

Post-war developments in music education: an investigation of music
education policy and practice, as implemented within three local
education authorities during the period, 1944-1988

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Doctor of Philosophy 2013

I hereby declare that, except where explicit attribution is made, the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own.

Word count (exclusive of bibliography): 81,652

Abstract

In recent times there has been a resurgence of interest in the history of music education, which has opened up new opportunities for the re-interpretation of both established and changing philosophies, pedagogies and practices. Historical research into music services within LEAs is still a fertile area for investigation. This thesis brings new arguments and evidence to bear upon an under-researched and emerging area of study.

The focus of this particular investigation emerged from the author's earlier research into the history of the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) music service, the findings of which revealed three interrelated factors underpinning its development: funding and commitment, strong leadership, and the 'London' factor. These earlier research findings prompted further questions leading to the conception of the rationale and focus for this thesis. The first was to ask if government reports, and the ensuing initiatives they fuelled, had led to other LEAs developing their approaches to state music education in similar or parallel ways and at similar rates, and the second was to examine the role that individuals played in steering the direction of music education within the different authorities.

Empirical research has provided an overview of the developments in England within three separate demographically contrasting LEAs: Leicestershire, London and Manchester, which in turn represent a large rural county, the capital city, and a relatively large northern industrial city. During the period of the chosen time frame of this study the LEAs, and those appointed to lead them, were at their most powerful and influential, but, from the mid-1970s onwards, their autonomy gradually declined as education became more centralised through government intervention, resulting in loss of power and the consequent sidelining of their role, a situation which impacted significantly on state provision for music. This thesis examines the consequences of the effects of decision making, by organisations, and their individual interpretation, on music education thinking and practice.

From the outset, it has been deemed crucial to set this historical enquiry into the broader context of wider public concerns and debate, and of changing social and economic climates, all of which have ensured that this microcosmic investigation extends beyond the boundaries of institutionalised education.

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Acknowledgements

The research base has been gathered from a number of libraries and repositories, and thankful recognition is due to all those archivists who have made visits relevant and profitable: Adam Goodwin, Leicestershire Record Office, Stuart Robinson, Hallé Orchestra Archives, Frances Cook, London Philharmonic Orchestra Archives, Anna Wright, Royal Northern College of Music Archives, and Chris Bornet, Royal College of Music Library. In addition, archivists at The Manchester City Library, the Manchester Record Office, and the London Metropolitan Archives have supported areas of enquiry.

Particular thanks are given to the invaluable help given by John Whitcombe, compiler and current holder of the Leicestershire Schools Symphony Orchestra's archive, whose own appreciation of his time as a member of the Orchestra has provided some of the impetus for pursuing aspects of this study. There is appreciation to all those who have agreed to provide oral testimony: Eileen Bentley, Kate Buchanan, Helen Coll, Gerald Forsyth, Malcolm Fletcher, Victor Fox, Richard Hallam, Stuart Johnson, Allan Jones, Emyr Wynne Jones, Anice Patterson, John Ridgeon, and Sally Zimmermann. Special thanks goes to John Stephens, who has been a source of continuing encouragement, and has been willing to pass on some of his extensive and insightful knowledge gathered from a long and illustrious career in music education.

A special thank you also goes to Yvonne Browne, who has given time to proof reading the text with a seasoned eye, and whose support has been greatly valued.

Grateful thanks are due to Dr Tom Woodin, the internal reader for the thesis, who has provided additional and valuable perspectives for consideration. Lastly, and above all, much appreciation is given for the patient and expert guidance that my supervisor, Dr David Crook, has unstintingly offered throughout the often challenging and difficult periods of the writing of the thesis.

Abbreviations

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| ACGB | Arts Council of Great Britain |
| BBC | British Broadcasting Corporation |
| CEMA | Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts |
| CEO | Chief Education Officer |
| CSE | Certificate of Secondary Education |
| CYM | Centre for Young Musicians |
| DES | Department for Education and Science |
| ESTA | European String Teachers Association |
| GCSE | General Certificate of Secondary Education |
| GLC | Greater London Council |
| GRSM | Graduate of the Royal Schools of Music |
| GSE | General Certificate of Education |
| HMI | Her Majesty's Inspectorate |
| ILEA | Inner London Education Authority |
| LEA | Local Education Authority |
| LCC | London County Council |
| LCM | London College of Music |
| Leicestershire SSO | Leicestershire Schools Symphony Orchestra |
| LPO | London Philharmonic Orchestra |
| London SSO | London Schools Symphony Orchestra |
| MANA | Music Advisers National Association |
| MYO | Manchester Youth Orchestra |
| NAME | National Association of Music Educators |
| NATG | National Association of Teachers and Governors |

| | |
|-------|---|
| NUT | National Union of Teachers |
| NUWT | National Union of Women Teachers |
| RAA | Regional Arts Association |
| RAM | Royal Academy of Music |
| RCM | Royal College of Music |
| RMCM | Royal Manchester College of Music |
| ROSLA | Raising of the School Leaving Age |
| RSA | Royal Society of Arts |
| RSMA | Rural Schools Music Association |
| SBL | School Board for London |
| SCCE | Schools Council for Curriculum and Examinations |
| TCM | Trinity College of Music |

Chapter 1

Introduction

Focus and aims

The period of study chosen for this particular investigation is 1944 to 1988, each of which years heralded the inception of a significant education act. The 1944 Act and the 1988 Act both had far-reaching implications for the course of educational developments within England and Wales. In charting the history of music education during this period, it has been deemed important to place significant events within their wider political, social and economic context, as a means of bringing a broader theoretical perspective to the narrative, and of engaging in a wider range of analysis. This thesis therefore sets out to examine underlying causes of fluctuations and changing perspectives with regard to the place and purpose of music in twentieth century state school education.

Whilst there has been a serious attempt to ensure representation of a variety of views and voices within the thesis, there is also recognition that the research focus cannot be separated from the inherent interests and experiences of the author. During a long career span, firstly, as a music teacher based in Inner London Education Authority schools (ILEA); secondly, as an ILEA music co-ordinator, an advisory role undertaken within a large team based at its Music Centre; and, thirdly, as a subject leader for a range of primary and secondary courses at the Institute of Education, University of London, there have been ample opportunities to gain an overview of continuing and changing educational practices, their structures and organisation. In addition, during the 1980s, the privilege of working extensively with teachers and music advisers, across a number of LEAs within Britain, promoted an awareness of, and curiosity about, concerns, aspirations and the ensuing range of dialogues that continue to pre-occupy those involved in music education provision across the different authorities. Historically, the timespan reflects the more recent past, some of which is familiar through close personal engagement, a fact that has prompted extra vigilance in an overall attempt to ensure objectivity and historical validity.

This introductory chapter sets out the overall premise for the thesis, firstly by addressing the responsibilities that accompany the conceptualisation of historical enquiry and, secondly, by ensuring an overview of knowledge of what is already available within the field of the history of music education. Such background research has informed the rationale behind the choice of focus and methodological approach. Finally, an outline of each of the chapters is given to provide a guide through the different areas of research.

Conceptualising historical enquiry

One of the perceived dangers for historians of education is that of presenting a rather narrow institutionalised view of their subject. When locating historical studies within the educational context, Richard Aldrich has pointed out that tensions between historians and educationists need not necessarily lead to mutual exclusion of ideas. Whether approaching research from either the strength of the trained historian, or from the experience of the educationist, there are narratives that may naturally overlap. For Aldrich, the search for truth, with all its accompanying complications, is paramount to the understanding and analysis, past and present, of social change and transformation,¹ whilst John Tosh maintains the view that historical process should be based on careful research, as the results can ‘yield useful predictions’.² If historical enquiry is to be of practical relevance, then a wide range of evidence must be tested against any hypothesis. It is the intention that, in this particular piece of research, any interpretation of the influence of different agencies and individuals should be considered within the wider context of changing economic, social and cultural trends.³

Gary McCulloch emphasises that in the past there has been a tendency towards conceptualising historical enquiry in terms of the effect of social changes on

¹ Aldrich, R., ‘The three duties of the historian of education’, *History of Education, Journal of the History Education Society*, Vol. 32, No. 2, 2003, 133-43.

² Tosh, J., *The Pursuit of History*, (London: Longman, 2002, 3rd edition), 39.

³ *Ibid.*

institutionalised schooling, rather than the other way round.⁴ With music integral to the wider society, and to the lives of young people, McCulloch's proposition is worthy of serious consideration. One example of a key area, currently a revitalised and favoured focus of music education debate, is the examination of social and cultural influences on school-based music, and the extent to which §changing curriculum content in schools. In support of McCulloch's proposal, one that reflects earlier Marxist debate⁵, that school-based education can stimulate changes beyond its institution, it could be argued that, by extending and opening up a range of musical and cultural opportunities within school arts provision, interests may be sparked that could be pursued in new and broader contexts beyond school life. In publications relating directly to music education there is often an underlying fear that musical standards are being compromised by outside influences. Value judgements abound, and are often closely linked to a pessimistic outlook, as in the following 1978 example:

The attitude of the majority of children to so-called 'classical music' presents enormous problems to the class music teachers anxious to develop a taste for serious music, which may be only of interest to the minority of pupils they have to teach.⁶

The education historian, Brian Simon, suggested that there was scope for a variety of solutions to counterbalance the conservative nature of some imposed educational structures.⁷ Whilst the authors of the above quotation clearly signal their concerns by revealing their own value judgements in the use of the term 'serious music', there is, later in the text, acknowledgement that 'traditional approaches in the secondary classroom have not been markedly successful'.⁸ Therefore, any analysis of the course of developments within music education needs to recognise the divergence among the differing agendas that have determined the outcome of its place within schools.

⁴ McCulloch, G., 'Historical Approaches to Education and Social Change', *History of Education Researcher*, No. 75, 2005, 4-7.

⁵ Simon, B., 'Can Education Change Society?', *Does Education Matter?*, (London: Lawrence and Whishart, 1985), 20.

⁶ Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, *Training Musicians: A Report to the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation on the training of professional musicians*, (London: The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1978), 40.

⁷ Simon, B., 'Can Education Change Society?': *Does Education Matter?*, (London: Lawrence and Whishart, 1985), 20.

⁸ Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, *Training Musicians: A Report to the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation on the training of professional musicians*, 41.

Historiography and music

Gordon Cox, in his book *Living Music in Schools*, acknowledged the need for re-appraisal of earlier practice, using the phrase ‘towards a usable past for music educators’ as a frame within which to articulate his ideas about ways of broadening historical enquiry in the field of music education.⁹ In particular, he recommended a less ‘rose tinted’ view of the educational past, as exemplified in the historical writings of music educators such as Bernarr Rainbow and Kenneth Simpson. For Cox, the history of music education research is ‘still emerging’ and ‘still fragile’. The message to be taken from this is possibly cautionary, given Cox’s indication that an awareness of historical research methods is fundamental to the work of future aspiring historians of music education.¹⁰ In 2003, Marie McCarthy, in an article written for the *British Journal of Music Education*, (*BJME*), made the salient point that, for music educators, the challenge of undertaking historical enquiry was considerable, with many coming to the discipline with little or no formal training as historians.¹¹

Bernarr Rainbow’s book *Music In Educational Thought and Practice*, published in 1989, provided a prime example of a music-trained educator integrating historical studies into his pedagogical writings. The book was immediately claimed by its publishers to be historically significant:

Hitherto, the development and status of music education in England has received small attention from the social historian. With the appearance of this book that deficiency is removed.¹²

Rainbow’s writings, published between the mid-1950s and 1990, form an important record of one particular approach to documenting the history of music education, and provide a historical foundation on which interested followers can build. As Cox indicates, Rainbow brought an important biographical dimension to his writing and, with a more international perspective, his ‘crossing of national

⁹ Cox, G., *Living Music in Schools 1923-1999: Studies in the History of Music Education in England*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ McCarthy, M., ‘The past in the present: revitalising history in music education’, *British Journal of Music Education*, 20:2, July, 2003, 121-134.

¹² Rainbow, B., *Music in Educational Thought and Practice: A Survey from 800 BC*, (Aberystwyth: Boethius Press, 1989), publisher’s statement.

boundaries' allowed for a broader overview of music education history.¹³ His extensive references to early key texts mirrored his wide knowledge of associated literature. However, Rainbow's views ultimately reflected his traditionally rooted background: that of church organist and grammar school music master. His 'rose tinted' view of the past is exemplified in a published paper entitled 'Onward from Butler: School Music 1945-1985', which mourned the passing of music education into the hands of 'unorthodox' practitioners and the perceived 'levelling down' attempts of the experimentalists.¹⁴ Rainbow posited his own view that history is a form of literature, and his narrative bears out this approach, with his research relying mainly on secondary sources and on personal observation, the latter imbuing the writing with subjective analysis.¹⁵ Either he was unaware of, or chose not to engage with, the discourse taking place within the community of education historians during a period which, from the 1960s onwards, brought about some serious re-thinking of research methodologies, and led to the employment of a more interdisciplinary approach to historical enquiry.

One musician and educator who was in close touch with the prevailing mood of the 1960s was Peter Fletcher who, as senior music adviser within two of the LEAs selected for investigation within this thesis, London (1966-1973) and Leicestershire (1976-1984), was keenly aware of the challenges of reconciling distinctive and differing concerns regarding the role and purpose of music in education. These had emerged out of changing philosophies and aspirations over the long period since the inception of mass schooling. In his book, *Education and Music*, published in 1987, he provided an insightful interpretation of historical perspectives by linking these to the more rapid changes in the then current music practices. In reassessing and setting out his own strongly argued criteria and aims for music in education, he emphasised the dichotomy between the inward-looking world of school music as it had evolved, and the world of music beyond the education system.

¹³ Cox, G., 'Introduction', in Dickinson, P., (ed.), *Bernarr Rainbow on Music: Memoirs and Selected Writings*, (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2010), 140-146.

¹⁴ Rainbow, B., 'Onward from Butler: Schools Music 1945-1985' in *Bernarr Rainbow on Music: Memoirs and Selected Writings*, 230-244.

¹⁵ Rainbow, B., *Bernarr Rainbow on Music: Memoirs and Selected Writings*.

Fletcher was unafraid to raise the issue of the difficult challenges facing music teachers when attempting to provide a more equally accessible and democratically underpinned curriculum within the limitations of timetabling and resourcing. Although a supporter of a more egalitarian classroom-based approach that encouraged practical musical achievement for all, his thinking was tempered by his own explication of the opposing elitist argument. For Fletcher, equality of opportunity across all levels of society was a birthright, his definition of elitism being based on a belief that wider opportunity should allow pupils to engage in ‘bourgeois’ cultural activity, rather than being excluded by the notion that only a minority are capable of discerning appreciation of the ‘highbrow’ arts. In acknowledging the rapid rise of instrumental tuition opportunities for state school pupils, in essence an egalitarian aim, his overriding view was that the only way to really come to understand music was to learn an instrument, a commitment he attempted to fulfil in his posts as senior music adviser. For Fletcher, the intertwining of curriculum music and extra-curricular provision allowed for ‘different aspects and stages within education’.¹⁶ Ultimately, realising such aims in practice proved to be contentious and challenging for those in charge of steering music provision within the different LEAs.

The publications of Kenneth Simpson, a contemporary of Rainbow, provide another example of a music educator drawing on historical aspects of educational thinking in music to support his own philosophical beliefs. His book *Some Great Music Educators*, an edited collection of separate authored essays, adopts a biographical style redolent of a historiographical approach linked with the earlier part of the twentieth century.¹⁷ The title of the book itself has a hagiographical ring to it. Simpson justified his particular approach on the grounds that, in an age when past orthodoxies are being challenged, we should remind ourselves of that which has shaped the present, and should not forget that what might appear as ‘novel’ may have its roots in earlier practices. A critic of what he termed the cult of ‘withiticity’, Simpson displayed no sign of empathy with social changes, and their possible impact on education. His own concerns focused on cultural decline and its impact on music education, a stance which prompted him to align himself

¹⁶ Ibid., p 126.

¹⁷ Simpson, K., *Some Great Music Educators*, (London: Novello & Co. Ltd., 1976).

with the right-wing authors of the *Black Papers*, who were extremely critical of teachers' influence on the curriculum, and were opposed to comprehensive reforms and child-centred education. Simpson, at that time Head of Music Education at the Institute of Education, University of London, made his views quite clear from the outset of an article, which opened with the words 'Education today is in turmoil. Accepted values, standards and procedures are being challenged'.¹⁸ He gave no definition of the term 'accepted values', thus delineating his own norm for the use of the expression. Such positioning questions the efficacy of Simpson's unfounded historical analysis when he nostalgically looked back to what he viewed as the halcyon days of the 1890s, when children were taught the tonic sol-fa in elementary schools. He concluded that children in the 1890s would be aurally more competent than their counterparts in 1973, although he provided no evidence for this. Theoretical analysis, in this instance, is clearly absent, leaving the reader to challenge any misconceptions. The educationist, Michael Barber believes that such right-wing beliefs were to be an important influence on politicians and on future political interest in the curriculum.¹⁹

Examining past historical writings of music educators highlights the fundamental value for contemporary authors of engaging more closely with related research literature and methodologies. Both Cox (1993, 2002) and Pitts (2000) have moved away from the earlier approaches of Rainbow and Simpson. Through the inclusion of oral testimonies given by experienced secondary school teachers and student trainee teachers, Cox has made a deliberate decision to pursue a broader route to historical enquiry that includes, in his own words, an attempt to 'uncover something of the "silent history" of music teaching', by integrating a wider range of methodologies into his research perspectives.²⁰ His archival research is often based on primary findings, an example being the examination of music education professional journals at 25-year intervals, between 1923 and 1999, in order to track innovations within the music curriculum, therefore bringing a new and

¹⁸ Simpson, K., 'Music in Schools: the problems of teaching' in Cox, C. B., and Dyson, A. E., *Black Paper three: goodbye Mr Short*, (London: Critical Quarterly Society, 1971), 79.

¹⁹ Barber, M., *Education in the Capital*, (London: Cassell, 1992).

²⁰ Cox, G., 'Talking about Music Teaching: Recollections and Realities', 97-121, in Cox, G., *Living Music in Schools, 1923-1999*.

important contribution to a growing body of evidence directly informed by original data.²¹ Such findings have led to the more secure theoretical underpinning that histories of music education have so far lacked. In 2003, a historically focused article by Michael Lynch was published in the *BJME*. The content centred on the training of secondary school music teachers, and the research offered an excellent example of an author drawing on primary archive material in order to present an in-depth account of discussion, tensions and resolutions amongst the different bodies concerned in formulating principles for change.²² Cox's and Lynch's concerns about the significant impact of policy making is evident within their writing, an aspect that has been of particular interest to the author of the current thesis.

In a detailed overview of policy and practice in secondary music education over the period of the twentieth century, Stephanie Pitts provided an important record of changing trends in the teaching of music, her intentions being to illuminate the end-of-century debate, which again brought into focus the ongoing unstable position that music has experienced as a subject within schools. Pitts' book was published in 2000, a point in time when the effects of the National Curriculum, along with centralised political control of education, had begun to impact on working practices in schools.²³ The complexities that the range of Pitts' analysis revealed were extricated from a wide range of published texts representing the thinking of key instigators in the field of music and arts education.

In a later publication, the music educator John Finney brought an autobiographical approach to his recently published book, *Music in Education 1950-2010*, which traces the development of the child-centred progressive tradition that had promoted a more expressive teaching and learning policy for education, with less teacher intervention creating space and freedom for pupils to

²¹ Cox, G., 'Music in Schools 1923-1999: An Educational Debate', 6-30, in Cox, G., *Living Music in Schools, 1923-1999*.

²² Lynch, M., 'The training of specialist secondary school music teachers in England', 62-71, *British Journal of Music Education*, 20:1, March, 2003.

²³ Pitts, S., *A Century of Change in Music Education: Historical Perspectives on Contemporary Practice in British Secondary School Music*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

articulate their own ideas.²⁴ In addition, pupil voices, a more recent ‘post-revisionist’ approach to historiography, were incorporated into Finney’s research base, which set out to investigate possibilities for a workable curriculum model. As in Cox’s book, *Living Music In Schools*, in which one chapter was dedicated to oral testimony, Finney also entitled one chapter ‘Pupil Voice’, for which he undertook classroom-based action research, placing emphasis on pupil narrative as a conduit for reflecting on his own historical perspectives.²⁵ Finney’s dissatisfaction with current trends in education led him to an examination of the past, unashamedly engaging with, and celebrating progressive elements of music education, in contrast to the views of some former critics. In charting music education history, he not only drew extensively on the thinking and ethos of those who had played a key role in promoting child-centred education, but also made the active decision to incorporate a multi-disciplinary approach to his research, locating it within social, cultural and political change. Finney’s aim was to provide teachers working within the current context of ‘regulated settings’ with a premise on which to re-evaluate their own practices. This he achieved through his examination of a less judgemental period, when teachers were given wider freedom to experiment with personal ideological vision. For Finney, the current neo-liberal attitudes present today in government educational thinking provided the rationale and historical mission for his book, and an opportune window to bring ‘fresh insights into the place of music education’ within schooling.²⁶

The combined body of work of Cox, Pitts, and Finney provides historical perspectives on music education in the state school system, dating from its inception to the recent past, 2010. Whilst such a wide timespan allows new researchers in the field important access to an existing body of work that documents the connections between different eras and orthodoxies, there appears to be ample scope for revisiting material in a novel way, and for the placing of historical emphasis in a different location. The decision to position the present research within a period when local education authorities (LEAs) were influential in steering educational initiatives and developments, including those in music,

²⁴ Finney, J., *Music Education in England 1950-1950: The Child-Centred Progressive Tradition*, (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2010).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, ‘Pupil Voice’, 99-120.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

has been based on a perceived opportunity to construct an additional and distinctive narrative.

Whilst confirming some of the remarkable achievements in music that came about through the support and encouragement of individual LEAs, the thesis also aims to examine tensions arising from shifts in educational thinking, and from the politically-driven move towards the lessening of local power through increased centralisation. The rationale that underpins the thesis is concerned with the documentation of the important role played by LEAs in steering musical initiatives and developments over a substantial period within the twentieth century.

Influential agencies

With a number of agencies involved in engineering and administering educational change, it is clear that there can be no single official view of proposed plans or impending legislation. Denis Lawton cited a useful model that exemplified the complexity of relationships between different educational agencies, that of Briault's 'triangle of tension'.²⁷ This model acknowledges conflict as inherent within the education system, and tension as necessary and productive. In its three aspects, Briault's triangle, representing politicians (ministers), bureaucrats (Departments of Education) and professionals (HMI), proposes that each body brings its own interests and perspectives to debate and initiatives. Lawton was critical of the model's omissions, viewing it as an oversimplification and as overlooking further tensions fuelled by the opinions of, for example, the local education authorities, their organisers and their teachers. In the case of music, division and disagreement have underpinned much of the debate about the subject's function and status within society, and its place in a state education system. This thesis, by necessity, concerns itself with political will, bureaucratic interpretation and the active choices made by those protagonists who were in charge of implementing possibilities within legislative frameworks. It is concerned with the effect that decision-making, in whatever context it is justified, has upon those working at the 'chalk face'. With the attempt

²⁷ Lawton, D., (ed.), *The Education Act: choice and control*, (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1989).

to widen and improve education for young people as part of post-war reconstruction, music education's more influential figures, such as Her Majesty's Inspectorate (HMI) and the county and metropolitan music advisers, were in key positions to determine the course of direction. Peter Gosden, highlighting the effect of policy on decision making, stressed the importance of the attitudes of individuals in realising post-war reconstruction.²⁸ The 1944 Act, which devolved organisation and structure to local administration, gave considerable control to the education authorities and their chief education officers. For Michael Barber, the powers given to LEAs allowed for diversity, which in turn promoted enthusiasm and commitment in individuals and groups.²⁹ Subject advisers were to be influential in steering the developments within their own discipline, and regional subject-specialist HMIs, the professional face of the Ministry, were responsible for providing an 'independent' view. Stuart Maclure noted that in the post-war period, up until the 1980s, the Inspectorate adopted a 'partnership' model, encouraging and providing positive reinforcement during their inspection visits, rather than placing themselves open to confrontation with the 'powerful' LEAs.³⁰

The traditional role of the Chief Education Officer (CEO), as carved out after 1944, was a dual one, firstly, as chief of administration for an LEA, and, secondly, as a catalyst for educational change and development. During the particular period reviewed in this thesis the role provided substantial scope for implementation of radical ideas. As Maureen O'Connor observed in 1984:

It is not by chance that the history of local government echoes to the names of 'great' CEOs – Mason of Leicestershire, Morris of Cambridge and Clegg of the West Riding – while chief executives and town clerks have faded into obscurity. But it is for their professional contributions, not their administrative prowess that such men are remembered, and usually for specific innovations and reforms.³¹

Those in power had certainly been instrumental in affecting local developments, as seen in the outcomes of influential educational thinking. In particular, Stewart

²⁸ Gosden, P., *The Education System since 1944*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983).

²⁹ Barber, M., *The Making of the 1944 Education Act*, (London: Cassell, 1994).

³⁰ Maclure, S., *The Inspectors' Calling: HMI and The Shaping of Educational Policy 1945-1992*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 2000).

³¹ O'Connor, M., 'A cut above the mere administrative service', *Guardian*, 31 July, 1984, 11.

Mason in Leicestershire, and Alec Clegg in West Yorkshire, had been keen supporters of the progressive movement, demonstrating a commitment to, and support for a more child-centred curriculum, with music, art and drama viewed as crucial elements within a child's rounded education. According to Donald Jones, if Mason had not given strong support and backing to the music service, the music adviser, Eric Pinkett, would not have been able to achieve his enthusiastic ambitions. With little outside interference, visionary ideals could be executed within the administrative framework of local government.³²

From the mid-1970s, with the changing balance of power moving in favour of central government, the well-established role of the CEO was threatened. Tim Brighouse, CEO for Oxfordshire, speaking at a conference in 1984, drew attention to the change in the traditional function of the CEO to that of a more administrative role. One consequence of this was the possible divorcing of the administrative role from its educational focus, a split that would, in his opinion, disconnect the valuable linking of policy and practice.³³ Interestingly, as early as 1946, Henry Morris, in a BBC broadcast, gave this warning:

Now, in my view, the characteristic of our time, the mark of technological civilisation, is the disproportionate growth of administration and organisation in relation to quality, and I must say it, the growth of administration as an end in itself I see as one of the great dangers of our time.³⁴

From the inception of the 1944 Act to the mid-1970s, the influence of the CEOs cannot be underestimated. Being at the top of the LEA pyramid, their impact on teachers' and pupils' lives was considerable. For the purpose of this thesis it is critical to know something of the background of those key players, and of the power they could wield in supporting various aspects of educational development. Some achieved a high profile within and beyond their authorities, thus gaining national credence through reputation and publication. Where possible, and as appropriate, the significance of their contributions will be documented within the themes of the thesis.

³² Jones, D. K., *Stewart Mason: the art of education*, (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1988).

³³ O'Connor, M., 'A cut above the mere administrative service'.

³⁴ Leicestershire Record Office (LRO), lecture notes of Andrew Fairbairn, Chief Education Officer, citing Henry Morris, uncatalogued papers of Andrew Fairbairn.

The rationale behind the three chosen LEAs

The rationale for this thesis rests on the research into the ways in which three LEAs organised, structured and funded music education initiatives post-1944 and throughout the period up to 1988. The key research questions are:

- How did each of the three chosen LEAs, Leicestershire, London and Manchester, develop their music service post-1944?
- How did the three LEAs respond to national initiatives and directives?
- In what ways did the different music advisers in these authorities respond to changing pedagogies and practices over the time frame of this study, and how did each contribute to continuing and new influences?
- How instrumental were the inspectorate, chief education officers and education committees in terms of providing support and promoting musical opportunities?

London

London is the first LEA to be selected because of its high profile, reputation for innovative education practice, generous funding and, as the capital city, its close connections with three long established music colleges, with professional orchestras, opera and ballet companies, and its easy access to a whole range of diverse music making. Towards the end of the 1960s, the Learning Materials Branch of the ILEA was founded, and became the hub for producing support materials, including music, for teacher professional development. These publications, grounded in ‘best practice’, formed a body of pedagogical curriculum innovation representative of that to be found within the capital, which was to become influential to the developmental thinking of other authorities.³⁵

Manchester

Manchester represents an example of urban development in the northwest of England. Its past status as the first and largest industrialised city in England, warranted during the period of the nineteenth century, was created by a boom in machine engineering and textile manufacturing that allowed for the creation of a

³⁵ Brighouse, T., ‘The ILEA Balance: Credit or Debit?’, Barber, M., (ed.), *Education in the Capital*, (London: Cassell, 1992), 50-63.

commercially driven infrastructure. Integral to this was the development of a rich cultural life, including the inception of two professional orchestras and two music colleges. Although Manchester's former industries were in decline in the early quarter of the twentieth century, Walter Carroll, a native Mancunian, and the first appointed music adviser for the city in 1918, was able to draw on the inherited benefits of an established cultural environment. Carroll's early links with the city's musical institutions laid the foundations on which his successors were to build. In particular, his significant impact on music teaching in the state elementary school system, through the creation of an educational model for Manchester, also attracted the interest of other authorities, including London.

Leicestershire

In contrast to London and Manchester, Leicestershire is a large rural county that, until 1974, was separately administrated from its centrally placed county borough, the City of Leicester. The rationale for choosing this particular county rests on two reasons. Firstly, the impact that Stewart Mason, Director of Education from 1947 to 1971, exerted through his ability to establish a good working relationship with successive chairmen of the council, one that transcended political allegiances. Donald Jones, Mason's biographer, points out that gentry leadership was still a strong influence, and it was to Mason's credit that he gained solid support for his initiatives.³⁶ Secondly, Mason's appointment of Eric Pinkett as the first music adviser for the county brought about a transformation in instrumental teaching provision leading to the founding of a large and successful county youth orchestra, which was to gain recognition well beyond the county. This strong foundation, an example of one type of successful realisation of post-war music initiatives, was to be maintained and further developed by Pinkett's successors.

The Local Government Act of 1972 led to the abolition of the county borough status of Leicester, and the county status of neighbouring Rutland, both becoming administrative districts of Leicestershire. The broadening of Leicestershire's remit, alongside an increasing move towards corporate management, would

³⁶ Jones, D. K., *Stewart Mason: The Art of Education*.

present new challenges for its subsequent Director of Education, Andrew Fairbairn.

The foundations for LEA choices

The focus of this thesis is to examine post-war developments, policy and practice in music education within three different LEAs. With reference to music education it is clear that post-war reconstruction and newly emerging themes led to some key areas of growth, and to the shaping of particular kinds of provision within individual LEAs. A memorandum prepared by the Essex Schools Music Advisory Council entitled 'Music in Post-War Education' reflected the most significant trend in post-war developments across LEAs, that of promoting and expanding free instrumental tuition in schools.³⁷

From a search of the PhD website, theses.com, and through titles and music journal articles related to historical aspects of music education, little has emerged in the form of enquiry into the role and work of the CEOs and their appointed music advisers in promoting the subject within the individual education authorities. In the period of educational reconstruction following the Second World War, alongside organisational and curriculum decision making being handed over by the incumbent government to the LEAs, the individual and combined influences of the CEOs and the subject advisers would prove vital to steering the course of individual subject developments.

