, Arts and Sciences	Zou biantong zhongxuetang kecheng fenwei wenke shike zhe 奏变通中学堂课程分为文科实科折	1909
The Regulations of Private Schools (Draft)	Sili xuexiao guicheng cao'an 私立学校规程草案	1926

The Rule of Foreign Investment in Schools	Wairen juanzi sheli xuexiao qingqiu renke banfa 外人捐资设立学校请求认可办法	1925
University Organization Law	Daxue zuzhifa 大学组织法	1929

Names of Wars and Treaties

English Name of Treaties	Chinese Name of Treaties (Pinyin and Chinese Characters)	Time
Boxer Protocol	Xin Chou Tiaoyue 辛丑条约	1900
Convention of Peking	Beijing Tiaoyue 北京条约	1860
Nine-Power Treaty	Jiuguo Gongyue 九国公约	1922
Opium Wars	Yapian Zhanzheng 鸦片战争	the first Opium War, 1840–1842 the second Opium War, 1856–1860
The First Sino-Japanese War The Second Sino-Japanese War	Jia Wu Zhong Ri Zhanzheng 甲午中日战争 Kang Ri Zhanzheng 抗日战争	1894–1895 1937–1945
Treaty of Nanjing	Nanjing Tiaoyue 南京条约	1842

Treaty of Tianjin	Tianjin Tiaoyue 天津条约	Sino-Russian, 1858 Sino-French, 1858 Sino-American, 1858 Sino-British, 1858 Sino-Danish, 1863 Sino-Dutch, 1863 Sino-Italian, 1866
Siege of the International Legations	Baguo Lianjun Qin Hua Zhanzheng 八国联军侵华战争	1900

Names of Institutes

English Name of Institutes	Chinese Name of Institutes (Pinyin and Chinese Characters)	Abbr. If used
American Women's Club	Meiguo Funü Julebu 美国妇女俱乐部	
Baptist School of Rev. and Mrs. W. S. Sweet	Huilan Nüxiao 惠兰女校	
Beijing Aimei Music Society	Beijing Aimei Yueshe 北京爱美乐社	
Beijing Medical School	Beijing Yixue Zhuanmen Xuexiao 北京医学专门学校	
Changjun Middle School	Changjun Zhongxue 长郡中学	
Chengjun Academy	Chengjun Zhixue 成均之学	
Chinese Aesthetic Education Society	Zhonghua Meiyuhui 中华美育会	
Conservatory of Music of the Peking National University	Beijing Daxue Fushe Yinyue Chuanxisuo 北京大学附设音乐传习所	CMPNU

Datong Music Club	Datong Yuehui 大同乐会	
Drum and Wind Music Bureau	Guchuishu 鼓吹署	
Great China University	Daxia Daxue 大夏大学	
Hangchow Girls' School	Zhencai Nüxiao 贞才女校	
Hangchow Union Girls' School	Hangzhou Hongdao Nüzi Xuexiao 杭州弘道女子学校	HUGS
Huiwen Girls' School	Huiwen Nüzi Zhongxue 汇文女子中学	
Imperial Music Bureau	Dayueshu 大乐署	
Imperial Music Academy	Jiaofang 教坊	
Journalism Society	Xinwenxue Yanjiushe 新闻学研究社	
Marxism Society	Makesi Xueshuo Yanjiuhui 马克思学说研究会	
McTyeire School	Zhongxi Nüshu 中西女塾	
Meditation Society	Jingzuohui 静坐会	
Mrs. J. C. Garritt's Girls' School	Yucai Nüxue 育才女校	
Music Association of the Peking National University	Beijing Daxue Yinyuehui 北京大学音乐会	MAPNU
Music Broadcasting Committee	Yinyue Boyin Weiyuanhui 音乐播音委员会	
Music Bureau	Yuefu 乐府	

Music Group of the Peking National University	Beijing Daxue Yinyuetuan 北京大学音乐团	MGPNU
Music Seminar of the Peking National University	Beijing Daxue Yinyue Jiangxihui 北京大学音乐讲习会	MSePNU
Music Society of the Peking National University	Beijing Daxue Yueli Yanjiuhui 北京大学乐理研究会	MSPNU
National Conservatory of Music	Guoli Yinyue Yuan 国立音乐院	NCM
National Journal Society	Guomin Zazhishe 国民杂志社	
National School of Music	Guoli Yinyue Zhuanke Xuexiao 国立音乐专科学校	NSM
New Asia Hotel	Xinya Jiudian 新亚酒店	
Operatic Circle	Liyuan 梨园	
Painting Society	Huafa Yanjiushe 画法研究社	
Peking National University	Beijing Daxue 北京大学	PNU
Philosophy Society	Zhexue Yanjiushe 哲学研究会	
Popular Education Lecture Group	Pingmin jiaoyu Jiangyantuan 平民教育讲演团	
Private Shanghai Conservatory of Music	Sili Shanghai Yinyue Yuan 私立上海音乐院	
Research Institute of Music of the Chinese Academy of Arts	Zhongguo Yishu Yanjiuyuan Yinyue Yanjiusuo 中国艺术研究院音乐研究所	RIMCAA
Self-Cultivation Society	Jindehui 进德会	
Shanghai Municipal Orchestra	Shanghai Gongbuju Yuedui 上海工部局乐队	

