

# NOTES ON AN EARLY CHINESE NATIONAL ANTHEM

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## Abstract

This short descriptive paper shows the early development of the Chinese National Anthem as presented abroad. The paper was extracted and improved from a self-published book by the author who had spent a lot of time in compiling facts and data about the musical legacy of a foreigner who had lived for many years in Shanghai. The paper starts off with a neglected part of an Exhibition Catalogue in 1884, which included music pieces played at a Health Exhibition held in the United Kingdom. Robert Hart, the named foreigner, as well as other foreigners were involved in this undertaking and a detailed review conducted of his correspondence and material collected by the author revealed a number of interesting facts.

## Keywords

China, Shanghai, National anthem, Robert Hart, Cultural exchange.

## BACKGROUND

The first instrumental piece that appears in the Catalogue of the Health Exhibition in 1884 is a piano arrangement of Hoa Tchou Ko (= Hua Zhu Ge) [华祝歌], the Chinese National Anthem. This is an extraordinary piece of music to include in the Catalogue and the fact that it first appears seems significant. Even as early as 1866 when Robert Hart<sup>2</sup> encouraged and facilitated the first Chinese Diplomatic mission to England with Bin Chun, he was continually advocating that the Qing Government pursue diplomatic channels to achieve national parity with European countries. His decision to publish the Chinese National Anthem in the International Health Exhibition Catalogue has to be seen in this context. It is clear that as compared to Japan, China was slow to see the advantages of having a national anthem.

First, the background to the writing of a Chinese National Anthem will be outlined and second, the significance of Hart including it here, is considered.

In the 1880s, a growth in the ‘Self-strengthening’ movement in China was noticed. The idea was that by studying abroad and adopting Western learning, the Chinese could catch up with the West and still have a ‘Chinese’ identity. There was a growing awareness of the importance of diplomacy. The benefits of encouraging ‘nationalism’ was also getting recognized. However, there was also strong opposition to change at court and although there was much discussion, less was actually happening about adopting a Chinese National Anthem.

Comparing this with the situation in Japan, a very different attitude could be seen. From 1868, Military Bands were an integral part of the modernisation of the military, not only for practical purposes such as training, but also for creating international prestige. With their shiny imported instruments, powerful, potentially aggressive sound and handsome uniforms, bands enhanced the impression of a modern military power. The British Band master John William Fenton arrived in Japan in 1869 and was made Band master there (Gong Hongyu, 2016). Initially, Fenton

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<sup>2</sup> Robert Hart was a British diplomat and official in the Qing Chinese government, serving as the second Inspector-General of China's Imperial Maritime Custom Service (IMCS) from 1863 to 1911. Beginning as a student interpreter in the consular service, he arrived in China at the age of 19 and resided there for 54 years, except for two leaves.

collaborated with Artillery Captain Ōyama Iwao, who was the son of a Samurai family of the Satsuma clan domain and an officer of the Satsuma military forces in composing the first Japanese National Anthem. It was performed in 1870 in front of the emperor.

Fenton's music was only the first version of 'Kimi Ga Yo'. This version is performed annually at the Myōkōji Shrine in Yokohama which is close to where Fenton was based as a military band leader (Fairbank *et al*, 1975 [1884]).

The German Bandmaster Franz Eckert (1852-1916) was invited to the Empire of Japan as a foreign advisor at the behest of the Imperial Japanese Navy. Eckert served as director of the Navy Band from 1879 to 1880. At the time, the need for an anthem was especially pressing in the Navy, as Japanese officers were embarrassed by their inability to sing their own anthem at flag ceremonies, at sea. The existing anthem was created by Fenton in 1869. Eckert rearranged the existing anthem per the Gregorian mode for Western instrumentation, making suitable modifications for playability at sea, including a four-part vocal arrangement. The new national anthem was first performed in the imperial palace on Emperor Meiji's birthday, 3 November 1880 (Anonymous. The British Newspaper Archive. The Morning Post Monday, 15 September 1884).

Gong Hongyu stated that while Chinese modernisers followed German advisors from 1885 in the development of their military bands, they turn to Japan for practical guidance rather than to the missionaries. 'As a cultural intermediary, Japan not only alerted the Chinese reformers to the instrumentality of music in promoting political and social reform, but also showed them how music could be used to address the more urgent issue of nationalism.' (Gong Hongyu, 2016: 461).

