

The influence of governmental control and early Christian missionaries on music education of Aborigines in Taiwan

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There has been little research conducted on Taiwanese Aboriginal music education in comparison to Aboriginal education. C. Hsu's Taiwanese Music History (1996) presents information on Aboriginal music including instruments, dance, ritual music, songs and singing, but information on music education practices is lacking. The examination of historical documentation shows that music education was used by both the Japanese government and Christian missionaries to advance their political and religious agendas. This paper will examine the development of the music education of Aborigines in Taiwan from the mid nineteenth century, when Christian missionaries first came to Taiwan, until the end of the Japanese protectorate (1945). I shall discuss how the missionaries from Britain and Canada successfully introduced Western religious music to Aboriginal communities by promoting various activities such as hymn singing and religious services. The paper will then look at the influence of government policy on Aboriginal music education during the colonial periods. These policies affected both the music taught in elementary schools and the teaching materials.

Background

In my work as a music education historian I have become aware that both the Japanese government and Presbyterian missionaries exerted a powerful influence over the development of music education for Aborigines. From my perspective, as a non-Aboriginal Taiwanese woman of Han heritage, both groups tried to assimilate and convert their students through music education by developing the people's love of music.

The Aboriginal people of Taiwan belong to the Austronesian races and are estimated by archaeologists to have arrived in Taiwan between 12 000 to 15 000 years ago (D. Hsu *et al.*, 2000: 29).¹ According to MacKay the Austronesian races came from the islands around the Malayan Archipelago (MacKay, 1998: 94) and expanded across a region from the east Polynesia islands, west Madagascar, south New Zealand and north Taiwan. (C. Hsu, Lu & Cheng, 2002: 12) They consist of two groups: Pingpu and Kaoshan. The Pingpu was originally divided into ten tribes: Ketangalan, Luilang, Kavalan, Taokas, Pazeh, Papura, Pabuza, Hoanya, Siraya and Thao; each of which had their own ways of life and worship and who lived in the plains and hills (C. Hsu, 1996: 11–12). Most of the Pingpu were gradually assimilated by the Chinese in Taiwan (Guo, 1986: 2). Anao *et al.* (2003: 17) in their historical analysis of the Ketangalan tribe, argued that this tribe maintained its own lifestyle, language, and cultural practices. As such it was recognized as a tribal identity

by the government. This, however, was not the case for other tribes that comprised the Pingpu group. The cultural identity of these tribes was undermined by the government. The Kaoshan was divided into nine tribes, who lived on the mountains: Atayal, Saisiyat, Bunun, Tsou, Rukai, Paiwan, Puyuma, Amis, and Yami (Hong & U, 1999: 94). They had little contact with the people living in the villages and consequently were able to maintain their life style.

For all of these tribes vocal music was an important way of expressing traditional culture. Tien had suggested that Aboriginal people loved singing because it was the musical form used to convey the tribes' ideology. Singing was employed in different events as a mechanism to achieve and promote a specific outcome. For example, Bunun's 'Basibutbut' contained a prayer for harvesting rice and Tsou's 'Mayasvi' was for acquiring power and encouragement from the Warrior God. Singing also played an important role in carrying messages about Aboriginal society and cultural development (Tien, 2002: 11, 16, 20, 21).

During the late nineteenth century, English and Canadian missionaries preached the Gospel to the Pingpu and Kaoshan people. Recognising the tribes' intrinsic love of music, missionaries taught them to sing hymns and to understand religious doctrine through the texts of hymns. This contributed to the success of the missionaries' work (Chung, 1999: 16–17). Curtis commented that 'in all parts of the world teachers [missionaries] in Sunday schools availed themselves of the great power that there was in music to help them in their work' (Curtis, 1899: 82).

