

**Emily Patton and Tonic Sol-fa: The Influence of an Australian Immigrant to Japan on
Music Education during the Latter Half of the Meiji Period**

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by

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Introduction

In 1889 an English-born Australian music educator, Emily Patton, took the somewhat unusual step of emigrating from Melbourne—where she had resided for over thirty years—to live and work at Yokohama in Japan. Having been widowed at the age of fifty-seven, Patton found it necessary to earn her own living as a music teacher and later as a teacher of dancing and deportment as well. As she had in Australia, Patton maintained her advocacy of the English Tonic Sol-fa method of music education during her years in Japan and, as such, was the principal advocate of the method there during the latter half of the Meiji period.

The aim of this paper is to document the life and work of this remarkable Australian whose migration to Japan is noteworthy not least for her sense of adventure and her individuality and determination. In documenting her life and work, I aim to draw attention to her contribution as a foreign educator not only to the adoption of Tonic Sol-fa in Japan but also to the more general development of music teaching practice during this "period of consolidation" of the modern system of Japanese education (1886-1916). I will begin with a discussion of the political and educational reforms of the "period of establishment" (1853-1885) and describe the early development of music education in Japan. I will then outline Patton's life and work in Australia and in Japan (including a brief description of the Tonic Sol-fa method), before drawing some general conclusions regarding her contribution to Japanese music education.

Japanese Education and School Music during the "Period of Establishment"

The arrival of a significant American naval presence under the command of Commodore Matthew Perry at Edo (Tokyo Bay) in 1853 was the catalyst not only for the demise of the Tokugawa regime, but also for the beginning of Japan's period of modernisation. Prior to this time, the Tokugawa Shogunate Government had, for over 250 years, maintained the isolationist policies that had closed the door to foreign influences until a new era was finally ushered in

with the new Meiji Restoration Government. As part of the sweeping economic and political changes introduced by the Meiji Government in 1868, foreign influences were consciously embraced as one of the principal means of reforming Japan into a modern industrialised society. By adopting foreign ideas, the Meiji Government also hoped to forestall the colonial aspirations of several foreign powers.

Public education was seen as one of the major means of achieving this modernisation. As part of this process, the Meiji Government adopted a policy of encouraging those aspects of education which would promote "civilisation and enlightenment" with the ultimate aim of building national strength and character (Shuichi & Toshio n.d.). The Emperor's Charter Oath of 1868 made it explicit that "knowledge was to be sought throughout the world" for use in this process and, in the same year a school commission was formed to supervise the development of a Japanese national education system (Wollons 1993, p. 4). The Education Order of 1872 put in train a comprehensive review of education in Japan and resulted in a broadly-based primary school curriculum which saw the inclusion of music as one of the fourteen subjects at the lower primary school level. During this "period of establishment", numerous Japanese officials visited the United States and European countries to study foreign education systems. One of the first of such groups was the Iwakura Mission, which included forty-eight government officials and fifty-nine students of whom three were young women music students (see Howe 1992). Members of the mission travelled throughout Europe and the United States during 1871–1873, studying Western economic, political, social and educational practices.

As part of this process, several foreign education experts were invited to Japan as government advisers. The American educator David Murray (1830–1905) of Rutgers University came to Japan from 1873 to 1878 as chief adviser to the new Ministry of Education and, with Tanaka Fujimaro (1845–1909)—who had been a member of the Iwakura Mission—instituted an education system based on Western-style school buildings, school textbooks and teaching methods (Wollons 1993, p. 5). In addition, the situation regarding foreign missionaries, formerly restricted in their entry to Japan, changed dramatically with a doubling of the number of Protestant missionaries arriving in Japan in 1872 to a total of fifty-five (Wollons 1993, pp. 8–9). Thereafter, missionary activity rapidly increased, particularly in education with the establishment of Western-style primary schools as well as girls secondary schools. Isaac Ferris (Girls) Seminary, Yokohama (referred to later), although founded in 1870, is a good example of a missionary school which flourished during the mid 1870s with the influx of American missionary teachers.