## THE FIRST CHINESE NATIONAL ANTHEM 'PU TIAN LE'

Zeng Jize was appointed minister to the British Government in 1878. In his diary of 1883, there is a note 'According to diplomatic etiquette, sometimes we need to play the national anthem.' The Chinese government did not see the need to have a national anthem, therefore, he decided to write his own Chinese National Anthem because he was embarrassed by the lack of something that could be played on these state occasions. It is known that he made two attempts at writing an anthem. The first attempt was called 'Pu Tian Le'. He was as familiar with Western music as he was with what he got to know as Chinese music. The first mention of this tune occurs when 'The Musical Times' (1 October 1882) has a review of 'Poo Teen Loh' or the 'World's Delight'. The Chinese National Air arranged for the pianoforte by Sir Julius Benedict with whom he had a friendly relationship (Fairbank *et al*, 1975 [1884]).

Sir Julius Benedict, who lived from 27 November 1804 to 5 June 1885, was a German-born composer and conductor, resident in England for most of his career. What is interesting is that he learnt composition from Johann Nepomuk Hummel in Weimar and Carl Maria von Weber in Dresden. Indeed, for many years, in some colleges and educational institutions, his biography of Weber was considered the standard work on the composer (Fairbank *et al*, *ibid.*). Weber was especially famous because he used one of the 'Chinoises Airs' sent back to Europe by Joseph Marie Amiot (1718–1793) and then published by Du Halde in his encounters with Chinese Opera (Clarke, 2010). It is interesting to speculate whether it was this interest in Chinese music by his teacher that encouraged Benedict to get to know Zeng Jize. It was thought for a long time that the music for 'Pu Tian Le' was lost, however in 1899 HE Martin published the collection 'Les chants nationaux de tous les pays'<sup>3</sup>, in which he had included the then understood Chinese National Anthem. He writes 'Does a Chinese National Anthem exist? There exist popular tunes collected by European musicians who have made dedicated compositions to the representatives of the Middle Kingdom. They are executed outside of China in official ceremonies – not in China. In honour of the Marquis de Tseng

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<sup>3</sup> Les Chants Nationaux De Tous Les Pays – Adaptation Musicale of Rousseau, Samuel; Aquarelles of Job; Text of Montorgueil, Georges; Ornaments of Jacques Drogue (Rosseau *et al*, 1900).

[Zeng sic.], Minister of China in London, Sir Julius Benedict wrote the delights of the world, an amicable embroidery on a theme contributed by the Chinese diplomat Zeng Jize (曾纪泽, 1839–1890) while serving in Europe'. (Rosseau *et al*, 1900: no page).

It was played as Air Imperial, but only on the pianos of the Legation. The music of the Republican Guard, style by protocol, honours the envoys of the son of heaven with accents a little different, more original, of a more really local flavour<sup>4</sup>, but whose improvisation did not boast flourished in Peking.

On this piece of music, there are no words. How would there be? The people have never seen the face of their king. Does he pass in the crowd, in a firm Palanquin, preceded by his men of arms, his ensign-holders' (Ibid.)?

## THE SECOND CHINESE NATIONAL ANTHEM 'HUA ZHU GE'

The second Anthem seems to have been first created by Zeng Jize on 20 October 1883. On 27 July it was named 'Hua Zhu Ge'. On 31 January 1884, the 'rhythm of the palace merchants' was handed over to London Health Exposition on 23rd June of the same year (Gong Hongyu, 2016: 485-486). It is clear that this was the first time the Chinese National Anthem was played officially (ibid.: 6) and that six Chinese musicians performed it.

The melody is said to have been by Zeng Jize [曾纪泽] but with assistance from Sir Julian Benedict. The Chinese words were not printed in the Health Exhibition Catalogue and were also said to be by Zeng Jize [曾纪泽]. However, we have the lyrics for this song because they were written by Humphry William Freeland, (1814–1892) and he published them at his own expense in nine different languages including English, Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, German, Danish and Swedish. Freeland did not translate the Chinese into English word for word but Zeng Jize [曾纪泽] read it and approved it.