The concept of imperialism was reflected in the practices of colonisation by the Japanese government in Taiwan. Japan started to take its involvement in Taiwan seriously during the Meiji period (1868–1912) when Japanese society replaced feudal divisions with a centralised system that focused on the Emperor. During this time, in response to the growing presence of Europe and America in Asia, there was a deliberate effort to modernise Japan through the adaptation of Western ideas and practices. The Japanese had seen the neighbouring Chinese Empire invaded and ridiculed by powerful Western nations following the Opium or Anglo-Chinese war. The Japanese felt that, to avoid being similarly pressured, they needed to expand their territory and strengthen their military presence. Nariakira Shimazu, an early pioneer of this ideology, promoted the argument that to avoid foreign invasion, Japan needed to obtain the provinces of Fukien and Taiwan, which could be used as bases from which to enter eastern Asia (C. Hsu, 1996: 156). The adoption of this military expansionist ideology resulted in the 1894 Jiawu war between Japan and China in which China was defeated. The Shimonoseki Treaty was signed the following year, forcing the Ching government of China to cede Taiwan to the Japanese. It was not until 1945 that Taiwan was re-possessed by China after the defeat of Japan in World War II. This period of 51 years, from the Shimonoseki Treaty to the re-accession of Taiwan, was called the era of the Japanese protectorate (C. Hsu, 1996: 168–172).

Meiji educational strategy in the colonies concentrated on shaping the loyalties and outlook of local people toward Japan through moral education and Japanese language training and to limit their educational advancement to the acquisition of vocational and practical skills (Blandir, 1951, in Myers & Peattie: 40–41). It was the aim of the Japanese educational system to create loyal subjects not leaders – the Taiwanese were to be assimilated only into the lower levels of the social order (Beasley, 1987: 147). Central to this creation of loyal subjects was the inculcation of reverence for and obedience to the Emperor who was the 'focus of national unity, the personification of tradition' (Beasley,

1987: 34–35). Because music had always been employed as a vehicle for messages that education systems wished to inculcate in children (the citizens of the future), it was given a comparatively generous allocation of time in the school timetable and school songs in Taiwan reflected the intentions of the Japanese colonial government.

The Japanese protectorate thus witnessed the early expansion and development of music education for Aborigines. However, this period did not constitute the genesis of formal Westernised musical tuition among Aborigines. This had occurred earlier with the arrival of missionary workers in Taiwan in the mid nineteenth century. It is thus necessary to consider the influences of both of these early developments within the context of Japanese governmental control during the Japanese protectorate when considering the specifics of the music education of Aborigines in Taiwan.²

Christian missionaries

Before the Japanese protectorate, Western religious music was very influential in certain parts of Taiwan (Guo, 1986: 178; Yang, 1986: 39).³ Reverends C. Douglas and H. L. Mackenzie of the British Presbyterian Church came to northern Taiwan in September of 1860 to spread their faith, distributing Bibles and hymn-books in Tamsui and Monchia (Guo, 1986: 15). Then, in 1865, Dr. J. L. Maxwell, a medical practitioner and minister, arrived with several assistants (Yang, 1986: 38). In June, they began religious promotional activities, while simultaneously treating patients in Tainan. In 1867, Reverend Hugh Ritchie joined the missionaries in southern Taiwan. Many people from the Pe-po-hoan village (Pingpu group) in Tainan attended the hospital for treatment and, as a consequence, they heard the Gospel. Maxwell and Ritchie also visited other villages, where they preached and sang hymns (Band, 1948: 82). Between 1870 and 1875 there was a pronounced increase of interest in the Church. Band remarked that:

In most of the homes, family-worship was held regularly and the hymn-book became their favourite companion. Like the Welsh, these hill tribes have a natural gift for singing. They delight specially in improvising variations to the melody. After their day's work in the fields, in order to meet together for hymn singing they would travel miles in the moonlight, while the hills and valleys re-echoed to their sacred songs. (Band, 1948: 83)

Chung argued that it was the combination of hospitals and hymn books that assisted in preaching the Gospel (Chung, 1999: 15). Patients from inaccessible villages would return with hymn books following treatment (Campbell, 1889: 220–221). Hymn singing was important in preaching among the Aborigines who, Campbell noted, 'have all a greater fondness for music than the Chinese' (Campbell, 1896: 334). In 1875 Campbell visited a church for children:

One hundred and forty children from the three stations met in the chapel at Toalam . . . It is to the music part of the service we feel most attracted in any such gathering of the Po-sia children. The heartiness with which they sing is very inspiring. (p. 405)

In northern Taiwan, in 1872, Dr G. L. MacKay, a Canadian Presbyterian minister, arrived in Tamsui. From 1872 to 1901 MacKay trained many students for service in the church, undertook missionary works and encouraged people's Christian faith through

music. MacKay described the enjoyment shown by the Pingpu when hymns became associated with their everyday activities: 'poor old toothless women [as] ... they threw the thread ... crooned in a low voice: 'There is a happy land far, far away.' Or 'brave fishermen going out in the mornings through the surf ... singing the old Scotch (*sic*) paraphrase: 'I'm not ashamed to own my Lord, or to defend his cause'' (Guo, 1986: 27).