Shanghai University	Hujiang Daxue 沪江大学
Society for the Reform of National Music	Guoyue Gaijinshe 国乐改进社
Song Society	Geshe 歌社
Spiritual Encouragement Society	Lizhishe 励志社
St. Mary Hall	Shengmaliya Nüxiao 圣玛利亚女校
Taichang Temple	Taichangsi 太常寺
Tide Society	Xinchaoshe 新潮社
University Council	Daxueyuan 大学院
University of Nanking	Jinling Daxue 金陵大学
Young Men's Christian Association	Qingnianhui 青年会

Names of Musicians, Music Educators, and Related Figures

Chinese Name of Musicians and Music Educators (Pinyin)	Chinese Name of Musicians and Music Educators (Chinese Characters)	Explanation
Chen Meng (Chen Zhongzi)	陈蒙 (陈仲子)	music educator, 1880–?
Chen Tianhe	陈田鹤	composer, 1911–1955

Chen Wanli	陈万里	ceramic connoisseur, Kun song teacher, 1892–1969
He Lüting	贺绿汀	composer, theorist, and music educator, 1903–1999
Hu Zhou Shu'an	胡周淑安	vocalist and vocal music teacher, 1894–1974
Huang Zi	黄自	Western-trained musician and music educator, 1904–1938
Jiang Dingxian	江定仙	composer, 1912–2000
Li Qingzhu (Liao Shangguo)	黎青主 (廖尚果)	music aesthetician, 1893–1959
Li Rongshou (Li Huaxuan)	李荣寿 (李华萱)	music teacher, 1895–1965
Li Weining	李惟宁	musician and music educator 1906–1985
Liu An	刘安	cartographer, monarch, and philosopher, 179–122 BCE
Liu Tianhua	刘天华	composer and music educator, 1895–1932
Liu Xue'an	刘雪庵	composer and music educator, 1905–1985
Xian Xinghai	冼星海	composer and pianist, 1905–1945

Xiao Youmei	萧友梅	Western-trained musician and music educator, 1884–1940
Wang Guowei	王国维	master of Chinese classical studies, 1877–1927
Wang Lu (Wang Xinkui)	王露 (王心葵)	guqin and pipa master, 1877–1921
Wu Mei (Wu Qu'an)	吴梅 (吴瞿安)	educator and writer, 1884–1939
Yang Yinliu	杨荫浏	music historian, 1899–1984
Yang Zhaoshu (Yang Xinru)	杨昭恕 (杨心如)	student, teach the Chinese instrument at the PNU
Yi Weizhai (Yi Dachang)	易韦斋 (易大厂)	lyricist teach the Chinese language at the NCM, 1874–1941
Zha Shijian (Zha Bingru)	查士监 (查冰如)	music teacher at the PNU
Zhao Shenheng (Zhao Zijing)	赵申鑅 (赵子敬)	Kunqu master 1848–1924

English Name of Musician and Music Educator	Chinese Name of Musician and Music Educator (Pinyin and Chinese Characters)	Explanation
Arrigo Foa	Fuhua 富华	violinist 1900–1981

Boris Zakharoff	Zhahaluofu 查哈罗夫	pianist 1888–1943

Names of Music Terms

English Name of Music Terms	Chinese Name of Music Terms (Pinyin and Chinese Characters)
bone flute	gudi 骨笛
Chinese music division	Zhongyue men 中乐门
Chinese opera	xiqu 戏曲
Chinese seven-stringed zither	qin 琴 guqin 古琴
Chinese vertical end-blown flute	xiao 箫
court entertainment music	yanyue 燕乐
court music	gongting yinyue 宫廷音乐
dulcimer	tongsiqin 铜丝琴 yangqin 扬琴
elegant music	yayue 雅乐
fa music	faqu 法曲

folk music	minjian yinyue 民间音乐
four-stringed lute	pipa 琵琶
gongche notation	gongchepu 工尺谱
Kun song	Kunqu 昆曲
moon lute	yueqin 月琴
mouth organ	sheng 笙
music	qu 曲
music-and-dance composite	gewu daqu 歌舞大曲
national music	guoyue 国乐
poetry	ci 词
school songs	xuetang yuege 学堂乐歌
secular music	suyue 俗乐
stringed zither	se 瑟
two-stringed fiddle	huqin 胡琴
two-stringed fiddle	erhu 二胡
three-stringed lute	sanxian 三弦

Western music division	Xiyue men 西乐门
zither	zheng 筝

Names of Other Terms

English Name of Other Terms	Chinese Name of Other Terms (Pinyin and Chinese Characters)	Explanation
Chinese learning as substance, Western learning for application	Zhong ti Xi yong 中体西用	Self-Strengthening Movement
Chinese Nationalist Party	Guomindang 国民党	KMT
Communist Party of China	Zhongguo Gongchandang 中国共产党	CPC
Eastward spread of Western learning	Xi xue Dong jian 西学东渐	
emotion theory	qinggan shuo 情感说	
imitation theory	mofang shuo 模仿说	
labor theory	laodong shuo 劳动说	
language theory	yuyan shuo 语言说	
learning from the foreigners in order to gain command of them	shi yi changji yizhi yi 师夷长技以制夷	Self-Strengthening Movement
local schools	xiangxue 乡学	