In comparison, the first national anthem is very pianistic which suggests the influence of Sir Julius Benedict and there are no words. Both these factors confirm HE Martin's comments that it was meant to be played on the piano, but was not recognised as an official Chinese National Anthem. The second version is very different, because it is marked 'slow'. It has a more vocal melody and has the English words. It is still written in a piano-playing way, but clearly the harmonies could be arranged quite easily for military band. We know that Freeland published the words in nine different languages. The implication is that Zeng Jize [曾纪泽] clearly felt that the Qing Government would back this version, and this may be the reason that Robert Hart included it in the Exhibition Catalogue.

Robert Hart's decision to publish the Chinese National Anthem as a harmonised piano arrangement is astonishing and is audacious when seen in the context of the time. The piano was the ubiquitous instrument of choice in England and it would have meant that households up and down the country could have performed it.

It is very difficult to find accounts of public events that Zeng Jize [曾纪泽] attended which also give details of the Household bands that played on those occasions. I have only found two so far. I think it is reasonable to assume that these bands also performed the then valid Chinese National Anthem on these occasions.

In the Morning Post Saturday, 26 July 1884, it is written that 'Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales gave a garden party at Marlborough House yesterday afternoon. The band of the 2nd Life Guards under the direction of Mr W. Winterbottom; the band of the 10th Royal

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<sup>4</sup> It is nowhere explained what this attribution embraces.

Hussars under the direction of Benjamin Green<sup>5</sup>, and the Chinese musicians, played in the garden during the afternoon. Zeng Jize was also there' (Anonymous, Morning Post Saturday, 26 July 1884, no page).

From other archived communication, it can be concluded that Benjamin Stephen Green MVO, was born in Ireland on 14 May 1851. He was a keen musician and started his career with the 8th Hussars on 14 October 1865, at the age of 14. Presumably, he had joined as a bandsman at this young age. A period newspaper report<sup>6</sup> states that he had learnt the clarinet at Kneller Hall and he was also a talented musician with multiple instruments. He became a trumpeter on 14 March 1869, followed by private on 14 June 1869, corporal on 17 December 1872, and band sergeant on 1 May 1874. He then transferred to the 10th Royal Hussars to take the position of band master on 22 February 1879. He was promoted to warrant officer on 1 July 1881, while still holding the position of band master, which he continued to hold until 11 February 1888. He left the 10th Royal Hussars to take over as band master of the Duke of York's Royal Military School. He was then appointed as a band master in the Royal Marines Artillery on 22 February 1897.

On 13 September 1911, he was promoted to Honorary Lieutenant in the Royal Marines Artillery, which was followed a few years later by the appointment of Director of Music on 14 May 1914. It would appear that he also produced a small booklet titled 'History of the RMA Band' in 1914. On 28 September 1917, he went to France as the Director of Music for the Royal Marines Artillery, returning to the UK on 28 November 1917. This was presumably a trip to entertain the troops on the Western Front. His final promotion to Honorary Captain was on 31 January 1918.

He retired from military service on 22 December 1919 and died on 21 October 1944.

There is no record of a Chinese National Anthem but it is possible Green took the music with him when he took up his post at the Royal Marines. He was a composer and 'The Hampshire Advertiser 1st September 1900' mentions he was well-known through his waltzes 'Eileen' and 'Memories of the Past' and his marches which were 'Sunny Southsea', 'Benin' and 'HMS Powerful'.

This next account is very good because it gives details of who conducted the band, which bands played, and what they played.

The Morning Post Tuesday, 15 July 1890, reports that their Royal Highnesses, the Prince and Princess of Wales gave a garden party at Marlborough house on 14th afternoon to meet the Queen. The Chinese Minister Sieh Ta-jen was present. Sir Halliday Macartney and Lady Macartney were present. The bands of the 1st Life Guards under the direction of W Van de Henva (?) and the Grenadier Guards under the direction of Lieutenant Dan Godfrey played the following selection of music in the garden that afternoon.

Overture 'Marco Spada' Auber.

Selection 'Marjorie' Slaughter.

Pizzicato 'Sylvia' Delibes.

Valse 'Dance tes Veux' Waldteufel.

Gavotte 'Queen Christina' F Schuld.

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<sup>5</sup> Details were provided by Elliot Metcalfe, Museum Assistant, Horse Power, The Museum of the King's Royal Hussars in Winchester in private correspondence.