It is clear that MacKay exploited the indigenous peoples' natural aptitude for and interest in singing in his use of hymns to spread the Gospel: 'as our party would start a hymn, a crowd of men, women, and children would join and make the banks resound with joyful notes' (MacKay, 1998: 243). MacKay described an occasion when a few people from Pingpu came to see him and he took an opportunity to invite them to attend the Church service. These people, inspired by the hymn singing and the Gospel, then invited MacKay and his students to their village to spread the Gospel. Later, 500 Aborigines, who had since thrown away their idols, and were now nominally Christian, all assembled in the open air to sing the songs of Zion (p. 220).

Some insight into the methods of teaching hymns are gained from this description by a replacement teacher:

[Steere] understood to teach the students two tunes. He did not know the language, but he could use a hymn-book in the Romanized colloquial. He put the notes of the tunes on the blackboard and drilled the students in singing them, and on my return I was greeted with the One Hundredth and the One Hundred and Twenty-first psalms, sung to tunes that are still favorites. (p. 320)

Aboriginal women and girls were trained as Christian workers so that they could direct younger Aborigines to Christianity. The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada gave necessary funds to build a Christian Girls School, which was established in 1884. Girls from both the Chinese and the Pingpu communities had the option to study for a considerable period of time at the Girls' School in Tamsui. The women were taught reading (including learning the romanised colloquial in order to read the Bible), writing, and singing, Bible history, geography, and Scripture catechisms. The girls were trained in a variety of teaching methods, and were fully equipped for their work spreading Christianity. They were then sent to different churches to do service. It is highly likely that the singing of hymns was so successful amongst the Pingpu because of the formal Christian education received by these women.

Educators such as John Curwen, the founder of the Tonic Sol-fa movement, were aware of the persuasive power of music in colonialization. Curwen suggested that missionaries in oriental countries should study native music rather than attempt to abolish it, and argued that 'full use should be made of their old musical modes' (Rainbow, 1980: 38). There is evidence that, from as early as 1900, hymns were sung to Aboriginal melodies. Campbell published the first hymn-book in Taiwan in 1900– the *Seng-Si Kao*, which was used for Chapels in Southern Taiwan (Seng, 1964: 130). It was based on the hymn-book – the *long-Sim Sin-Si* (MacMillan, 1953: 67–68) which was introduced into Taiwan by Reverend Douglas in 1860 (Yang, 1986: 38).⁴ The *long-Sim Sin-Si* was in Fukien dialect. The *Seng-Si Kao* had the addition of a few new translated hymns. Sheng believed that 'it included several native airs which were sung among the Pe-po-hoan [Pingpu] and other hill

tribes . . . the Chinese language was exclusively used in this hymnal' (Seng, 1964: 131). This hymn book became politically sensitive during the Protectorate. The Japanese Government was angry about a hymn which appealed to Aboriginal Taiwanese being in Chinese. In 1939 they went so far as to include the Japanese national anthem in the *Seng-Si Kao* (p. 131). The *Seng-Si Kao* also had a few hymns which were based on Pingpu melodies. The melodies used primarily were from songs concerned with rites such as marriage ceremonies, hunting celebrations and the song that was sung as the fire was lit when the tribe gathered around it to celebrate a special event (Chung, 1999: 119). There had been a determined attempt to include Aboriginal melodies to make the hymns appeal to the tribal people. In the nineteenth century, Campbell had expressed the desire for a female preacher who could help him to collect all of the songs from the Pingpu.⁵ Campbell hoped to collect as much Pingpu material as possible so it could be archived and used in the future by the Churches of Taiwan.

Unfortunately this collection of Aboriginal music and its adaptation to Christian purposes did not maintain the original cultural meanings of the songs. I would like to argue that Aboriginal students should have been given encouragement to learn their own music from their own people. Instead, the nineteenth and early twentieth century missionaries had little realisation that they should have tried to help the Aborigines in Taiwan to maintain their culture – rather, they were operating within the established practices of their time. MacKay believed that he was doing good in his adaptation of tribal music. He stated that 'the gospel has brought light to the savage mind. Men and women have believed and been made free' (MacKay, 1998: 266).