On Tanaka Fujimaro's recommendation, Isawa Shūji (1851–1917)—regarded today as the founder of school music in Japan—went to study teacher training methods at the Bridgewater Normal School in Massachusetts. While there he met and worked with the American music educator Luther Whiting Mason (1818–1896) (see Berger 1987). On his return home in 1878, Isawa was appointed as the Director of the Tokyo Normal School (predecessor of the Tokyo University of Education), a post which he held from 1879 to 1891 (Tezuka 1968, p. 5; Howe 1994, p. 102). With a colleague (Megata Tanetaro), Isawa had, while in the United States, drawn up a petition to the Japanese Minister of Education (Tanaka), urging the setting up of music education in Japanese Schools and putting forward a comprehensive "Plan for Promoting the Teaching of Singing in Public Schools" (May 1965, p. 115). This plan included the

establishment of the so-called Musical Study Agency (also known as the Music Investigation Committee) within the Ministry of Education and the appointment of Luther Mason to implement a school music program. On his return to Japan, Isawa found that, in addition to his directorship of the Tokyo Normal School, he was also appointed as the "Commissioner" in charge of the Musical Study Agency, and so in June 1879 Isawa formally invited Mason to Japan to assist with the introduction of music education to Japanese public schools. Mason arrived in Japan in March 1880 and stayed for two years before leaving in July 1882 for the United States (Berger 1987, p. 35).

As part of the preparation of his 1878 petition, Isawa undertook a comparative analysis of the structure of Western and Japanese melody and came to the conclusion that, since the same pitch notes were being used but in different ways, it would be possible to combine the two melodic systems and form a new genre of Japanese "national music" (Shirakawa 1996, p. 187; May 1965, p. 115). Isawa also considered that melodies in a major tonality (as opposed to the predominantly pentatonic idiom of traditional Japanese melodies) were more appropriate for educational use. (It was this part of Isawa's petition that led to the formation of the Musical Study Agency.) With other members of the Agency (including Luther Mason), Isawa produced a series of *Shōkashū* (school song) books—*Shōgaku Shōkashū* (Elementary School Songs, Volumes 1–3; 1881, 1883, 1884) and *Yochien Shōkashū* (Kindergarten Songs; 1887) (Tezuka 1968, pp. 5–6). These song books included new melodies (some of which were composed by Agency members) as well as Japanese adaptations of British and American melodies (for example, "Blue Bells of Scotland" and "Auld Lang Syne") with Japanese poetry being used for the song texts (Tezuka 1968, pp. 5–6; May 1965, p.116). Later Agency publications included *Meiji Shōka* (Meiji School Songs; 1891) and *Shogaku Shōka* (Primary School Songs; 1892).

The other main function of Musical Study Agency at this time was the musical training of intending teachers. According to Takeshi (n.d.), the Musical Study Agency (or Music Investigation Committee as he termed it) changed its name in 1887 to the Tokyo *Ongaku Gakko* (Tokyo Music School) and added to its role musical training for teachers. Tezuka (1968, p. 5) makes the point that, although publicly inviting students who wished to be musically trained to receive musical instruction, the Musical Study Agency was not a school in a strict sense. Nevertheless, the Tokyo Music School (then in the grounds of the Ministry of Education)¹ later developed into a more formal music institution and was in fact the direct predecessor of the present-day Department of Music at the Tokyo University of Fine Arts and Music (*Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku*) which is located nearby (Tezuka 1968, p. 5).

The music teaching method represented in *Shōkashū* publications was, naturally enough given his hand in their compilation, Mason's *National Music Course*. The *National Music Course* was the first graded music textbook series published in the United States (Howe 1991, p. 65). Mason devised his *National Music Course* during his period as Supervisor of Music in Primary Schools in Boston (1864–1878) and, as part of the series, published charts, teaching manuals (1870, 1880) and three *Music Readers* (1870–71, 1886). His was an eclectic system which

¹ The former Tokyo Music School building (completed in February 1890) survives today as an cultural heritage site and houses the "Sōgakudō" concert hall and museum.

drew upon European and American sources, including aspects of the English Tonic Sol-fa system. Essentially, he used a multiple mnemonic (memory aid) system for pitch training (letter names, scale numbers and movable sol-fa syllables in chart form—see Figure 1b) and another mnemonic system for rhythm which, although based on the French Chev  system and Curwen's Tonic Sol-fa method, differed in its use of particular syllables for each beat of the bar and its subdivisions (see Figure 1b).

8	c	Do
7	b	So
6	a	La
5	g	Sol
4	f	Fa
3	e	Me
2	d	Re
1	c	Do

Figure 1a — *National Music Course* Scale Ladder
(Adapted from Howe 1991, p. 71)

One Semibreve (one whole-note)	T� - � - e - e
Two Minims (two half-notes)	T� - � - Te - e
Four Crotchets (four quarter-notes)	T� T� Te Te
Eight Quavers (eight eighth-notes)	T� f� T� f� Te fe Te fe

Figure 1b — *National Music Course* Time Names
(Adapted from Howe 1991, p. 71)

A similar system of mnemonics for pitch and rhythm training was devised for the *Sh kah * (see Howe 1991, p. 71) and these Japanese equivalents, together with illustration for Curwen's hand signs (see Figure 2 below) were published in Mason's *Ongaku Sh kei* (Music Course;1883).