Only one PhD, written by Paul Mann, was found to focus directly on the possibilities created by the philosophical and pedagogical leanings of a CEO and music adviser.³⁸ This historical case study traced musical developments within the West Riding of Yorkshire Education Authority, from the appointment of the first music organiser in 1935, to the Authority's demise in 1974. What emerges from the thesis is the significant influence that Alec Clegg, appointed as CEO in

³⁷ Essex Schools Music Advisory Council, 'Memorandum on music in post-war education as envisaged by the 1944 Act', (London: Novello).

³⁸ Mann, P. O., *The Development of Music Education in the West Riding of Yorkshire Education Authority: 1935-1974*, PhD, University of Leeds, 1991.

1945, exerted in steering the county towards the child-centred philosophy that became synonymous with primary education in the 1960s. Mann himself made no sharply critical appraisal of the Senior Music Adviser, Edmund Priestley's approach, but inherent within his text was the assessment of radical educationist, Daphne Bird, Head of Music at West Riding's Bretton Hall College. Bird placed Priestley firmly in the 'old fashioned' category, as being steeped in the rigidity of mechanistically taught tonic sol-fa and time names. Clegg's passion for the arts mirrored that of Stewart Mason in Leicestershire, which may have prompted him to send Priestley to look at the established music services of Leicestershire and Kent. Access to Mann's thesis has been invaluable in the formulation of guiding principles for this study, and in determining the choice of LEAs.

Recurring themes

Recurring themes are evident in a number of education reports, minutes of meetings, authored journal articles, newspapers and the few, but significant key historical texts specifically related to music education.³⁹ These include the construction and content of curriculum, the place of singing in schools, the training in music of primary and secondary teachers, the supply of suitably qualified specialists for secondary schools, the organising and funding of instrumental tuition, the role of outside agencies in providing authentic musical experiences for pupils, and opportunities to support motivated and promising musicians.

The large amount of documentary material that the research for this thesis has uncovered has created a wealth of choice, demanding careful evaluation. As McCulloch and Richardson warn, it is important to keep in mind the traditions that have underpinned historical writing in the past.⁴⁰ Any conceptual frameworks for explaining the different histories of music education must, therefore, be defined through careful scrutiny and selection of what is available.

³⁹ Simpson, K., *Some Great Music Educators*, Cox, G., *A History of Music Education in England 1872-1928*, Cox, G., *Living Music in Schools 1923-1999*, Pitts, S., *A Century of Change in Music Education*, Finney, J., *Music Education in England, 1950-2010*.

⁴⁰ McCulloch, G., and Richardson, W., *Historical Research in Educational Settings*, (Buckingham: OUP, 2000).

Methodology

The analytical thrust of the thesis is based on qualitative interpretation of a wide range of relevant primary and secondary sources that allow examination of historical perspectives at both national and local level. In interpreting content, consideration has been given to time of publication, the audience for which it was intended, and the bias reflected in any written response to published material, such as letters in newspapers, or debates as minuted at meetings or conferences.

At the national level, government department reports, working papers and other key official publications representing wider institutional initiatives, policy and directives, have provided a framework within which to examine local issues. To gain a more critical overview of debate, newspapers and journals have been searched for relevant articles that would provide a range of opinion, thus aiding the development of argument. Published primary sources include the *Times Educational Supplement*, *The Times*, *Guardian*, and *Observer* newspapers, and the journals *Education*, *Journal of Education and Music in Education*. Secondary sources include the *British Journal of Music Education*, the *History of Education*, and the *Journal of Educational Administration and History*.

Recorded minutes of education committee meetings have provided a good starting point for documenting developments within the three chosen education authorities. The Leicestershire Record Office, the Manchester Central Library, the London Metropolitan Archives and the National Archives are repositories that have provided a varied range of primary material, which has given first-hand insights into music-focused discussions and resolutions. In addition, the Brotherton Library, Leeds, has been a source of useful records, in particular, the minutes of the Association of Education Committees, which include responses to various important reports specific to music education. Such findings, alongside those within related published literature, have offered the opportunity for the exemplification of a number of local initiatives that were implemented in response to broader concerns. Where appropriate, the realisation of institutional policy formation into practice is singled out and encapsulated in the form of case studies. Although such documented events are sealed in time, they represent an

additional and useful historical dimension by placing active realisations, organisational and individual, into geographical contexts.

One informative and important archival record that has been accessed is that of the Music Advisers' National Association (MANA), later relaunched as the National Association of Music Educators (NAME) in 1996. This archive, currently in the temporary possession of the author of this thesis, has provided some keen insights into the early concerns of those music advisers responsible for implementing music in schools in the wake of the 1944 Education Act.

In particular, material provided by the London Philharmonic and London Symphony Orchestras, and the Manchester Hallé Orchestra archives, have been invaluable in throwing light on the education work of these orchestras. There are references to education within the *London Philharmonic Post*, first published in 1940, and detailed listings of concerts for schools by the Hallé Orchestra, both of which are held in their respective archives. Various publications on the histories of the orchestras have also provided insights into their links with education and into their wider interests.

The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, which has been accessed online through the Senate House Library, University of London, has been an important source of background information about some of the individuals represented in the thesis. Lastly, the British Library, and the Institute of Education and Senate House libraries, have provided invaluable access to related literature.

In addition to drawing on significant printed historical resources, oral testimony, in the form of semi-structured interviews, has been used as a tool for collecting data. Perks and Thompson defend oral history against those critics who claim that memory is an unreliable source.⁴¹ Their belief is that oral testimony opens up new avenues of enquiry, and challenges assumptions and accepted judgements. For Perks and Thompson, the voices of ordinary people contribute to the democratisation of history. Cunningham, in a lecture presented in 2006,

⁴¹ Perks, R., and Thompson, A., *The Oral History Reader*, (London: Routledge, 1998).

‘Sources for the Goose and Gander: the archive and beyond’ supported Perks’ and Thompson’s earlier stance, by suggesting that oral testimony can be seen as a counterpart to stereotypical views of history.⁴² In their book, *Becoming Teachers: Texts and Testimonies*, Cunningham and Gardner openly set out to combine, with equal respect, official and semi-official documented sources, alongside retrospective recollections of individual teachers. They argued that, by deliberately drawing on oral testimony, wider historical contexts can be productively served.⁴³ However, there are questions of reliability, such as the dependency on individual memory, and of the personal agenda of the interviewer, who may guide the interview to suit subjective outcomes. Cunningham and Gardner prefer to place oral testimony in a more positive light, viewing personal memory as a positive aspect of historical enquiry, adding a significant layer to interpretation and reconstruction.⁴⁴ It is with this in mind that the author of this thesis has attempted to give a voice to some of those music educators whose personal remembrances could provide an additional lens through which to filter a pluralistic methodological approach to the research.

Stephen Ball highlights some of the interpretational and theoretical difficulties, based on his own experience of analysing data collected from interviewing a group he refers to as the ‘elite’. His conclusions are that the ‘interaction was complex’ and that ‘its subtleties extend beyond the kind of textual analysis that focuses on events or themes’.⁴⁵ In the case of the interviewees who agreed to participate, the author has been mindful of the fact that most have been key figures involved in policy making, and agents of educational institutions and systems. Such complexities were considered when setting up interviews with a number of influential and well-respected music educators, including retired HMIs and music advisers, who have links to the past through personal engagement with previous holders of key positions in the music services of Leicestershire, London

⁴² Cunningham, P., ‘Sources for the Goose and Gander: the archive and beyond’, History of Education Society Conference Day, presented at the Institute of Education, University of London, 13 May, 2006.

⁴³ Cunningham, P., and Gardner, P., *Becoming Teachers: Texts and Testimonies 1907-1950*, (London: Woburn Press, 2004).

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ball, S. J., ‘Researching inside the state: issues of interpretation of elite interviews’, in Halpin, D., and Troyna, B., (eds.), *Researching education policy: ethical and methodological issues*, (London: The Falmer Press, 1994), 131.

and Manchester. The decision to include oral testimony was made on the grounds that, if respected as a valid form of accumulated narrative, it can add to the overall historical discourse.

The subjects who agreed to be interviewed for this thesis are mostly retired from their professions, a fact that may have precluded any previous guardedness adopted. However, with such articulate and confident interviewees, it was decided that the researcher should try to guide the agenda by designing semi-structured conversations, which could steer dialogue whilst allowing for flexibility. Ethical issues have been adhered to as required: gaining prior consent, agreeing confidentiality and, where appropriate, anonymity, discussion of copyright, and purpose clarified before each interview. The interviewees were given the opportunity to check the relevant sections of the text, in order to agree its accuracy, or to indicate amendments to be made.

Outline of thesis chapters

Each of the chapters is designed to examine the relationship between the national political initiatives and their subsequent interpretation and implementation within the three chosen local education authorities. This first chapter expands on the rationale for the thesis and sets the research into the context of key texts related to the historical enquiry, and to the history of music education itself.

Chapter 2 is concerned with post-war developments in state secondary schooling, with specific reference to curriculum music. In order to contextualise educational developments after the Second World War, earlier legislative measures have been considered, alongside initial discussions and policy recommendations about the purpose and place of music in state secondary education. The requirement for LEAs to submit post-war development plans is examined, and consideration is given to the resulting outcomes. Other extenuating factors, such as those concerning accommodation, teacher training, allocation of curriculum time and the inherited low esteem of the subject, are placed into a time frame spanning from 1944 into the 1950s.

Chapter 3 is structured differently from Chapter 2, in order to focus separately on the social, technological and cultural changes within Britain that presented inevitable challenges to music teachers. The chapter initially highlights a new educational debate that followed the emergence of Britain from post-war austerity. The 1950s witnessed the rise of a youth culture that was forming its own musical taste. School music was unpopular, with pupils rejecting what was currently being offered and technological developments were rapidly beginning to influence composers and their repertoire. Further influences arrived with the increasingly significant numbers arriving from the New Commonwealth, all of which was beginning to impact on British cultural life, including musical predilections. Documented case studies provide integrated examples of ways in which the three chosen LEAs acknowledged ongoing social and cultural shifts. These are set into the context of wider issues, and the new challenges faced by authorities and by teachers.

Chapter 4 focuses initially on early developments within elementary school education, and on the ensuing debate that exposed the division in perceptions of the role that music education might play in children's schooling. Walter Carroll's work in Manchester is cited as an early example of individual vision within a local authority, one that took into account the professional needs of teachers. His contribution is set into the context of wider musical influences, such as those engendered by Froebel and Dalcroze, and within a growing trend through the work of committed protagonists towards a more child-centred education. In the wake of the 1944 Education Act, and the advent of free secondary schooling for all, elementary schools were re-named primary schools. Post-Second World War concerns with this phase of schooling, many of which would remain ongoing, are raised. HMI Reports, representative of the three chosen LEAs, provide a lens through which one kind of overall picture of the varied patterns of music provision in primary schools from 1944 onwards can be examined. Finally, the chapter addresses the issue of a long-time lack of structured music in-service provision for primary teachers.

Chapter 5 seeks to track instrumental teaching developments, a post-Second World War music education initiative that was a key response to the introduction

of secondary education for all. For some the initiative was unwelcome, there being a fear that singing, so long a component of the curriculum, would be sidelined, but the Norwood and McNair Reports both emphasised that more pupils should be involved in both choral and instrumental activity. With responsibility for educational developments devolved to LEAs, instrumental provision was to be administered by the education committees, the CEOs and the music advisers. Individual vision, a strong factor in the course of developments within the three chosen LEAs, is given a keen focus within this chapter. Finally, reference is made to the 1980s, a time of devolution of funding by government from the LEAs to the schools, resulting in a more disparate situation, authority-wide provision being threatened and, in some instances dissolved.

Chapter 6 focuses on the creation of youth orchestras, which mainly emerged from the post-war emphasis on instrumental teaching. The extra-curricular role that music had played in secondary schools pre-1944 continued but, in addition, the LEAs now invested heavily in promoting centralised music centres, where pupils could advance their musical skills, with the ultimate goal of playing in a prestigious ensemble. The youth orchestras represented civic pride, and it could be argued that music advisers were appointed with interests that matched LEA vision. Each of the three chosen LEAs has boasted a youth orchestra, with London and Manchester having created theirs pre-Second World War. In contrast, Leicestershire offers an example of a post-war initiative. Although the success of the youth orchestras provided wider opportunities for some pupils, with the onset of a more egalitarian approach, questions were being asked about what was perceived by some as an elitist approach to music education. As the power of the LEAs diminished, and with it their funding, the survival of the county youth orchestras was placed in jeopardy.

Chapter 7 initially documents the growth of the music appreciation movement, which was promoted and defended by a powerful group of music educators from the 1920s onwards. With technological developments allowing schools access to recorded music and to radio broadcasts, and with the growth in the number of symphony orchestras, music was now widely available to a much larger audience. This chapter charts the interrelatedness of aspects of post-war developments: as

government began to support and fund the arts; as concert going in a period of optimism became a form of self-betterment; and as education authorities began to fund concerts for schools. The ways in which the three LEAs responded to this initiative are documented separately. London and Manchester were in a key position to provide live music experiences, with large established symphony orchestras and music colleges to draw on. Leicestershire, as a large rural area, was forced to respond in its own unique way, which required a different kind of resourcefulness. With the onset of the 1960s, and rapid social change, and the evolving pedagogical practices within schools, LEAs were compelled to reconsider their approach to school concert provision. Orchestras, too, were required to examine their particular role in order to ensure a more meaningful, participatory experience for young concert audiences.

Chapter 2

Secondary Education: a place for music in the curriculum

Introduction

By charting post-Second World War educational developments, this chapter seeks to examine the ensuing debate about the role and purpose of music as a subject within a secondary school system. Earlier education acts are cited, providing insights into some of the initial discussion that took place and that led to recommendations for the expansion of the state school system. Evidence is drawn from the subsequent documented discourse that surrounded the subject, highlighting multiple perspectives on the significance of music education and its positioning within the post-1945 vision of a fairer, albeit selective, education system for all. In particular, pedagogical issues relating to the provision of a curriculum for the majority led to contentious debate. Notwithstanding the opinion, gained through consensus, that indeed, music should be included as a curriculum subject at secondary level, there were internal tensions and extraneous factors that both hindered and enabled progress. These are examined within the context of the repercussions of a long and costly war, which led to a revived optimism tempered by a subsequent period of austerity.

Towards expansion into mass secondary schooling

The 1902 Education Act changed the administrative structure of schooling, as the school boards, which had been created at the inception of the 1870 Education Act were replaced, and the counties and county boroughs were designated LEAs. The role of the Board of Education, which had been established in 1899, allowed continuing central control over schools in the form of codes, regulations and inspections, but the LEAs were given powers to implement new initiatives. The result was an increase in overall provision of secondary schools and teacher training colleges, although the education historian Stuart Maclure emphasised the point that each LEA was able to decide on priorities and proceed in its own way and at its own rate.⁴⁶ The newly created LEAs had gained responsibility for the provision of both elementary and secondary education, thus heralding the

⁴⁶ Maclure, S., *One Hundred Year of London Education 1870-1970*, (London: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 1970).

establishment of a national system of schooling that was to be ‘locally administered’.⁴⁶ In essence, by the dawn of the twentieth century, the state had become more active in the steering of educational developments, following a growing trend towards advocating state intervention in society in general.⁴⁷

The Elementary Code of 1904 had defined the purpose of elementary schools as being ‘to make the best use of the school years available, in assisting both boys and girls, according to their different needs to fit themselves, practically as well as intellectually, for the work of life’.⁴⁸ Therefore, the majority of state school educated children received their education within the one common elementary school, leaving at the age of 12 or 13, to begin employment (see Chapter 4). The 1918 Education Act, although limited in its effectiveness, legislated the raising of the school-leaving age up to 14, and recommended the provision of day continuation schools to allow further educational studies. The expansion of secondary schooling, as taken forward by LEAs, created opportunities for a minority of working-class pupils to gain access to a selective grammar school education through the introduction of scholarships and free places.

During the 1920s and 30s, with newly perceived demands, both social and economic, for a revised structure of schooling, alongside the desire for a more educated population, the minds of politicians would begin to focus on the notion of ‘secondary education for all’. In addition, a more liberal climate had emerged in the 1930s with the British intelligentsia leaning towards left-wing ideals of collectivism.⁴⁹ Their political attitudes, which predominantly focused on a fairer and less impoverished society, added stimulus to the widening of educational opportunities debate. However, in reality, secondary and higher education opportunities mainly continued only to benefit the lower middle, middle and upper classes, extended education still not being considered relevant for the

⁴⁶ Gordon, P., Aldrich, R and Dean, D., *Education and Policy and Practice in the Twentieth Century*, (London: Woburn Press, 1991), 19.

⁴⁷ Lawson, J., and Silver, H., *A Social History of Education in England*, (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1973).

⁴⁸ Maclure, S., *Educational Documents, England and Wales to the present day*, (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd, 1974, 3rd ed.), 154.

⁴⁹ Hewison, R., *In Anger: culture in the Cold War 1945-60*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1981).

majority of the working classes. What finally emerges from the inter-war period of 1918-1939, with all its limitations, is a first serious attempt to widen opportunity by re-structuring an education system that would eventually lead to extended schooling for all children.

The 1918 Education Act had made some initial inroads, as had some of the recommendations of the 1926 Hadow Report.⁵⁰ However, it was the Spens Committee on Secondary Education, set up in 1933 as a consultative body, and which published its findings in 1938,⁵¹ that introduced proposals that were to impact on the content of the Norwood Report of 1943 and on subsequent post-war education policy as embedded within the 1944 Education Act.

Towards the 1944 Education Act: initial consultation and discussion

A national education system, as finally envisioned by the Spens Committee, was to be selective and built on a tripartite basis. The introduction of the 11-plus examination, which was to determine what kind of school was suitable for particular types of child: grammar and technical high for those who passed the 11-plus examination and modern for the rest, would be the model that shaped the character of the Norwood Report of 1943. The Committee undertook extensive consultation, over a period of five years, with a large number of organisations, including teacher and head teacher associations, and unions.

Files housed at the National Archives contain substantive evidence of the range of extensive oral debate, documented as memoranda, which eventually fed into the Spens Report. These include a number of important and revealing references to music, which provide an overview of key issues raised in relation to defining the role and purpose of the subject within a secondary school curriculum. Underlying tensions and concerns were to emerge that revealed the lack of previous serious consideration given to the subject as a classroom-based component at secondary level. In 1938 only 14 per cent of the population was

⁵⁰ Board of Education, *The Hadow Report: Report of the Consultative Committee on The Education of the Adolescent*, (London: HMSO, 1926).

⁵¹ Board of Education, *The Spens Report: Report of the Consultative Committee on Secondary Education*, (London: HMSO, 1938).

transferring at 11 to secondary schools,⁵² so it is no surprise that significant discussion did not begin to surround the subject until the late 1930s. The Spens Committee memoranda sparked some important initial debate that would feed into a continuing and justifiable argument that music was still consistently lagging behind other subjects in terms of status, curriculum design, staffing and resources.

The Association of Headmistresses in Secondary Schools submitted one such memorandum.⁵³ It highlighted the need for ‘space, equipment and staffing particularly for art, handicraft and music’ and suggested that all forms of art should not be a ‘soft option’ for the less intelligent but ‘an essential part of the training’, indicating a case for music as integral to the curriculum across all three types of schools. Aspects of arguments such as these would continue to rumble on during the following decades, revealing the intensity of the insecurity felt by those engaged in arts education.

In addition, the Association indicated their preference for an inclusive approach by conveying their belief that ‘most children are potential artists’ and that the ‘creative instinct is entirely absent in few young people’. Their view was that creativity should be given a chance to manifest itself in subjects such as art, literature, poetry and music.⁵⁴ This shift towards a more comprehensive approach to a pupil-centred creative and aesthetic curriculum acknowledged the more progressive elements that had been incorporated into some of the elementary schools (see Chapter 4).

Another significant memorandum submitted by J L Paton, the late High Master of Manchester Grammar School, replicated a liberal-humanist point of view. For Paton, a truly humanistic education would provide a rounded curriculum that would not generate division between the ‘mental class and the manual’.⁵⁵ These were the sentiments of a High Master who had taught within an industrial area,

⁵² Chitty, C., *Education Policy in Britain*, (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

⁵³ National Archives (NA), ED10/151 Memorandum of the Association of Assistant Headmistresses, 29 June, 1934, 4.

⁵⁴ NA, ED10/151 Memorandum of the Association of Headmistresses, 23 February, 1933, 12.

⁵⁵ NA, ED10/152 Memorandum of J L Paton, late High Master of Manchester Grammar School, 20 June, 1934, 2.

and they reveal a respect for the high-level skills required within some of the manufacturing processes and in generating technical and scientific developments. With reference to the arts in particular, Paton believed that selection into the grammar school should acknowledge special merit in art or music. Paton's view encompassed the notion of a liberal curriculum as being not purely vocational, nor exclusively scientific, but one that sought to develop and free the mind.

In later years, when presenting the Rede Lecture in 1959 entitled 'The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution', the author C. P. Snow, who trained as a scientist, took up the theme of cultural division. Snow believed that entrenched ideas and inflexibility drove an education system into specialised compartments, and did not acknowledge fundamental changes and developments affecting all levels within society. He warned that such polarisation produced a narrowly educated elite. For Snow, as with Paton, the hope lay in a more balanced view of intellectual and cultural aspects within an education system, with less specialisation, and more children being educated up to the age of eighteen. Within Snow's model there was room for music and the arts to play an important edifying role within a balanced curriculum, and as a preparation for life.⁵⁶

However, as the radical political and social thinker Paul Hirst would later warn, in a philosophical paper published in 1974, good intentions can be fraught with difficulties, the danger being the creation of a value-laden curriculum based on certain types of knowledge and their hierarchical acceptability.⁵⁷ The result is a curriculum model of learning that, despite its belief in the democratisation of knowledge, does not take into consideration the differing cultural values and traditions of the receivers, and therefore could be interpreted as a form of social engineering rather than an ultimate freeing of the mind. Certainly, the basis of music education within the elementary school system initially had been formulated on the assumption that only certain styles and genres of music were suitable for the classroom, to be selected on a moralistic premise and on the grounds of what was regarded as 'good' musical taste (see Chapter 4).

⁵⁶ Snow, C. P., *The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution: The Rede Lecture*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), 33-34.

⁵⁷ Hirst, P. H., *Knowledge and the curriculum: a collection of philosophical papers*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974).

Traditionally, music had been regarded as a subject to be studied mainly in an extra-curricular context, its established place within the independent and grammar school systems.⁵⁸ Learning an instrument, singing in a choir, or playing in an orchestral ensemble, had been viewed as useful accomplishments that could enhance cultural status within middle- and upper-class society. Reported discussion at the Headmasters' Conference of 1933, looked back to the Renaissance, a time of revival for the arts and literature, as a key influence in a 'humanist' education, and cited music as not yet having gained a prominent place in the curriculum.⁵⁹ The National Union of Teachers echoed the same sentiment: that a 'general and humane education' should not forget music.⁶⁰

At the same time, a very different consideration of curriculum music was being promoted by the Training College Association and Council of Principals, who proposed that drawing, handicraft and music were good subjects for those with less intellectual qualities 'in a different way from the more bookish subjects'. On the other hand music was also seen as a vehicle for emotional and aesthetic 'training', which could promote artistic appreciation and generate an outlet for the creative impulse. The Association drew attention to mechanisation and industrialisation, which left 'little time for creative and artistic activity'.⁶¹ Here music is promoted as a subject that can enhance the lives of those involved in mechanistic employment, both as a leisure activity and as a way of coping with modern life. In particular, such views appeared to raise questions about the purpose and content of a music education for secondary modern pupils, who would form the majority within the proposed tripartite system. In essence, the training colleges would be preparing their students to teach mainly within the primary and secondary modern school sector, but, overall, their Association's proposals for secondary-aged pupils seemingly demonstrated a lack of confidence in the abilities of a large section of the population who had not attained grammar-school places. Such a stance also placed the arts in the position of being deemed suitable for the less intellectually able, simply highlighting the scant attention that

⁵⁸ Rainbow, B., 'Freedom and its price' 245-255, in *Bernarr Rainbow on Music: memoirs and selected writings*.

⁵⁹ NA, ED10/152 Memorandum of Headmasters' Conference, 22 February, 1935, 10.

⁶⁰ NA, ED10/152 Memorandum of the National Union of Teachers, 1935.

⁶¹ NA, ED10/152, Memorandum of Training College Association and Council of Principals, 23 May, 1935, 3.

was given at the time to truly defining the role that they could play in the lives of all pupils.⁶²

A similar definition had been touched on within the Spens Committee's consultations, but the key question as to why the artistic act is important to everyone had neither been sufficiently raised nor discussed during the 1930s. With no history of music education being firmly rooted within the grammar school classroom-based curriculum, and with elementary school music entrenched in utilitarian and moral principles, the subject was, as yet, in the early stages of generating a serious philosophical rationale for its inclusion.

At least there had been some recognition within spheres of influence that music should be awarded more status within the secondary school and should not continue to be viewed merely as an 'extra'. Cyril Norwood's contribution to a symposium on secondary education, as reported in *The Times*, 1934, included a proposal that physical education, art, music and handicraft should form an important part within a rounded curriculum.⁶³ It would be Sir Cyril Norwood who, as appointed chairman of the committee, was to give consideration to post-war secondary education, specifically in relation to curriculum and examinations.

The Norwood Report 1943 and the implementation of the 1944 Education Act

Within the dedicated section on music in the Norwood Report, which supplemented the work of the Hadow and Spens Committees, there was the recommendation that all pupils should receive teaching from 11 to 13 years of age, signalling an attempt to secure the subject's place in the lower part of all secondary schools, whether grammar, technical high or modern. The new cut-off point for elementary education at 11-plus, which led to the renaming of the 5-11 phase of education as 'primary', neatly divided and categorised the two newly defined organisational phases of schooling. The music section of the Norwood Report notably suggested that communication between the primary and secondary phases was desirable in order to provide indicators of children's prior

⁶² Hirst, P.H., *Knowledge and the curriculum*.

⁶³, Editorial 'Secondary Schools' Faults, Dr. Norwood as Critic', *The Times*, 8 September, 1934, 8-9.

musical education experiences. Although this was a laudable proposal and an obvious attempt to ensure some continuity between the two phases, no opportunity was taken to categorise how the secondary experience might be structured in order to maintain and further develop changing and more progressive music practices within the elementary schools.

The education historian, Roy Lowe, maintains that pedagogy and practice were not high on the post-Second World War government agenda, the main focus being placed on the reorganisation of the system, and the challenges this presented after a period of massive disruption.⁶⁴ The music section of the Norwood Report confirms this particular view with its lack of any real vision for future curriculum possibilities, and lack of reference to evolving progressive ideals and new ways of teaching, validating Lowe's view that the secondary curriculum in 1944 was still 'redolent of the late-Victorian era'.⁶⁵

The Norwood Report defined the aims of music as twofold: one in promoting tuition on an instrument or in singing, and the other in fostering appreciation through listening to music. The first aim acknowledged the work of those LEAs that had funded and supported instrumental tuition in the inter-war years, and had promoted the continuance of the firmly-rooted singing tradition. The second aim, musical appreciation, another key component of the elementary school curriculum, was still placed as an area of central importance, but interestingly there was the acknowledgement that 'the teaching of appreciation was a matter which called 'for exceptional skill, if harm is not to be done by the forcing of the teacher's judgement upon the pupil'.⁶⁶ The message here is cautionary, inferring that in order for secondary-age pupils not to reject the 'classically traditional' repertoire, care would need to be taken in its presentation. This can be interpreted partly as recognition of outside influences, as provided by the broadcasting and recording industries, which were impacting significantly on personal preference and musical taste. However, maintaining 'tradition', albeit

⁶⁴ Lowe, R., *The Death of Progressive Education: how teachers lost control of the classroom*, (London: Routledge, 2007).

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁶⁶ Board of Education, *The Norwood Report: Report of the Committee of the Secondary Schools Examination on Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools*, (London: HMSO, 1943), 214.

by considering changes in pedagogical practice, was clearly seen as preferable to acknowledging the possibility of social forces enforcing curriculum change.

Although the Report gave scant attention to music as a curriculum subject in the upper school, there is an assumption that provision would continue to be provided as an ‘extra’. Reference to ‘extra-curricular’ activities such as orchestras and choirs, assumed specialist teaching, but in the name of fairness there was a belief that ‘background’ should not impede musical progress for those labelled as talented. After 1944, with an ever-growing emphasis on instrumental teaching and performance, and supported and funded by the LEAs and their appointed music advisers, this was an area of music education that would become the main focus of aspiration and expansion (see chapters 5 and 6).

The Norwood Report, although not specifically concerned with the nature of the arts curriculum changes that were taking place at elementary school level, did recognise that the educational thinking of the inter-war years was beginning to impact on philosophy and practice. With the growing influence of child development theories as posited by such influential figures within art education as Herbert Read and Marion Richardson (see chapter 4), and the interest in psychology and music kindled through the writings of music educators such as Percy Buck, Music Professor and the first appointed Music Adviser for London, the Report at least acknowledged the intrinsic value of the arts. Buck had suggested that:

. . . the process of education is very largely a growth and development away from the purely objective stage, and towards the stage when the mind can apprehend the meaning and purpose that lies behind the outward and visible sign. That means, towards the *Subjective* and *Interpretive*.⁶⁷

Whilst the Norwood Report supported the view that ‘executive ability’ would still be regarded as an aim of arts education, there was acceptance of and support for a move towards integration of ‘aesthetic sensibilities’ into the arts curriculum.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Buck, P., *Psychology for Musicians*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1944), 5.

⁶⁸ Board of Education, *The Norwood Report*, 213.

The Education Act of 1944 incorporated the twofold recommendations of the Norwood Report in music: firstly, the grammar school tradition of extra curricular activity was to continue across the tri-partite system, with support for further additional tuition and opportunities and, secondly, in a significant move, the subject was now also officially endorsed as a desirable curriculum component for all pupils. The Act acknowledged the ‘difficulties and shortages’ facing the post-war period, but also indicated a belief that the door should be opened for music to secure its place within secondary schooling. The Spens Committee had highlighted some of the challenges, as did the McNair Report of 1944, the latter having focused specifically on the ‘Supply, Recruitment and Training of Teachers and Youth Leaders’.⁶⁹ Overall, there was an awareness of the time factor required in taking forward the 1944 Education Act proposals. On the other hand, the argument that radicalism was contained by those who wished to perpetuate the ‘limited, contained and conservative’ approach to educational legislation is a strong one, with the slow rate of change appearing to be inhibited partly by lack of will.⁷⁰ What was strongly indicated was that developmental responsibility lay firmly in the hands of the LEAs, musicians and teachers. In 1944 the effect of the Act on the future of music education was described as being ‘purely speculative’.⁷¹ This impressionistic statement was to be an accurate assessment of the challenges that lay ahead for those responsible for implementing music within a tripartite system.