In Northern Taiwan, MacKay employed the lyrics of certain hymns and composed songs that were based on the melodies of the Kaoshau people. It appears that again the missionaries believed that the most effective way to become close to the Kaoshau was to preach the Gospel with the use of the tribes' own music. MacKay wrote that:

The aborigines are much more musical than the Chinese. We sang several hymns, and through the chief's son, who once visited me at Tamsui, I told them of the far-away home and of God's love for the world. (p. 264)

Unfortunately, these songs have been lost. The only melody that remains was one based on a Pingpu melody called 'Naomi' (Figure 1) (Guo, 1986: 73).

The lyrics of the song were mostly adapted from the gospel of St. Luke and included eleven verses that displayed the spirit of Luke and his disciples. Such materials were considered very important for religious education—the use of music was necessary for the first step in learning the Bible. The use of music to convey religious doctrine is an instance where music was used to modify the behaviour and beliefs of the Aborigines in Taiwan.

Japanese protectorate (1895–1945)

During the Japanese protectorate era, the Japanese government tried to control the 'savage' tribes. In 1896 a plan for the education of savages of southern Taiwan, Hengchun, was implemented (Liu, 1993: 270). Hsu maintained that reference to the Aborigines as savages

拿阿美

平埔調
馬借採譜填詞
(詞出自路得記)

The musical score is written on a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The tempo is marked '平埔調' (Plain Field Tune). The lyrics are in Chinese and English, with the English lyrics in parentheses. The lyrics are arranged in three stanzas, each corresponding to a line of music. The first stanza has 11 lines of lyrics, the second has 11 lines, and the third has 11 lines. The lyrics are as follows:

1. 早有一人名拿阿美 住在猶太人
 2. 阿美丈夫以利米勒 有子兩太人
 3. 阿美看夫來 世事了 服事上帝 上帝
 4. 阿美敬畏 上帝之 想起子 死家
 5. 媳婦兩人人 一個路 服事姑 家
 6. 路得做人人 真有志 對她姑 家
 7. 姑家媳婦 回來本 家中清 淡
 8. 咱聽阿美得 路得聲 詳細來 想
 9. 要知路得 後來之 阿美將 她
 10. 看來路得 孝順可 後來後 裔
 11. 勸恁信主 子兒媳 娶婦 當學路 得

本國居住 本國居住 猶太 錢荒 欠 缺
 瑪倫基連 瑪倫基連 瑪倫基連 瑪倫基連 瑪倫基連 瑪倫基連
 心有敬 心有敬 心有敬 心有敬 心有敬 心有敬
 世間絕 世間絕 世間絕 世間絕 世間絕 世間絕
 真請亦 真請亦 真請亦 真請亦 真請亦 真請亦
 無時人 無時人 無時人 無時人 無時人 無時人
 使給傷 使給傷 使給傷 使給傷 使給傷 使給傷
 嫁出波 嫁出波 嫁出波 嫁出波 嫁出波 嫁出波
 有行孝 有行孝 有行孝 有行孝 有行孝 有行孝

米遷徒 摩押 遷徒 外邦 閃避
 人父想 不摩押 不摩押 不摩押 不摩押 不摩押
 人不可 跟她的 跟她的 跟她的 跟她的 跟她的
 苦與妳 的來 的來 的來 的來 的來
 細拿 上帝 上帝 上帝 上帝 上帝
 報上 帝得 帝得 帝得 帝得 帝得
 官路 得代 得代 得代 得代 得代
 久代 上帝 上帝 上帝 上帝 上帝
 份上 帝 帝 帝 帝 帝

Fig. 1 'Naomi'.

could be found in Ching dynasty documentation (C. Hsu, 1996: 11). However, a Japanese researcher, Yoshinori, reported that the savages were considered to have a natural frankness of manner and warmth of emotion. They were considered responsible, easy to civilise, and to train as soldiers through education. (Liu, 1993: 270)

In 1904, two educational centres were established for Aborigines at the police stations of southern and southwestern Taiwan. The police established social and educational groups for different Aboriginal populations which functioned like social clubs. The first was the Tapang club, Tainan, and the other was the Machiahsun club, Kaohsiung. The policemen acted as school-teachers and were expected to teach morality including loyalty to the Japanese Emperor,⁶ Japanese language, mathematics and agriculture. It is important to recognise that the school education of the Aborigines' children was not neglected by the Japanese government during the protectorate. The *Common School Study Regulation for Aborigines*, issued by the educational bureau in 1905, indicated that music was an established part of the school curriculum for Aborigines (N. Hsu, 1993: 99).