The introduction of Western music education to Japan at this time has been described as "a policy cleverly engineered by the Meiji Restoration Government in order to westernise the Japanese nation" (Imada 1998. p. 146). The influence of Western school music repertoire and compositional genre (Isawa's "national music" approach to school songs) together with Mason's *National Music Course* method both in Music Study Agency publications and in teaching at the Tokyo Music School formed the basis for the modern system of music education in Japanese schools. By the end of the 1880s, with music now one of the subjects of the ordinary primary school curriculum (Kaigo 1968, p. 70), the impact of music education as part of the Meiji Government's policy of giving priority to aspects which encouraged "civilisation and enlightenment" within the process of modernisation was significant.

Patton's Life in Australia and Tonic Sol-fa Background

Aside from short-term government education advisers, longer-term appointees to tertiary education institutions, and missionary teachers sponsored by churches mainly in the United States, there were probably very few other foreigners who came to Japan to work in the field of education. Indeed, apart from those involved in trade and commercial activities, foreigners who chose to come to live in Japan as "private" (i.e. unsponsored) immigrants during the Meiji period must have been a comparative rarity. However, one such person was Emily Patton who, at the age of sixty, migrated from Melbourne to Yokohama in 1889. During the more than twenty years before her death in 1912, Patton practised her profession as a music teacher in Japan—and later in China—using the Tonic Sol-fa system as the basis for her work in music education.

Tonic Sol-fa was developed in England by a Methodist minister, the Reverend John Curwen, who drew on a number of earlier European and English music teaching systems for his method (see Rainbow 1967). The essence of his method was the use of two mnemonic systems for reading and performance of the pitch and rhythm dimensions of music. He utilised a system of seven syllables—*doh*, *ray*, *me*, *fah*, *soh*, *lah* and *te*—each of which represented the corresponding degrees of the major scale. This "solmisation" system was moveable in terms of absolute pitch so that it could be applied to any key. Curwen also devised a series of "mental effects" (extra-musical associations) for each of the syllables, based on their respective positions in the tonal system—thus *doh* was the strong or firm tone, *ray* was the rousing or hopeful tone, *me*, the calm and steady tone, *fah*, the desolate or awe-inspiring tone, and so on. The sol-fa syllables were represented vertically to form "The Tonic Sol-fa Modulator" from which teachers could drill their students by pointing to the syllables to form melodic exercises. Later, Curwen devised the pitch hand signs (see Figure 2 below) which, in a slightly modified form, are familiar to most contemporary music educators as part of the Kodály method (which uses the same solmisation syllables). Curwen also incorporated a mnemonic system of French time names into his Tonic Sol-fa method to assist students with the rhythmic dimension of musical performance, which again forms part of the Kodály method.

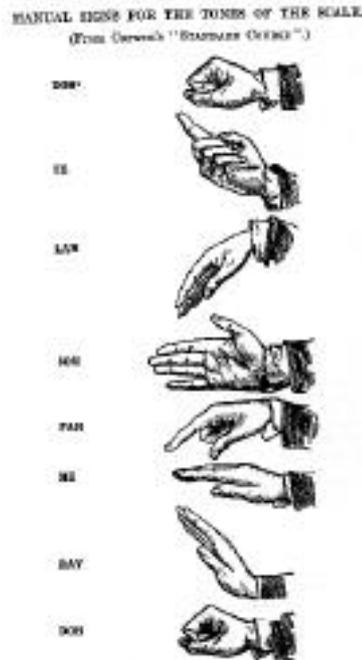


Figure 2 — Curwen's Pitch Hand Signs

In addition to these mnemonic aids, Curwen devised a special system of Tonic Sol-fa notation, deciding on a pitch representation system which utilised the first letter (in lower case) of each of the solmisation tones together with a rhythmic notational system based on bar lines, half bar lines and colons, commas and full stops to indicate the various rhythmic divisions within the bar.