<sup>6</sup> This periodical is unknown. On an online discussion site is mentioned: "6330 Benjamin Stephen Green's RMA papers amongst the Royal Marines' service records on the National Archives documents online service. His date of birth is given as 14 May 1851 and he enlisted in the Corps on 14 October 1865. One will find his RM Officer's papers amongst the Royal Navy officers' service records 1756-1931 as part of the same online service. He was awarded the 1911 Coronation Medal as the Bandmaster of the RM Band in London. He was subsequently appointed the RMA Director of Music on 14 May 1914 with the rank of Honorary Lieutenant." (<https://www.greatwarforum.org/topic/227085-royal-marines-retirement-age/>, last visited 16 January 2022).

'Selection 'Romeo e Guilette' Gounod.  
 Song 'The Message' Blumenthal.  
 Nocturno 'Bei uns z'Haus' Strauss.  
 Cossack Dance Ivan Tschakoff.  
 Conductor W Van de Henvel.  
 Fast March Dr Heinrich Marschner.  
 Overture 'The Golden Cross' Ignaz Brüll  
 Selection 'Lohengrin', Wagner.  
 Airs de Ballet 'Les Vespres Sicilian', Verdi.  
 Allegro Moderato from 'Unfinished Symphony' Schubert.  
 Jubilaume Marsch Voigt.  
 Componirt sur Feier des 75 jahrizen Bestchens des Konlgllichen.  
 1 Garde-Dragoner-Regiment Kenizen von Gross Britannian und Ireland.  
 Intermezzo 'Loin de Bal' Gillet.  
 Selection 'Les Huguenot' Meyerbeer.  
 Valse Espanole 'Christine' Dan Godfrey Jnr.  
 Overture 'Tannhauser' Wagner.  
 Hessen-Kessel Marsch (ans preciosa) Weber.  
 (Under the direction of Lieutenant Dan Godfrey)  
 The Royal Hand Bell ringers under the direction of Mr Duncan S Miller were also in  
 Attendance' (Anonymous, Morning Post, 15 July 1899, no page).

Zeng Jize [曾纪泽] later presented his national anthems for the approval of the Qing Court who rejected them. At this time, he received no support from Li Hongzhang [李鴻章]. However, once he was made a diplomat and sent abroad in 1896, he quickly understood why Zeng Jize [曾纪泽] had so wanted a national anthem and he then wrote one of his own.

In 1896 (the 22nd year of Guangxu), Li Hongzhang [李鴻章], Minister of Baiyang and Governor of Zhili, paid a diplomatic visit to West Europe and Russia. As a national song was requested for the welcome ceremony, Li Hongzhang adapted a Tang Dynasty poem by Wang Jian for the purpose.

The Chinese Lyrics are as follows:

金殿当头紫阁重，  
 仙人掌上玉芙蓉，  
 太平天子朝天日，  
 五色云车驾六龙。

This is an English translation by the author of this writing:

In the Golden Palace, amongst the overlapping purple pavilions,  
 Like a jade lotus flower in an immortal's palm,  
 The Son of Heaven of Supreme Peace pays tribute to Heaven's sun,  
 In its five-colour chariot of clouds, drawn by six dragons.

In 2014, Professor Chen Yue, president of the Chinese Naval History Research Association, who visited the Chinese Embassy in London, discovered a copy of Li Hongzhang's Chinese National Anthem.

Interestingly, the words are slightly different than previously thought, but are very similar in meaning.

宝祚延麻万国欢，  
景星拱极五云端。  
海波澄碧春辉丽，  
旌节花间集凤鸾。

A translation of this would be:

Raising reflections, the joy of all nations,  
The king's star arches the five clouds.  
The waves of the sea are clear and the spring is bright,  
The phoenix gathers among the flowers of the festival.

## TECHNICAL ANALYSIS OF THE BAIYANG FLEET ANTHEM

The key of this tune is G Major. The melody is mostly pentatonic<sup>7</sup>. It starts with a solemn sustained tonic note in an octave. This serves to draw people's attention to the fact that the anthem is about to be played and it also gives the Sailors their starting vocal tone for the song.

Phrase A starts on the tonic and ends on the submediant. Four-bars long.

Phrase B starts on the median and ends on the dominant. It is rhythmically similar to phrase A but the melody rises. Significantly, the last note is repeated with a decoration, which adds to the charm of the tune and emphasises the climax of the tune. Next, there are four quarter tones. I don't think these were intended to be sung but are an instrumental link to phrase A1. This would have sounded very effective when played with a Brass Band.