The comprehensive ideal: an alternative structure for secondary schooling

In the wake of the 1944 Education Act there was a requirement for all LEAs to submit a development plan to the newly formed Ministry of Education.⁷² This provided a platform for those who argued against segregation at 11-plus years of age, and that the employment of intelligence testing, popular as a measurable indicator of ability, was unreliable. One of the spokespeople against, Lady Simon of Wythenshaw in Manchester, a keen supporter of the multilateral school,

⁶⁹ Board of Education, *The McNair Report: Report of a Committee appointed to consider the Supply, Recruitment and Training of Teachers and Youth Leaders*, (London: HMSO 1944).

⁷⁰ Gordon, P., et al., *Education and Policy in the Twentieth Century*.

⁷¹ Ministry of Education, *The Education Act 1944*, (London: HMSO).

⁷² Kerckhoff, A.C., Fogelman, K., Crook, D., and Reeder, D., *Going Comprehensive in England and Wales*.

believed that the tripartite system was inadequate in recognising individual differences and differing rates of development in children.⁷³

Taking as an example the London County Council (LCC) who published their *London School Plan* in 1947, it is evident that this more 'progressive' authority was keen to challenge the tripartite system so favoured by the creators of the 1944 Education Act. Their plan incorporated a move towards providing a variety of approaches to structuring education, including the introduction of a comprehensive system. The Minister of Education approved London's multi-approach plan in 1950.

With the authority intent on equating comprehensive reorganisation with larger pupil intakes, schools with under 900 pupils were not recognised as being eligible to become comprehensive. What was envisaged was the building of new schools that would house larger numbers of pupils (up to two thousand), whilst other schools would combine in order to reach the required target number. This led to a mixture of new purpose-built accommodation and multi-site amalgamated schools housed in old buildings. In actuality, the retention of some of the grammar schools hindered progress towards full comprehensivisation of schools across the capital, and in essence it would take thirty years to realise The London Plan.⁷⁴ With larger schools now being both envisaged and created where possible, subjects such as music that had warranted only one-teacher departments in the past, were now enabled to appoint additional staff. As a direct result of expansion, there was new scope to broaden musical experiences for pupils.

In contrast to London, Manchester's road to the introduction of comprehensive schools was fraught with difficulties. Tensions between the factions within the Council hampered progress and resulted in a non-committal plan being submitted in 1947.⁷⁵ The 1956 minutes of the Association of Education Committees indicated that, in the previous year, the Conservative Minister of Education David Eccles had rejected Manchester's comprehensive plans on the grounds, firstly,

⁷³ Simon, S. D., *Three schools or one: secondary education in England, Scotland and the USA*, (London: Frederic Mullen, 1948).

⁷⁴ Rudden, J., 'Completing the London School Plan', *Forum*, Vol. 21, Autumn 1978, 24-27.

⁷⁵ Kerckhoff, A.C., et al., *Going Comprehensive in England and Wales*.

that within such a tightly packed urban environment, any proposals for new-build schools would be hampered by the shortage of land, and secondly, that the existing transport system already allowed easy access to schools across the whole of the city.⁷⁶ However the decision was more likely to have been based on the policy views of the Conservative government of the day and of Eccles himself, who was openly opposed to the abolition of grammar schools.⁷⁷ In addition, successive CEOs in Manchester had been keen supporters of the tripartite system, frustrating those in favour, such as Lady Simon, and it would not be until 1965 that Manchester committed itself to opening a substantial number of comprehensive schools. This move coincided with the publication of the Department of Education's Circular 10/65, in which the serving Labour government was to promote the comprehensive ideal through the introduction of national policy, but at the same time leaving a get-out clause for LEAs to decide on models best suited to 'educational preferences and existing building stock'.⁷⁸ The situation of stalemate and ambivalence in Manchester is a clear example of the difficulties in reassessing local educational systems when there are extreme differences in political opinion.

The scenario was to be very different in Leicestershire, where the Director of Education, Stewart Mason, had inherited the secondary education achievements of his predecessor, Sir William Brockington, who had already established technical and secondary modern schools, known collectively as central schools, in anticipation of the raising of the school-leaving age to 15, as recommended by the Spens Report of 1938 and the 1944 Education Act, which also advocated that the school leaving age should be to raised to 16 as soon as possible. When considering his own approach to structuring secondary schooling, Mason acknowledged his own earlier lack of questioning about the some of the possible adverse effects of the introduction of the tripartite system. However, with a growing unease about fixed intelligence, and strong arguments being made in favour of comprehensive reorganisation, Mason's final decision was to create the *Leicestershire Plan* that would abolish the 11-plus system, with children being

⁷⁶ Minutes of the Association of Education Committees, *Education*, 20 April, 1956, 634.

⁷⁷ Jones, D. K., *Stewart Mason: the art of education*.

⁷⁸ DES., Circular 10/65, (London: HMSO, 1965), Paragraph 23.

transferred to a High School from 11-14, and then moving on to an 14-18 Upper School. Mason's challenge was to gain the support of the council in order to realise his plan of a two-tier secondary system, which in effect was an adaptation of the prevailing secondary modern and grammar schools: the secondary modern schools becoming non-selective high schools, and the grammar schools becoming upper schools for those pupils over the age of 14 who were committed to staying on at school for at least another two years. Mason's strategic skills in gaining the support of the Conservative council, and his ability to persuade heads of schools through keen argument and negotiation, were crucial to his being able to succeed in setting up an initial experiment in two areas of the county in 1957.⁷⁹ The perceived success of the experiment led to rapid change in educational structure across the county, with Leicestershire schools adopting Mason's plan at a time when new buildings were being designed to house the county's growing population.

A number of post-war LEA building programmes coincided with the inception of 'experimental' comprehensive systems, leading to the need for architects of the new-build schools to be aware of and responsive to educational change. Writing in 1970 Mason reflected on the importance of school buildings in influencing 'what happens inside and around them'.⁸⁰ Whilst acknowledging the good work that could be found within some of the 'worst' school buildings, Mason was keen to emphasise the opportunities presented when designing new ones.

The first purpose-built comprehensive in London, Kidbrooke School, was opened in 1954, but its first Head of Music, Joyce Lang, was highly critical of the layout of the accommodation provided for her subject. In this flagship school, apart from a large hall which was suitable for concerts, little thought had been given in its design to the possibility of music as being a practical classroom subject, or to the growing developments relating to instrumental tuition. In a published conference paper Lang indicated that the music lessons took place in 'ordinary classrooms which face on to a quad, so we can all hear each other'. She pointed

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Mason, S.C., *In Our experience: the changing schools of Leicestershire*, (London: Longman, 1970), 1.

out that there was no ‘rehearsal space’ and that there were ‘no practice rooms and not even a cupboard or place to keep instruments and nowhere to teach instrumental music’.⁸¹

In 1956 the Board of Education, in its first publication of Pamphlet No 27, *Music in Schools*, had raised the issue of music accommodation and resources in secondary schools. As part of that review it was acknowledged that resourcing was an issue, in terms of the size and siting of music rooms, choice of pianos, and technical support in the form of record players and ‘wirelesses’.⁸² Serious concerns were raised again in the Newsom Report of 1963, *Half Our Future*, specifying music as ‘frequently the worst equipped and accommodated subject in the curriculum’ and asserting that music teachers ‘operated at a disadvantage’.⁸³

The DES Building Bulletin of 1966 did finally acknowledge that developments in school music were demanding a different type of accommodation and that ‘many of the striking developments in music’ had taken place since the first phase of post-war school building began.⁸⁴ At the Music Advisers’ Conference of 1969 Raymond Roberts, HMI Inspector for Music, reported that observations made on his visits to schools exemplified the findings of the Newsom Report.⁸⁵

In Leicestershire, Mason noted that the effects of building larger secondary schools to house wider entry had strengthened the place of arts and craft subjects, but that this was leading to a demand for more and better accommodation for them. Specialist rooms were now required for a whole range of practical subjects, music being classified as one of them.⁸⁶ Mason’s concerns for architectural considerations when designing new buildings were such that he worked closely with professional architects, in order to realise his vision of curriculum development in which teaching spaces would allow for shared

⁸¹ Lang, J., ‘Music in the comprehensive school’, Grant, W., (ed.), in *Music in Education*, (London: Butterworths, 1963), 125.

⁸² Board of Education, Pamphlet no. 27, *Music in Schools*, (London: HMSO, 1956).

⁸³ Board of Education, The Newsom Report.

⁸⁴ DES, *Secondary School Design: drama and music*, Building Bulletin 30, (London: HMSO, 1966), 44.

⁸⁵ Music Advisers National Association (MANA), report of the Annual Conference, 1969, temporarily held in the author’s possession.

⁸⁶ Mason, S. C., *The Leicestershire Experiment and Plan*, (London: Councils and Education Press Ltd., 1984, 3rd ed.).

activity.⁸⁷ His ideal was that effective primary school practices could be continued within the post-14 high school, such as the abolition of streaming, group work and individualised study.

Mason's comprehensive 'experiment' was inextricably related to architectural 'experiment', his creative vision and his single-mindedness being key to realisation. Countesthorpe High School, built six miles south of Leicester and which opened in 1970, epitomised the comprehensive ideal, with space provided to enable group and individual teaching, the breaking down of distinctions between the arts and science, and the promotion of creative and expressive work which could be integrated easily, one example being adjacent accommodation for music and drama. It was argued that cross-curricular work and a more flexible learning environment would allow pupils better understanding of the society in which they were to operate.⁸⁸ Separate box-style classrooms were replaced with accommodation that would allow for changing teaching techniques and pupil groupings.

In Manchester, too, the first purpose-built comprehensive school, Parrs Wood High School, officially opened in 1970, was designed to include specialist accommodation for music and drama. With instrumental teaching now well established in most LEAs, this new building reflected the growing need for both curriculum and instrumental teaching spaces for music, housing eight sound-proofed individual practice rooms, a music hall, and two main music studios. This accommodation was seen to be generous, and its organisation demonstrated the thought that had also been given to siting the drama studio and an open-air theatre within close proximity, thus allowing for joint ventures. The Parrs Wood model was seen as a template for other new schools to be built in the city.⁸⁹

These latest new-build schools, with their generous music accommodation, allowed for changing pedagogical practices to be implemented within a suitable physical environment. However, many music teachers were still teaching in

⁸⁷ Jones, D., *Stewart Mason: the art of education*.

⁸⁸ Editorial Review, 'School of the future', *The Times*, 12 December, 1970, 13.

⁸⁹ Report, 'School is 'city's pride'', *Guardian*, 11 April, 1970, 5.

Victorian and early-twentieth century buildings. Poor accommodation would severely challenge music departments that were desirous of innovation and change. For those teachers intent on providing a practical curriculum, and on introducing instrumental teaching and a range of extra-curricular activities within their schools, space was at a premium. Such conditions had been highlighted in the DES Building Bulletin 30: ‘in hardly any of the maintained schools was there either sufficient or suitable provision for music’.⁹⁰

R A Butler who, as Minister of Education, piloted the 1944 Education Bill through the Commons, when presenting a lecture in 1965, referred to the fact that the systems of organisation were left to be decided by the LEAs, and that the government did not foresee ‘the extraordinary patchwork quilt effect on the organisation of secondary education’.⁹¹ It was within this ‘patchwork’ effect that those working at the ‘chalk face’ would be expected to implement the requirements of the Act itself.

Staffing: the recruitment situation post-1944

The McNair Report of 1944 had presented a realistic, if somewhat gloomy, picture of the uneven patterns of music provision in schools and of the lack of well-trained teachers. There were three sources from which LEAs could draw their music teachers: the music colleges, the universities and the teacher training colleges. Ten years later, the Standing Conference of Music, which had been established as a corporate body in 1942, published a report that reiterated a strikingly similar set of concerns to those raised in 1944.⁹² With the introduction of publicly maintained secondary schooling, and the raising of the school-leaving age to 15 in 1947, the demand for teachers had outstripped ‘the supply of those able to meet it’.⁹³ The Standing Committee, basing their findings on the music teaching situation in England, was keen to emphasise the fact that the Report represented the accumulated experience of musicians, teachers and administrators.

⁹⁰ DES, *Secondary School Design: Drama and Music*, Building Bulletin 30, 44.

⁹¹ Butler, R.A., *The Education Act of 1944 and after*, (London: Longman, Green and Co. Ltd., 1966).

⁹² Standing Conference of Music Committees, *The Training of Music Teachers: Report on the recruitment and training of teachers of music*, (London: Bedford Square, 1954).

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 1.

The Report did not confine its findings only to the focal point of teacher supply, but also took the opportunity of making a critical evaluation of current music practice. Notable conclusions were that the teaching of music was still limited to the learning of a few songs, and that there was little evidence of building any form of progression into the curriculum. The explanation for this situation in the secondary schools was firmly placed within the context of teacher training: insufficient number of qualified music teachers, lack of provision of adequate musical tuition in training colleges, students within the colleges of music insufficiently aware of teaching opportunities in schools, insufficient collaboration between LEAs and institutions, and insufficient research and experiment being carried out into the best ways of training teachers.

Before the Second World War, concerns had been raised about the shortage of teachers in certain subjects, including music. The Spens Committee sought to question the reasons for this by suggesting to the Association of Headmistresses that music should be given a more prominent place in the curriculum for girls who were intending to become teachers.⁹⁴ A memorandum on secondary education in Wales had raised some concerns to the Spens Committee about pupils' lack of continuing contact with practical subjects such as music and art to the School Certificate stage, and the negative impact this had on recruitment of specialist teachers within the profession.⁹⁵ Miss R E Hewetson, HMI, giving oral evidence to the Board of Education, was concerned that not enough music was taught in secondary schools 'because of the requirements of the First School Certificate', indicating that a level of difficulty prevented some from undertaking a music course.⁹⁶ Meetings and correspondence of a Music Subject Panel, set up in 1949 to review examination content, confirmed Hewetson's earlier view, with their own assessment being that the demands of the current School Certificate were 'severe' and excluded the 'ordinary' pupil who demonstrated an interest in music.⁹⁷ In relation to boys, the Training College Association pointed out to the Spens Committee that most dropped the subject at the end of their third year, the

⁹⁴ NA, ED 10/151, Spens Report, Memorandum of the Association of Headmistresses, 23 February, 1933.

⁹⁵ NA, ED 10/151, Spens Report, Joint Memorandum on secondary education in Wales, 24 October, 1935.

⁹⁶ NA, ED 10/151, Spens Report, Oral evidence to the Board of Education, 24 November, 1934.

⁹⁷ NA, ED147, Meetings and correspondence of the Music Subject Panel, 20 September, 1949.

result being that few were taking the subject to examination level within the upper school.⁹⁸ The above range of responses highlights the possible negative effects of limited curriculum time given to music in the lower school, and the sidelining of the subject in the upper school to that of ‘an extra’ and not as a viable curriculum subject.

In 1947, with the profession already suffering from a general shortage of music teachers and the impact of the Second World War compounding difficulties nationally, a number of emergency colleges were set up to provide a one-year course, with the intention of swiftly increasing the much needed teacher supply in a range of subjects. The suggested pre-course reading list for those opting for secondary school music teaching indicated a continuation of pre-war music pedagogy. The reading list contains books and materials, all of which were published between the years 1919 and the mid-1930s.⁹⁹ Such a limited approach for these new trainees did not auger well for the future of music teaching, and seems short-sighted at a point of new opportunity.

At the time of the setting up of the Emergency Training Scheme, staffing difficulties were certainly a concern, as raised at the MANA annual conference, resulting in the decision to make representation to the Minister of Education. The deputation report stressed that ‘there must be pressure brought to bear on the heads of grammar schools to change their attitude to music and make a greater contribution than the meagre measures suggested in the Norwood Report.’¹⁰⁰ The music advisers felt, as had members of the Spens Committee, that there was pressing need for more pupils to be taking the subject at examination level. In addition, their report recommended that at the training stage those wishing to enter the profession should focus on pedagogy and practice related to the actual classroom, as well as gaining musicianship requirements for effective teaching, thus highlighting the need for better balanced professional teacher training as proposed by the McNair Report.

⁹⁸ NA, ED 10/151, Spens Report, Oral evidence of the Training College Association, 23 May, 1935.

⁹⁹ Ministry of Education, *Suggestions for reading prior to entering upon a course of Emergency Training*, (Leaflet DG 93857/1, 1948), donated to the author by Jack Wheatcroft.

¹⁰⁰ MANA, Minutes of the Annual Conference, June, 1947.

One hopeful example of a key and bold initiative, which aimed to award the arts a higher profile within teacher training, was the creation of the specialist music and arts college, Bretton Hall. This initiative was set up at the instigation of Alec Clegg, the progressive Director of Education for the West Riding Authority, who supported the ‘experiment’, one that would benefit from the generous sponsorship granted by this forward-looking authority. Bretton Hall, which opened in 1949, allowed music students to build on and develop specific skills, be introduced to wider perspectives on the purpose of education, and explore new teaching methodologies. Speaking at the MANA conference of 1951, John Friend, Principal of the College, indicated that, in the main, the majority of students were recruited from the grammar schools, but his hope was that with the focus of the secondary course on preparation for the modern school, the College could attract some of the pupils who had actually attended this type of institution. This positive attitude towards broadening of opportunity within the tripartite system appeared to resonate with the overall philosophy of the College. In addition, Friend raised concerns that more women than men were attracted to the course, thus confirming a continuation of the concerns raised by members of the Spens Committee, that boys were not taking the subject up at examination level.¹⁰¹

The keen focus on teacher training continued well into the 1960s. The Robbins Report, *Report of the Committee on Higher Education*, published in 1963, the purpose of which was to review existing patterns of higher education, recommended a move towards teaching as an all-degree profession.¹⁰² From 1965 onwards the training colleges, which were to be renamed colleges of education, moved towards closer association with universities, and introduced a four-year Bachelor of Education degree (BEd), an award that gave them a welcome rise in status.¹⁰³ Philip Pfaff, lecturer in music at Trent Park College of Education, speaking at the MANA Conference of 1966, suggested that expansion in music trainee numbers had been brought about by the inception of the new BEd and that, as result of this, a higher level of input could now be offered by the

¹⁰¹ MANA, Minutes of Annual Conference, 22 June, 1951.

¹⁰² DES, Robbins Report, *Report of the Committee on Higher Education*, (London: Association of Principals of Technical Education, 1963).

¹⁰³ Gordon, P., et al., *Education and Policy in England in the Twentieth Century*.

College.¹⁰⁴ A year earlier, in February 1965, at a meeting convened to discuss the contribution to teacher supply of the national music colleges, such as the Royal Academy of Music and the Royal College of Music, John Horton, the HMI Senior Inspector for Music, reported that they still provided the largest number of teachers for the secondary sector. In contrast, the universities, which trained their students in music theory, rather than practice, produced graduates who tended to follow a career path as university and further education college lecturers, or as critics or composers.¹⁰⁵

Horton pointed out that the DES Teachers Branch had estimated a shortfall of some 2,000 graduate music teachers. He was critical of the narrow curriculum at the national music colleges, and of the lack of pastoral care and careers advice that students received. A meeting of the Arts Council of Great Britain, held in 1967, strengthened Horton's argument by suggesting that the 'reliance of the colleges on the music of dead composers for teaching material' was unhelpful, and that there was 'a serious lack of instruction in contemporary music'.¹⁰⁶ However, it can be argued that the aims and purposes of these institutions were fundamentally different from those of the universities and of the teacher training colleges, and their commitment to their underlying principles jealously guarded. This standpoint worked against any consensus regarding the needs of music conservatoire students who wished to enter the teaching profession.

In 1968, music teaching ranked fifth in the order of subjects in which LEAs had difficulty in filling posts.¹⁰⁷ At the MANA conference of 1969 Raymond Roberts, HMI Staff Inspector for Music, raised concerns about the shortage of qualified music teachers and the reluctance of the DES to declare music as a shortage subject. The reason for this was that 14 per cent of teachers who had qualified either as music graduates or from having studied music as a main subject in colleges of education were not teaching music at all, and the remaining teachers who were qualified spent 56 per cent of their time teaching other

¹⁰⁴ MANA, Minutes of Annual Conference, 7-9 July, 1966.

¹⁰⁵ NA, ED 80/77, Minutes of meeting with the National Music Colleges, 11 June, 1965.

¹⁰⁶ NA, ED 80/77, Meeting of the Music Panel, Arts Council of Great Britain, 11 October, 1967.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

subjects.¹⁰⁸ These percentages again reveal the low esteem in which music was regarded in schools, with lack of allotted curriculum time affecting music teachers' timetables. The problem seemed to continue to flow two ways, with not enough well-qualified teachers entering schools and the schools themselves not having yet established the subject securely within the curriculum.¹⁰⁹

The curriculum: timetabling and a place for music

The Norwood Report of 1943 had attracted some criticism for its lack of deliberation about curriculum content. For some, such as Joseph Lauwerys, Reader in Education at the University of London, the Report gave 'no lead for those interested in curriculum reform', and reflected a 'lack of acquaintance with modern trends and methods'. In effect schools were handed a report that expressed 'no unified philosophy of education' and gave 'no criteria helpful in the design of curriculum'.¹¹⁰ With the grammar-school curriculum being placed as the main focus of the Report, the emphasis on tradition was promoting continuation of 'old' practices. In the eyes of Lauwerys, the immediate post-war generation was not about to receive a new form of enlightened child-centred experience but one that was to be divorced from its social surroundings.

The Standing Conference for Music of 1954 noted that, in reality, curriculum music in the grammar schools, as traditional as might be, was still not being awarded high priority, its place of importance often relying on the vision and enthusiasm of the head teacher. With the lack of trained music specialists, teachers of other disciplines were often called upon to lead the subject. For example, in 1947 Colfe's Grammar School in London had chosen not to include music in the curriculum, and very little was provided as a voluntary activity or 'extra' outside school. By 1949, the pupils in this school received only one period of music a week, which was taught by the classics master.¹¹¹ In 1952, an HMI report on William Hulme's Grammar School in Manchester, indicated that music lessons consisted of 'mainly singing for the younger boys', with all other

¹⁰⁸ MANA, Report on the Annual Conference, 26-28 June, 1969.

¹⁰⁹ NA, ED80/77, Minutes of a Committee for Music Education, 8 October, 1968.

¹¹⁰ Lauwerys, J.A., 'Curriculum and the Norwood Report', *Journal of Education*, Vol. LXXIX, April 1944, 166.

¹¹¹ NA, ED109/ 8960, Inspection Report, Colfe's Grammar School, London, 1949.

music extra-curricular.¹¹² Another HMI inspection, of the Burbage Grammar School for Boys in Manchester, undertaken in 1955, revealed that, after a long period without a music specialist, the school had recently appointed a teacher for both music and German. In addition, the report highlighted the poor conditions in which the subject was taught: ‘in a reverberating hall’.¹¹³

From the onset of the 1950s, successive governments had focused on scientific and technological education as Britain tried to regain competitiveness within expanding world markets.¹¹⁴ Such interventionist politics may well have played their part in marginalising some of the subjects taught in schools at the expense of others. A clear example of the sidelining of music in the curriculum can be found in inspection reports published in the early 1950s. In Catford County Secondary Boys’ School in London, those pupils who were taking the commercial or technical courses studied the subject in the first two years only.¹¹⁵ A 1953 HMI Report on the Openshaw Secondary Technical School in Manchester conveys the unevenness of music provision, with the senior forms receiving ‘30 minutes per week, two forms none at all and the others 15 minutes per week’. In this instance the music was taught by a history graduate whose lessons consisted of music appreciation through listening to records. The HMI posed the question as to whether curriculum music was of any value in this school, and suggested that it would be better as an extra-curricular activity until a more secure place could be given to it within the curriculum.¹¹⁶ Another HMI Report, dating from 1955, on Ardwick Technical School in Manchester, stated that ‘It is a serious weakness of the curriculum that music receives such scant recognition’. The English teacher was reported to be leading music at this school, and it was recommended that a specialist be appointed.¹¹⁷

¹¹² Manchester Record Office (MRO), M428/51, HMI Music Inspection Report, William Hulme’s Grammar School, Manchester, 1952.

¹¹³ MRO, HMI M428/51, Inspection Report, Burnage Grammar School for Boys, Manchester, 1953.

¹¹⁴ Gordon, P., et al., *Education and Policy in England in the Twentieth Century*.

¹¹⁵ NA, ED109/9707, Inspection Report, Catford Secondary Boys’ School, London, 1951.

¹¹⁶ MRO, M428/51, HMI Music Inspection Report, Openshaw Secondary Technical School, Manchester, 1953.

¹¹⁷ MRO, M428/51, HMI Music Inspection Report, Ardwick Secondary Technical School, Manchester, 1955.

The Standing Conference of Music's report had noted that secondary modern schools, in particular, suffered from a lack of specialist music teachers, and that the number of music teachers in these schools was surprisingly small. The non-selective Athelney Secondary Modern Mixed School, in London, timetabled only one weekly period of music, which consisted of aural training and music appreciation. An LEA inspection report noted that 'the inevitable restriction imposed upon the scheme of work by this short time allowance leaves much to be desired in scope and standards by the time the 4th year is reached'.¹¹⁸ Interestingly, the modern schools were stereotypically perceived as being 'too rough for the trained musician' thus highlighting an urgent need for specialised teacher training. An example of one teacher's conclusions about the weekly challenge of bringing music to a class of 15-year old girls in a secondary modern school, in the mid-1950s, is to be found in a short article published in the *Music in Education Journal*, entitled 'Music with the C stream':

When not being badly behaved to the point of rudeness, these girls sank into an apathetic state from which it was impossible to rouse them. But I was determined they should be roused. I knew I should find some links between their school and out-of school life. I decided Music was that link and set about developing that side of their work.¹¹⁹

Traditional approaches and methods to the teaching of music were clearly not working within this context:

Theory and sight-reading lessons were a complete failure. Thinking it over I realised that if these girls who had been receiving instruction all their school lives had still not acquired any real knowledge or interest, how could I hope to achieve worthwhile results in the few short months before they left school for ever?¹²⁰

Five years on from this music teacher's dilemma the second edition of Ministry of Education Pamphlet No.27, published in 1960, would not have provided any strategies for redefining her approach to the curriculum:

Given a working knowledge of pitch and time names and constant reference to music copies, notation can have an increasing and very real significance for the majority of pupils, though the number who become able to give completely accurate rendering of a piece of music at sight may be limited.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ NA, ED109/8970, Inspection Report, Athelney Secondary Modern Mixed School, London, 1952.

¹¹⁹ Jones, H., 'Music with the C stream', *Music Education*, July/August, 1955, 74.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ DES, *Music in Schools*, Education Pamphlet No. 27, (London: HMSO, 1960).

Here the view is that pupils who are categorised as ‘able’ will make progress at a faster pace, but the implication is that, whatever the calibre of the pupils, the same musical diet of singing, theory and appreciation is desirable. Music teachers are clearly left to balance their own views in the light of recent initiatives for schools to form closer relationships with the outside world. Evidence from HMI reports on inspections in secondary modern schools found that, where music flourished, with pupils responding positively, good teaching was underpinned by competent musicianship. However, the staple diet for the average secondary-modern pupil was singing, listening to recorded music, studying the instruments of the orchestra, and writing biographies of the ‘great’ composers, it being reported in one instance that the girls showed ‘zest in compiling attractive note books’.¹²²

Writing in 1952, Harold Watkins Shaw, who had gained long and vast experience within music education from 1933-1958, as teacher, music adviser and college lecturer, had recognised that the secondary modern schools were merely adopting the grammar-school music curriculum, modifying it in an ‘appropriate simplicity and limitation of aim’ but failing to motivate pupils who viewed it ‘as one of those things done in school, as distinct from the things that really matter to them’.¹²³ Watkins Shaw’s recommendation was to create a musical ‘workshop’ culture, this terminology and method having originated in 1945 with the left-wing British theatre producer, Joan Littlewood, his aim being to provide an environment where pupils could undertake practical engagement. Whilst Watkins Shaw promoted a more practical approach to the subject in the modern school, he also continued to place any developments within a ‘traditional’ context. His solution represented a standpoint that placed one foot firmly in the past alongside a growing realisation that change was now needed. In his private memoir, he encapsulated the difficulties that those whose education careers had

¹²² MRO M428/50-53, HMI Music inspection reports, a summary of secondary school reports, Manchester, 1950-1955.

¹²³ Watkins Shaw, H., ‘Music in the Secondary Modern School’, *Journal of Education*, (London: OUP, 1952), 160.

begun in the pre-Second World War years were now facing. In his own words, he was ‘now utterly out of date I assure you’.¹²⁴

Some educationists took the view that the secondary modern school, free from the tyranny of examinations, benefited from the scope to experiment with a more practical curriculum. The inference here was that curricular experimentation should be linked to the modern schools but not to the grammar schools. The education historian, Roy Lowe maintains that the result of such thinking led to future condescension towards efforts made in widening curriculum reform across the secondary sector.¹²⁵

The 1954 Report of the Standing Conference of Music Committees entitled *The Training of Teachers* had focused on the state of music teaching in different schools within the tripartite system, but had not questioned the efficacy of the system and the cultural divide it might engender. Cyril Winn, late HMI for Music, when reviewing the report for the *Journal of Education*, was keen to rectify its misconception that ‘children in secondary schools are of lower intelligence than those in grammar schools’, pointing out that access to a grammar school education often depended partly on the amount of accommodation available within a particular area.¹²⁶ Such a critically focused statement connects strongly with the unevenness across, and unfairness within, a hierarchically constructed system, with Winn revealing his own belief that secondary modern pupils must be musically supported if they demonstrated interest and aptitude in the subject. The 1954 report clearly revealed the lack of consideration the committee had given to the effects and consequences of the tripartite system on the teachers and on the pupils, a situation continued into the 1960s.

After 1944, with the appointment of LEA advisers across the range of secondary subjects, there had been a key opportunity to give credence to curriculum development across all schools within the tripartite system. However, those

¹²⁴ Lyre, R., (ed.), *Harold Watkins Shaw 1911-1996: reminiscence and recollection*, (Leeds: Technoprint, 2006).

¹²⁵ Lowe, R., *The Death of Progressive Education*.