Key C { : s | d' : s | m : s | d' : - . d' | d' : m' | r' : d' | t : d' | r' : - | -
 Aust - ral - ians all , let us re - joice, For we are young and free —

Figure 3 — An example of Tonic Sol-fa Notation

The growth of Tonic Sol-fa as a choral singing method in Britain surpassed that of any other choral singing method during the nineteenth century. From modest beginnings and an estimated 2,000 Tonic Sol-fa singers in 1853, the movement was able to claim 315,000 followers by 1872 and to have spread throughout the British Isles and to Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Canada, the United States, India, China, Japan and the Pacific Islands by the year of the Tonic Sol-fa Jubilee in 1891 (Curwen & Graham n.d., pp. 21–24). Tonic Sol-fa was introduced to Australia during the 1850s by James Churchill Fisher (1826–1891). Fisher used the method for his adult singing classes in Sydney (*The Musical Times* 1854, p. 217) and then introduced it to public schools in New South Wales as Singing Master to the Council of Education from 1867 (Stevens 1978, pp. 58, 87–88). Tonic Sol-fa was introduced to Victoria about 1875 by the Reverend Raphael Benjamin (1846–1906)—a personal friend of John Curwen—who was choirmaster of the Melbourne Hebrew Synagogue (Aron & Arndt 1992, pp. 43–46, 267). It was then taken up from about 1878 by Samuel McBurney, who

became the principal advocate of Tonic Sol–fa in Australia (Stevens 1978, p. 354). Emily Patton was converted to the Tonic Sol–fa cause as a pupil of both Benjamin and McBurney (Patton 1910, p. 149).

Emily Sophia Patton was born the daughter of Arthur Todd Holroyd (1806–1887) and his wife, Sophia Rachael Holroyd, on May 2, 1831 in London. Her father trained as a physician and then turned to law as his profession. Holroyd left England in 1835 for travel through Egypt and the Middle East, intending to publish a book on his travels. Although he was called to the English Bar in 1841, Holroyd emigrated with his wife and daughter to New Zealand and then in 1845 to New South Wales where he was again admitted to the Bar and also entered Parliament in 1851, later serving as a Government Minister. He concluded his public life as an Acting Supreme Court Judge (Heaton 1879, p. 94).

Emily Patton's early family life was spent in England, in New Zealand and then in New South Wales. After a quarrel with her father, she married Frederick George Terry—a member of the eminent English theatrical family and then manager of the ASN (shipping) Company in Sydney—in 1853 (Williams n.d., p. 27a). Emily went with her husband to Melbourne two years later. However, the marriage was short-lived as, in May 1858, her husband died and Emily became an actress with G.V. Brooke's Theatre Company the following year (Forde 1912). In 1860, she married Horatio William Patton (1829–1888) and, at her husband's insistence, left the stage. She had her two children, Reginald Holroyd Patton and Laura Gwendoline Patton, in 1864 and 1868 respectively.

From the mid 1870s, Patton established herself as a teacher of keyboard harmony using a colour-based teaching method which culminated in her publication of a volume of 190 pages entitled *Harmony Simplified for Popular Use: An Original Method of Applying the First Principles of Harmony to the Object of Accompanying the Voice on the Pianoforte* (London: Novello, Ewer & Co., and Melbourne: Allan & Co. [Wilkie's], 1880). As several testimonials included in the prefatory pages of *Harmony Simplified* indicate, Patton achieved considerable success with her method and used it to teach keyboard harmony at Vieusseux's Ladies College in East Melbourne and, in the latter half of the 1870s, at the newly-established Presbyterian Ladies College (Patton 1880). Patton's pupils at this time included the daughters of the colonial governor and other prominent Melbourne residents as well as the young Ellen Mitchell (later to become famous as Nellie Melba).² During the 1880s, Patton taught music as a private teacher from her home in Studley Park Road, Kew (Patton, 1880), later at 30 Russell Street in the commercial centre of Melbourne and later still from her home at "Tyrone" in Erin Street, Richmond (Williams n.d., p. 13).

Patton studied the Tonic Sol–fa method of teaching music from about 1879, becoming a strong supporter of its use for vocal music. She was introduced to Tonic Sol–fa by Raphael Benjamin

² There are several references to Melba being one of Patton's pupils—e.g. Williams n.d., p. 19; and *Tokyo Daily News* 3.1.1891, p. 2. In addition, Patton is known to have taught keyboard harmony as a visiting music teacher at Presbyterian Ladies College during 1879 and 1880 (Patton 1880) and that Melba was a pupil there between 1875 and 1880 (Hetherington 1967, pp. 20, 23).

but, with Benjamin's departure from Melbourne in 1880, she became a pupil of Samuel McBurney (Patton 1910, p. 149). Patton's Tonic Sol-fa activities were first mentioned in *The Tonic Sol-fa Reporter* in 1883; she was reported as promoting the method through an illustrated lecture at Dandenong which was delivered with the help of two pupils, one of whom—Ada Bloxham—later became a close teaching colleague (p.138). Patton examined candidates for certificates of the Tonic Sol-fa College in the Melbourne area from about 1883 (*The Tonic Sol-fa Reporter* 1883, p. 123). At this time—or probably earlier—Patton qualified as an Associate of the Tonic Sol-fa College (*The Musical Herald* 1890, p. 371). Up until 1889 Patton had successfully prepared eighty-six and twenty-six of her students respectively for the Elementary and Intermediate Certificates of the Tonic Sol-fa College (*The Musical Herald* 1891, p. 280).