Phrase A 1 starts off similar to phrase A, but here, you get the introduction of western harmonic thinking because it introduces F#'s before ending on the supertonic. The score is clearly marked 'rall' meaning to slow down and each note has accents.

Phrase C is a different tune starting on the dominant and descending to end on the median. There are pause signs over the note before the penultimate note and the penultimate note but the last note is extended by making it having a longer time value. Repeat marks mean the tune was to be played again. I think, because there is only one verse, this was to make the melody longer.

There is a four-bar coda. The first two bars of the coda are marked 'forte'. The last two bars are marked 'pianissimo', which means, very quietly. This would have created a dramatic and unexpected ending, but it is also harmonised in a strikingly original way. I think in the last two bars, it is trying to indicate a Db, then Eb and then a D natural. This would be entirely consistent with song writing at this time, but I think it does show how Li Hongzhang [李鴻章] had understood some theories of Western music. Of course, it could have been harmonised by somebody else<sup>8</sup>.

Here is a piano realisation (Figure 1) of how I think it might have been notated according to how it sounded.

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<sup>7</sup> It remains unclear what this attribute means in practice.

<sup>8</sup> This is entirely unknown.

Score

## Baiyang National Anthem

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The musical score for the Baiyang National Anthem is presented in four systems. The first system, labeled 'Piano', begins with a forte (*ff*) dynamic. The second system, labeled 'Pno.', starts with a forte (*f*) dynamic. The third system, also labeled 'Pno.', includes markings for *rit.*, *marcato*, and *a tempo*. The fourth system, labeled 'Pno.', concludes with a double bar line and a forte (*f*) dynamic.

CODA

The CODA section of the musical score is presented in one system, labeled 'Pno.'. It begins with a forte (*f*) dynamic and includes markings for *rit.* and *subito p*.

Figure 1: The anthem as imagined for piano by the author of this writing.

One possible explanation of why that music was in the Chinese Embassy in London could be the following:

On 5 August 1896, Li Hongzhang [李鴻章] was awarded the Ribbon and Grand Cross of the Victorian Order and the Badge of Knight Commander of the same order. I think that he probably insisted on playing the Chinese National Anthem. The Queen was at Osborne and hence, a few days later, Lord Salisbury awarded him the medal and in the evening at Hatfield House, he was guest at a garden party where 2000 people were invited.

The Dover Express on Friday, 14 August 1896, gives the best description of Li Hongzhang [李鴻章] going to the Marquis and Marchioness of Salisbury's Hatfield House. Crucially, it is stated 'on the East Terrace they had pitched a tent for the exclusive use of Ambassador Li Hongzhang [李鴻章] and in here he met all the important dignitaries'. It goes on to say 'The Band of the Royal Engineers, under the direction of Mr J. Sommer played on the East Terrace and in the West Garden the band of the 4th Militia Battalion of the Berkshire Regiment was stationed, while on the steps leading to the summer drawing room the Scandinavian Quartet played' (Anonymous, Dover Express on Friday 14 August 1896, no page).



The archive of the Royal Engineers could not find any record of the Baiyang National Anthem being performed but they found information on Mr Sommer.

One account states as follows:

‘Mr. J Sommer then [1891] took over as Bandmaster and, before the end of 1891, had conducted the band six times before H.M. The German Emperor, being complimented for his performances. The first R.E. concert was held in London in 1892. A band had been started at Aldershot by one of the units, being maintained by the Officers and the proceeds of the Manure Fund ... In 1904 Mr Sommer retired due to ill-health, as a 2nd Lieut., having received the rare honour of the Queen's Commission in 1899 for his outstanding work to music, and awarded the M.V.O.’ (The Archive of the Royal Engineers, last consulted in 2003, London/Aldershot, no page).<sup>9</sup>

The other account (Ibid.) states: ‘On Mr. Sawerthal’s retirement the appointment was conferred on Mr. J Sommer, the son of a German Bandmaster in our service. He received his musical education at the Cologne Conservatoire under Hiller. Coming to England he entered Kneller Hall and became Bandmaster of the 1st Leicestershire Regiment in 1866. Afterwards he held similar positions in the 16th Cameronians and the Hyderabad Contingent. When he was appointed to the Royal Engineers on March 1st 1891, he had the good fortune to take over a first-class Military Band and Orchestra. But it would not be saying too much that he not only maintained, but improved upon the reputation gained by the band under his predecessor. During the Diamond Jubilee celebrations, the band was selected to play at Buckingham Palace for the State Banquet, and Queen Victoria decorated Mr Sommer with the Jubilee Medal. He received his commission in 1899, and H.M. King Edward conferred on him the Royal Victorian Order in 1901. Mr Sommer's health began to fail in 1904 and he retired in 1905’.