¹²⁶ Winn, C., ‘The Training of Music Teachers’, *The Journal of Education*, June, 1954, 292.

appointed for music were often referred to as ‘organisers’ rather than ‘advisers’, as their role was not primarily to encompass school-based curriculum and teacher development. As late as 1967, a DES report on education, entitled *Music and the Young*, defined the ‘important’ work of music advisers as follows:

To them is mainly due the training of county borough youth orchestras, creation of junior music schools and music centres, recruitment and organisation of teams of instrumental teachers, improvement of equipment, promotion of festivals, planning of specialist accommodation and auditioning of pupils seeking awards for higher education.¹²⁷

The contributors to the report unanimously agreed that the advisers had, ‘more than any other agency’, brought about a ‘revolution’ in music education. Whilst this may have been commendable in that higher-level musical experiences were being provided for some pupils, the report makes it obvious that, through omission, no serious consideration had been given to teaching music to the majority. The absence of any reference to classroom music and curriculum is telling. At the heart of the report is the inference that the 129 advisers now in post across the English counties and county boroughs, the ILEA and London boroughs, had been promoting and encouraging large-scale out-of-curriculum activities. No ‘revolution’ had as yet taken place within the music classroom, and, therefore, it is unsurprising that the report continued to comment that, ‘in a number of secondary schools, what is attempted in musical education belongs to the pre-1944 era’ and was ‘too often based on methods and attitudes that established themselves in the heyday of the public elementary school’. It can be argued that a number of the music advisers had experienced little or no class teaching curriculum experience themselves, and certainly many would not be familiar with the demands being made on teachers by the tripartite and emerging comprehensive systems. The advisers’ skills and knowledge were almost exclusively in demand for the organisation of extra-curricular activity across the authorities. The links between the values that the music advisers had placed on these activities, in contrast to the scant attention given to what was taking place in music classrooms, highlighted the dichotomy that was beginning to challenge and divide the profession. The low esteem in which music was held as a curriculum subject seriously impeded access beyond what was often minimal lower school

¹²⁷ DES, Report on Music Education, No.39, *Music and the Young*, (St Albans: HMSO, 1967).

experience, leaving the majority of pupils unprepared and unwilling to pursue the subject at examination level.

Examinations: the argument for change

With state-funded secondary education for all and the raising of the school-leaving age to 15 in 1947, it was inevitable that more pupils would begin to stay on at school in order to improve their life chances. The School Certificate Examination, which came into being in 1917, had been an academic qualification for those pupils intending to study at higher education level. In 1947, the Secondary Schools Examination Council outlined proposals to revise the examination system for pupils 14-18. A new General Certificate of Education (GCE) was to be offered at O (Ordinary) and A (Advanced) levels. Subject panels were convened from 1949 onwards to meet and to correspond with the different examination boards, but it would be the dominance of the universities that would continue to shape the upper school curriculum, by constraining the content to the academic requirements of higher education.¹²⁸

The Music Subject Panel confirmed their view that many pupils transferred to secondary schools with little musical knowledge and few skills, and then were subsequently offered only one or two periods of music within the secondary school timetable. Within those schools whose music departments provided music outside school hours, there were ample opportunities for advanced musicians to make examination progress, but the demands of the existing School Certificate had been 'severe'. The example of ear tests was given, with concerns that they were currently of the same standard as those required for final examinations at training colleges, and that many of the third-year students attending the Royal Colleges of Music would find them challenging. The components of a music examination, in the view of the Panel, should be aural tests at the same level as those set for the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music at Grade V: elements of harmony, four-part cadences and the contrapuntal writing of a second

¹²⁸ Shipman, M., 'Curriculum for inequality' in Hooper, R., (ed.), *The Curriculum: context, design and development*, (Edinburgh: The Open University Press, 1971), 100-106.

part; musical history and literature of a limited number of works and composers; and evidence of practical musicianship skills.¹²⁹

The practical component of the examination would be advantageous to some pupils, but at the same time would exempt many pupils from studying music at this level. The Panel carefully examined the advantages and disadvantages of a practical musicianship requirement by expressing two points of view, firstly that the

. . . advantage of a practical examination is that it gives the candidate who has spent a large part of his musical career at school on instrumental playing an opportunity to show his capacity in this important side of musical education, and it tends to give an examination a better balance – there can otherwise be rather too much emphasis on harmony and counterpoint.¹³⁰

and secondly that the

. . . disadvantage of an obligatory practical examination is the fact that in very many schools no provision is made for instrumental and vocal tuition, and it seems unsatisfactory to include as a compulsory part of a school examination a test for which preparation could not be made in many schools.¹³¹

With free access to state schooling for all, those pupils given the chance to learn an instrument could be in a position to enter for a music examination with a practical bias. However, at the beginning of the 1950s, with many local education authorities still in the early stages of creating and developing such opportunities, the structures were not yet in place.

The Principals of the established colleges of music naturally veered towards a practical component, in contrast to the requirements of the universities, which foresaw that the new GCE could be treated as a preparation for the written papers of a university degree, their interests being predominantly academic. However, in the view of the music colleges, it lent itself to a ‘blackboard’ style of teaching, and thus encouraged intellectual analysis rather than artistic experience.¹³²

¹²⁹ NA, ED147, Meetings and correspondence of Music Subject Panel, 20 September, 1949.

¹³⁰ NA, ED147, Minutes of Music Subject Panel, 28 February, 1950.

¹³¹ NA, ED147, Minutes of Music Subject Panel, 30 March, 1950.

¹³² NA, ED147, Recommendations of Principals of Colleges of Music to the Music Subject Panel, 1950.

The dilemma for the Subject Panel was obvious, and their final recommendations reflected their difficulty. They did recommend that the idea of compulsory practical musicianship be dropped, although they were aware that this could lower the overall standard of the examination. The rather optimistic hope was that, in time, enough pupils would be learning an instrument and could therefore be examined on practical attainment. Some examination boards offered a practical component as an option within the syllabus, but the grip that the universities held ensured their dominance of examination syllabi content, and in the case of music examinations, the colleges of music held little sway.¹³³

Although after the war, the expansion of the music services allowed more pupils free access to music tuition, the GCE syllabus, introduced in 1951, did not appeal to the majority of pupils. It remained essentially an academic subject aimed at the top 20 per cent of grammar-school pupils, although across the subjects more pupils in secondary modern schools were being provided with GCE opportunities.¹³⁴ In addition, it had little attraction for those practical musicians who were not aiming to pursue music as a career, or those interested in musical styles outside those of the classical tradition. With growing numbers of pupils now entering the examination system the dilemma for the boards was how to broaden the entry requirements. In 1965, a second examination route, the Certificate of Secondary Education (CSE), was introduced, which would ultimately provide a stepping-stone towards a future common examination for all pupils at sixteen.

Conclusion

Historically, before 1944, music had never gained a secure place within the secondary school curriculum, being viewed mainly as an extra-curricular activity. The 1944 Education Act, which was to introduce free secondary education for all children, prompted consideration of music's place within the newly created tripartite system. Consultations for change began in 1938 with the setting up the Spens Committee, whose views on the place of music education fed into the

¹³³ Lowe, R., *Education in the Post-War Years: a social history*, (London: Routledge, 1988).

¹³⁴ Lowe, R., *The Death of Progressive Education*.

publication of the Norwood Report of 1943, which recommended that music be included as a curriculum subject.

Pre-Second World War thinking and pedagogical practices in music education remained, militating against real progress in the subject, leading to it lagging behind developments in others. In addition, curriculum development was hampered by lack of time and facilities, a shortage of suitably trained teachers and an absence of commitment to the rethinking of classroom music pedagogies by the newly appointed LEA music advisers. With emphasis still on extra-curricular activity, the majority of secondary school pupils were experiencing a continuation of the old elementary school practices.

As teachers began to find established practice at odds with the interests of the pupils, serious consideration began to be given to some of the negative aspects of secondary school music education, thus opening up some useful debate. However, as yet, solutions were not placed within the wider context of fast emerging social and economic change. Although a practical music curriculum was recommended as a way of engaging pupils, the principles underpinning such a move were still in need of radical revision.

Chapter 3

Changing perspectives: implications for secondary school music

Introduction

As Britain emerged from its post-war period of austerity with an overall optimism of a better future, missed opportunities still ensured some continuation of a ‘backward-looking society’, which remained class-bound, and which also continued to shape the cultural climate.¹³⁵ This chapter focuses on the changing and distinct cultural aspirations of young people from the 1950s onwards, which emerged alongside social, economic and demographic change within Britain. During the 1950s, with average weekly earnings on the increase and unemployment low, young people were gaining access to a consumer society in which they could exercise cultural choice.¹³⁶ Sub-cultural and lifestyle identities, which began to threaten old established systems, are examined within the ensuing debate that began to preoccupy those responsible for providing music education experiences for young people.

The chapter draws upon a variety of sources, including the Standing Conference of Music Committees, the Music Advisers’ National Association (MANA), and various initiatives undertaken within Leicestershire, London and Manchester, thus providing an overview of LEA responses to meeting a whole range of newly emerging challenges. Consideration is given to the related discussion, and to the broader context, in order to frame educational developments within wider social and cultural parameters, and in order to observe cause and effect as key elements in shaping change. The role of the Schools Council for Curriculum and Examinations (SCCE), established in 1964, is examined as one important contributory body to the steering of evolving music practices triggered by societal change and newly emerging ideologies. Finally, the chapter focuses on the effect of extended schooling on the 14-16 routes to examinations in music, as implemented in the wake of legislation leading to the raising of the school leaving age (ROSLA) in 1972.

¹³⁵ Hennessy, P., *Never Again: Britain 1945-51*, (London: Jonathan Cape, 1992), Williams, R., *The Long Revolution*, (Canada: Broadview Press, 2nd edition), 2001.

¹³⁶ Clarke, P., *Hope and Glory: Britain 1900-1990*, (London: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 1996).

Unsung traditions and emerging musical trends

In 1944, Reginald Nettel opened the introduction to his significant historical account of past social influences on music with the assertion that ‘every social change has its accompanying change in the style of popular art’.¹³⁷ For all those involved in music education, this insightful observation is a reminder that the long history of the ‘music of the people’ warrants recognition, firstly to promote a mutual respect for the wide range and variety of musical styles and traditions, both transitory and lasting, and, secondly, to provide grounds for negotiated learning experiences that can benefit all those involved in musical activity, and at all levels.

It can be argued that three significant areas of change within British society during the 1950s had prompted a serious questioning of the principles on which a mass education system had been shaped, and which remained, to some extent, unchanged. Firstly, the meteoric rise of ‘popular’ culture in Britain, from the 1950s onwards, was being influenced by the escalating power of the mass media, and was creating the new world of the teenage consumer. Secondly, increasing racial diversity in Britain was contributing towards a different form of cultural shift. The new incomers, alongside the emerging liberation movements, were formulating their own ideas of a ‘common’ culture. Hewison, drawing on the writing of Raymond Williams, author of *The Long Revolution*, confirms the view that, from the 1960s onwards, some sections of society were activating a ‘cultural revolution’ that was allowing certain of the class strata to break free from the domination of others. An ‘ethic of solidarity’ was highlighting inequalities, creating a collective consciousness that would inspire new experience and interpretation.¹³⁸ Thirdly, the development of technology was creating novel avenues for artists and musicians. *Avant-garde* composers, such as Karlheinz Stockhausen, Iannis Xenakis and John Cage began to explore different sound worlds within their compositions, introducing a whole range of new playing techniques and abandoning functional tonality. For some composers, such individualistic, creative freedom, alongside technological advancements, created

¹³⁷ Nettel, R., *Music in the Five Towns: 1814-1914*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1944), 1.

¹³⁸ Hewison, R., *Culture and Consensus: England, art and politics since 1940*, (London: Methuen, 1995).

opportunities for a definitive break with the past.¹³⁹ The intention of this chapter is to explore each of these three areas of change under separate headings, in order to emphasise the challenges that began to emerge within a post-war Britain that was becoming more conscious of its cultural positioning within the wider global community.

The rise of the teenage culture: tensions and resolutions

During the years of the Second World War, the youth service had been extended as a way of investing in a younger generation who would clearly play a significant part in national post-war reconstruction. The McNair Report (1944) had taken up the theme of the training, not only of teachers, but also that of youth leaders, but it was not until the publication, in 1960, of the Albemarle Report that any major departmental enquiry would be made into the voluntary and statutory work of the Youth Service.¹⁴⁰ The sociological implications of a fast-changing society on the attitudes of an adolescent population were of obvious concern.

The Standing Conference of Music Committees, in association with the National Council of Social Services, held in 1957, focused on such social change. A Mr Nichol, at the time a Midland Regional Officer, pointed out that young people were maturing earlier, had more money, independence and leisure time, and that family ties were loosening.¹⁴¹ Reflecting on these changes, he spoke of growing interest in the revival of the collection and preservation of folk music, thus highlighting the urgency of safeguarding oral music traditions of the industrial and rural communities in what was fast becoming a post-industrial society. Here was recognition that both the ‘quality’ and ‘value’ of this musical tradition made it worth preserving. It was the democratisation of an art form that in the past would have been considered to be only at the margins, in a world in which Raymond Williams believed ‘value’ and ‘quality’ had been equated with ‘traditionally sanctioned’ artistic expression.¹⁴² These oral traditions that in the

¹³⁹ Salzman, E., *Twentieth-Century Music: an introduction*, (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1974, 2nd edition).

¹⁴⁰ DCYS, The Albemarle Report, *Report of the Departmental Committee on the Youth Service in England and Wales*, (London: HMSO, 1960).

¹⁴¹ Brotherton Library, University of Leeds, Association of Education Committees Collection, 618/A1173, Minutes of The Standing Conference of Committees, 12-15 September, 1957.

¹⁴² Williams, R., *The Long Revolution*, (Canada: Broadview Press, 2001, 2nd edition), 193.

past had only survived through the passing down from person to person, or as sanitised arrangements, were now viewed nostalgically as an important and authentic record of working-class history.

It is clear, from a reading of the 1957 minutes of the Standing Conference of Music Committees, that there was already some division of opinion among the course participants about these ‘newly emerging’ musical trends. Concerns were raised about certain forms of amateur music making, with a fear that choral music traditions were dying, and that this trend should be arrested. However, there were those who wanted to embrace the new, with some representatives of the LEAs acknowledging the need to provide instruction in more ‘popular’ forms of music, thus widening accessibility. Issues around the notion of patronage, which was traditionally the funding stream and support mechanism for the arts, also caused disquiet, as the number of sources, such as grant-awarding bodies and LEAs, had increased, thus allowing a broader range of musical options to develop. Such loss of control of funding prompted criticism of the way that monies were being spent, particularly on activities such as ‘popular’ music and guitar lessons, which were viewed by some as resulting in a ‘dumbing down’ effect.

Whilst those responsible for directing educational opportunities were divided in their debate, there were signs that young people themselves were making decisions about their own forms of musical engagement:

In the land of eleven-pluses, grammar schools and BBC accents, rock and roll and pop music in general proposed an imaginative and alternative idea of ‘culture’ to that officially on offer.¹⁴³

The above statement encapsulates a world of opposing views and disagreements about the complexities of defining ‘cultural’ values within British society. For some conference members, cultural values were being eroded through commercialisation and consumerism, but, for sections of the general population, the transient nature of the experience of ‘popular’ culture was exciting and pleasurable. In any case, ‘skiffle’ and the American influenced ‘rock ‘n’ roll’

¹⁴³ Chambers, I., *Urban Rhythms: pop music and popular culture*, (London: Macmillan, 1985), 27.

styles flourished without the approval of the establishment. The mid-1950s had witnessed their increasing popularity, with Bill Haley's recording of 'Rock Around the Clock' heading the British charts for two months, from December 1955 to January 1956.

One contributor to the Standing Conference of Music Committees of 1958, Dr W K Stanton, had claimed that this form of music making was an easy route that entailed little effort, giving the example of 'skiffle', which used guitar and harmonica.¹⁴⁴ The general trend of his argument was that standards and quality had to be maintained, and the inference of it was that 'popular' styles such as 'skiffle' were not of any musical worth, and did not require any musical skills. A few years earlier, in an article published in the journal *Music in Education*, Herbert Wiseman had posited a different view. Commenting on his reaction to seeing five or six boys in an industrial town enter a local record shop to buy mouth organs, he made this positive response:

My heart rejoiced at this evidence of a desire on their part to make music of some sort for themselves, and not merely absorb it from a high priest, or even from a local jazz band. Yet - believe it or not - the high priests frown upon the mouth organ, although they are in favour of recorders - but I am also for mouth organs.¹⁴⁵

Contributing to the 1958 Conference of Standing Committees, a Mr Owens, Deputy Director of Education for Derbyshire, viewed music as a continuing process from school to youth centres and into adult education. His focus was on the need for more teachers and youth leaders to be trained to have an awareness of adolescents. In addition, he argued that there was not enough contemporary music in education, and that there should be more contact between composers and the public. A Mr Clarke of the National Association of Boys' Clubs said that he represented the 'lunatic fringe', in acknowledging that many youth were attending clubs in urban areas where their 'members liked to play bongos and lean on juke boxes'.¹⁴⁶ In an article entitled 'Juke Box Generation', Bernard

¹⁴⁴ Brotherton Library, University of Leeds, Association of Education Committees Collection, 618 /A1173, Minutes of The Standing Conference of Music Committees, 11-14 September, 1958.

¹⁴⁵ Wiseman, H., 'School Music Today', *Music in Education*, 18:20, March/April 1954, 7.

¹⁴⁶ Brotherton Library, University of Leeds, Association of Education Committees Collection, 618 /A1173, Minutes of The Standing Conference of Music Committees, 11-14 September, 1958.

Davies made the following comment after observing young people in a youth club that housed a juke-box café:

Sometimes, however, they listened to the music with both ears, closely, noting a harmony or a voice inflection or a guitar rhythm. And then, on their own guitars and with their pleasing voices, they would reproduce what they had heard.¹⁴⁷

Here was a form of musical appreciation that was self-engendered, which not only encouraged ear-centred analysis, but also promoted practical music making that developed skills and knowledge.

With the emphasis in the debate on youth clubs and young people's musical preferences, the Standing Conference inevitably turned to school-based education, the training of teachers and what might be taught. There was even some reference to the formulation of a national policy for music, but questions were raised as to how far it was practicable and who would be responsible for it. Such contestation may easily have arisen from the fear that the stranglehold, so long maintained by the traditionalists, on the content of secondary music education, was loosening, as it was now clearly evident that musical tastes were being shaped outside of the education system. However, for some members of the conference, a standard national pattern was unthinkable, as local traditions and variations were deeply embedded. The key to supporting music as a social activity was to raise standards through opportunity.

What emerges from examining the views of those attending the conferences held in 1957 and 1958 is that it appears, during the 1950s, those working with young people in youth clubs and youth organisations were much more in touch with the musical tastes and aspirations of the adolescent age group than many teachers were. At the Music Advisers' Conference of 1963, Donald Hughes who, as Chairman of the Youth Committee of the Standing Conference for Amateur Musicians, had a particular interest in the impact music was having on young people attending youth clubs, gave some pointers for those in charge of school music developments.¹⁴⁸ He offered his opinion about the crucial differences

¹⁴⁷ Davies, B., 'Juke Box Generation', *Education*, 27 November 1959, 903.

¹⁴⁸ MANA, Minutes of the Annual Conference, 26-28 June, 1963.

between the popular and classical traditions: popular music being descended from the oral traditions of folk music, with its essential element of improvisation in performance, and the classical tradition being mainly reliant on notation and written composition. The implication here is that music teachers needed to rethink some of their pedagogical approaches to the subject.

Hughes' view that music of the classical tradition was simply not 'resonating' with the 'modern child' echoed the stark findings of the Newsom Report, *Half Our Future* (1963).¹⁴⁹ Published in the same year as Hughes addressed the Music Advisers' Conference, the Report raised a number of issues about the value of curriculum music for adolescents, and recognised that many pupils were active in their own musical interests outside the school. It even suggested that teachers might consider pupils' 'recreational interests' as a starting point for lessons. However, it failed to explore the possibility of pupils employing some of their newfound and self-taught skills in the classroom. The only indication that some rethinking of pedagogy might have been considered is in the statement, 'It takes a particular skill to use that initial interest, and without rejecting what young people have spontaneously chosen'. For the imaginative teacher, this faint but positive signal could be interpreted as a way forward.

The ensuing crucial, debate among the academics revealed ongoing tensions, with Kenneth Simpson viewing the teaching of popular music and the *avant-garde* as teachers searching for novel ways in which to control their pupils, and not as a valid approach to the teaching and learning of music,¹⁵⁰ while Keith Swanwick's 1968 publication, *Popular Music and the Teacher*, provided a counter-argument to Simpson's view: 'the fact that a popular music exists need not distress those who work with music among our children'.¹⁵¹ The above examples clearly expose continuing deep rifts amongst those concerned with music education, and are a reminder that any consensus about the role and purpose of music in schools still remained a long way off.

¹⁴⁹ DES, Report of the Minister of Education's Central Advisory Committee, The Newsom Report, *Half Our Future*, (London: HMSO, 1963).

¹⁵⁰ Simpson, K., 'Music in Schools: the problems of teaching' in Cox, C. B., and Dyson, A.E., (eds.), 79-87, *Black Paper Three: goodbye Mr Short*, (London: Critical Quarterly Society, 1971), 79.

¹⁵¹ Swanwick, K., *Popular Music and the Teacher*, (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1968), 22.

The Newsom Report of 1963 underlined the lack of progress music was continuing to make in the curriculum, highlighting the fact that it was still the least well provided for of all the practical subjects, lagging behind art and the 'studio crafts'. Those teaching in the classroom would, by necessity, be forced to take note of the ever-increasing social influences on young people's attitudes to school music. In the words of Peter Clarke, 'A conspicuous and noisy youth culture, which had been hotting up for years came to the boil in the 1960s'.¹⁵² Sociologist Andy Bennett attributes the rituals of youth challenge to the prevailing hegemony during the significant rock 'n' roll years, a challenge that was to be repeated in the punk era of the mid-1970s, and acid house in the late 1980s.¹⁵³

In a rare focus on popular culture at the MANA conference of 1973, Graham Vulliamy of the University of York was invited to present his views. For Vulliamy, the introduction of popular music in schools, alongside acknowledgement of possibilities for cross-fertilisation of styles, provided a positive force for music education. Making reference to the importance of popular music in young people's lives, he also pointed out the enormous variety, different purposes and range of qualities that the genre inhabited.¹⁵⁴

Although some of the authors of the *Music Education Review*, published in 1977, remained conservative in their approach, the first volume of this new *Handbook for Teachers* did include an article that focused on the role of popular music in the classroom, and made a case for defending it as a valid component within the secondary school curriculum. As editor and contributor to the *Review*, Michael Burnett recommended that teachers should not dismiss popular music out of ignorance, and reiterated the ever-increasing view that music had, in the past, been aimed at a small minority 'consigning the rest to the other side of the cultural fence'.¹⁵⁵ In any case, popular music was becoming more eclectic, incorporating musical influences from other traditions and styles, such as blues,

¹⁵² Clarke, P., *Hope and Glory: Britain 1900-1990*, 291.

¹⁵³ Bennett, A., *Popular Music and Culture: music, identity and place*, (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2000).

¹⁵⁴ MANA, Report of the Annual Conference, 2-5 July 1973.

¹⁵⁵ Burnett, M., 'In Defence of Pop', 45-62, in Burnett, M., *Music Education Review 1: a handbook for teachers*, (London: Chappell & Co. Ltd., 1977), 45.

Indian Raga, and the ideas of experimental composers, such as Stockhausen and Berio. Therefore, teachers needed to be more open-minded in undertaking their own research, and in their willingness to embrace music as an ever-changing art form. The social historian Jonathan Rose posited the view that, as providers, the administrative, bureaucratic, academic and teachers' agendas had, in the past, dictated the course of the history of education.¹⁵⁶ Pupils, as newly empowered teenage consumers, were prompting a different narrative. Documentation relating to music education from the late 1950s and 1960s suggests that school pupils, through their growing and open resistance to old practices, contributed to a reappraisal and re-positioning of the curriculum, leading to the shifting of its focus. As a powerful form of collective expression, popular music could no longer be ignored. It had its own spontaneous approach, an easily accessible structure, and its exponents were often musically non-literate in the sense of not being able to read traditional western notation. From the 1970s onwards, youth culture and popular music was attracting global attention from sociologists, and those involved in culture and media studies.¹⁵⁷ Bennett, when making his own analysis of the value of popular music, draws on the differing assessments of Adorno and Middleton. One view, as conceived by Adorno, was that popular music, as an aspect of mass culture, was producing negative effects on society in the form of controlled oppression. Others, such as Middleton, viewed this stance to be simplistic, since it gave no credence to the personal construction of meaning and interpretive significance that the listeners themselves brought to the music.¹⁵⁸

For those teachers who were keen to embrace young people's tastes, one of the practical challenges of exploring the genre within the classroom was the supply of suitable instruments. The logistics of setting up authentic experiences were challenging, not least because of the sound level of electric instruments and drum kits, and because of limitations on space. Although suggestions were made as to how to create 'pop' music with xylophones, glockenspiels and hand percussion, it is doubtful if pupils were satisfied with this arrangement. Such dissatisfaction is

¹⁵⁶ Rose, J., *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Class*, (London: Yale University Press, 2nd Edition, 2010).

¹⁵⁷ Bennett, A., *Popular Music and Culture*.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

exemplified in an extract from Lynda Measor's 1984 research into pupil perceptions of curriculum music:

Pupils identified school music with the music of childhood. It offended their new sense of adult or adolescent identity. Roy said, 'We're only doing triangles, we should be getting trombones and things.'¹⁵⁹

Measor reported that Roy's friend agreed, indicating that they were playing tambourines, an instrument associated with the early years of the infant school. After the publication of the Newsom Report of 1963, which highlighted the narrow conception of curriculum music, there had been a distinct urgency for change,¹⁶⁰ but Measor's research reflected the painfully slow rate of progress in some quarters. Teachers, who were working in the very institutions that 'counter school culture' had rejected, faced difficult questions about the role in schools of a music that often represented the voice of socio-political ideologies. Popular music had emerged as an urban music, with lyrics often anti-establishment in tone. One solution to linking pupils to its roots was to take the genre out of school and into the city.¹⁶¹

In the 1950s, the youth service had recognised some of the issues that surrounded the failure of music to capture the imaginations of the young people in the secondary schools. Twenty years later, in the 1970s, an example of positive and productive links can be cited between the youth service and an education authority, the ILEA, which resulted in the setting up of the innovative Central London Youth Project (CLYP) at the Basement Youth Club in Covent Garden. Vulliamy and Lee found this particular initiative worthy enough to dedicate a chapter to it in their *Pop, Rock and Ethnic Music* publication, in which tutor Paul Crawford examined ways that the project had ensured a professional working space, in order to provide authentic experience for young people, alongside supportive tuition.¹⁶² Importantly, the musical learning sprang directly from the young people's interest.

¹⁵⁹ Measor, L., 'Pupil Perceptions of Subject Status', 201-217, in Goodson, I.F. and Ball, S.J., *Defining the Curriculum: Histories and Ethnographies*, (London: The Falmer Press, 1984), 206.

¹⁶⁰ CACE, Newsom Report, *Half Our Future*, paragraph 415, 140.

¹⁶¹ *ILEA Contact*, Attwood, T., 'A new approach', Issue 21, 1974, 27.

¹⁶² Crawford, P., 'The Central London Youth Project Music Workshop', in Vulliamy, G., and Lee, E., (eds.), *Pop, Rock and Ethnic Music in Schools*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 225-240.

Both of the tutors had taught in comprehensive schools, and both were members of a band, but more interestingly, neither was a trained music teacher, nor had taught the subject in schools. These committed enthusiasts created a graded programme of instruction, thus ensuring support for appropriate skill development, and also provided recordings to help with the aural learning so closely associated with rock musicians. The Basement provided an adult environment within a professionally equipped venue. This non-institutional setting offered young people what many schools could not. The Basement's positive acceptance of their tastes, musical and cultural, signalled the project's recognition of wider developments within society.

A different kind of diversity

Liberal thinking during 1950s had embraced an early willingness to acknowledge and respond to social and cultural change within British society. Significantly, the same decade would begin to witness emerging social and cultural influences springing from a different source. In 1948, the *Empire Windrush* arrived at Tilbury docks from Jamaica with 417 passengers on board. Their entry into Britain marked the ongoing, steady immigration of peoples from the West Indies, and from the Indian subcontinent, although not exclusively from these. The 1951 census revealed that 100,000 people living in Britain had been born within the New Commonwealth. Ten years later, this number had quadrupled, and, by the late 1960s, the size of what was then referred to as the 'coloured' population, had been estimated by the Institute of Race Relations to be one million.¹⁶³ During the year 1960, the total intake of people from the Caribbean was 56.3 per cent male, and 37.8 per cent female, with 5.9 per cent children.¹⁶⁴

In 1962, the Commonwealth Immigrants Act introduced restrictions on right of settlement, but despite this, the numbers of immigrants entering Britain continued to rise, as wives and their children arrived to join their husbands, thus

¹⁶³ Ibid., 325.

¹⁶⁴ Phillips, M., and Phillips T., *Windrush: The irresistible rise of multi-racial Britain*, (London: Harper Collins, 1998).

establishing settled communities.¹⁶⁵ With African-Caribbean and Asian children now entering Britain in larger numbers, the resulting impact on schools gave rise to new challenges, particularly in areas where there was a concentration of non-English-speaking immigrants.¹⁶⁶

From the late 1960s, based on the findings of the Plowden Report (1967), such areas were labelled Educational Priority Areas (EPAs): neighbourhoods of disadvantage.¹⁶⁷ New incomers had settled, for the most part, in urban areas, many of which were in decay, but offered cheap housing and manual labour. These inner-city areas were now required to make provision in schools for the children of the incomers. In an attempt to provide additional educational support, adjustments in teacher quotas favoured those priority areas, often urban, where there was a high level of immigrant settlement.¹⁶⁸ One of the main aims of the EPAs was to develop closer links between schools, home and community, thus bridging the gap between the realities of children's social lives beyond the school, and within their localities. By necessity, schools and teachers of all subjects would now be required to review curriculum content. For example, in Liverpool, and in Deptford, an area of south London, early attempts were put in place 'to mould the teaching schemes to the realities of urban life'.¹⁶⁹

In the early days of 'absorption', schools had been viewed as institutions where indigenous children and the incomers would not notice differences. However, it was the visible presence of the 'non-white' immigrants that 'gave immigration statistics a racial edge', reflecting a form of cultural bigotry and stereotyping.¹⁷⁰ In 1958, race riots broke out in the London area of Notting Hill, and in the city of Nottingham, highlighting underlying tensions and unease among the different communities, in part created by attitudes that continued to be influenced by

¹⁶⁵ Dean, D., 'The 'liberal hour'?: The Wilson government, race relations, immigrant youth and education, 1965-8', in Crook, D., and McCulloch, G., *History, Politics and Policy-making in Education*, (London: Bedford Way Papers, 2007), 107-125.

¹⁶⁶ Phillips, M., and Phillips, T., *Windrush*.

¹⁶⁷ Dean, D., 'The 'liberal hour'?', in Crook, D. and McCulloch, G., (eds.), *History, Politics and Policy-making in Education*, London: Bedford Way Papers, 2007).