A series of bereavements—the deaths of her son in 1886, her father in 1887, and her husband in 1888—"gave the lady such a distaste for Australia" (Forde 1912) that she decided to migrate to Japan with her daughter Gwendoline. After settling her affairs in Melbourne, Patton sailed for Yokohama, then the principal European (diplomatic) settlement in Japan, on the advice of friends that she could earn a good living there as a music teacher.

Patton in Japan

Arriving at Yokohama, Patton took up residence at 63 The Bluff (*Yomate-cho*), an area of high ground overlooking Yokohama harbour where most Europeans then in Yokohama resided (Williams n.d., p. 14). Patton had been hopeful of an appointment as a music teacher at the Tokyo School of Music though a recommendation to the then Minister of Education (Mori Arinori) by the Rev. G.W. Dixon. However, as part of the political upheaval accompanying the rise to power of the Meiji Restoration Government, the Minister was assassinated and prospects of Patton's appointment came to nothing (Williams n.d., p. 19). After the deaths of her son, father and husband in the late 1880s, tragedy struck again in 1891 when Patton's daughter Gwendoline—then aged 23 years—contracted cholera and died on October 29, 1891. To add further misery, the collapse of the Oriental Bank Corporation in the economic slump of the 1890s resulted in Patton losing all of her financial reserves, thereafter being forced to earn her own living (Forde 1912). Accordingly Patton set herself up as a private teacher of Tonic Sol-fa, singing, piano, dancing and deportment with her clientele coming from the foreign community as well as from members of the local Japanese official, business and professional classes among whom she made several close friends.

Patton's propagation of Tonic Sol-fa had began almost immediately on her arrival in Japan with an article advocating the method being published in *The Japan Gazette* of September 27, 1889 (*The Musical Herald* 1890, p. 304). Patton also attempted to introduce Tonic Sol-fa to the government education system but encountered considerable opposition as Mason's *National Music Course* method was too firmly established (*The Musical Herald* 1891, p.280). In Yokohama, Patton commenced a Tonic Sol-fa class at the "Public Hall" on The Bluff³ in September 1889 (*Tokyo Daily News* 3.11.1891, p. 2). She also passed on her knowledge of

³ The "Public Hall" on The Bluff, built in 1885, was a theatre for foreign residents; it was later re-named "The Gaiety Theatre". The original building was destroyed by an earthquake in 1923 and the site is now occupied by a new building housing the Iwasaki Museum of Costumes and Fashion.

Tonic Sol-fa to a Canadian missionary teacher, Julia Moulton (1852–1922), who was music mistress at the Isaac Ferris Seminary, Yokohama (a private girls school which later became the present-day Ferris Girls High School). Moulton then introduced Tonic Sol-fa to Ferris where it was to remain the sole music teaching method employed until the early 1920s (Ferris Jogakuin, 1970). Although she was an accomplished pianist and used staff notation in her piano teaching, Moulton employed the Tonic Sol-fa method and notation for all of the vocal and choral music at Ferris Seminary. Within three years of having introduced Tonic Sol-fa, Moulton had raised the standard of music education at Ferris from one of the least successful to one of the leading music schools in the Kanagawa region (Otsuka 1979).

By 1890, Patton had established a Tonic Sol-fa "Elementary Certificate" class of seventeen members, including several teachers from local missionary schools. One of these teachers was Mary Hinton who introduced the method to her own teaching at the Victoria (Boys) High School (*The Musical Herald* 1890, p. 371). Among Patton's Tonic Sol-fa converts at this time was a Mr. Suzuki, a former music student of the "Imperial Institute of Music" (the Tokyo Music School), who translated Curwen's *How to Read Music* into Japanese (*The Musical Herald* 1891, p. 280). Suzuki later compiled a "Japanese Tonic Sol-fa Primer" which he based on Curwen's *Pupil's Manual of the Tonic Sol-fa Method* and to which he added songs of Japanese origin. As the music instructor at the Tokyo Normal School, Suzuki obtained permission from the then Principal to teach European music according to Tonic Sol-fa and utilised his Primer for this work (*The Musical Herald* 1898, p. 80).