The Meiji Government of Japan (1868–1912) opened the door to foreign influences in its aim to produce a modern industrialised society. Education was recognised during this period as a primary means of achieving modernisation (Stevens, 1999: 1). During this process, ideas and methods were drawn from European and American practices in both music and general education. Thus, Western music education came to Taiwan through the Meiji reforms of Japanese education. These music education practices were adapted by the Japanese government in Taiwan for Aboriginal education. The Japanese established a school system for Aborigines in Taiwan and imposed a curriculum to 'Japanise' the population (the term 'Japanise' was related by Arnold to the attempt 'to convert 3 000 000 Chinese into loyal Japanese subjects' (Arnold, 1908: 61). During the Japanese occupation era, elementary education had three different categories of schools for three different social groups. There were separate schools for the Japanese, the Taiwanese and the Aborigines (N. Hsu, 1993: 96).

In the beginning of the Japanese protectorate, the government had plans for organising the Aborigines. This involved the Japanese government in providing free schooling and scholarships. Education for children was compulsory. This education system started in 1905 (Liu, 1993: 270). The Aboriginal students could study at 'public schools' in the mountains or villages.⁷ There was a four-year curriculum, which included discipline, Japanese language and mathematics as compulsory subjects. The students could also choose one of the following optional subjects: agriculture, handicraft or singing. In 1908 the Japanese Education Department in Taiwan issued an *Educational Guideline for Aborigines* which also included 'singing' as one of the optional subjects (including handicraft, mathematics and hand-writing).

In 1914 the same department issued a *Taiwan Public School Regulation for Savages* which included a new option to the previous four-year elementary educational programme. Aboriginal students could elect to do a three-year course instead; this new option taught practical skills that were considered necessary by the Japanese Educational Department (p. 272). Singing became a compulsory subject for both the three- and four-year courses. It included singing the national anthem, along with two or three other patriotic songs such as 'Respect for the Achievements of the Emperor' (Inoue, 1973: 42), 'The Emperor's Birthday' (Taiwan Sōtokufu Office, 1915: 44), 'Japanese Flag' (Horiuchi & Inoue, 1967: 160) or 'The

National Song' (Taiwan Sōtokufu Office, 1915: 30). The course structure indicated that the subject 'singing' should involve the teaching of easy songs that made the students 'kind and happy'. Grades One and Two were taught singing for one hour every week. The songs were taught aurally. Grades Three and Four had the same amount of time, but the method of teaching involved demonstrating the lyrics first and then singing the songs together.

There are two main points of consideration in this teaching of singing: firstly it was an essential subject in schooling and secondly it had extracurricular benefits. Australian music educator, Gratton, writing about the reasons for the inclusion of singing in schools in the first half of the twentieth century, declared that 'singing makes for cheerfulness, breeziness, good fellowship; it cultivates the aesthetic sense, is a healthy physical exercise, and also has direct ethical value and formative influence' (Gratton, 1937: 39). Secondly, Gratton stated that 'patriotic songs should frequently be given' (p. 39) as a mechanism to promote loyalty to the nation. Evidence could be found in the song texts from the *Pedagogy of Singing for the Elementary Schools* (Taiwan Sōtokufu Office, 1915) that songs were often didactic, remonstrating students to be good citizens, grateful to the emperor, and obedient to those in authority. For example, 'First of January' was concerned with gratitude to the Emperor and the nation for its power and rapid economic growth (Southcott & Lee, 2003: 32). The Japanese government stressed singing as an important subject in the curriculum, because it provided a medium through which students could make a direct contribution to their society under colonialisation.