Mr. Democracy	De xiansheng 德先生	May Fourth Movement
Mr. Science	Sai xiansheng 赛先生	May Forth Movement
National Essence-ism	guocui zhuyi 国粹主义	
Nestorianism	Jingjiao 景教	Tang dynasty
official education	guanxue 官学	
quasidominance	zhun tongzhiquan 准统治权	
revive the institution of an imperial court	fubi 复辟	
Revive the Qing, destroy the foreign	fu Qing mie yang 扶清灭洋	Boxer Rebellion
ritual and civilized music system	liyue zhidu 礼乐制度	
ritual collapse and music degeneration	li beng yue huai 礼崩乐坏	
Royalist Party	Baohuangdang 保皇党	
semicolony	banzhimindi 半殖民地	
semifeudal society	banfengjian shehui 半封建社会	
Shanghai-style culture	haipai wenhua 海派文化	
state schools	guoxue 国学	
substantial learning	shixue 实学	

total Westernization	quanpan xi hua 全盘西化
traditional music reform	guoyue gailiang 国乐改良
Westward spread of Chinese learning	Dong xue Xi chuan 东学西传
witchcraft theory	wushu shuo 巫术说

Names of Historical Publications

English Name of Publications	Chinese Name of Publications (Pinyin and Chinese Characters)	Author and Time
A Research of Chinese Opera in the Song and Yuan Dynasty	Song Yuan xiqukao 宋元戏曲考	Wang Guowei, 1913
Children's Song Collection	Ertong gechang quji 儿童歌唱曲集	Hu Zhou Shu'an 1932
Daily Newspaper of the Peking National University	Beijing daxue rikan 北京大学日刊	1917–1932
First Collection of Contemporary Music	Jinyue chuji 今乐初集	Xiao Youmei and Yi Weizhai 1922
First Collection of New Songs	Xinge chuji 新歌初集	Xiao Youmei and Yi Weizhai 1923
Huainanzi	Huainanzi 淮南子	Liu An before 139 BCE
Hymns Set to Music	Sheng shan xie ge (Sing-san-yia-ko) 圣山协歌	Rev. Elias Brown Inslee 1858

Journal of the National Conservatory of Music	Yinyue yuan yuankan 音乐院院刊	1927–1929
Journal of the National School of Music	Guoli yinyue zhuanke xuexiao xiaokan 国立音乐专科学校校刊	1929–1930
Master Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals: Midsummer—Ancient Music	Lüshi chunqiu: zhongxiaji—guyuepian 吕氏春秋: 仲夏纪—古乐篇	Lü Buwei *et al.* (eds) around 239 BCE
Music	Yin 音	1930–1937
Music Journal	Yinyue zazhi 音乐杂志	1920–1921
Music Textbook of Fuxing Secondary School	Fuxing chuji zhongxue yinyue jiaokeshu 复兴初级中学音乐教科书	Huang Zi *et al.* (eds) 1933–1935
Music Theory Textbook (for Junior Schools) (vol. 1)	Yueli jiaokeshu (chuji zhongxue yong) (diyice) 乐理教科书 (初级中学用) (第一册)	Xiao Youmei 1924
Music Theory Textbook (for Junior Schools) (vol. 2)	Yueli jiaokeshu (chuji zhongxue yong) (di'erce) 乐理教科书 (初级中学用) (第二册)	Xiao Youmei 1924
New Children's Songs	Ertong xinge 儿童新歌	Jiang Dingxian, Chen Tianhe and Liu Xue'an 1935
Organ Textbook (for Junior Schools)	Fengqing jiaokeshu (chuji zhongxue yong) 风琴教科书 (初级中学用)	Xiao Youmei 1924

Piano Textbook (for Junior Schools)	Fengqing jiaokeshu (chuji zhongxue yong) 钢琴教科书 (初级中学用)	Xiao Youmei 1926
Singing Textbook (for Junior Schools) (vol. 1)	Changge jiaokeshu (chuji zhongxue yong) (diyice) 唱歌教科书 (初级中学用) (第一册)	Xiao Youmei and Yi Weizhai 1924
Singing Textbook (for Junior Schools) (vol. 2)	Changge jiaokeshu (chuji zhongxue yong) (di'erce) 唱歌教科书 (初级中学用) (第二册)	Xiao Youmei and Yi Weizhai 1924
Singing Textbook (for Junior Schools) (vol. 3)	Changge jiaokeshu (chuji zhongxue yong) (disance) 唱歌教科书 (初级中学用) (第三册)	Xiao Youmei and Yi Weizhai 1924
Special Issue of the National Conservatory of Music: Revolution and National Humiliation	Guoli yinyue yuan tekan geming yu guochi 国立音乐院特刊·革命与国耻	Xiao Youmei *et al.* (eds.) 1928

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