In 1891 Patton formed the Yokohama Juvenile Tonic Sol-fa Choral Society which performed annually at the "Public Hall" on The Bluff until its final performance on March 20, 1900. By 1894 Patton was also teaching at a local high school where she was involved in the production of a Japanese opera entitled "Fukey" (*Tokyo Daily News* 10.1894). Having confirmed the continuing viability of her music teaching in Yokohama, Patton offered her former pupil Ada Bloxham employment in her teaching practice. Bloxham arrived at the beginning of April, 1893 (Williams n.d., p. 33) and by the end of that year had a number of pupils learning music by Tonic Sol-fa as well as music from staff notation (*The Musical Herald* 1893, p. 299).

Ada Beatrice Bloxham had been a pupil of Patton in Melbourne. She qualified as an Associate of the Tonic Sol-fa College in 1883, gained the Advanced Certificate of the College in 1884 and also qualified for Membership of the College in 1885 (*The Tonic Sol-fa Reporter* 1883, p. 182; 1884, p. 295; 1885, p. 234). About 1883, Bloxham—a mezzo-soprano—won a Clarke Scholarship to the newly-established Royal College of Music in London and spent four years at the College where she studied with Madame Otto Goldschmidt (better known as Jenny Lind) and gained the Associate diploma (ARCM). While in London Bloxham continued Tonic Sol-fa studies and achieved the distinction of becoming the first woman to be awarded a Fellowship of the Tonic Sol-fa College (*The Musical Herald* 1889, p. 104). She returned to Melbourne at the end of 1888, and set up in practice as a music teacher in Coburg (*The Musical Herald* 1889, p. 21) before going to Japan.

During the early 1890s, the Austrian composer, violinist and organist Rudolf Dittrich (1852–1919), appointed in 1889 as music instructor at the *Tokyo Ongaku Gakko* (the Tokyo Music School), resigned his post to return home following the death of his wife (Ishikawa

1964, p. 5). Dittrich apparently taught music according to Mason's *National Music Course* method (*The Tonic Sol-fa Reporter* 1894, p.370) which utilised some teaching techniques also employed by the Tonic Sol-fa method such as sol-fa syllables⁴ and rhythm names (Howe 1991, pp. 66–67). Patton and Bloxham were jointly appointed as part-time lecturers at the Tokyo Music School to teach Tonic Sol-fa from October 1894 until March 1895 (Tokyo Ongaku Gakko Archives 1894). They worked for three hours with Tonic Sol-fa classes on Wednesdays and Saturdays for this period until their contract ended on April 2, 1895 (Tokyo Ongaku Gakko Archives 1895).

By 1895 Patton had shifted from 63 The Bluff to 47A The Bluff and established the "Yokohama School of Music and Academy of Dancing", finally transferring her residence and teaching practice to 142A The Bluff in 1897 (Williams n.d., p. 16). By 1899, after several years at Yokohama, Bloxham left Japan for Ceylon (*The Musical Herald* 1900, p. 8) and then went to South Africa where she married.⁵ With Bloxham's departure and with now falling numbers of students, Patton—at the age of seventy—also decided to leave Yokohama. By 1901 she had taken up residence at 95 Chapoo Road, Shanghai and re-established herself as a music teacher. However, she retained her small bungalow in the mountains at Kosé (near Karuizawa) and returned to Japan each year to spend the summer there (Williams n.d., p. 14).

Adventurous Last Years

Aside from her activities as a music teacher, Patton also undertook journalistic work which emanated from her interest in both writing and travel. From 1884 until 1911, Patton wrote an annual "Circular Letter" of between 14 and 54 pages that she had typeset and published by a local printer. These circular letters, sent out each Christmas to her overseas friends, included news from the local foreign and Japanese community as well as reports of her travels in Japan and neighbouring countries.

Like her father, Patton was greatly interested in travel and spent much of her spare time travelling in Japan, often to remote areas, with her Japanese manservant, Ryo (*The Musical Herald* 1912, p. 80). In the summers of 1897 and 1898 she visited the Island of Saghalien and the Gulf of Tartary, publishing an account of her travels in this region (Patton 1905a). She also appears to have paid a return visit to Melbourne—perhaps during the mid 1890s—accompanied by her Japanese servant (Williams n.d., p.37) and, during her period in Shanghai, she visited several places in China as well as travelling to the Canadian Province of British Columbia in 1908.

Her journalistic work included a series of articles about the Russo–Japanese War of 1904–5 contributed to the *Sydney Town and Country Journal*. Other articles which recounted her visit to the battlefields at Port Arthur in Korea (Patton 1905b, p. 1) and her visit to British Columbia

⁴ The Japanese solmisation syllables adopted in *Shōkahū* were: *ha* (doh), *ni* (ray), *ho* (me), *he* (fah), *to* (soh), *i* (lah) and *ro* (te) (Howe 1991).