¹⁶⁸ Bourne, R., 'Tackling the unsolved problems of helping educational priority areas', *Guardian*, 15 July, 1968, 16.

¹⁶⁹ Lawson, J., and Silver, H., *A Social History of Education in England*, (London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1973), 454.

¹⁷⁰ Clarke, P., *Hope and Glory: Britain 1900-1990*.

former colonial relationships.¹⁷¹ Although the Labour Government's Race Relations Act of 1965 was a step towards making racial discrimination illegal, three years later the infamous 'rivers of blood' speech, given by the Conservative MP Enoch Powell, would continue to fuel institutional racism, and exacerbate what was already a fragile situation.¹⁷² For the Labour Prime Minister, James Callaghan, the speech 'had introduced a hysterical note into the discussion' whilst Liberal MP David Steel held the view that Powell's rhetoric had 'created fantasies and fears'.¹⁷³ This was the climate in which teachers would begin to seriously consider the implications of teaching in an increasingly multi-cultural Britain.

Initially, the attitude towards immigrants was one that expected 'assimilation', rather than 'integration'. Chessum (1997), in her research into immigration in Leicester from 1960-74, revealed patterns and prevailing attitudes of the LEA during that period, attitudes which were possibly replicated across other cities.¹⁷⁴ Before the Second World War, the City of Leicester had rarely encountered any people of foreign nationality, but the situation began to change in the post-war period, with a steady flow of immigrants seeking work in Leicester-based industries.¹⁷⁵

Chessum indicates that Leicester, a separate LEA from that of the county of Leicestershire until the Local Government Act of 1972, had a settled West Indian population. During the 1960s and early 1970s, Asians began to arrive from Kenya and Uganda. Although other immigrant groups, including Polish, Ukrainian, Italian and Irish had, at various times, gravitated towards the city, the 1991 census identified Leicester as the city with the second largest classified population of 'black and Asian' citizens, London being classified as the first.

¹⁷¹ Cohen, S., *It's the same old story: immigration controls against Jews, Black and Asian people, with special reference to Manchester*, (Manchester: Manchester Council Relations Office, 1990).

¹⁷² Noyes, H., 'MP's uproar over Powell race speech', *The Times*, 12 November, 1969, 1.

¹⁷³ Editorial, 'Entry certificates bring sharp decline in immigration', *The Times*, 12 November, 1969, 6.

¹⁷⁴ Chessum, L., "'Sit down, you haven't reached that stage yet'": African Caribbean children in Leicester schools 1960-74', *History of Education Journal*, Vol. 26, No.4, 1997, 409-429.

¹⁷⁵ Panikos, P., *The Impact of Immigration: a documentary history of the effects and experiences of immigrants in Britain since 1945*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999).

Chessum cites the observations, during the 1960s, of Clifton Robins, a West Indian immigrant teaching in Leicester. He voiced his concerns over the ignorance of teachers about their West Indian pupils and their patterns of family relationships. Chessum is of the view that neither the British government nor the LEAs had planned for the arrival and settlement of the incomers. She asserts the view that, from 1960-1965, assimilation was the expectation, but that, from the mid-1960s onwards, there was a steady move towards a recognition and celebration of cultural differences. Chessum observes that one did not follow the other, but formed an overlapping transition, revealing the reluctance to shift thinking within schools, and within the wider society. Chessum's research is a useful reminder of the importance of seeking out wider background knowledge as a firm foundation from which to gain keener insight, and to shape future educational thinking.

The idea of assimilation of an increasingly diverse population is clearly evident in the lack of acknowledgement in music education publications of the late 1960s and early 1970s. The approach taken to the publication of teaching material for classroom use reflects the 'assimilation' model, with incomers being expected to settle into existing patterns. Neither the *Handbook for Music Teachers*, in its revised and enlarged edition of 1968,¹⁷⁶ nor the first volume of the *Music Education Review* of 1977,¹⁷⁷ makes a single reference to increasingly ethnically diverse school population within Britain. In the earlier Schools Council Working Paper, *Music and the Young School Leaver* (1971), examination of the causes of rejection by young people of school music at least gave recognition to the fact that teenage sub-culture was 'transcending national and class boundaries', but offered no guidance.¹⁷⁸ Significantly, Vulliamy and Lee's *Pop, Rock and Ethnic Music in the Classroom* was one of the first key publications in Britain designed specifically to support music educators in implementing a range of cultural approaches (1982).¹⁷⁹ This book not only offered musical guidance and practical ideas, but also, and more importantly, discussed a series of theoretical issues

¹⁷⁶ Rainbow, B., (gen. ed.), *Handbook for Music Teachers*, (London: Novello & Company Ltd., 2nd edition, 1968).

¹⁷⁷ Burnett, M., (ed.), *Music Education Review*, Vol. 1.

¹⁷⁸ Schools Council, *Music and the Young School Leaver: problems and opportunities*, Schools Council Working Paper 35, (London: Evans/Methuen, 1971).

¹⁷⁹ Vulliamy, G., and Lee, E., *Pop, Rock and Ethnic Music in School*.

attached to the introduction of a more diverse range of music. In addition to proposing that richness came out of diversity, the book was keen to explore pedagogical approaches to making musical connections. Although this publication was a late recognition of the impact that influences relating to immigration had brought to British life, it was a welcome addition to music education literature. It encouraged music teachers to look beyond the more orthodox school curriculum.

Writing in the *British Journal of Music Education* in 1986, Patricia Shehan, an American university lecturer, equated the increase in activity in the field of ethnomusicology with an increasing percentage of music other than Western beginning to feature in school texts during the late 1970s and 1980s. Her findings in America resonated closely with the situation in Britain. However, Shehan warned that while this was a positive development, it was imperative that teachers should guard against shaping taste, highlighting the trap of adult preferences influencing curriculum content. For Shehan, familiarity with a wider range of traditions could, at its best, provide pupils with a ‘useful flexibility of approach to music’.¹⁸⁰

Whilst educational music publications were barely acknowledging racial diversity, there had been increasing politicisation and heightened awareness of issues related to ‘cultural’ inheritance. In the 1960s, the actions of the American Civil Rights Movement had begun to impact on the British black population. This politicised movement produced a number of high-profile black thinkers, writers and activists, such as Martin Luther King, a prominent leader of the Civil Rights Movement, Malcolm X, a human rights agitator, and Eldridge Cleaver, a member of the Black Panther Movement. Supporters of the movement included singers with their roots in the American folk tradition, such as Bob Dylan and Joan Baez, who wrote and recorded politically driven songs of freedom. This prompted a rise in the popularity of folk-style guitar playing, and in Britain some teachers began to abandon their traditional position behind the piano and to lead singing from the front, using the guitar to accompany a different kind of

¹⁸⁰ Shehan, P. K., ‘Towards Tolerance and Taste: preference for World Musics’, 153-163, in *British Journal of Music Education*, Vol. 3, No. 2, July, 1986, 154.

repertoire. In 1970, the black voice gained a higher profile within the world of popular music, with Nina Simone releasing the song ‘Young, gifted and black’, which became an anthem for the Civil Rights Movement. In Britain, the 1970s witnessed the rise of the Rastafarian movement, with its focus on black roots, which became synonymous with Reggae, a symbol of Caribbean youth resistance to racism.¹⁸¹ The increase in the range of music production was allowing easier consumer access. Those music teachers working within ethnically diverse communities could no longer assume ‘assimilation’.

Vulliamy and Lee had been aware that teacher confidence, when introducing music outside of their own direct experience, would be severely challenged, and that care would be needed to avoid being tokenistic. The ethnomusicologist, Neil Sorrell, in his contributory chapter to their publication, warned teachers that trying to fit Western notation into other cultural contexts could lead to limitations. Many traditions used ear-centred approaches, or had developed genre-appropriate forms of notation. On the other hand, the same ‘qualities required in the musicians’ were parallel to those crucial in the interpretation of Western music.¹⁸² Although teasing out similarities and differences across traditions and styles, Sorrell implied that the fundamental principles of music making were universally compatible. This would be borne out in the increase of cross-cultural collaborations, and the blurring of musical boundaries.

The move towards a more practical and open curriculum, with experimental work gaining a foothold, allowed for pupils being presented with opportunities to compose and perform their own music. Such activity provided a more inclusive platform for music making. In a key text of its time, *How Musical is Man?* (1973), the ethnomusicologist John Blacking cited examples of differing attitudes to musical ability. In Western societies only a few people were perceived as being musical, whereas, for example, the Venda people of Southern Africa were

¹⁸¹ Bennett, A., *Popular Music and Youth Culture*.

¹⁸² Sorrell, N., ‘Balinese music’, 199-210, in Vulliamy, G., and Lee, E., *Pop, Rock and Ethnic Music in School*, 201.

all recognised as musical and music makers. In this context, Blacking's proposition was of music as a universal need, and as having intrinsic value.¹⁸³

If all pupils were to be viewed as potential music makers, they needed the appropriate resources to realise their musical ideas. Educational suppliers responded positively by making available instruments that would reflect a wider range of cultures. Some of the instruments previously heard on 'world music' recordings were now obtainable as sound sources for composition and performance. Pitts pointed out that the fieldwork recordings of ethnomusicologists had brought valuable listening experiences to interested musicians,¹⁸⁴ although Blacking warned that to listen to these with Western ears could lead to misconceptions about structure and style. The challenge was to tease out intercultural similarities and differences, and to consider context and purpose.

In 1985, the publication of the Swann Report raised wider issues, indicating that many of the difficulties faced by ethnic minorities were due not only to social deprivation, but also to the exacerbation of inherent racism by sections of the population, including teachers.¹⁸⁵ Those in education were now in a position where they would be required not only to create a clearer rationale on which to base a more inclusive curriculum, but also to be proactive in combating racist attitudes amongst pupils and staff.

One striking development, which was to become a recognised symbol of an attempt to respond to societal change, was the introduction of steel pan tuition into schools. Early research undertaken by George Fisher, steel pan teacher and research fellow at Brunel University, revealed that, in the early 1970s, very few primary schools were providing steel pan tuition, but that, by 1982, there were in excess of 50 primary and secondary schools involved in such tuition across a

¹⁸³ Blacking, J., *How Musical is Man?*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1973).

¹⁸⁴ Pitts, S., *A Century of Change in Music Education*.

¹⁸⁵ Gordon, P., Aldrich, R., and Dean, D., *Education and Policy and Practice in England in the Twentieth Century*.

number of LEAs.¹⁸⁶ For Fisher, this was a conscious act to promote cultural identity, and to combat some of the issues arising among pupils from West Indian backgrounds within schools. However, in addition, he proposed that steel band tuition should not be aimed solely at the West Indian community, but should become part of a shared culture. Emyr Wynne Jones, who was teaching music in a predominantly ‘white’ area of Manchester in the mid-1980s, endorses this view when recounting that ‘multi-cultural experiences were being positively fostered across the city’. His own school boasted not only a steel band, but also an Indian Music Ensemble.¹⁸⁷ Some steel pan specialists, such as Fisher, encouraged a multi-cultural focus for all, and were also keen to promote a more eclectic steel band repertoire that included English folk, classical pieces, and popular tunes. Others maintained that authenticity, a way of ensuring legitimacy and continuity of the genre’s Trinidadian roots, was key to promoting the tradition.¹⁸⁸ Retaining a closeness and faithfulness to particular cultural contexts was viewed as being desirable, a strengthening strand across ethnically rooted generational divides. However, John Finney, in his recent publication, presented the convincing argument that young people were absorbing musical skills within a British socio-cultural environment, thus bringing a form of existential authenticity to their music making.¹⁸⁹ ‘Filtering’, ‘adaptation’ and ‘personal interpretation’, when imbued with cultural respect for musical meanings and values, could not be separated from ‘absorption’ of other styles and genres.¹⁹⁰

Peter Fletcher, educationist and inspector for music, posited his own view of the situation, believing that music was necessarily divided into categories, such as ‘baroque music, folk music, “pop” music and African music traditions’, and that all these traditions could be suitably explored in school. He warned, however, that with new technologies opening up and providing a wider view of the world, particularly beyond Western Europe, education, in trying to absorb the many traditions, had responded by throwing them into a ‘melting pot’. There was little

¹⁸⁶ DES, Swann Report. ‘Education for all: the report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic minorities, (London: HMSO, 1985).

¹⁸⁷ Emyr Wynne Jones, interview with the author, 26 April, 2012.

¹⁸⁸ Vulliamy, G., and Lee E., (eds.), *Pop, Rock and Ethnic Music in School*.

¹⁸⁹ Finney, J., *Music in Education in England 1950-2010*.

¹⁹⁰ Blacking, J., *Music Culture and Experience, Selected Papers of John Blacking*, (London: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

understanding of the context and function of music, resulting in ill-founded concepts. His challenge to the ‘school music’ approach was exemplified in his description of ‘steel bands thundering out “Swan Lake” while bands of recorder players pipe the “Jamaican Rumba” or choirs regurgitate cant, imitation jazz, while ill-assorted orchestras churn out “Hymn to Joy” – the received tradition.’¹⁹¹

Long before any debate had taken place about the role that differing cultural traditions might play in schools, in some areas of Britain, ethnically diverse musical styles were already out in the public domain. In 1951, a steel band, the ‘Trinidad All Stars’, had been invited to perform at the prestigious Festival of Britain. Although the steel pan tradition has its roots within Trinidad, in Britain the genre was to become representative of West Indian culture generally. In schools, steel band tuition developed as an addition to instrumental provision. When in post as Steel Band Organiser for the ILEA (1978-1990), Gerald Forsyth encountered particular difficulties in finding suitable pan teachers who could meet the demands of the structured school environment. His solution was to select those school leavers who were able pan players, and also familiar with the British education system, as instrumental teachers.¹⁹²

In line with the developments in London, in 1975, Manchester LEA approved steel pans provision to allow the setting up of steel bands. In 1978, an Ethnic Music Faculty was created to include Caribbean, Indian, Chinese and Russian music traditions, with a base that was to become known as the World Music Centre. In 1982, Peter Fletcher, when in post as Director for Music for Leicestershire, reported that in Leicester steel pan teachers had been working within the authority for the last ten years. It may be concluded that steel pan initiatives across these three LEAs had matched the growing awareness that school-based musical experiences need not exclude the traditions representing ethnic minorities.

Fletcher continued to make his views known regarding multi-cultural aspects of teaching. From 1982 onwards, with the Leicester Education Authority now absorbed into Leicestershire, he started to raise concerns that the steel bands

¹⁹¹ Fletcher, P., *Education and Music*, (Oxford: OUP, 1987), xiii-xiv.

¹⁹² Gerald Forsyth, interview with the author, 14 April, 2011.

might become a substitute for Western music, rather than an addition to it. He cited the fact that some secondary schools with large white populations were forming steel bands, a situation that was replicated elsewhere. In this case, the popularity of the tradition was perceived as a threat, rather than a form of cultural enrichment. In actuality, the introduction of steel pan teaching had appealed to a whole range of pupils. Such ear-centred music making was an inroad for pupils who did not read traditional Western notation, and it was a collective activity that could take place within the curriculum, as well as in an extra-curricular setting, lending itself to group and peer learning. That it was popular within black, white and mixed communities is testimony to its appeal.

Pedagogical and authenticity issues are in evidence, when examining the thinking behind Peter Fletcher's proposed methodologies. In his report to the Leicestershire Arts Education Committee, in May 1982, Fletcher relayed ongoing concerns about introducing music other than Western into schools, and indicated that consideration should be given to the 'problems of ethnic music'. In particular, he suggested that there should be some research into ways in which Asian music could be successfully taught. His approach to finding a solution was to be based on his own belief that, the classical traditions of Indian music, which were linked to the 'secure roots of the past', should form the heart of the teaching.¹⁹³ He was concerned about Asian teenagers wishing to 'expunge their classical traditions'.¹⁹⁴ What Fletcher failed to acknowledge was that these British-born teenagers were forming their own cultural identities through engaging with popularised Asian traditions.

In contrast to Fletcher's fears about the loss of Western traditions, Leicestershire's Director of Education, Andrew Fairbairn, was keen that Asian music teaching and the playing of Asian instruments should not be limited solely to Asian pupils. In addition, he maintained that more Asian and West Indian children should be receiving opportunities to access other instrumental

¹⁹³ Leicestershire Record Office (LRO), Minutes of the Arts Education Committee, Report of the Principal Music Adviser, 27 May, 1982.

¹⁹⁴ LRO, Minutes of the Arts Education Committee, Report of the Principal Music Adviser, 23 September, 1982.

traditions.¹⁹⁵ It may have been that, in Fairbairn's mind, heed had to be taken of growing criticism by some members within Leicestershire's education community of Fletcher's single-minded and seemingly 'exclusive' approach (see Chapters 5 and 6).

Nevertheless, Fletcher's course of action was to look at the possibility of employing two teachers of Indian classical music through the use of government-provided Section 11 funding, made available from 1966, which was allocated to give language and cultural support to educationally disadvantaged ethnic groups.¹⁹⁶ In 1983, he made a trip to India in order to learn more about Indian classical music traditions. For his Indian Classical Music scheme, Fletcher hand picked three teachers from India whom he wished to employ, to give lessons and workshops in sitar, tabla and voice, but who had to wait for Home Office approval. Some members of the Leicestershire Arts Education Committee saw this move as bypassing the usual route to employment of staff, that of advertising posts so that staff could be appointed in a fair manner. Fletcher prevailed, since Indian classical music master classes were held at the Leicestershire School of Music, as part of an in-service training programme for teachers.

After Fletcher's departure in 1984, Leicestershire continued to support the Asian music initiative with the Gulbenkian Foundation awarding a two-year grant to finance the work of two young musicians from India and Bangladesh from 1984-1986. Part of their brief was to work in school communities inside and outside of Leicester, and to develop suitable methodologies for teaching Asian music traditions within the framework of a Western education.¹⁹⁷ The 'guru' or 'teacher-disciple' model of teaching, initiated by Fletcher, with its emphasis on individual performance and improvisation, was proving unsuitable for the needs of pupils. With the procedures and processes of cultural practices being many and varied, the complexities of introducing music other than Western was proving to be challenging. In an article written for the *BJME*, in 1986, Gerry Farrell, a sitar player with instrumental teaching experience in schools, carefully

¹⁹⁵ LRO, Minutes of the Arts Education Committee, 23 September, 1982.

¹⁹⁶ LRO, Report of the Principal Music Adviser, 27 May, 1982.

¹⁹⁷ LRO, Report of the Principal Music Adviser, 3 August, 1984.

highlighted the danger of making ‘blanket statements’ about the ‘cultural context’ within such a vast country as India.¹⁹⁸ In his approach to introducing the North Indian Classical tradition into Leicestershire, Fletcher had succeeded in embedding authenticity of one kind, but the transference of musical learning styles into a school system dominated by very different cultural norms proved challenging.

In hindsight, it is easy to be critical of the slow realisation of the implications of multi-cultural diversity on the British education system. Ashley Bramall, Leader of the ILEA from 1970-1981, admitted that, during the 1960s and 1970s, there had been ‘too little acknowledgement of London’s developing multi-cultural character’.¹⁹⁹ Also, Hamish Preston, Music Inspector for the ILEA (1973-1976), had expressed his own concerns about the lack of national recognition of change. At the Music Advisers’ Conference of 1976, he noted that some of the lectures and forums had not attracted the interest they ought to have warranted. As an example, he cited one forum on music education in a multi-cultural society:

This should have been a winner but at no stage did the discussion centre on crucial topics such as ‘what should our attitude be to ethnic minorities who seek our help in preserving their own culture?’ Very disappointing.²⁰⁰

Preston was possibly keen to make this point because he felt that shared collegiality, even for those music advisers for whom ethnically diverse cultural settings were outside their experience, could dispel mistaken assumptions, and promote curriculum reforms that would better reflect a multi-racial Britain.

The avant-garde: innovative and contemporary approaches

Whilst the Newsom Report was signalling rejection of the secondary music curriculum, there was more than a glimmer of hope stemming from important classroom developments being undertaken during the mid-1960s in some London secondary schools. In London classrooms a small but significant group of young composer-teachers began to experiment with their interest and skill in contemporary music. Young composers, such as David Bedford and George

¹⁹⁸ Farrell, G., ‘Teaching Indian Music in the West: problems, approaches and possibilities’, 267-278, *British Journal of Music Education*, Vol. 3, No. 3, November, 1986, 270.

¹⁹⁹ Bramall, A., ‘London’s decade of change’, *Times Educational Supplement*, 22 May, 1981, 4.

²⁰⁰ MANA, letter from Hamish Preston, dated 21 January, 1976.

Self, both of whom were on the staff at Holloway Boys' School, and Brian Dennis at Shoreditch School, began to experiment, using a participatory approach, with ways of involving whole classes of pupils in performing, improvising and composing activities, and finding ways of using classroom percussion to realise contemporary music styles.²⁰¹ These composer-teachers were following in the footsteps of an earlier pioneering individual who had initiated pupil-led composition.

In 1959, Peter Maxwell Davies, the Manchester-born composer, took up a post as music teacher at Cirencester Grammar School. Initially, he viewed the post primarily as a form of financial support, but what transpired, following his appointment, was influential, not only in Davies's own compositional writing, but also in the pioneering of a new approach to school music. Paul Griffiths, his biographer, makes this audacious assessment of his teaching: 'Pupils were not singing third-rate folk-song settings or being instructed in 'musical appreciation,' the emphasis was on the creative practice of music'.²⁰² Pupils were encouraged to improvise and compose, in small groups, through experimentation and discovery. As a working composer, Davies was able to support his pupils by being on hand to suggest compositional techniques, and to focus on analysis and performance. He found that pupils responded well to this way of working:

The kids came to terms with it very quickly. Members of staff: that was more difficult. A lot of them thought they knew what music ought to be, and this wasn't what it sounded like.²⁰³

Davies's teaching had been undertaken at a grammar school, but there were emerging models of similar approaches to fostering pupil creativity, as, for example, at the inner-city Holloway Boys' School in London. Here, too, pupils were being encouraged to create their own music, using percussion instruments and tape recorders and, more interestingly, to voice their thoughts about musical processes. Gillian Widdicombe, in an article in the *TES* in 1969, opened with an extract quoting pupil dialogue related to musical ideas, a dialogue she termed 'creative conversation':

²⁰¹ Review, 'The sound is music', *The Times*, 23 October, 1967, 6, Mann, W., Review, 'School music sprung from Science Fiction', *The Times*, 18 March, 1969, 15.

²⁰² Griffiths, P., *Peter Maxwell Davies*, (London: Robson Books, 1982), 17.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 105.

You tape them at the same time, so you get exactly the same sounds, but one slightly half the speed of the other you know. So in fact you start together and you gradually diverge? Yes, yes. Hit the cymbal and just let it carry on. Then gradually reverse the volumes, so it seems to go round and round like that . . .²⁰⁴

Widdicombe entitled her article ‘Not Stockhausen’s studio’, a reference, presumably, to the basic nature of the equipment being used. However, she did not fail to remind the reader of the sophisticated exploration of texture and timbre that was taking place, a strong feature of the avant-garde style. It is important to note that this voluntary extra-curricular activity was not aimed at the instrumentalists within the school, but was offered to anyone who wished to attend. Its location was significant in that extraordinary things were happening in an ordinary setting:

. . . red-brick schoolroom, with two sinks and a blackboard, a dozen bench desks and a battered upright piano in a large comprehensive in one of the rudest and roughest corners of London. More amazingly still, the sixth form boys were attending a voluntary class. Here, and in several other schools, a musical revolution is taking place.²⁰⁵

There was no specialist accommodation, a situation highlighted in the Newsom Report as being common for music, only a determination to introduce a more musically relevant and inclusive curriculum.

Both Self at Holloway, and Dennis at Shoreditch, independently produced their ideas in the form of published resources for teachers, *New Sounds in Class: a Contemporary Approach to Music* (1967),²⁰⁶ and *Experimental Music in School* (1970).²⁰⁷ These two books proved to be influential, as music educators across the country could now access the authors’ novel approaches to classroom work. Other publications followed, including Terence Dwyer’s *Progressive Scores* (1971),²⁰⁸ and a series of composed graphic scores published by Universal

²⁰⁴ Widdicombe, G., ‘New Sound Worlds’, *Times Educational Supplement*, 7 February, 1969, 409.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 407-14.

²⁰⁶ Self, G., *New Sounds in Class*, (London: Universal Edition, 1967).

²⁰⁷ Dennis, B., *Experimental Music in Schools*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967).

²⁰⁸ Dwyer, T., *Progressive Scores*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971).

Edition, under the title *Music for the Young Player*. The work of the Canadian composer, Murray Schafer, who produced a number of thought-provoking publications for schools, including *When Words Sing*,²⁰⁹ *The New Soundscape*²¹⁰ and *The Rhinoceros in the Classroom*,²¹¹ was influential in that he openly challenged some of the attitudes closely linked to mainstream education. His commitment to embodying creative music making within a curriculum was closely linked to self-expression and self-empowerment, underpinned by a belief that all children are capable of making an original piece of music. Self, whilst teaching at Holloway, was certainly committed to engineering change in attitudes to music education, as is exemplified in an article, written in 1965, which opens with the words:

Nothing short of a revolution is needed in school music. There has been frequent talk of relating music taught in school to the contemporary scene; this talk is just so much cant aimed at maintaining the status quo.²¹²

Self and Dennis both challenged the *status quo* of music teaching, but, in a later critique of Self's approach, Stephanie Pitts thought it to be rather controlled and teacher-directed.²¹³ Peter Fletcher's post-1960s view was that any charges levelled against the work as too teacher-directed, was 'to miss the point'. He saw the work of Self and Dennis as 'a new approach to solving the classroom problem'. The use of the word 'problem' needs to be interpreted here. Perhaps it is best explained in terms of the challenges highlighted in the Newsom Report, and in the light of the newly surfacing philosophy that was underpinning the comprehensive ideal. Fletcher believed that the approach had 'limited objectives', but 'raised aural awareness of the simple parameters of musical sounds'.²¹⁴

In June 1970, the Cockpit Theatre opened in London, a more sophisticated venture that was to authenticate the innovative work of Self and Dennis. This was a purpose-built Youth Arts Workshop venue, especially commissioned by

²⁰⁹ Schafer, M., *When Words Sing*, (Canada: Berandol Music, 1960).

²¹⁰ Schafer, M., *The New Soundscape*, (Canada: Berandol Music, 1969).

²¹¹ Schafer, M., *The Rhinoceros in the Classroom*, (London: Universal Edition, 1975).

²¹² Self, G., 'Revolution', *Music in Education*, May/June, 1965, 126.

²¹³ Pitts, S., *A Century of Change in Music Education*, 78.

²¹⁴ Fletcher, P., *Education and Music*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).

the ILEA. It housed an electronic music laboratory and a music studio. The intention was to attract pupils in the 15-18 age-range, and to offer experiences in ‘popular’ music, the *avant-garde*, and jazz. Demonstration workshops, led by Cockpit music staff, introduced new sound technology and methods of notation to teachers and pupils. For teachers, this provided valuable in-service training, and, for pupils, access to a well-equipped music studio, beyond what was available in most schools. The Cockpit often explored controversial issues through drama, dance, art and music, and was not afraid to present the arts as a challenge to political ideas, and as a route to overturning conventional teaching approaches. John Stephens believes that ILEA support for the Cockpit Theatre demonstrated ‘that the politicians were prepared to take the risk’.²¹⁵

In Manchester, too, an example has been recorded of electronic music facilities being provided at the music centre in the north of the city, which housed a workshop where compositional possibilities could be explored, not only those produced by keyboards and synthesisers, but also through recording ‘found’ sounds and changing them electronically.²¹⁶ This period of transitional significance, which focused on the influence of the *avant-garde* and on developing technology, brought additional contemporary aspects to the subject. Innovative possibilities not only presented teachers with refreshingly novel ways of defining curriculum content, but also offered the chance to genuinely redefine pedagogical practices.

Curriculum change: the Schools Council Project

From the 1950s onwards, the significant changes within British society, alongside the introduction of comprehensive education, prompted continuing and serious reconsideration of curriculum content. In 1960, David Eccles, the Conservative Minister of Education, further opened up curriculum debate when he referred to ‘the secret garden of the curriculum’, thus expressing Ministerial interest in an area that had hitherto attracted little attention.²¹⁷

²¹⁵ Ibid, John Stephens, interview with the author, 23 July, 2002.

²¹⁶ Manchester Education Committee Minutes, Vol. 3C, 1973, 1746.

²¹⁷ Lowe R., *The Death of Progressive Education*, (London: Routledge, 2007).

Following on from Eccles' statement, in 1962, a newly appointed Curriculum Study Group was set up to consider broader-based schooling that would take more account of what was happening within the wider society. Opposition to this move, by teachers and LEAs, stemmed from their own lack of representation in the group, it being made up of Ministry officials and HMIs.²¹⁸ In 1964, the Schools Council for Curriculum and Examinations was established, being 'conceived as a hopeful act of reconciliation', by bringing together the views of all those bodies involved in policy and practice, particularly those of teachers.²¹⁹ A number of important and influential projects emerged, including some that were subject-based, from what was to be a period of teacher-centred curriculum development.

In 1973, the Music in the Secondary School Curriculum 11-18 Project, was set up and based at York University's Music Department, under the directorship of John Paynter. The possibilities for starting the Project had begun earlier, in 1971, as a means of revisiting music's continually insecure place in the curriculum, and as an opportunity to concentrate on classroom pedagogy and practice.²²⁰ The focus of the Project, as Paynter made clear in his Progress Report of 1978, was to examine the relationship between music and the classroom curriculum, and to find possible ways of discovering if musical activity was a realistic possibility for the majority of pupils. By building on the work of those teacher-composers who had instigated opportunities for pupils to connect with the medium of sound through experimental, creative and interpretative approaches, he argued that 'artistic' experience could be achieved. Allaying the fears of the traditionalists, he was confident that, in opening up new avenues of educational thinking in music teaching, established traditions and techniques need not be threatened or discarded.²²¹ For Paynter, the challenge for the Project lay in the recognition of music as an experience of sound, and in the devising classroom courses that

²¹⁸ Gordon, P., Aldrich, R., and Dean, D., *Education and Policy in England in the Twentieth Century*.

²¹⁹ Plaskow, M., 'The Life and Death of the Schools Council: a long view from the inside', in Plaskow, M., (ed), *Life and Death of the Schools Council*, (London: The Falmer Press, 1985), 1-13.

²²⁰ Paynter, J., Project Director's Report, 'The Project in Retrospect: a personal view', unpublished report, 1978, on temporary loan to the author from Helen Coll.

²²¹ *Ibid.*

could ‘involve large numbers of young people in making music in many different styles.’²²²

In particular, Paynter highlighted the ongoing tensions between music in the curriculum and as an extra-curricular performance activity, placing emphasis on the way in which class music lessons had been undervalued. In essence, the majority of pupils in secondary education were not viewed as musical, with only ten per cent of them, those traditionally skilled in music, supported appropriately.