In 1928, the *Educational Standards for Aborigines* was revised and the singing syllabus then combined singing and gymnastics into a class of three hours duration weekly. The method of teaching singing for Grades One to Four involved singing in unison (Lee, 1990: 48). In 1943, the four-year course of elementary education for Aborigines was extended to a six-year long course. For Grades One and Two singing and gymnastics were combined and the class duration was four hours. The subject also included: singing, music appreciation and basic music theory. From Grades Three to Six, singing and gymnastics were taken as separate subjects.⁸

It was not a coincidence that singing was made a compulsory subject. It was compulsory because songs were found to be an effective way for the Japanese government to transfer their language, morals and beliefs to the Aborigines. It was an aim of this governmental control of Aborigines in elementary education that savages were turned into 'civilised people'. The Aborigines were well trained to fulfil the purposes of the Japanese protectorate. This 'Japanising' spirit in formal music instruction echoes Richards' description of British imperialist music between 1876–1953 where 'music was used to dramatize, illustrate and reinforce the components of the ideological cluster that constituted British imperialism in its heyday: patriotism . . . hero-worship [and] . . . racialism' (Richards, 2001: 525). The songs sung in Public Schools for Aborigines were mainly obtained from the *Shōgaku Shōkashū* (*Singing for the Public Schools*, 1915), and emphasised Western culture and Japanese concerns.

A number of teaching references were available including: *Pedagogy of Singing for the Elementary Schools* (1915); *Singing Materials for the Educational Centers* (1935) (The Japanese Education Department classified the elementary schools for aborigines as 'Educational Centers') (1935). The pedagogical text was written by experienced music

teachers. It provided detailed assistance and comprehensive activities, and was based upon three principles: first, physical cultivation through aural and vocal developments, and awareness of various singing styles; second, psychological development through cultivating aesthetics, artistic taste, noble behaviour, and morals; and third, practical matters which dealt with correct breathing and tone production that could help the lungs and blood and improve health and well-being. Music, it was argued, could assist the individual to recover from tiredness, relieve sorrow, provide encouragement, and comfort the heart. The teaching of songs deemed to be of 'high quality' could improve education and society, and music should be integrated with other subjects. It reflected the idea that music was good for the other facets of life such as health and the psyche. Such views were widely held about music at this time. Contemporary music educator Mayne maintained that 'next to the gift of life itself must assuredly be placed that of the blessing of good health, and it is indisputable that music is one of the greatest factors toward the attainment and preservation of that end' (Mayne, 1935: 18).

Singing Materials for the Educational Centers (1935) was edited and adapted by local policemen who taught the classes, and serves as a useful source from which to gain greater insight into the details of the music programme followed in the Aboriginal schools. Music education was connected with other subjects, community events, the daily life of Aborigines and the seasons. Lee commented that the standard of teaching material in this textbook was lower than material in the textbooks used for Japanese and Taiwanese students. The standard of *Singing Materials for the Educational Centers* was similar to a Kindergarten level of teaching. The Japanese government treated the Aborigines as lower in intellectual and social status to the Chinese Taiwanese (Lee, 1990: 70). Later, two teaching references for teaching kindergarten children were developed: *Teaching Materials for Kindergarten* (1939) and *Japanese Teaching Materials for Kindergarten* (1942). These teaching references indicated a music programme that mainly focused on singing and playing. Lee has discussed how the Japanese used the melodies of certain original Taiwanese songs in their teaching, but changed the lyrics. In this practice they were using local music in the same way as the missionaries had done in the past. The lyrics were selected from the content of textbooks. It was from these moral and educational texts that composers were asked by the Japanese to compose songs.

The music programme from the *Japanese Teaching Materials for Kindergarten* (1942), contained three categories: nursery songs (included plants, animals, games, natural scenes, people, geography, entertainment), war and patriotic songs (such as *Navy Memorial Day*, *Army Memorial Day* and *The Pacific Ocean March*), and national and festival songs (such as *Subjects of the Emperor*, *The Loyal Subjects* and *Meiji Day*). The nursery songs were mainly taught to students in order to develop musicality, an intrinsic feeling for beauty and a sense of morality. The war and patriotic songs were taught to encourage vitality and courage. The national and festival songs were taught to instill in students respect for the empire, emperor, empress and history. Although the school books for Aborigines' Elementary Schools were not the same as those used as in Japanese and Taiwanese schools, the motivation was the same – school singing was utilised as a basis for spreading Japanese culture in Taiwan. It is clear that singing, and music education in general, was one of the various techniques used in attempts to 'Japanise' the colony.

Conclusion

The central contention of this study is that music was employed to convey social messages and that in particular it was used as a medium for specific purposes by the colonisers. British and Canadian Presbyterian missionaries set up churches and taught religious education through music. This work was exemplified by individual promoters of Christianity, such as Maxwell, Ritchie, Campbell and Mackay. Evidence of such work can be seen in the hymn-books and hymns composed by MacKay and employed by Campbell and others. The establishment of the Girls' School in Tamsui and the spreading of Christianity by girls trained at the school likewise showed the utilisation of music to 'spread the word of God'. Under the Japanese protectorate, experienced music teachers emphasised the philosophical basis to the texts of songs that centred on the teaching of morals, health and patriotism.