⁵ Ada Bloxham married Lieutenant John Edwin Palmer of the Imperial Light Horse in Durban on April 4, 1901.

(Patton 1908, pp. 4–19) were published in Melbourne and Sydney newspapers. Her other publications at this time included an introduction to Japanese life style entitled *Japanese Topsy-turvydom* (n.d. [c.1897]) and the text for *Japanese Types Sketched with Brush and Pen* (Schwabe 1905).

Despite her annual visits back to Japan to stay at Kosé for the summer, it was only on receiving a letter from a former pupil informing her that there was an opening for her to recommence her music teaching in Yokohama that Patton decided to re-establish herself at 142A The Bluff (Patton 1911, p. 8). Emily Patton died at the age of 80 from heart failure at her residence on January 7, 1912. She was cremated and her ashes buried along side her daughter in the Yokohama Foreign General Cemetery on January 10. As Patton had "found no attraction in the doctrines and rites of Christianity" (*The Japan Gazette* 10.1.1912, in Williams n.d., p. 29a), there was no religious ceremony at the graveside; however a tribute read by the British Consul-General described Patton's character in the following terms:

an uncompromising determination to achieve perfection and completeness in everything she undertook was an inspiration to all who came within her influence, and is the key to the success she made often in the face of tremendous difficulties and drawbacks.

Endowed with great mental as well as physical strength and endless perseverance, she gained distinction in many departments of activity. ... A generous scorn for all that savoured of injustice, meanness or hypocrisy was a marked feature of her character, but she always gave a warm welcome to talent and industry and a quick response to friendly feeling and sincerity ... (*The Japan Gazette* 10.1.1912, in Williams n.d., p. 29a)

Patton was described elsewhere as being very "pro-Japanese", having many Japanese—including the Mayor of Yokohama, the Governor of Kanagawa and many of the naval officers "from the Admiral downwards" in Yokohama—as close personal friends (Williams n.d., p.19).

Patton's Contribution to Japanese Music Education

Patton's work in propagating the Tonic Sol-fa method in Yokohama and more widely in Japan at this time was pioneering work and had a degree of influence on music education in Japan during the last two decades of the Meiji period to 1912. Patton was a strong advocate of the Tonic Sol-fa system, utilising the method in her own private teaching practice as well as for her choral work. She gave lectures promoting Tonic Sol-fa on several occasions as well as publishing articles on Tonic Sol-fa not only in *The Japan Gazette* and, even as late as 1900, contributing an article on "Tonic Sol-fa Time-names" to *The Musical Herald* (1900, pp. 40–41).

Perhaps building on her own theory of teaching keyboard harmony by means of colour, Patton appears to have employed a system of associating different colours with particular degrees of the scale in order to emphasise their individual "quality" or "mental effect" (Williams n.d., p. 34). But, unlike many Tonic Sol-fa-ists of the day, she apparently

utilised the method as Curwen had originally intended it—that is, as a means to reading music from staff notation rather than as a notation in its own right.

The introduction of Tonic Sol-fa to Japan is unfortunately not well documented in contemporary English-language reports. It appears, however, that an American missionary, the Reverend George Allchin of Osaka, was one of the first to advocate the method in Japan, having tried Mason's *National Music Course* method and found that Tonic Sol-fa was more successful (*The Musical Herald* 1890, p. 304). Indeed Allchin visited Ferris Seminary and gave a lecture which inspired Julia Moulton to seek Patton's assistance to learn the Tonic Sol-fa method which she subsequently introduced to Ferris (Ferris Joguein 1970). (The only other Tonic Sol-fa teacher mentioned at this time was a Mrs. Smith at Nagoya [*The Musical Herald* 1891, p. 371]). Patton's influence on Julia Moulton and her subsequent adoption and application of Tonic Sol-fa to improve and then maintain high standards of choral music at Ferris was obviously significant as the use of Tonic Sol-fa at the school continued well into the 1920s. In addition, Patton taught music using Tonic Sol-fa to numerous students—both adults and children—through her singing classes and the ten year existence of the Yokohama Juvenile Tonic Sol-fa Choral Society. She also examined local candidates for certificates of the Tonic Sol-fa College.

Although not well documented, Patton also had considerable influence on Suzuki, the music instructor at the Tokyo Normal School, who—at least for a time—was able to implement Tonic Sol-fa training for intending teachers. In her own right, Patton also achieved some recognition for Tonic Sol-fa at a national level through the appointment of Bloxham and herself as Tonic Sol-fa teachers at the Tokyo Music School, although this recognition was admittedly short-lived. There are two possible explanations for the limited period of their tenure.