Paynter was sharply critical:

Rather than seeking to widen the impact of music education by acknowledging the fact that most pupils are not conventionally ‘musical’, many teachers seek to improve the status of the subject by abandoning the majority and devoting their energies to the more high-powered but smaller O- and A- level groups.²²³

As the catalyst for a new debate Paynter can be viewed as being instrumental in promoting a different attitude and approach to classroom music. In a letter published in *Music Teacher* in 1971, Rupert Thackray, Deputy Director of the Music Project, pre-empted contentious issues that would naturally arise from future curriculum debate, with some educators finding ‘results too conservative, too advanced or too compromising’.²²⁴

Eight years later, in 1979, Hamish Preston would posit the view that, although there was increasing advocacy of ‘progressive points of view’, many teachers found this ‘disturbing rather than acceptable’.²²⁵ This view resonates with some of Thackray’s predicted outcomes of the Paynter-led project, and highlights some of the restrictive practices still remaining central to the design of the music curriculum. Paynter’s project placed teachers at the heart of the music debate, with some piloting ideas and materials, and others trialling them within their schools, thus creating a large network of like-minded educators from across England and Wales, who demonstrated commitment to ideologies that would attempt to break a purely ‘traditional’ mould.

²²² Paynter, J., ‘Music for the majority’, 24-28, *General Education*, No. 32, Summer, 1979, 27.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 24.

²²⁴ Thackray, R., published letter, *Music Teacher*, Vol. 54, No. 11, November, 1975.

²²⁵ Preston, G. H. H., ‘The search for a purpose in Music Education’, paper presented to the Berkshire Education Service, 1979.

To sustain and broaden the network, post-project dissemination was viewed as crucial, and, in 1980, it was reported that there were 10 or 11 regional dissemination centres for music in England and Wales. The majority of these were based in teacher-training institutions, but, interestingly, in Stockport, a small unitary authority south of Manchester, the LEA made the decision to establish their own dissemination centre, which would serve other Greater Manchester unitary authorities, and Manchester itself.²²⁶

During an informal interview, Helen Coll, former music teacher and lecturer, recalled her own initiation into the Project, and her own valuable introduction to one model of in-service training.²²⁷ As a young teacher working in York, she had met Paynter when he visited her school in an advisory capacity. She was immediately struck by the way in which he was able to skilfully realise his philosophical ideals through engaging pupils in a practical way in what was then termed ‘an experimental curriculum’. Shortly after being appointed director of the Project, Paynter invited Coll to become a member of the consultative committee. It is in this capacity that she gained the experience to qualify for leadership of the Greater Manchester dissemination programme in Stockport in 1979. Peter Harle, the then Music Adviser for Stockport, had acquired a unique combination of Schools Council and LEA funding to support the running of a dissemination centre.

It was clear that there was support for the meeting convened in Stockport, in March 1980, as there was a high attendance of music advisers from the surrounding LEAs, with two representatives from Manchester. During her tenure, Coll was never invited to undertake direct work with Manchester schools,²²⁸ and it can be surmised from this situation that there was minimal direct involvement by that authority with the project. It may be the case, as argued by Eric Briault, writing from the perspective of Chief Education Officer for the ILEA, that in some LEAs influence on curriculum development came

²²⁶ Papers loaned by Helen Coll, temporarily held in the author’s possession: notes of the first meeting of the Consultative Committee, held at Stockport Teachers’ Centre, 21 January, 1980.

²²⁷ Helen Coll, interview with the author, 17 April, 2012.

²²⁸ Ibid.

directly from the LEA inspectors and advisers.²²⁹ Working closely with schools in their own authorities, they could draw on first-hand experience, and many produced curriculum guidelines, especially those working in the larger authorities. In particular, Briault noted the lack of LEA opposition to the closure of the Schools Council, although he did acknowledge the dissemination work achieved by field officers in the later stages of the Council's work. Also, he recognised that the work had fed into the teachers' centres, and had influenced in-service training, indicating that a symbiotic relationship was feasible.

If the debate were to move beyond content and method, then it was imperative that teachers should consider the 'why', and not simply the 'how', of curriculum design. If music curriculum were to genuinely attract serious debate that would eventually lead to change and innovation, this would require a more flexible, adaptable receptivity to accessing new areas of knowledge.²³⁰ The Schools Council was one agency that had given music educators a key opportunity to extend teacher professionalism. For those who took advantage of the Schools Council's dissemination programme, there were perceived rewards. Emyr Wynne Jones, who was teaching in Bury during Coll's time in post, remembers the long and important discussions that took place at the Centre, where time was set aside for teachers to reflect, re-examine and rethink current practice.²³¹ Coll believes that the time allocated for teacher reflection was invaluable in promoting collegiality, and in stimulating changes in actual practice.

London was an active participant within the Schools Council Project, with several schools involved, the author of this thesis having been heavily committed, thus having first-hand knowledge. The Institute of Education University of London, with its Music Department led by Keith Swanwick, was a centrally based dissemination centre well placed to take the Project forward. In his book, *A Basis for Music Education*, published in 1979, Swanwick engendered further fresh debate, firstly by outlining his own conceptual framework for music

²²⁹ Briault, E., 'The Other Paymaster: the view from the Local Authorities', Plaskow, M., (ed), in *Life and Death of the Schools Council*.

²³⁰ Hoyle, E., 'How does the curriculum change?', Hooper, R., *The Curriculum: context, design and development*, (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, The Open University Press, 1971), 375-398.

²³¹ Emyr Wynne Jones, interview with the author, 26 April, 2012.

education, and, secondly, by suggesting that a more intellectual rationalisation be brought to the creative practical work then being undertaken in some classrooms.²³²

Although no evidence has been uncovered that Leicestershire schools participated in the Schools Council's Secondary Music Project, Fletcher's report to the Director of Education, in September 1982, acknowledged that much work had been done to promote 'creative methods' in the classroom and that the Project had promoted discussion amongst Leicestershire teachers. From Fletcher's point of view, creative methods 'absolutely' demanded creative teachers.²³³ Also, there is evidence of some in-service training having been linked to the work of the Schools Council Project, such as a course entitled 'Improvising in Secondary Schools', which raised awareness of conflicting objectives between performance and creative music making.²³⁴ In a county where performance was favoured and promoted heavily, at least a different kind of discussion was taking place.

Both John Stephens, former Staff Inspector for Music in the ILEA (1976-1990), and Helen Coll, have expressed their belief that the subsequent 14-16 music examination requirements, as well as the National Curriculum for Music itself, would not exist in their current form without the enormous influence that both Paynter and Swanwick exerted on music educational thinking.²³⁵ The Project, and the ensuing dissemination of it, had contributed towards the formulation of a new premise for debate, and had reshaped thinking about the definition of the role and purpose of a secondary music curriculum, one that was aimed at the majority of pupils. However, if this majority were to be viewed as potential musicians, it would be inevitable that the 14-16 examination routes would require some rethinking in order to accommodate a wider range of experiences.

²³² Swanwick, K., *A Basis for Music Education*, (Slough: NFER-Nelson, 1979).

²³³ LRO, Principal Music Adviser's Report to the Director of Education, 23 September, 1982.

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ John Stephens, interview with the author, 12 April 2011, Helen Coll, interview with the author 17 April, 2012.

Examinations: new departures

The General Certificate of Education (GCE) in music had traditionally been a minority subject at examination level (see Chapter 2). In 1965, the Labour Government introduced a second examination, the Certificate of Secondary Examination (CSE), as a means of meeting the needs of the majority of pupils, with the GCE remaining in place for grammar schools, and for the more able secondary modern and comprehensive school pupils.

In 1962, a music panel of HMIs was consulted on its views about the proposals for the new CSE.²³⁶ The panel was initially reluctant to support a widening of examination work, basing their thinking on the premise that practical music making, a slowly growing trend, did not lend itself easily to objective assessment. However, if music were to survive within the secondary school examinations system, then an objective model of assessment would, of necessity, need to be incorporated. John Finney, in his book *Music Education in England, 1950-2010*, encapsulates the obvious dilemma that the CSE panel must have faced, suggesting that there was a resulting polarisation, between the ‘subjectivity’ of personal musical creation, and the continuing ‘objectivity’ in ‘codified harmonic progressions, melodic patternings, musical historical truths and procedures that endorsed high status knowledge’.²³⁷

In June 1963, the new, if somewhat unimaginative, CSE syllabus was trialled in schools, the majority of which were of secondary modern status, with an emphasis on tests of musical literacy and general musical knowledge, and with the teachers left to decide on whether or not to present examples of ‘corporate activity’. The major area of concern raised by the teachers trialling the materials was the difficulty experienced by pupils in undertaking rhythm and melody dictation, but overall they welcomed the more accessible basis for developing general musicianship. An example of more effective linking of sound to symbol was to be found in the listening test, which was linked to actual recordings. The emerging aims incorporated a move towards more musical engagement, with

²³⁶ The Schools Council, Examinations Bulletin No.10, *The Certificate of Secondary Education: Experimental Examinations: Music*, (London: HMSO, 1966).

²³⁷ Finney, J., *Music Education in England, 1950-2010*, 64.

‘corporate music making’ as part of the examination, some testing of aural perception of the kind ‘required in actual performance’, and encouragement of a wider knowledge of music, in contrast to the two or three set works studied for GCE. In addition, it was suggested that scope be given to allow pupils to pursue some of their individual interests.

In a number of trial schools of 1963, the emphasis on corporate and individual music making was particularly effective, but clearly much depended on the level of practical activity undertaken within a school. Stephanie Pitts, when presenting her own historical perspectives on the introduction of the CSE in music, raises the issue of group composition and performance. As she points out, the 1960s had witnessed a growing demand for a more practical curriculum, but composition and group performance within the music classroom was not, as yet, well established.²³⁸ One of the principal conclusions when undertaking an examination that involved practical components was that it required better accommodation and equipment:

The trouble is that almost every attempt to economise throws the examiner back upon the more academic, non-musical type of questioning and thus diverts schools from the practical music making which most of them wish to pursue.²³⁹

Despite perceived challenges, what emerged was that the teachers in the trial schools welcomed opportunities for involvement in new developments. The fact that the small steering committee for the trial consisted of two teachers, as well as HMIs, brought an additional ground-roots perspective to the discussion, as did the evaluations of the teachers in the trial schools. There was resistance to any attempts to view the CSE as a preparatory route to the GCE Ordinary or Advanced levels. Teacher influence would be key to any developments and, with the examination placed largely under the control of teachers rather than of examining boards, experiments in reshaping content were made feasible.

Whatever its merits, the CSE was regarded as a lower-level examination, aimed initially at the secondary modern pupil. Although such a dual system could be viewed as two-tiered, the implementation of CSE courses triggered some

²³⁸ Pitts, S., *A Century of Change in Music Education*.

²³⁹ The Schools Council, Examinations Bulletin, No. 10, *The Certificate of Secondary Education: Experimental Examinations: Music*, (London HMSO, 1966).

significant developments, particularly in relation to the introduction of the Mode 3 strand, which permitted teachers to create and submit their own syllabi for approval by an examining board.²⁴⁰ The implementation of courses that appealed to a wider range of pupils was a move in the right direction. Popular and electronic music opportunities now gave those pupils with contemporary interests access to music over a longer period within their school lives.

The SCCE had paved the way for teacher input into curriculum development, a situation that was now accepted as the norm. Anice Paterson, when teaching in Leicestershire, was one of a group of secondary music teachers who met to devise a CSE Mode 3 course, viewing this route as a more accessible way of giving accreditation to pupils who were skilled in traditions other than classical.²⁴¹ In a county that had committed itself to the comprehensive ideal, and to non-streaming, it could be argued that its teachers were naturally drawn to providing a workable dual route to examination qualification. Interested teachers met regularly and wrote the modules collectively, ensuring a wide range of options to suit different schools and their pupils. For example, Countesthorpe School devised a syllabus ‘springing from the pupils’ interests’. The CSE pupils in this school were ‘fairly able instrumentalists with a strong leaning towards rock and “pop” music and who mostly arranged or composed their own music’.²⁴² There was much correspondence between the Leicestershire Group and the examining body, the Midland Examining Group (MEG), about the detail of the modules, but once differences were resolved, the course was awarded the full grading range, enabling pupils to achieve a Grade 1, the highest grade. Paterson believes that about two-thirds of Leicestershire schools adopted the Mode 3 as their CSE examination route.

Within the larger comprehensive schools, a wider range of examination routes was feasible,²⁴³ as in the example of Holland Park Comprehensive School, London, where the Head of Music, Paul Farmer, embraced not only the GCE and

²⁴⁰ Lowe R., *The Death of Progressive Education*.

²⁴¹ Anice Paterson, interview with the author, 27 April, 2012.

²⁴² Bunting, R., Schools Council Working Paper 2, ‘Personal, Practical, Topical: some new approaches to examination music’, (York: University of York, 1975).

²⁴³ Crook, D., ‘Missing, Presumed Dead?’, 147-167, in Franklin, B. M., and McCulloch, G., (eds.) *The Death of the Comprehensive High School*, (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

mainstream CSE examination routes, but in addition created a Mode 3 CSE course in popular music.²⁴⁴ At the end of their third year in school, a substantial number of pupils opted to pursue their interest in popular music, having experienced supporting instrumental tuition, and the opportunity to experiment with electronic equipment. However, with no current appropriate examination route that could accommodate their particular skills, they were barred from continuing their studies, and achieving goals that could be acknowledged through certification, either at GCE or CSE level. Farmer's Mode 3 syllabus included the following components: practical music making, which included the possibility of presenting electronically recorded pieces; a written paper covering the history and commercial aspects of popular music; and an aural examination in the form of tape-recorded musical examples. Farmer formulated a third-year classroom curriculum that led to wider examination choice, with the positive result that pupils' attitudes towards their music lessons improved.

The introduction of a single system of examination in 1986, the GCSE, secured the place of practical musicianship in the syllabi of the different boards, thus resolving some of the previous difficulties, permission being granted to operate in 'a wide spectrum of musical styles.'²⁴⁵ Although teacher autonomy diminished with the introduction of the more centrally controlled GCSE,²⁴⁶ the CSE, in sharp contrast to the more academically based GCE, had allowed music teachers to be instrumental in establishing broader-based courses, with a stronger practical element. For some teachers, the long campaign towards a more inclusive curriculum for all was being realised. For others, there was regret at the passing of what they considered to be a more 'academic' route, with inbuilt preparation towards 'advanced' level examination in music, and the route to higher education. Such continuing divided opinion supports Shipman's argument that unintended consequences are likely to emerge from different streams of thinking, the reformers intent on bringing equality into the system by a less constrained curriculum, the traditionalists still tied to a system of external examinations and university requirements. In Shipman's view, the chasm created by the

²⁴⁴ Farmer, P., 'Pop in the Classroom', *ILEA Contact*, Vol. 5, 1976.

²⁴⁵ MANA, 16+ Examinations, Minutes from the 1981 conference.

²⁴⁶ Lowe, R., *The Death of Progressive Education*.

examination routes had perpetuated existing clear divisions and curriculum inequality, clearly a concern for those teachers who had to make decisions on behalf of pupils about their suitability for examination entry.²⁴⁷

Conclusion

From the 1950s onwards, it became increasingly clear that entrenched music curriculum practices were not appealing to young people. A rapidly changing social, political and cultural climate was prompting a re-evaluation of the role that music played in pupils' lives. It is within this context that a sharply divided debate revealed the deep rift between those music educators who were alarmed by what they perceived to be the loosening of 'traditional' values in music classrooms, and those who saw positive ways of harnessing the musical interests of young people, and of incorporating some features of newly emerging contemporary music developments. An increasing range of styles and genres within 'popular' music, advances in music technology, and an ever-growing global awareness of musical styles other than Western, were influences that could no longer be ignored. Although slow to respond overall, there were pioneers bold enough to chart new territory within the curriculum, arguing that music was intrinsic to the human condition, and that pupils, through practical engagement with musical sounds and ideas, should come to their own understanding of the subject and of the world it inhabited.

The 1970s can be viewed as an experimental period, when teachers could trial new pedagogies and practices without the central government interference that was to gain an ever-increasing hold from the end of the decade onwards. This was the period of teacher-centred activity, with opportunities for innovation being given support by the various Schools Council Projects, including music, and by the LEAs. In addition, the raising of the school leaving age, and its implications for examinations, now to be aimed at a wider group of pupils, also prompted curriculum debate and innovation within a system that had made secondary schooling compulsory for all up to the age of 16.

²⁴⁷ Shipman, M., 'Curriculum for inequality', in Hooper (ed.), *The Curriculum: context, design and development*, (Edinburgh: The Open University Press, 1971), 100-106.

Chapter 4

Music in the primary curriculum: ideologies and practicalities

Introduction

Writing in 1974, David Evans, at the time a member of the ILEA music advisory staff, highlighted these personal concerns about music education in the primary sector.²⁴⁸

Isn't it time we stopped just paying lip service to music in our primary schools? We take no account of modern approaches to music when we design and equip. School music is still in the position of art 40 years ago.²⁴⁹

With the perception by some that past pedagogical approaches were still prevalent and hindering progress within primary music education, it would be a serious omission not to consider earlier historiography of music's development within this phase of schooling. This chapter, therefore, seeks to examine initial and changing ideologies that surrounded the introduction of the subject as a component within mass schooling, and which shaped the educational and organisational challenges that teachers encountered, particularly in the immediate post-Second World War years. HMI reports from Leicestershire, London and Manchester are cited as evidence of continued traditions and of more innovative practices within primary schools.

Schooling for all

The history of state-run education begins with the inception of the 1870 Elementary Education Act, introduced by William Forster during his time as Vice President of Gladstone's Liberal Government Education Department.²⁵⁰ For journalist Ivor Brown, writing in the *Observer* in 1945, education in the past had often been driven by the 'raw material of pedagogy, exam tasks and torments'.²⁵¹ After the 1870 Act, mass schooling was to be based on utilitarian principles, and was to provide elementary education for children in England and Wales up to the

²⁴⁸ With the introduction of the 1944 Education Act, the elementary school system was re-structured and renamed the 'primary' phase of schooling, which would now end at 11, the age of transfer to the secondary school.

²⁴⁹ Evans, D., 'Beyond basic provision towards musical creativity', 679-680, *Education*, 7 June, 1974, 679.

²⁵⁰ Maclure, J.S., *Educational Documents: England and Wales*.

²⁵¹ Brown, I., 'The Arts Council: Promise and Task', *Observer*, 17 June, 1945, 4.

age of 13. An extensive construction programme was undertaken, which was to provide elementary school buildings for the nation's children, and school boards were elected and empowered to raise a rate in order to finance educational activity. However, schooling was not as yet free, and compulsory attendance still an option being decided at a local level.²⁵²

Significantly, women were allowed to vote and to stand for election on the school boards. For example, eight women were appointed to the first London Board, and two to the Manchester Board.²⁵³ Jane Martin (2005) maintains that the 'extension of Victorian state activity' led to an increase in women's involvement in new forms of public services, particularly in the administrative areas of education and welfare.²⁵⁴ The election of middle-class women to some of the school boards gave them an important, if somewhat limited voice in the shaping of developments. They were at least able to represent the interests of women teachers, and contribute towards the debate relating to the education of girls. Such counterbalance to patriarchal dominance would prove invaluable to the advance of a more progressive premise on which to base the arts in nursery and elementary education.

The place of music within mass schooling

As with other curriculum subjects, general developments in music education were promoted by the ideological thinking and pragmatic approaches of those committees and individuals involved in formulating policy and practice. As a constituent within the curriculum, music was certainly considered to be one of the subjects for instruction. In the 1870s, during discussions and reports on possible elementary school designs and equipment proposed by the School Board for London, a resolution listed the qualities that a good elementary school should possess. Maclure refers to this as 'the heady atmosphere of the early days of the School Board'. 'Healthful, by playgrounds and facilities for exercises and bathing' is placed at the top of the list, and interestingly 'Pleasant by games and

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ Gordon, P., Aldrich, R., and Dean, D., *Education and Policy in England in the Twentieth Century*.

²⁵⁴ Martin, J., 'To "Blaise the Trail for Women to follow along": sex, gender and the politics of education on The London School Board (1870-1904)', in Mc Culloch, G., *The Routledge and Falmer History of Education*, (London: Routledge, 2005), 118-135.

music' is placed second. Other headings include 'Attractive', 'Stimulative', 'Instructive' and 'Useful and Influential'.²⁵⁵ Curiously, music can be viewed here as primarily contributing to the ambience and atmosphere of a school. In reality, the final school curriculum, as drawn up by the Board sub-committee, placed 'Music and drill' at the bottom of the list of subjects to be taught in the Infant school, and well down the list for Junior and Senior school.²⁵⁶

The early twentieth-century drive for national efficiency did not exempt music from ideas about ways to improve the health of the nation, and the reason for coupling music and drill together is evident when examined from this point of view. Breathing exercises, voice production and rhythmic marching were all considered as activities for strengthening the physical being. These elementary school boys and girls were to play an important role in maintaining the workings of the British Empire, therefore education reflected patriotic ideals and the disciplinarian, religious and social values that required all children to gain a sense of national pride and duty. Music, although not given high priority, was nevertheless included as an essential subject in the curriculum at all levels.

For the majority of children during this period, and into the early years of the twentieth century, music lessons consisted of singing, mainly hymns and patriotic songs.²⁵⁷ In 1871, the School Board for London (SBL) resolved 'that the art and practice of Singing be taught as far as may be possible in the Board Schools, as a branch of elementary education'.²⁵⁸ Teachers were given a choice of teaching either by ear, using the sol-fa system, or by introducing children to staff notation. In a return to the Board in 1898, it was shown that '90 departments' were using staff notation. A separate singing grant had been awarded for every child who attended school on a regular basis. In 1882, this grant was reduced if singing was taught by ear, but remained the same if 'staff notation was taught'. The SBL report for Brockley Elementary School shows a separate entry for 'Singing', and indicates that 6d was paid if children were learning by ear, and 1/- if learning

²⁵⁵ Maclure, S., *One Hundred Years of London Education 1870-1970*, 15-16.

²⁵⁶ Adams, P., *A Study of the Inner London Education Authority Music Service 1965-1990*, unpublished MA Dissertation, 2002.

²⁵⁷ See Taylor, D., (1979), Rainbow, B., (1989), and Cox, G., (1993).

²⁵⁸ London Metropolitan Archives (LMA), Final Report for the School Board for London, (London: King, P. S., 1904), 111.

from notation. It was clear where the Board placed its preference for teaching method, and no surprise that the music teacher of Brockley Elementary School chose the higher-grant option.²⁵⁹ The introduction of the ‘block grant’ for schools finally put an end to these conditions. Even so, whatever method teachers chose to employ, music was certainly viewed as a distinct subject within the curriculum, and one that seemingly required some level of competence to teach.²⁶⁰ The Manchester School Board had demonstrated its commitment to music by establishing evening classes for those teachers wishing to lead singing in the elementary schools.²⁶¹ With a national emphasis on singing it can be surmised that the London model was one that was closely replicated within other authorities, and that the majority of children in elementary schools were experiencing a similar pattern of music education.

By 1880, elementary schooling had become compulsory and free for all children. Papers, articles and letters published in the *Journal of Education* during the 1880s provide valuable insights into debate surrounding curriculum practice in music. In 1882, Matthew Arnold, who had been in post as a schools inspector since 1881, had proposed a curriculum of eight subjects for children aged 8-10, and nine subjects for children aged 10-13, including music as one area of arts instruction across age groups.²⁶² An article by F G Fleay, published in the *Journal of Education* in the same year, which focused on arts teaching in general, argued that it should be artistic and not scientific.²⁶³ This view mirrored late nineteenth century disquiet about the rapid growth of science and mechanisation, which some intellectual aesthetes, such as Arnold, believed to be creating an imbalance within cultural life.

For some early observers, the aim of music education was to foster the language of the emotions, as evidenced in an article written by an early supporter of

²⁵⁹ LMA, EO/PS/12/B77/4, Managers’ Report for Brockley Elementary School, 1895.

²⁶⁰ Adams, P., *A Study of the Inner London Education Authority Music Service 1965-1990*.

²⁶¹ Cox, G., *A History of Music Education in England 1872-1928*.

²⁶² Occasional Notes, *Journal of Education*, Vol. V, No 150, (London: John Walker & Co, 1882), 6.

²⁶³ Fleay, F.G., ‘When and what order should subjects be introduced’, *Journal of Education*, 1882, Vol. 1V, No. 150, 82.

progressive education, Herbert Courthorpe Bowen, under the title ‘The training of the intellectual and aesthetic sentiments’:

. . . but I have a strong suspicion that it is, as a rule, quite as mechanically taught as drawing or recitation. Attention should be more frequently called to the kind of feeling which it is intended to express; and more attention should be given to feeling in the expression – we want something more than accuracy of note and time.²⁶⁴

There had been previous concerns alluding directly to the mechanistic methods promoted by the fixed doh, sol-fa method adopted by John Hullah, which resulted in ‘merely mechanical drill’, with pupils learning to sing despite the system. Hullah, in his role as Music Inspector and Adviser to the Education Department, had been influential in shaping the content of the elementary schools and training college curricula. Although committed to education for all, and the ‘betterment’ of the working classes, Hullah’s paternalistic and philanthropic attitude was a Victorian norm. His conviction about national culture, as seen from his own standpoint, led to an unquestioning knowing of what was best for a whole disempowered stratum of society.²⁶⁵

The situation with regard to music teaching had not changed by 1918, as Walter Carroll, Music Adviser for Manchester, indicated in his report to the Education Committee:

The training in most schools is very mechanical, and music restricted to the singing of exercises in Tonic-Sol-Fa and songs learnt by ear. The children rarely listen; still less do they know what to listen for. Singing by habit is usual, singing with intelligence is rare.²⁶⁶

Interestingly, Carroll had noted that to find a school choir was also comparatively rare, indicating that although singing was central to the music curriculum, it was not commonly pursued as a choral activity beyond the classroom.

In 1905, the Board of Education produced a handbook entitled *Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers*, aimed at those working in the public elementary

²⁶⁴ Courthorpe Bowen, H., ‘The training of intellectual and aesthetic sentiments’, *Journal of Education*, 1887, Vol. V, No.164, 87.

²⁶⁵ Cox, G., *A History of Music Education in England 1872-1928*.

²⁶⁶ RNCM, WC/8, Walter Carroll Papers, ‘Report on Music in Elementary Schools’, 3.

schools.²⁶⁷ The word ‘music’ did not appear as a subject, but was subsumed under the title ‘The Teaching of Singing’. One of the listed benefits was to allow expression to the emotions and awaken the imagination, but only ‘while subjecting its expression to artistic restraint’. These words convey a sense of the controlling mechanisms that would continue to underpin a system that, although proclaimed a free education for all, was one that was fully prescribed and which ‘subjected’ its participants to preordained parameters and particular dogma.²⁶⁸ A secondary school headmistress, quoted in Carroll’s Report of 1918, neatly summed up prevailing attitudes:

No subject you can put in a school curriculum gives so fine a mental and moral training as Music. It is the finest of all for concentration and obedience’.²⁶⁹

Music education had certainly played its part in supporting nationalistic ideals through its patriotic and religious vocal repertoire, and in its enthusiastic response to the revival of ‘English folk song and dance’ traditions promoted by Cecil Sharp, Inspector of Training for Teachers for the Board of Education, and enthusiastic folk song collector. Sharp, in collaboration with Sabine Baring-Gould, had produced *English Folk Songs for Schools* in 1906,²⁷⁰ and in the same year Stanford’s *The National Song Book* was published.²⁷¹ By 1917, this popular collection was to be located in almost every school across the country,²⁷² whilst folk dancing was integrated into physical training. The dissemination of these folk traditions within schools clearly resonated with aspects of social control but, as Ann Bloomfield argues in an article published in the *BJME* in 2001, the popularity of these songs and dances, as a symbolic representation of a rural past, most likely saved them from extinction.²⁷³

²⁶⁷ Board of Education, *Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and Others concerned in the work of the Public Elementary Schools*, (London: HMSO, 1905).

²⁶⁸ Adams, P., *A Study of the Inner London Education Authority Music Service 1965-1990*.

²⁶⁹ RNCM, WC/8, Walter Carroll Papers, ‘Report on Music in Elementary Schools’, 2.

²⁷⁰ Harp, C., and Baring-Gould, S., *English Folk Songs for Schools*, (London: Curwen, 1906).

²⁷¹ Stanford, C. V., *The National Songbook*, (London: Boosey, 1906).

²⁷² Cox, G., *A History of Music Education in England 1872-1928*.

²⁷³ Bloomfield, A., ‘The quickening of the national spirit: Cecil Sharp and the pioneers of the folk-dance revival in English state schools (1900-1926)’, *History of Education*, Vol. 30, No.1, 2001, 59-75.

If elementary school teachers were expected to provide singing experiences of quality for their pupils, then it was essential that some attention should be given to the subject within both the teacher training colleges and the music colleges. Early concerns connected to the training of elementary school teachers in music began to be raised not long after the implementation of the 1870 Education Act. As early as 1890, a paper given by Annie Curwen raised issues relating to music teaching standards in the elementary schools, which she classified as ‘exceedingly poor’.²⁷⁴ She believed that this was owing to a lack of pedagogical underpinning, arising out of inappropriate training in the music colleges, and because there was no educational literature to support the subject.

Walter Carroll had realised the importance of gaining elementary teachers’ interest in the subject, by making personal visits to 400 Manchester schools. This proactive approach, an early form of in-service training, was timely, as was his 1925 *Handbook for Music* that provided a supportive resource for classroom teachers.²⁷⁵ Carroll’s subsequent strategy was to set up courses of demonstration-lectures for teachers, which promoted aural training and attention to listening. In addition, staff notation, with the aid of sight-reading books, was deemed to be an essential feature of school music. Carroll’s aim was to create ‘an orderly progressive scheme’ that could be established across all the elementary schools in Manchester. In London Dr J. E. Borland, Music Inspector for the London County Council (LCC) from 1909-1926, was also noted for his classes and demonstration-lectures for teachers.²⁷⁶ His own commitment to in-service training strongly indicated similar concerns to those of Carroll about the inadequacy of training within the colleges. The LCC itself failed to show any significant support for music training, particularly of the generalist elementary school teacher:

We have suggested to the principals of the Council’s training colleges that students should not be allowed to take music as an ordinary subject of their course unless their ability and previous training are such that, as far as can be judged, they are likely, at the end of the course, to be capable of teaching the subject satisfactorily to their own class in the elementary school.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁴ Curwen, A., ‘Music Teaching’ *Journal of Education*, Vol. IX, Jan-Dec, 1887, 277.

²⁷⁵ Manchester Central Library archives (MCL), Carroll, W., *Handbook for Music*, (Manchester: Manchester Education Committee, 1925).

²⁷⁶ LMA, Minutes of the Education Committee, Jan-Dec, 1926, 283.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 158.