There are a number of similarities between the British and Canadian missionaries, and the Japanese government. Both the missionaries and the Japanese government used indigenous melodies, refurbished with new texts and new purposes, to convey and strengthen their messages. Both groups employed music as a mechanism to achieve and promote a specific outcome. For the missionaries, music was used to convey religious ideology and morals, while the Japanese government used it to Japanese and Westernise.

As stated, the genesis of teaching music to Aborigines in Taiwan is attributable to the efforts of missionaries. During the Japanese protectorate, the government established formal music instruction and practice in schools that was based on Western culture and used in order to 'Japanese' the Aborigines. The songs sung in the Aborigine Educational Centers clearly utilised Western musical idioms and emphasised and transmitted Japanese concerns.

According to Yang, the genesis of music education of Aborigines should be attributed to the efforts of missionaries, and the establishment of formal music instruction and practice in Aborigines schools to the Japanese protectorate. Music education in Taiwan was strongly influenced by aspects of both Japanese and Western culture (Yang, 1986: 251).

A discussion of the early development of school music education for Aborigines in Taiwan suggests a field of dynamic achievement and potential. There are nevertheless various shortcomings in our knowledge of this educational development. We have limited information about the specific teaching practices adopted by missionaries, many of the hymns and songs that were adapted to Aboriginal melodies have been lost. There is a lack of scholarly documentation of music teaching references used for Aborigines during the Japanese Protectorate. Nevertheless, despite the fact that gaps still exist on the early development of teaching music to Aborigines in Taiwan, historical research makes an obvious and valuable contribution to understanding this field and the educational heritage of Taiwan. It is important to know our past, so we can understand our present and hence embark on our future with a firm foundation at our feet.

Notes

- 1 There is lack of information about what the Aboriginal people of Taiwan think. Many written sources are by scholars who are interested in Aborigines, but they are not Aborigines.

- 2 There are two main documents on Aborigines' education. One is from Lin's *Taiwan Province Tung Chih Manuscript – Arts Chapter* (1971), which describes the first stage in the expansion of Western music in Taiwan: the Dutch period. This began in 1624, when the Dutch invaded Taiwan, and ended with their expulsion by Chen Cheng-Keng in 1662. The Dutch Protestant missionaries were then forced to leave, and their music was banned by the government. These early Dutch missionaries brought Western religious music into Taiwan. The missionaries built churches and taught singing and religious ceremonies to the Aborigines (Lin et al., 1971: 95 & Chen, 1995: 47). The second is Liu's *Reform Taiwan Province Tung Chih Manuscript–Education Chapter* (1993), which has information about an educational centre for Aborigines which began in 1890. The curriculum included: literacy, Chinese, tribes' dialects and poetry (only for intelligent students). Also taught were: Chinese customs and morality, attention to the living standard (tidy beds, clean clothes and so on). Students changed their surname from their tribal name to a Chinese name. The goal of the Educational Center setting was to civilise the Aborigines (Liu, 1993: 199–201).
- 3 In the late nineteenth century, the two most influential churches at this time were the British Presbyterian Church of the south, and the Canadian Presbyterian Church of the north. These churches incorporated both Western secular and religious music into the music lessons and religious activities of the school (Liu, 1993: 201).
- 4 A later edition, dating to 1871 and edited by Reverend W. C. Burns and Rev. Douglas, was published in native dialect. It contained 59 hymns, and was later expanded to 122 hymns in 1910.
- 5 This is curious as there is no evidence at present that any songs were limited to women only.
- 6 Evidence of the policemen teaching morality can be found in the *Pedagogy of Singing for the Elementary Schools* (1915). One of the principles was: psychological development through cultivating morals. This idea is reflected in the texts such as 'Reply to the Emperor', 'Respect for the Achievements of the Emperor' and so on (Taiwan Sōtokufu Office, 1915: 44).
- 7 Mountains or villages including Taitung, Hualien and Pingtung, which were part of South-Eastern Taiwan.
- 8 There is no information regarding the music appreciation and theory that had to be taught.

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