The first is that, with Mason's departure from Japan in 1882 and Isawa's gradual loss of influence and eventual resignation in 1891 from all of his official positions (including the Tokyo Music School), a change took place in the predominant Western musical culture in Japan (Berger 1987, p. 36). This change in musical culture undoubtedly commenced with the appointment of the German bandmaster, Franz von Eckert (1852–1916)⁶ as Mason's immediate successor as foreign music instructor at the Tokyo Music School. Von Eckert was followed by a series of foreign music instructors, nearly all of whom were of German origin (Ishikawa 1964, p. 5). As a result, the influence of the American approach to music education with its emphasis on school music repertoire and teacher training waned from the mid 1880s and Japanese education authorities increasingly embraced German musical repertoire and the German focus on "musical specialisation along conservatory lines" (Berger 1987, pp. 35–36). This German approach ultimately dominated Western music and music education practice in Japan to well beyond the end of the Meiji period in 1912.

⁶ Franz von Eckert, a bandmaster in the German Army, was employed in 1879 as Director of the Japanese Navy Band. In this position, he effected a change in Japanese military music from the British style to the German style. He is remembered for his work in revising Fenton's original composition "Kimigayo" into the present-day Japanese National Anthem (Ishikawa 1964, p.4).

The appointment of Patton and Bloxham to the Tokyo Music School for the 1894–95 semester may therefore have represented a short-lived revival of the "school-based" approach before a return to the "conservatory" approach and a perpetuation of the policy of appointing foreign music teachers from Germany to the Tokyo Music School. This situation is well summarised by Ishikawa (1964, p. 5) when he says: "Japan's importation of Western music, at the middle stage of her development, changed its course from English and American juvenile music to German concert music". Indeed the situation was assessed in similar vein by Patton herself in 1909. Having attended at concert of foreign music at the Imperial Palace in Tokyo, Patton's comment on the program of pieces was: "... you will see how entirely the German element predominates in the modern school of European music in Japan" (Patton 1909, p.7).

A second and perhaps more speculative explanation can be gleaned from Shimahara (1979) who makes the point that, because the Meiji Government had moved so quickly to accomplish its reforms in education, there was often insufficient understanding of Western educational systems and also a lack of adequate planning for the reforms. Accordingly, there was—after the first educational reform of 1872— "a dialectical course of trial and error that lasted for nearly two decades" (Shimahara 1979, p.47). Aside from the fact that Patton and Bloxham's appointment may well have served to "fill the gap" left by Ditteritch's departure in 1894, their appointment may also have given Tokyo Music School authorities the opportunity for a trial of the Tonic Sol-fa method. However, in the prevailing climate of German influence, it may well have been judged that Tonic Sol-fa was incompatible with the "conservatory" approach and the decision made, as subsequent events proved, to appoint another German—Raphael Koeber—as foreign music instructor to the Tokyo Music School in 1897 (Ishikawa 1964, p. 5).

The Ministry of Education produced further *Shōkashū* publications during the 1890s and into the 1900s (for example, *Shogaki Shoka* [Primary School Songs] in 1892 and *Jingo Shogaku Tokuhon Shoka* [Elementary School Reader Songs] in 1910 [Takeshi n.d.]) and these presumably maintained the same teaching approach—Mason's *National Music Course* method. Despite the fact that it had some affinity with the *National Music Course* approach (the use of sol-fa pitch mnemonic syllables in particular), Tonic Sol-fa was never in a position to rival Mason's *Shōkashū* method. Nevertheless, the Tonic Sol-fa method was, through Patton's influence, successfully adopted at several schools in Yokohama—principally at Ferris Seminary and, as such, appears to have had at least significant long-term influence at the local level in the raising of standards of school music teaching.

Although she advocated a different pedagogical approach, Patton's work in music education built upon that of Isawa and Mason. She—like they—undoubtedly believed that music could be the means to attaining "civilisation and enlightenment" and she therefore promoted music education in Japan, not as a form of specialist musical training, but as a school- and community-based activity supported by Tonic Sol-fa. Patton was not the only pioneer of the Tonic Sol-fa method in Japan at this time, but she was certainly the principal advocate of the method and, as such, contributed to the development of music in education during the

"period of consolidation" of the modern Japanese education system. As a "private" immigrant, Patton's situation was unusual to say the least for a foreign educator in Japan during this period. Although she undoubtedly enjoyed the richness of her multicultural experiences in Japan and elsewhere in the region, she also contributed to her adopted homeland by sharing her love of music and her considerable talents as a music teacher with members of both the foreign and indigenous communities at Yokohama and more widely in Japan.

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