This positioning immediately sets music apart from other subjects as one that requires specific talent and skills not readily accessible through generalist training. If music were to gain a secure place within an elementary curriculum, those music advisers in post were keenly aware that there was a pressing need to actively provide training in order to give the majority of teachers some basic skills and knowledge, as well as the confidence, to teach the subject.

In his Music Adviser's Report to the Education Committee 1932-33, Carroll made the following observation, which would have been informed by his many visits to schools:

Every year the problem of the new teachers presents itself. Training College courses will have been attended in which music has been optional, in spite of the fact that it will not be optional in school. A large number therefore are entirely unprepared to teach music, and face their classes, in this and certain other subjects, without having acquired even elementary ideas of their job.²⁷⁸

In his subsequent Annual Report of 1933-4, Carroll informed his education authority that, during a conference of Music Advisers and Superintendents, held in Whitehall during the same year, he had raised the issue of teacher training, pointing out that 'the supply of Music teachers depended upon the condition in Training Colleges'. The conference called for the Board of Education to appoint a small commission to look into this situation, but Carroll gave the strong impression that there was no response.²⁷⁹

An undated paper, entitled 'Music in Education', presented his continuing disquiet, in this instance it being that

. . . valuable time is spent on the working of theoretical problems which have no place in the Primary School, and on the preparation of long choral works for College Concert performance – excellent as musical enjoyment but useless as preparation for the classroom.²⁸⁰

Carroll acknowledged that Annie Curwen had voiced important concerns about training, and that she had fostered the view that the study of the child must precede the choice of music. Carroll's own course of action was indeed one of

²⁷⁸ RNCM archives, WC/8, Walter Carroll Papers, Music Adviser's Report, 1932-1933.

²⁷⁹ RNCM archives, WC/8, Walter Carroll Papers, Music in Education, undated.

²⁸⁰ RNCM archives, WC/8, Walter Carroll Papers, Music and the Young, undated.

promoting practical musicianship through adequate training. However, this was to remain firmly within earlier methodological frameworks of trying to ensure the acquisition of notation and sight-reading skills, and the confident use of ‘tonic-sol-fa’ as important musical requirements for teachers working in elementary schools.

Towards a different model of teaching

In the early years of the twentieth century, other influences started to impact on music practice, particularly for young children. The child-centred movement began to affect teaching methods in all areas of the infant curriculum. The Froebel Society, as one of the instigators of a more ‘progressive’ education, made its own contribution to pedagogical practices. For example, both the London and Manchester Froebel Societies were actively engaged in raising the profile of their philosophy wherever possible. At an influential level, representatives of the different branches of the Society sat on school boards. The London group benefited from having close connections with educational developments over a long period of time, starting with the SBL and subsequently being involved with the LCC. Mr Pym, the Chief LCC Inspector, advocated Froebelian methods for junior schools, and supported Froebelian training for male teachers.²⁸¹ In Manchester the Froebelians had long been influential, with the movement being particularly strong in the twenty years leading up to the 1870 Education Act. In the 1880s, the Manchester Kindergarten Association had proposed that the system be introduced to all kindergartens nationally.²⁸²

The Froebel philosophy was founded on the principle of ‘nurturing’ children through practical engagement with prescribed resources referred to as ‘gifts’. In music this would include the playing of simple percussion, thus giving children contact with sound itself, and some manipulation skills in handling and playing instruments. In Liebschner’s book *Foundations of Progressive Education* (1991), evidence of Froebelian musical activity is to be found in the reproduction of an undated photograph taken during the early part of the twentieth century showing

²⁸¹ Liebschner, J.L., *Foundations of Progressive Education*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

²⁸² Ibid.

a group of kindergarten children seated in a circle, each with a piece of hand percussion.²⁸³ What is noteworthy about this arrangement is that the teacher herself is seated within the circle and is also holding a percussion instrument. The photograph may not be indicative of a general trend, but it does signal possibilities.

Further international influence on British education stemmed from the work of the American educator John Dewey, which led to some teachers gradually adopting a less formal approach within their teaching. Through his experimental work in a school at the University of Chicago, Dewey provided a theoretical base on which to expound the benefits of a more 'active' process of engagement with learning, and to promote the idea of the relevance of the experience linked to stages of development.²⁸⁴ With some educationists looking towards an experiential curriculum, another voice, that of Jacques Dalcroze, heralded some new thinking about a less mechanistic way in which to teach general musicianship skills. Dalcroze, as a professor of music at Geneva Conservatory, had raised concerns about the lack of 'inner hearing' development of his own music students, and about their inability to improvise. His response was to devise a series of graded listening exercises for children that would encourage them to react physically to rhythm, then to pitch and harmony. Dalcroze believed that physical engagement was a natural bodily response, and would enable the 'inner ear' to develop at a more advanced level.²⁸⁵ Here, as with the Froebel teacher and her circle of children, Dalcroze's approach was to disengage children from static positions behind desks, and to give them the space to engage with music in an environment that permitted physical response.

Dalcroze's visit to London, in 1912, where he gave a demonstration of his method, known as Dalcroze Eurythmics, was to be influential. The approach was adopted by those teachers interested in integrating music and movement as part of the elementary curriculum. Subsequently, the London School of Dalcroze Eurythmics was established in 1913, and the Dalcroze Society founded in 1925.

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ Taylor, D., *Music Now*, (Milton Keynes: The Open University Press, 1979).

²⁸⁵ Dobbs, J., 'Emile Jaques Dalcroze', 50-59, in Simpson, K., (gen. ed.), *Some Great Music Educators*, (Kent: Novello, 1976), and Taylor, D., *Music Now*.

In Manchester, Walter Carroll demonstrated his own interest by setting up an experimental enquiry into the value of Dalcroze Eurythmics in schools, which concluded that the method was more successful when led by a teacher with expertise.²⁸⁶

A significant national development to impact on music for elementary school children was the introduction of the BBC Schools Broadcasting Service, in which the programming of Dalcroze's work was to become a strong feature. In 1934, it relayed its first *Music and Movement* series, which was presented throughout the 1930s and 1940s by Ann Driver, a former pupil of Dalcroze. With the emphasis firmly placed on movement linked to musical concepts, this programme established the method as an integral part of children's music education across Britain. Driver, a gifted communicator, was able to employ her teaching method through the use of radio.²⁸⁷ However, it is questionable as to how many teachers, when turning on the radio each week in school halls across the country, were fully aware of the philosophy underpinning Driver's approach.

The transmission of radio arrived in schools at the same time as the elementary school curriculum was being reconsidered. Walford Davies, composer and organist, was selected to give the first school music broadcast in April 1924, having been opted as a member of an Advisory Committee on Music at the BBC. He followed in the footsteps of the advocates of the music appreciation movement (see Chapter 7), and envisaged school music broadcasts as a forward move in providing teachers with a 'basic and effective' music curriculum.²⁸⁸ Gordon Cox, in his keen analysis of these early broadcasts, draws on the findings of an investigation into their effectiveness undertaken in elementary schools in Kent during the year 1927. Although, in general, the teachers welcomed aspects of the broadcasts, some found the content and style of delivery challenging in terms of gaining children's understanding. Clearly, there needed to be a productive dialogue between teachers, the receivers of the broadcasts, and those who designed the programmes. In later years, there would be a positive move

²⁸⁶ RNCM archives, WC/8, The Walter Carroll Papers, undated manuscript.

²⁸⁷ Hosier, J., 'Obituary, Ann Driver', *The Times*, 22 August, 1985, 14.

²⁸⁸ Cox, G., *Living Music in Schools 1923-1999*.

towards the setting up of a closer liaison between those working actively within the field of music education and those in charge of programming at the BBC. The MANA conference of 1942 had proposed that a music adviser be permitted to attend the Music Sub-Committee of the Central Council for School Broadcasting, thus indicating a perceived desirability for some structured debate that could represent the different areas of interest.²⁸⁹ A meeting was finally realised in 1948, after the BBC had approached the Association in order to seek their advice in relation to policy revision.²⁹⁰

A new phase: implications for post-Second World War developments

At the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century there were some important transformations being advocated by those in charge of education. The Hadow Report of 1926, which laid out recommendations for secondary education up to the age of 15, had suggested that the 'primary' phase should end at the age of 11.²⁹¹ This would eliminate the old elementary school system, replacing it with a newly created two-phase system. The 1931 Report of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education, led again by Sir Henry Hadow, reviewed the public education system and noted that, 'During the last forty years, and with increasing rapidity in the twelve years since 1918, the outlook of the primary school has been broadened and humanised'.²⁹² The Report recommended that 'the curriculum of the primary school is to be thought of in terms of activity and experience, rather than of knowledge to be acquired and facts to be stored'.²⁹³ Although many of the recommendations of the Hadow Committee of 1926 and its subsequent Report of 1931 were not realised until the inception of the 1944 Education Act, some of its intentions marked new ways forward.

In music lessons the popularity of percussion bands, the introduction of the Dolmetsch recorder into schools, and the existence of the 'Pipers' Guild', the latter which encouraged children to make and play bamboo pipes, were all viewed as a means of encouraging practical music making. Although these

²⁸⁹ MANA, Minute Book, resolution made at the Conference of 1942.

²⁹⁰ MANA, Minutes from the annual conference, 1948.

²⁹¹ Board of Education, The Hadow Report.

²⁹² Maclure, J. S., *Educational Documents: England and Wales*, 139.

²⁹³ Ibid.

activities were teacher directed, giving little freedom for children to experiment or bring creative imagination to music making, they did signal a departure from the narrow singing curriculum of the past.

Within the HMI there had been pioneers from both the pre- and post-War periods, who had continually argued for a more expressive curriculum, some of these key players securing influence through their high-profile positions. Marion Richardson, artist and teacher, and during the 1920s lecturer in art at the University of London Institute of Education, had developed child-centred methods that were ‘far removed from the traditional emphasis on copying and technical skill’.²⁹⁴ In 1930, Richardson was appointed Inspector of Art for the LCC, in which role she brought her ‘progressive’ influence to bear through her visits to schools, and through the courses she ran for teachers. Other progressives included Robin Tanner, another artist and teacher who was appointed to the Inspectorate in 1937,²⁹⁵ and Christian Schiller, a mathematician, who joined the Inspectorate in 1924, and was subsequently appointed the first Staff Inspector for Primary Education. Schiller eventually gained a post as senior lecturer at the University of London Institute of Education, where his influence continued. Tanner and Schiller often worked together running courses, some lasting as long as two weeks, during which teachers were involved in the types of activities that would bring a more experiential orientation to children’s learning. These included ‘writing, calligraphy, painting, modelling and design, music and movement’.²⁹⁶

The official post-war HMI view was that the curriculum should achieve a balance between children’s imaginative and creative work and more formal basic instruction, thus acknowledging the growing trend towards ‘child-centred’ education, but avoiding the complete relinquishment of past methods. Significantly, the Inspectorate was well placed to gaining a comprehensive overview of current practice, being in touch with schools, teachers and pupils,

²⁹⁴ Everitt, S., ‘Richardson, Marion Elaine, (1892-1946)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed online 12 October, 2011.

²⁹⁵ Roscoe, B., ‘Tanner, Frederick Arthur [Robin], (1904-1988)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed online 12 October, 2011.

²⁹⁶ Maclure, S., *The Inspectors’ Calling: HMI and the Shaping of Educational Policy 1945-1992*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 2000), 32.

and making pastoral visits, as well as undertaking formal inspections.²⁹⁷ This allowed for all-important dialogue, with inspectors taking on the role of critical friends, dialogue that ensured their credibility within the profession.

Despite the growing voices of those promoting more ‘child-centred’ practice, longstanding rifts in music education would continue to divide educationists into two well-defined camps, one being formed by the ‘traditionalists’, the other by the ‘progressives’. The education historian, Roy Lowe, suggested that the long-term tensions that existed across the educational spectrum affected the politics of the curriculum after the Second World War.²⁹⁸ Certainly, Lowe’s view that the groundswell for a fresh approach did not make a significant impact on the schools can be validated from reading a selection of primary school inspection reports. Although, following the Second World War, the old label of elementary schooling had gone, thus ending a symbol of a system ‘of the old regime’, many of the instruction-based practices associated with it still remained.

There was undoubtedly serious concern that the low status given to music within teacher training was not conducive to realising change. At the MANA annual conference of 1947, a report on the training of music teachers was presented after a deputation had met with the Ministry of Education. The meeting had been set up ‘to convey the alarm of the Music Advisers of the country at the meagre results that the Training College Music Courses were producing’.²⁹⁹ Four years later, in 1951, Griffith’s report to the Manchester Education Committee further confirmed the music advisers’ earlier observations:

From experience it has been found that quite a number of teachers newly appointed from Training Colleges with Advanced or Ordinary Music on their certificates still need a lot of help in their early years. As a result, the assistants to the Music Adviser have spent much time in advising these teachers.³⁰⁰

Worries remained, as indicated by the minutes of the MANA Conference of 1951, which highlighted the low number (only five per cent of generalist students in training colleges) who were actually studying music. It was clear that, if music

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

²⁹⁸ Lowe, R., *The Death of Progressive Education*.

²⁹⁹ MANA, Minutes from the annual conference, June, 1947.

³⁰⁰ MCL, Minutes of the Education Committee, Vol. 17A, 1951-1952.

were presented as an optional component, then student take-up was low, resulting in newly qualified teachers entering the profession with little knowledge of, or confidence in teaching the subject.

In an article written three years later, in 1954, Mabel Chamberlain, who at the time was engaged in teacher training at Stockwell Training College in London, raised the point that the growing number of options for more intellectual types of women to enter other professions, such as law and the civil service, was significant. Musical opportunities outside of teaching had also widened within the realms of broadcasting, television and the film industry.³⁰¹ The supposition here is that the teaching training colleges were not attracting enough applicants who were able to offer an acceptable level of musical skills. In an attempt to improve the situation, Chamberlain made recommendations for more refresher courses to be set up for practising primary teachers.³⁰² In 1958, a memorandum from the Music Teachers' Association also requested that, with the training colleges moving from a two- to a three-year training course, attention should be given to 'the needs of the general practitioner', and that 'a higher proportion of students should be encouraged to attend the basic Music Course in training colleges'.³⁰³

It is clear from the evidence that many generalist primary school teachers of the 1940s and 1950s were not being adequately prepared to teach music confidently, and that this was affecting their attitude towards the subject. For those teachers who were committed to bringing a more child-centred dimension to their practice, including in the arts, there were additional physical and organisational challenges to be faced within the schools themselves.

Inheritances: the teachers and the schools, 1940s and 1950s

HMI School Inspection Reports of the late 1940s and of the 1950s tend to focus heavily on issues of space and equipment. Lack of funding support for school

³⁰¹ Chamberlain, M., 'Music in Training Colleges: More and Better Teachers wanted', *Music in Education*, July/August, 1954, 73-74.

³⁰² Ibid.

³⁰³ MCL, Minutes of the Manchester Education Committee, Memo for the Music Teachers' Association, Vol. 24B, 1958-9, 1379.

building maintenance, and for equipment, impacted hugely on the conditions under which teachers had to carry out their professional duties, with many teachers working in ‘overcrowded classrooms’ and ‘bombed out schools rehoused in old buildings’.³⁰⁴ Manchester and London had suffered severe bomb damage over the period of the Second World War and these education authorities, along with others across Britain, faced adverse conditions that coincided with a post-war increase in the birth rate, resulting in the primary sector being severely challenged. It was evident that, even in areas where schools had not suffered from bombing raids, such as rural parts of Leicestershire, there had been a period of neglect, with many schools in disrepair and badly resourced.

In Leicestershire, HMI reports conveyed some of the challenges that faced teachers on a daily basis, such as ‘insufficient space for infants’, lack of ‘natural lighting and ventilation’, ‘no hall’, ‘no free space’, ‘cramped’, ‘unwieldy furniture’ and ‘amenities [that] are poor’. In London, HMI reports referred to the ‘heavy traffic’, ‘noise’, ‘factory pollution’, ‘bomb sites’ and ‘crowded conditions in the classrooms’, and in Manchester ‘poor conditions’, and the urgent need for the rebuilding or repairing of schools. When commenting on the learning environment in a London Infant School where, ‘A tattered curtain separates the Lower and Upper Infant classes’, one sympathetic HMI expressed the view that ‘Cramped conditions lead to a cramped curriculum’.³⁰⁵

It is clear from the above HMI observations the extent of the difficulties teachers were facing when trying to introduce and implement a more participative curriculum, with some schools viewing adverse conditions as a hindrance to creative work. There were those who attempted to broaden their methods despite the physical restrictions and lack of resources, but working alongside these pioneers there were teachers who continued to engage with Victorian pedagogy, that of providing a basic and narrow teacher-directed curriculum. HMI Reports for Leicestershire, London and Manchester provide some insights into the different patterns of learning that were taking place across the curriculum. It is

³⁰⁴ NA, ED156, excerpts from a range of HMI, Ministry of Education Reports.

³⁰⁵ NA, ED156/42, HMI, Ministry of Education Inspection Report, 1950, St Mark’s Infants’ School, Battersea, London, February.

clear that the HMIs were seeking a more practical approach across the primary school, as exemplified in the following two extracts from Leicestershire reports:

Overall, the school needs to foster more active participation to engender interest and excitement.³⁰⁶

A school endeavouring to widen its approach to learning, providing more opportunities for children's choice of activity, and developing initiative and originality.³⁰⁷

With post-War ideology positively fostering the development of a more participatory curriculum, HMI suggested that schools introduce more 'independence and group learning', thus signalling their support for aspects of the tenets of the progressives. Reports often recommended that subjects such as music, nature study, drama, art and handwork be included in order to bring vitality to the curriculum.³⁰⁸

From an examination of a wide sample of HMI reports, it is evident that music features as a subject inspected in some, but not in others. The reasons for this could be threefold: one, that the school inspected did not include music in the curriculum; two, that the HMI did not feel qualified to make comment; and three, that the observation could not take place because a visiting specialist employed by the school was not teaching during the inspection period. Some HMIs did recommend that schools should include music, particularly those with more formal, rigid curricula.³⁰⁹ Reports on music usually focused on both the work undertaken in the classroom and as an extra-curricular activity.

The HMI inspectors of the 1940s and 1950s were certainly impressed by those teachers demonstrating 'enthusiasm' for music, and by children's 'keenness' and 'enjoyment' in response. Gone is the vocabulary of 'instruction' and 'restraint' as being crucial to 'accuracy' and 'rigour'. High standards of musicianship could now be achieved in a more pleasurable environment:

³⁰⁶ NA, ED156/38, HMI, Ministry of Education, Report, 1950, Appleby Magna County Primary School, Leicestershire.

³⁰⁷ NA, ED156/38, HMI, Ministry of Education, 1951, for Birstall County Primary School, Leicestershire.

³⁰⁸ NA, ED156, HMI, selection of Ministry of Education Reports.

³⁰⁹ Ibid. 1956

Standards in music are very good, the children's keenness being a reflection of the enthusiasm and musicianship of the Headmaster and the mistress who share the teaching.³¹⁰

What constantly emerges from the HMI reports is the central role that head teachers, alongside keen colleagues, played in promoting music within their schools. The two examples below, one from Leicestershire and one from London, demonstrate the part that leadership can play in giving music a high profile. The first is of a school working under difficult physical conditions with poor amenities, but one that had tapped into local authority music provision, thus gaining outside support:

The music of the school warrants special mention. In rather less than three years a most considerable music project has become a distinctive and vital part of the school. This is due to the vision and enthusiasm of the Head Master and his wife, and several members of the staff. The project has the support of the Local Education Authority and the guidance and encouragement of the Music Organiser.³¹¹

The second example, not only indicates the level of the musicianship of the headmaster, but also his willingness to undertake a substantial amount of music teaching in this large primary school of 380 boys. Although not indicated, it is highly likely that the violin teaching was undertaken by a visiting instrumental teacher and paid for by the LCC:

Headmaster, himself a musician, who takes not only recorder groups in and after School hours, but a substantial share of the music throughout the School, calls Very good work is achieved in violin and recorder groups. The enthusiasm of the for, when possible, an able assistant to share this work.³¹²

Although hand percussion and recorders begin to feature as being taught within a number of classrooms, the inclusion of singing still remains central to primary school music making. The majority of HMI reports indicate that a music specialist often leads singing sessions, or that they are at least led by someone who is confident enough to take on a leadership role. What is of real interest is that not one of the samples of reports from the three LEAs mentions the use of

³¹⁰ NA, ED156/38, HMI Ministry of Education Report, 1956, Crab Lane County Primary School, Leicestershire.

³¹¹ NA, ED156/38, HMI, Ministry of Education Report, 1954, Castle Donington Primary School, Leicestershire.

³¹² NA, ED156/42, HMI, Ministry of Education Report, 1950, Wix Lane County Primary School, Junior Boys, London.

the tonic 'sol-fa', either as a desirable development, or as already being employed in classrooms, although occasional mention is made of children learning to sight-read. The lack of emphasis on this skill does not seem to have adversely affected the quality and accuracy of some of the singing. Visiting pianists were often bought in to accompany when there was a lack of expertise in a school, indicating the continuing prominence given to this area of the music curriculum.

Singing is certainly much in evidence as a key activity across the schools of the three LEAs, and the HMIs were obviously satisfied when hearing 'sweet and tuneful' singing that achieved 'good intonation and clarity', but they also noted that schools were developing percussion work and introducing the recorder into the classroom, or as an extra-curricular musical activity. A number of schools are reported to be using the BBC *Music and Movement* programmes, or incorporating some form of movement or dance into the curriculum.

In a musically active school in Manchester, where instrumental learning was taking place through the employment of visiting peripatetic teachers, and groups of children were being taken on a regular basis to orchestral concerts given by the Hallé Orchestra as part of their educational programme, HMI reported that 'thoughtful use is made of BBC Broadcasts'. It is clear from this example that the broadcasts were integrated into the wider musical life of the school. This was not always the case, as two different HMI views of their employment revealed: one was positive, seeing them as a supportive and effective way of bringing music to children where there was no specialist music teacher, the second taking a more pragmatic stance, viewing the employment of broadcasts as a panacea for schools that were perceived as musically weak:

Music is not a strong subject and only one member of staff is able to play moderately. This leads to some specialisation which is not satisfactory. It was suggested, under the circumstances, more use might be made of the B.B.C. Music Broadcasts.³¹³

However, in some schools, BBC broadcasts may have been overused. In one, as many as seven radio lessons, in which music may have been included, were

³¹³ NA, ED 156/38, HMI, Ministry of Education Report, 1957, Crossacres County Primary School (Infants), Manchester.

undertaken each week, with little teacher preparation, and with only ‘perfunctory’ follow-up.³¹⁴ This extreme example is indicative of the adverse affect that radio broadcasts could have on learning if not used wisely, as an HMI pointed out when reporting on the passive response of children and young adolescents in an all-age school (5-15 years) in Leicestershire:

The work attempted by the senior pupils in Group A is dominated by the use of B.B.C. Broadcasts which result in long periods of listening. The pupils demonstrated little interest, unresponsive due to possible lack of participation.³¹⁵

In the majority of HMI reports on primary-phase schools, music was deemed to be successful when there was a teacher with some skills leading the way. There is little mention of how schools were coping with a lack of musical expertise, but in one infant school in London it was noted that:

It is a creditable feature of the music teaching that all but one of the teachers takes the subject with her own class. None of them, however, has special qualifications in music and two teach singing mainly without piano accompaniment. The children are learning to listen to music and to respond to varying rhythms, and some of them are experimenting with percussion instruments.³¹⁶

In this model, all the teachers were attempting to incorporate music as part of their general curriculum teaching, rather than viewing it as a separate subject to be taught by a specialist. It was possibly the case that the teachers of children in infant schools were more open to trying out musical approaches with children who were not at a stage of being able to make critical judgements about their teachers’ levels of skills and knowledge. In addition, the influence of Froebel on nursery and infant education had promoted music as an important and inclusive aspect of the early years curriculum.

From the range of HMI reports reviewed above it is evident that music was gaining a more secure and exciting place in a number of primary schools, but that in others it was still constrained by a lack of enthusiasm and confidence in

³¹⁴ NA, ED156/38, HMI, Ministry of Education Report, 1949, Narborough Temporary Primary School, Leicestershire.

³¹⁵ NA, ED156/38, HMI, Ministry of Education Report, 1956, Christchurch Boys’ Primary School, Manchester.

³¹⁶ NA, ED156/42, HMI, Ministry of Education Report, 1951, Heber Road County Primary School, London.

teaching the subject. For those primary schools that did value the subject, the post-war emphasis on instrumental teaching would filter through, and allow music to become broader in its aims. Instruments such as recorders, violins and classroom percussion were becoming more familiar, alongside a move towards practical music making and a growth in instrumental learning opportunities.

The Ministry of Education pamphlet, *Music in Schools*, first published in 1956, with a second edition following in 1960, was rather optimistic and celebratory in its opening paragraph when stating that ‘there can be few schools in this country where music plays no part’.³¹⁷ The pamphlet accurately reflected the pattern of activity as observed in some HMI reports, and acknowledged some of the difficulties and challenges facing primary schools in making appropriate provision. Interestingly, there were recommendations for a more ‘creative’ approach to music making, with children creating their own ‘rhythmic patterns and scorings’.³¹⁸ Although limited in scope and almost perfunctory, the idea of ‘creative participation’, a precept of the progressives, was given expression, and pre-empted the ideology of the next decade. Maclure’s view, that the Hadow Report of 1926 had indeed ‘flagged up changes in attitude and approach’, but had ‘reflected aspiration rather than approach’, is an astute observation of the period of the 1940s and 50s.

The 1960s: optimism and changing pedagogies

The 1960s was a time of fundamental change for primary education as the ‘child-centred’ approach gained impetus, but developments were slow to take shape, relying on individuals to show the way, rather than manifesting any gathering of collective momentum. The Plowden Report *Children and their Primary Schools*, published in 1967, was the first major enquiry into this phase of schooling since the recommendations of Hadow. Recognition that primary education had been neglected and underfunded prompted a report which, for some, provided new and welcome ways of re-thinking practice, whilst its critics saw its aims as rather unreflective and as promoting rapid change without carefully examining the

³¹⁷ Ministry of Education, *Pamphlet No. 27, Music in Schools*, (London: HMSO. 1960), 1.

³¹⁸ *Ibid*, 19.

criteria on which ‘child-centred’ learning was to be based.³¹⁹ The Report certainly communicated a critical challenge to music educators, boldly indicating that curriculum development in music was less well advanced in comparison to other subjects, such as language and literacy, or to the visual arts. Certainly there had been no significant voices, such as those of Richardson and Tanner for art, rallying for changes in music practice. Immediate post-Second World War developments in music had been led, in the main, by LEA music advisers, whose aspirations focused mainly on instrumental and orchestral developments within the secondary sector.

On this evidence it would appear that a more practical curriculum, although a step in the right direction, had not allowed opportunities for pupil imagination and creativity to be brought into music making. The influence of Carl Orff’s ‘Schulwerk’, which was adapted for British schools by Margaret Murray (1957), had made its own impact on practical musical activity in primary schools. However, the method had its critics, and some, such as Wendy Bird (formerly Townend), a music teacher and adviser working in London, believed aspects of the Orff method of teaching to be at odds with a freer experimental approach. She recounts that Orff teaching was regarded by some as a Germanic discipline that promoted rigid thinking. The method therefore needed to be modified further in order to empathise with the more ‘child-centred’ one advocated in the Plowden Report.³²⁰ It is uncertain as to how many schools took on the adapted Orff ‘Schulwerk’ scheme *per se*, but the introduction of the high quality German-produced Studio 49 Orff percussion instruments into schools, including tuned percussion, began to supplant the older cheaper instruments that had been used for percussion band work, and that still remained on many music trolleys within primary schools.

With teachers already frequently making use of radio broadcasts, the next stage of media influence, television for schools, introduced into the United Kingdom in 1957, became a useful additional resource. However, it was not until 1962, when

³¹⁹ Dearden, R., ‘The Aims of Primary Education’, in Peters, R. S., *Perspectives on Plowden*, (London: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1969).

³²⁰ Adams, P., *A Study of the Inner London Education Authority Music Service 1965-1990*, Wendy Bird, interview with the author, 30 July, 2002.

John Hosier was in post as Schools Music Producer for the BBC, that primary music education programmes were broadcast. Hosier's work was important on two fronts, the first being a conscious effort to encourage generalist teachers to participate in music education, and the second to bring about a more open and creative approach. Hosier believed that 'a good broadcast is one that's totally open-ended and leaves an enormous amount of work to be done in the classroom afterwards'.³²¹ Hosier recalled that in one small village school a large number of children had taken part in a successful production of Phyllis Tate's composition, 'Lieutenant Cockatoo', which 'they had learned entirely through a sequence of eight 20-minute programmes'. He pointed out that, in this particular example, children had received little previous effective contact with music within school, but that the performance experience had been an educational one, fostered within a musical atmosphere. Hosier's aim was to encourage children's creativity, his conviction being that the purposes of televised programmes was to put out 'a series of stimulating probes'. With a performance framework and some musical insights, the teachers and the children could bring further imaginative ideas to the projects.³²²

One particular HMI had certainly promoted a more 'creative' use of percussion in the primary classroom, as can be seen in a BBC film entitled *Discovery and Experience: The Primary School*.³²³ Although the film is undated, it is evident from its style that it was made in the late 1950s. The presenter, Walter Drabble, at the time an HMI for Music, openly used the vocabulary of the progressives. He talked about creative play, experimenting with sound, children composing and finding ways in which to write their music down, and the desirability of music being integrated into cross-curricular work. This child-centred approach recognised the commitment of the children to their music making, and there was strong belief that each achievement would open up a new horizon. Also, Drabble was keen to point out that a sensitive teacher would know how to help each individual on to the next stage. As children began to notate their own

³²¹ Ibid.

³²² Ford, C. 'Chords for all classes', an interview with John Hosier, *Guardian*, 28 November, 1972, 15.

³²³ BBC Film, 'Discovery and Experience: the primary school', undated, temporarily held in the author's possession.

compositions, he believed that they would quickly want to know how to use a more accurate and sophisticated system. In the late 1950s, the idea of emergent notation, growing out of the practical exploration of sound and music, would have been novel to many teachers. Although for the purposes of the broadcast the schools were specifically chosen to demonstrate that music could be taught imaginatively, and the teachers appearing in it were shown to be both competent and confident, Drabble provided a much needed creative voice for music in the wider context. Not only were children shown composing their own melodies for percussion, writing their own poetry and setting it in song, they were also shown recreating arrangements of known melodies. What is clearly evident is that, by the time these pupils left primary school, they would have experienced a music education that would more than adequately equip them for their secondary phase of musical learning.