First, it is interesting to read that the early days of the Royal Engineer’s Band, was financed by the Officers themselves and by the sale of manure. In comparison, knowing Robert Hart was solely responsible for all the costs incurred in running his band, his commitment was commendable. Second, the Chinese Military Bands were often dependent on foreign advisors, so it is surprising to read that the British Army Bands also relied on foreign-trained Bandmasters, because Mr Sommer was trained at the Cologne Music Conservatory.

In fact, not until as late as 1911, 27 years after Robert Hart’s publication, did the Qing Government finally publish an official Chinese National Anthem called ‘Gong Jin Ou’ that contained the typical military phrasing, in text and musical structure.

The Confucian view was that music was not meant to please but educate (Kang 2014). If the correct notes were used in the correct combinations, then the Government would be in harmony and the people will be happy. A prominent Court musician Cao Xinquan argued that the melody that was published (in 1911) ignored these traditions and because it used certain notes, in fact it predicted the doom of the Qing Dynasty. Within six days of publication, revolution broke out and within a few months, the dynasty has ceased to exist (Ye Xiaoqing & Eccles, 2007).

## CONCLUSIONS

Gong Hongyu (2016: 19) points out that this was neither the first, nor the last Exhibition to which Robert Hart would send a Chinese delegation, but it was the most successful. What makes it unique is that the Chinese musicians at the meeting were selected by Hart, who stayed in Shanghai, a foreigner who was in charge of the Chinese customs. It is not a simple troupe leader who takes the lead; they represent the culture of the wider country, not the pursuit of personal interests. But, the cultural background of the chosen person is different from that of his chosen music.

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<sup>9</sup> London Military Museums Network, Sue Barber Curator of Museum of Army Music, CAMUS HQ, Kneller Hall, Twickenham, TW2 7DU, Private correspondence.



Robert Hart's choice of octagonal drum music from Beijing, rather than 'pure Han music' as favoured by Zeng Jize [曾纪泽] was because he was hoping this popular music might communicate more directly with the English audience. It was his deliberate choice and clearly baffled some of the elite Chinese.

It seems to have been the first time that the Chinese National Anthem was performed on traditional Chinese instruments abroad.

The Derby Telegraph on 5 July 1884 contains the following description:

'A native band played during the whole time of the luncheon commencing with "Hua-tchun ko" Chinese National Anthem, followed by the "Wan-shou Hsaing" a chorus with bagpipes expressive of wishes of happiness; then the "Tapa pan" or the Eight Boards, and the "Chin lan fang" which details the tender wailings of a young wife whose husband is absent on military duties, but who suddenly returns to her joy and delight. The ta-ku pan or "Big Drum" and the "pa Hsien Chu His" a chorus with bagpipes followed. The Concert closing with "God Save the Queen" rendered with Chinese instruments in Chinese fashion, is described as a most extraordinary performance.' (Anonymous. 1884. The Derby Telegraph, 5 July 1884. British Newspaper Archive, no page).

It is an early example of Chinese musicians playing English songs on traditional Chinese instruments.

It is the first publication of the Chinese National Anthem in a piano arrangement. This is unprecedented. The piano was the ubiquitous instrument of choice in England. The repertoire shows that Robert Hart listened to traditional Chinese music a lot. Campbell's decision to teach the Chinese musicians how to play English songs on traditional Chinese instruments is unique. Campbell took the musicians to hear some of the English orchestral music of that time, which started a cultural exchange that was significant.

The decision to publish so much of the music, in so much detail, provides us with a unique insight into the music library of an ordinary octagonal drum ensemble's repertoire. This is only one ensemble, and the choice of music they were required to perform was obviously a reflection of what Robert Hart enjoyed listening to, but nevertheless it is the closest we can now come to understanding what a performance might have been like, because we know exactly the names of the pieces that they had to select their programme from. I cannot think of any other source that does this.

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