The use of tuned percussion and, in particular, the initial employment of the pentatonic scale, which allowed playing without discord, gave primary schools the opportunity to experiment with new ways of introducing practical music making, as an HMI report indicated:

A very promising start has been made with pitched percussion instruments likely to become a valuable means of extending further the children's musical experience and knowledge.³²⁴

HMI reports for Leicestershire, London and Manchester, dating from the mid-1950s through to the 1960s, show evidence of a changing inspection agenda. HMIs took note of more informal learning arrangements, and of children's access to percussion instruments within the classroom setting. Comments were made that encouraged schools to develop a more creative approach to their percussion work, and qualitative observations suggested that attention should be given to developing percussion techniques in order to produce more sensitive playing.³²⁵

With some schools committed to a more creative and practical curriculum, the first of two Schools Council music projects presented an opportunity to build on

³²⁴ NA, ED156/1063, HMI, Ministry of Education Report 1966, Ravensbury Street County Junior School, Manchester,

³²⁵ NA, ED156/599, ED156/1770, HMI, Ministry of Education HMI Reports.

successful best practice. In 1970, six years after the Plowden Report, and at a time when questions were being asked about the aspirations of those who had been committed to its tenets, Reading University embarked on a seven-year project, with Arnold Bentley appointed as its Director. The Reading team's initial move was to undertake a survey of music in English primary schools. Their findings were not new, in that similar issues had prevailed early on in the history of state education. Approaches to music making were found to be wide and varied, and in many cases teachers showed a lack of musical training, confidence and clear guidance. In addition, assessment of individual progress was highlighted as weak, or not in evidence.

The course that the project chose to pursue was based on the premise that primary teachers needed clear guidelines and suitable support materials, in order to encourage musical learning in the early stages. The resulting scheme of work was heavily based on the acquisition of musical literacy through the learning of traditional Western notation, the very area that many generalist teachers viewed as prohibiting them from engaging with the subject. The approach was in sharp contrast to that which had been suggested by Walter Drabble in the BBC film, and therefore could be viewed as a backlash against progressivism. Owen Surridge, when writing in support of the project enforces this view:

This is not another step in the direction of anarchy chaos and the ultimate dissolution of civilisation: rather the opposite in fact. Moreover most of the teachers will be learning too.³²⁶

Bentley and his colleagues were out of step, not only with the 'child-centred' progressives, but also with the wider prevailing mood. This was a period when popular musicians were emerging who acknowledged that they could not read staff notation, but who were composing, improvising and playing instruments to a good standard, with a competency reached through informal learning strategies. Earlier styles of music, such as aspects of jazz, were now accepted, and their protagonists respected. In addition, ethnomusicologists, such as John Blacking, were delving into the complexities of musics other than those rooted in the Western tradition.

³²⁶ Surridge, O. 'Play notes', *Guardian*, 6 July, 1976, 6.

Ultimately, it can be argued that here was an opportunity missed. The project could have been bold and exploratory, reflecting the growing diversity of the British population, and the varying musical tastes and interests of the teachers and their pupils. The resulting project publication, *Time for Music*,³²⁷ which consisted of materials to aid the learning of musical notation, although linked to practical activity, remained firmly rooted in the dogma of the past.

Walter Drabble and Arnold Bentley, both in positions of influence, had presented very different ideologies, highlighting continuing tensions and fuelling ongoing discourse. Keith Swanwick, writing in 1981, presented some of his own reasoning as to why music caused so much consternation amongst the education community:

In short, music is a complex and gritty component of human experience, with so many facets and operating on so many levels, that any proper understanding of music education can only develop when musicians and teachers *themselves* bring their experience of music, of teaching and learning and of the educational disciplines, together in a single field.³²⁸

Looked at in this way, Swanwick's position provided a way of healing some of the rifts by pointing towards the need for tolerance and goodwill on the part of its musicians and music educators, across the profession. It aimed to move beyond individual restrictive practices, and not only encouraged openness to the musical tastes of others, but also arrived at a broader perspective by taking account of educational thinking and development across the whole spectrum. In a newspaper interview, undertaken a few years earlier, in 1977, Swanwick, who had just been appointed as Professor of Music Education at the University of London Institute of Education, referred to the many schemes 'dotted around isolated schools in the junior and secondary levels' that had led to the implementation of new ideas, but noted that, alongside these advances, there was a distinct lack of adequate dialogue between all those involved in music education.³²⁹

³²⁷ Kendell, I. P., Allin, S., and Walkley, C., *Time for Music*, Teachers' Support Materials, (Leeds: E. J. Arnold, 1977).

³²⁸ Swanwick, K., 'Music Education as a Field of Study' in Plummeridge, C., Swanwick, K., Taylor, D., and Moutrie, J., *Issues in Music Education*, (London: Bedford Way Papers, 1981), 12.

³²⁹ Soames, N., 'Tune up for the top brass', *Guardian*, 1 March, 1977, 18.

Certainly the HMI reports of primary school inspections, undertaken in the 1960s, 1970s and into the 1980s, continued to convey the differing patterns of music provision stemming from head teacher commitment to music, adequate staffing, and the take-up of wider organised opportunities. In Leicestershire, London and Manchester, there was evidence that these varied patterns could be successful in their different ways and, overall, it appears that music was beginning to be taken more seriously, with some head teachers engaging more part-time teachers of the subject in an attempt to emphasise its value within the curriculum. HMI comments on provision in two Leicestershire schools acknowledge this growing status: ‘Music is increasingly important in the life of the school’,³³⁰ and ‘The highlight of the school’s life is undoubtedly the keen and active general interest in music, both vocal and instrumental’.³³¹ Where HMI observations are included on instrumental teaching opportunities in schools, a number of reports reflect both the increase and availability of LEA funding support (see Chapter 5).

During the 1970s and 1980s, despite the acknowledgement of some broadening of primary school music, HMIs still chose to focus on areas of ongoing concern about general aspects of music provision, in particular about the opportunity for children to be more experimental and creative, as evidenced in these three separate reports:

Class work consists of singing with accompaniment on percussion instruments, an activity which the pupils approach with obvious enjoyment. There is, perhaps, a need for more opportunities for creative music making.³³²

. . . no opportunity for informal music making or for exploration of musical sounds. The instruments are kept locked in a cupboard other than when in use in lessons.³³³

Time should be given for children to explore sound and create their own pieces of music.³³⁴

³³⁰ NA, ED156/1135, HMI, Ministry of Education Report, 1977, Newry Junior School, Leicester.

³³¹ NA, ED156/839, HMI, Ministry of Education Report, 1961, Sileby County Primary School, Leicester.

³³² NA, ED156/1770, HMI, Department of Education and Science (DES) Report, 1976, Chorlton Park Junior School, Manchester.

³³³ NA, ED156/1063, DES, HMI Report, Cravenwood County Primary School, Manchester, 1985.

By 1985, the official view of the DES was that ‘Music Education should be mainly concerned with bringing children into contact with the musician’s fundamental activities of performing, composing and listening’.³³⁵ Practical engagement was now firmly linked to specific areas of desirable activity. Although caution must be exercised when examining HMI findings, the official view, reports on primary schools within Leicestershire and London and Manchester convey the varying levels of commitment to musical activities found across this sector. If national incentives for a practical music curriculum for all children were to be realised, then LEAs would be challenged to provide adequate in-service training support, which would require some re-prioritisation within funding allocation.

In-service training: Leicestershire, London and Manchester

During the inter-war years, Carroll in Manchester and Borland in London had initiated in-service training in music for teachers in elementary schools. After the Second World War, Leicestershire, under the leadership of Stewart Mason, replicated the idea. In his previous role as an HMI, Mason had been able to gain an overview of changing curriculum practices, and of their effectiveness, so that, on his appointment as Director of Education, he already had a clear vision of the future of education in Leicestershire, and of the support the teachers would require in order for him to achieve his aims. One early advisory appointment was that of Dorothy Fleming, a Froebel-trained teacher and enthusiastic communicator. Although not a music specialist, missionary zeal, alongside a forceful personality, ensured that her progressive ideals were disseminated across the authority. Mason admitted that some of Fleming’s approaches were deemed impractical by some of the head teachers, but he acknowledged that she acted as a catalyst for rethinking pedagogical approaches to the early years curriculum.³³⁶ Mason required advisers who would be able to persuade those teachers working in adverse conditions with large numbers of children that there was the possibility of introducing new methods. In 1969, Leicestershire became the first English

³³⁴ NA, ED156/1063, DES, HMI Report, School unnamed, Manchester, 1988.

³³⁵ DES, *Music from 5-16: Curriculum Matters*, (London: HMSO, 1985).

³³⁶ Jones, D., *Stewart Mason: the art of education*.

county to abolish selection at 11 across its whole area. With examination pressures removed, the primary schools could experiment with new teaching methods and different approaches to structuring curriculum, and the arts could be given a higher profile.

From accounts of music provision in Leicestershire,³³⁷ it is evident that the music adviser's role did not encompass a focus on the primary curriculum, apart from offering some schools instrumental opportunities and participation in massed schools performances. It would not be until the late 1980s, that in response to the inception of the National Curriculum, a team of three primary music specialists would be appointed, with the remit of supporting curriculum activities.

In contrast to Leicestershire, Manchester was keenly aware, from early on, through the work of Walter Carroll, of the importance of increasing the range of curriculum expertise within the music service. Carroll, having been in post before the introduction of secondary education for all, had fully concentrated his efforts on the elementary school system. In 1945, Dr William Griffiths, the incumbent music adviser for Manchester, in response to continuing concerns about the shortage of teachers trained in music, appointed a team of visiting specialists to teach across those schools where there was a lack of music.³³⁸ Ultimately, this situation was not ideal, and in 1947 approval was given by the MEC for the appointment of two full-time, permanent advisory teachers, one specifically to encourage and develop good singing, the other to provide classroom support. An advertisement for one of the roles was explicit in the gender bias of its wording: 'Woman – with an interest in Infants' and Junior Schools and the activities and methods suited to these schools'.³³⁹ However, as in Leicestershire, the trend began a shift towards music advisers in Manchester focusing their attention mainly on instrumental provision and massed primary school performances, and it would not be until the late 1980s that attention would again seriously turn towards the primary music curriculum, with the appointment of two specialist advisory teachers.

³³⁷ Mason, S., *In Our Experience: the changing schools of Leicestershire*, Pinkett, E., *Time to Remember*, Jones, D., *Stewart Mason: the art of education*.

³³⁸ MCL, Minutes of the Manchester Education Committee, Vol. 12, 1945- 6, 1644.

³³⁹ MCL, Minutes of the Manchester Education Committee, Vol. 13A, 1947, 901- 902.

Even in London, the leading LEA in many aspects of educational thinking, music can be cited as a prime example of a subject lagging behind others, and gaining little attention in terms of primary music curriculum support during the post-war years. During the 1960s, the focus of Peter Fletcher's work as Staff Music Inspector for the ILEA had never concentrated fully on developing primary school music, although he had, on his appointment, taken time to tour primary schools with a van full of instruments. However, he certainly gave credence to the importance of music in the primary school, and proposed that it should be taught in an imaginative way, so that by the time pupils reached the secondary years they would have acquired ideas about how they wished to further 'explore for themselves'.³⁴⁰ For Fletcher, music in primary schools was not an egalitarian aim, nor was he concerned about the difficulties experienced by the generalist teacher, but, rather, a means of selecting pupils for instrumental tuition, with the most successful of them becoming players in one of his instrumental ensembles, the pinnacle of which was the London Schools Symphony Orchestra.

The 1960s vogue for creative music was not a goal but a means to stimulate children into acquiring the skills needed to perform any kind of music to an acceptable standard.³⁴¹

It was not until questions were being asked about primary music in the period following Plowden that some form of commitment was eventually made to engage advisory expertise in the field.

The ILEA Music Centre, set up by Fletcher, functioned from the Autumn Term of 1970 as an administrative centre, and as a teachers' centre. A separate Executive Warden, David Evans, who had a particular interest in primary school music and the early years, was appointed to the latter. In 1973, shortly after the appointment of John Hosier as Staff Inspector for Music, six years after the publication of the Plowden Report, and three years after the publication of John Paynter's and Peter Aston's seminal work, *Sound and Silence*, the first Organiser for Primary Music, Wendy Townend (later Bird), was appointed to work alongside Evans. Initially, these two specialists spent two weeks at each of the ten inner London divisional teachers' centres, systematically undertaking a

³⁴⁰ Jackson, M. 'The Sound of Pimlico', *TES*, 29 June, 1973, 95.

³⁴¹ Hosier, J., Obituary, 'Peter Fletcher, a teacher of note' *The Times*, 7 June, 1996, 17.

programme of in-service music training for primary teachers. They took with them not only their pedagogy and philosophy, but also a variety of resources in the form of percussion instruments and support materials. These sessions went beyond a ‘tips for teachers’ approach, providing a much needed rationale and theoretical framework on which generalist teachers could base educational practice.³⁴²

In 1974, Marjorie Glynne-Jones, later to become an ILEA music inspector, added weight to the idea of the generalist teacher as music educator:

Teachers hesitate to interfere in the work of their specialist colleagues, although in many cases their knowledge of children’s development might result in more genuine activity in schools than does the expertise of the specialist.³⁴³

In the late 1970s, John Stephens, during his time as Staff Inspector for Music for the ILEA, put in place a bold structure and mode of operation that had greater influence on school-based music in London than anything that had come before, including a clearer focus on meeting the music education needs of primary teachers. Ten permanent Music Co-ordinators were appointed, five in 1979 and five in 1980, with applicants for the posts needing to possess characteristics over and above those required for seconded advisory posts. This was a team that shared collective knowledge and experience, and represented all phases of school education throughout the ten inner London divisions. The team, an even balance of men and women, were given the responsibility of ensuring that they provided excellent teaching models across the whole age range. Their reputation rested on gaining the respect of head teachers and their staffs in order to build meaningful partnerships, and be effective in bringing about changes in practice.³⁴⁴

Overall, these snapshot views of three LEA approaches to in-service provision reveal the lateness of attention given to the primary music curriculum, with patchiness of provision, and a lack of structured and meaningful ongoing support for the generalist teacher.

³⁴² Adams, P., *A Study of the Inner London Education Authority Music Service 1965-1990*, Wendy Bird, interview with the author, 30 June, 2002.

³⁴³ Glynne-Jones, M. L., *Music*, (London: Macmillan, 1974), 9.

³⁴⁴ Adams, P., *A Study of the Inner London Education Authority Music Service 1965-1990*.

In 1979, an HMI report on a Manchester school noted that:

Most teachers take their own class music, although there is a teacher with responsibility for music who takes recorder groups and singing throughout the school.³⁴⁵

In this model, the music specialist was not responsible for all the music in the school, but was on hand to offer additional expertise, whilst the generalist teachers were required to be responsible for classroom-based music as an integral part of the curriculum. This is an approach that would be encouraged during the late 1970s and the 1980s, with the music specialist being asked to take on an additional advisory, co-ordinating role within a school.

Discussion surrounding the lack of appropriate training in the colleges persisted into the 1970s, when it was again acknowledged that the non-musically trained primary classroom teachers, although willing to teach most subjects, did not feel prepared or confident about teaching music. The report *Training Musicians* (1978) recommended in-service training (INSET) as a way of inducting teachers into some form of musical engagement with children.³⁴⁶ As part of a growing commitment to teachers' continuing professional development, advisory teachers, specialists in their own subjects, were appointed by the LEAs from the late-1970s onwards, providing important input into INSET within schools and teachers' centres. Advisory teachers, subject specialists, were usually drawn from the primary sector, and were often seconded to work within the music service alongside the music adviser. One key role for the music advisory teacher was to work alongside generalist teachers in order to promote confidence and encourage the inclusion of musical activities within the classroom, INSET provision often taking place in music centres, local teachers' centres or within schools.

The Music Advisers, at their annual conference of 1979, continued to reiterate similar concerns to those of their predecessors:

In the vast majority of cases, the teaching of music in the primary school is in the hands of the non-specialist who has learnt a little about the techniques

³⁴⁵ NA, Department of Education and Science, HMI Report, Manley Park Junior School, Manchester, 1979.

³⁴⁶ Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, *Training Musicians: a report to the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation on the training of professional musicians*, (Tillicoultry: W M Bett Ltd., 1978).

of teaching music and acquired a few personal skills in music in professional studies at the old style colleges of education.³⁴⁷

In addition, falling roles in primary schools and cuts in expenditure had led to cutbacks in teaching staff, and there was concern that the favoured move towards an all-degree profession could affect the content of curricular studies, with existing music input becoming a casualty.³⁴⁸ From the point of view of the advisers, training courses urgently needed to help the generalist teacher to lead musical activities more effectively. From the generalist teacher's perspective, self-perceived disadvantage was most keenly felt in relation to the teaching of music. Whereas most primary teachers were quite happy to engage children in some form of artwork and encourage poetry reading and creative writing, music was simply not viewed in the same way.³⁴⁹ The elitist attitude promoted by some musicians and educators had clearly filtered down through the whole education system, leaving many adults with little or no confidence in their own ability to be involved in musical activity on any level. This situation was a damning indictment of the way in which music had been taught, its methods leaving a whole section of the population feeling less than adequate.

The Gulbenkian report of 1982, *The Arts in Schools*, made its own evaluation of the situation. The report reasoned that where teachers who 'feel ill at ease in the arts are unable to organise these essential experiences for children, it may be because they were denied them'. The 'vicious circle' created by a 'lop-sided curriculum' was clearly impacting on the confidence of some teachers actively to redress this imbalance.³⁵⁰

It should not be forgotten that even those who did have a musically 'elite' education, and who wanted to make a career in teaching, could also face difficulties. In 1975, a primary teacher, formerly a student at the Royal Academy of Music, then teaching music at an East London school, expressed his concern at

³⁴⁷ Minutes of MANA's annual conference, Report of the UK Council for Music Education, 1979, 38.

³⁴⁸ Allen, S., 'Music consultancy in Primary Education', *British Journal of Music Education*, Vol. 5, No. 3, November, 1988, 217-240.

³⁴⁹ SurrIDGE, O. Play notes *Guardian*, 6 July, 1976, 6.

³⁵⁰ Gulbenkian Foundation, *The Arts in Schools*, (London: Gulbenkian Foundation, 1982).

his unpreparedness for his choice of career. He was scathing in his comment that the ‘music colleges don’t care what happens to you afterwards’, intimating that they gave no preparation either for instrumental teaching or classroom teaching.³⁵¹ A letter to MANA from John Stephens, in 1981, raised the same concerns, highlighting the lack of career guidance that conservatoire students were receiving.³⁵² With the colleges of music mainly focused on professional performance, there was no real determination to look at further ways in which musicians could contribute to other areas of national musical life, including education.

Primary teacher training did not escape criticism. In 1979, the UK Council for Education produced a paper that represented concerns about the negligible music content in many teacher-training courses, and about the fact that statistics revealed how minimal an effect the training of specialist music teachers was having on primary school music. Even the approximately 300 newly trained specialist music teachers qualifying each year were not sufficient to support music in all primary schools. In order to rectify this unsatisfactory situation, the paper made two recommendations: firstly, that LEAs provide appropriate INSET programmes, and secondly, that teacher trainers reassess the amount of time they gave to ensuring useful practical guidance for music.³⁵³

Also, at this time, fears began to be expressed about changing circumstances within primary schools that were likely to affect music provision. In a paper produced for discussion at the MANA Conference of 1983 by Hamish Preston, concerns were raised relating to the ‘virtual disappearance’ of the music ‘specialist’, who was now likely to be given full-time class responsibility, which prevented the fulfilment of this important role.³⁵⁴ The situation left music in a vulnerable position, with many generalist teachers struggling to provide some kind of musical experience for children, or abandoning music altogether as a classroom activity. If music were to maintain a more secure place in the

³⁵¹ Ibid.

³⁵² MANA, letter from John Stephens, ILEA Staff Inspector for Music, to MANA, September, 1981.

³⁵³ UK Council for Music Education report sent to Music Advisers’ Annual Conference for 1980.

³⁵⁴ MANA, Hamish Preston, Discussion Paper, 1983.

curriculum, there was a strong case for ensuring a continuing and comprehensive INSET programme.

Conclusion

From the inception of the state education system, concerns had been raised by music educators such as Annie Curwen and Walter Carroll about the lack of appropriate music input within the training colleges, especially for the generalist elementary school teacher. In addition, the subject had suffered from a limited view of itself, with those in positions of influence not looking beyond a narrow classical foundation.

In the 1940s and 1950s, with emphasis being placed on secondary schooling, and on other aspects of educational reconstruction, it would not be until the mid- to late 1960s that primary education would be seriously reviewed. As part of that review, music was to be considered in relation to the teaching of other areas within the arts.

With the scant attention given to primary music curriculum content, firstly by the Ministry of Education (DES from 1964), and secondly by the music advisers, who concentrated mainly on secondary schools and large-scale implementation of instrumental teaching, the primary school curriculum was still disadvantaged. Head teachers were effectively in control of any developments and, as HMI reports indicate, their influence was crucial to the subject's gaining a high profile within a school.

Owing to the lack of time allocation given to curriculum music provision within teacher training, and to the low priority that LEA music advisers awarded it in the immediate post-war years, teachers were not encouraged to give it high status in their classrooms. This led to ongoing uncertainty about the place of music in primary schools, and about rationale for its inclusion and who might teach it, a situation that did not begin to be seriously addressed by LEAs until the late 1970s, and a situation that still remains partly unresolved.

Chapter 5

Instrumental Developments: commitment and realisation

Introduction

One of the most significant aspects of post-Second World War developments in music education was the burgeoning of instrumental opportunities within the state school system. This chapter explores this phenomenon, which was ultimately to drive the course of extra-curricular musical activity within the LEAs and their schools. The post-war emphasis on instrumental tuition by the Music Advisers' National Association (MANA) is examined within the context of state education for all and the ensuing growth in musical aspiration, while the work of early pioneers in their commitment to providing opportunities for such tuition is considered as a forerunner of later developments.

As the LEAs were central to the implementation of opportunities, London, Manchester and Leicestershire are cited as three examples of commitment to offering instrumental provision. In this chapter each of these LEAs is given a separate focus, in order to document their different and individualistic approaches to providing effective instrumental services.

Post-war aspirations

One of the key areas for consideration on the agenda of the very first Music Advisers' Conference, in 1942, was the place of instrumental music in schools. After discussion, the following recommendation was made:

That the Board of Education stress the importance of instrumental music as a school subject and impress on the L.E.A.s the need for making due provision for the supply of instruments.³⁵⁵

By 1947, the number of LEA advisers appointed with responsibility for music had grown to 70, and MANA now represented a well-established body of expertise. At their annual conference, later that year, there was again a rallying cry for the newly created Ministry of Education to advise that LEAs take an

³⁵⁵ MANA, Minutes, resolution agreed at the Annual Conference, July, 1942.

active role in promoting instrumental teaching. MANA suggested that any circular to be sent out by the Ministry should set out expectations

. . . that LEAs encourage the learning of orchestral instruments by their pupils and hopes that they will appoint professional teachers to give class lessons in strings, brass and woodwind, and seek to equip their schools with enough instruments to make the formation of school orchestras possible with L.E.A. instruments as a solid core to the resources.³⁵⁶

From the music advisers' point of view, the backing of the Ministry would strengthen their position when endeavouring to implement instrumental teaching within their respective authorities. In response, the Ministry supported a music course for instrumental teachers, in 1947, which focused on class and individual instrumental tuition. Inspector for Schools, Bernard Shore, and the conductor Sir Adrian Boult, were two high profile figures selected by the Ministry to lead the course. Egalitarian and optimistic sentiments were at the heart of this key event, conveying a strong message of aspiration to bring

. . . instrumental teaching within the reach of hundreds of children who previously regarded it the exclusive province of fee paying pupils and specializing musicians.³⁵⁷

Commitment to such widening of opportunity continued to gain pace, with those advisers attending the MANA conference of 1948 agreeing that there was a strong case for encouraging the introduction of brass and woodwind playing into schools.³⁵⁸ Strings, chiefly violins, had been the mainstay of much of earlier instrumental provision, being mass produced and cheap to buy. The request for a broadening of the range of instruments to be made accessible seemed reasonable in the wake of the 1944 Act, with more senior-age pupils now in schools. In addition, if school ensembles and the emerging county youth orchestras were to be successful, there needed to be a good supply and range of instruments available. These early post-war discussions were eventually to lead to an important enquiry into instrumental provision.

³⁵⁶ MANA, Report of Ministry of Education Conference, June, 1948.

³⁵⁷ Review, 'Music Teachers' Course', *The Times*, 17 April, 1947, 6.

³⁵⁸ MANA, Report of Ministry of Education Conference, June, 1948.

A significant report

A noteworthy study, commissioned in 1957 by the Standing Conference of Amateur Music (SCAM), was a serious attempt to describe the current state of instrumental provision in education. Mervyn Bruxner, at that time the County Music Adviser for Kent, was designated Chairman and given the responsibility of drafting the findings. Bruxner represented the face of MANA, thus bringing a useful generic overview and sense of purpose to the role. The methodological approach to the study took the form of a questionnaire and consultation with the local authorities, and findings were based on evidence gathered across England and Wales. Although, from the early 1940s the Music Advisers had recommended that LEAs make instrumental provision, this report highlighted the fact that large-scale instrumental teaching in state schools was still comparatively new, with some authorities spending considerable sums, whilst others were doing nothing.³⁵⁹

Reasons offered by the SCAM report for this patchy situation included the fact that historically, over the last 200 years, the choral tradition had been predominant. Many composers were closely connected with the church, rather than with the concert platform. The MANA Conference of 1948 had considered the following leading issue: ‘Is it true to say that in most schools the basis of the music teaching is the teaching of singing?’³⁶⁰ This rhetorical question, with its self-evident answer, was merely the continuing acknowledgement that singing still remained at the heart of school music. In the past, instrumental lessons had not been considered to be a feature of state music education, as indicated in an article published in *The Times* of 1895, where it was reported that a resolution had been put to the London School Board to turn down a request for the provision of violin teaching. The protest was ‘against the fads’ of the Board, and the view was put that if ‘they taught the violin they would have to very soon teach the piano’.³⁶¹ With the interests of the economy and of the ratepayers in mind, instrumental teaching was deemed both extravagant and unnecessary. Although inroads had been made in the inter-war years, it would not be until after the

³⁵⁹ SCAM, *The Scope of Instrumental Music in Schools: a study commissioned by SCAM*, (Plymouth: Latimer, Trend and Co. Ltd., 1960).

³⁶⁰ MANA, Minutes, Agenda for Conference of Music Advisers, June, 1948.

³⁶¹ News, ‘London School Board’, *The Times*, 24 May, 1895, 11.

Second World War, with the introduction of secondary schooling for all, and the appointment of LEA music advisers, that serious consideration would be given to the promotion of more equitable instrumental provision across the state sector. It is of no surprise that it was not until the 1950s that a comprehensive review of the prevailing situation was undertaken

The resulting SCAM report, *The Scope of Instrumental Music in Schools* (1960), recognised that the twentieth century had witnessed a changing musical climate as orchestral concerts began to gain higher status and prominence. In addition, there had emerged some high-profile British composers of orchestral works: Edward Elgar in particular, followed by Gustav Holst, Ralph Vaughan Williams and, more recently, William Walton and Benjamin Britten. Also, the report critically reflected on the unwillingness of some educators to respond to the wider accessibility of music through radio, gramophone and television, media which were engendering new forms of aspiration.

On a positive note, the report stressed the fact that instrumental music as ‘an educative force’ had been realised by a ‘dedicated, passionate few’ as early as the period prior to the First World War.³⁶² Between the wars, more independent schools had made provision for instrumental teaching, a trend that was emulated by a number of maintained grammar schools. In addition, inroads into the establishment of instrumental work had taken place in elementary schools through the introduction of group teaching. Enthusiasts such as Percy Buck, in London, and Walter Carroll, in Manchester, had certainly instigated such provision early on. Even within the well-established choral competitions a degree of competitive instrumental work began to be included, thus indicating its growing importance in the minds of some music educators.

Another important and influential advocate of instrumental tuition, for both children and adults, was Mary Ibberson who, in 1929, set up an experimental, grant-aided Rural Music School in Hertfordshire. For the venture to remain solvent the decision was made to charge for tuition, but fees were kept to a

³⁶² SCAM, *The Scope of Instrumental Music in Schools*, 9.

minimum, in order to encourage wider access. An accomplished musician herself, Ibberson, influenced by her liberal, nonconformist background, and considerable contact with adult education groups, held a strong belief in the social, educational and enrichment value of music as a unifying force.³⁶³ Also, she was a committed supporter of the musical and social benefits of the group instrumental teaching approach, particularly of strings.³⁶⁴ With a dearth of instrumental opportunities in rural areas, this initiative was an important advance. Ibberson was keenly aware of the practical steps that needed to be taken in order to realise success:

It had become clear to me that a comprehensive music service must, if it were to thrive, (a) have a separate existence under the control of a musician; and (b) have its centre in a market town on which bus services converged, and which country people naturally visited.³⁶⁵

With a positive outcome in Hertfordshire, the setting up of further Rural Music Schools followed. By 1953, an additional eight counties had joined the movement and, by 1962, the year Ibberson retired, the number had increased to ten.³⁶⁶ After the Second World War, strong links were in evidence between the Rural Music Schools and LEAs. The resulting varied patterns of partnership included an agreed basis for joint funding of certain elements of instrumental work. Although Ibberson always aimed at maintaining independence from the LEAs,³⁶⁷ it could strongly be argued that the Rural Music Schools movement played an influential role in instigating instrumental opportunities within the state school system. In Kent, a Rural Music School, set up in 1948, with generous funding from the LEA, had witnessed the staffing rate rising from one teacher-director instructing about 70 pupils to 11 full-time, and about 50 part-time teachers teaching well over 2,000 pupils, the burgeoning numbers indicating the ever-increasing demand for instrumental teaching.³⁶⁸ This growing trend was clearly influenced by the effects of the introduction of secondary schooling for all, by parents' post-war aspirations, by the growth in orchestral concerts for

³⁶³ Ibberson, M., *For Joy That We Are Here: rural music schools 1929-1950*, (London: Bedford Square Press, 1977).

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

³⁶⁵ Ashby, M., *Voices of Benslow Music Trust*, (Stroud: Tempus Publishing Ltd., 2000), 22.

³⁶⁶ Editorial, 'Tribute to Mary Ibberson', *The Times*, 5 November, 1962, 14.

³⁶⁷ Ibberson, M., *For Joy That We Are Here: rural music schools 1929-1950*.

³⁶⁸ SCAM, *The Scope of Instrumental Music in Schools*, 11.

schools providing the stimulus for some pupils to learn an instrument, and by the wider access to music that had been made possible through the medium of broadcasting.

For Kent's music adviser, Mervyn Bruxner, a keen supporter of the Rural Music Schools movement, instrumental learning was one of the key aims of music education, and pupils were at least to be given the opportunity.³⁶⁹ He acknowledged that the move towards a more practical curriculum in the classrooms of primary schools, with some children experiencing playing in a percussion band or recorder group, was a step in the right direction, and that, if children were to connect sound with symbol, then they needed to engage physically with an instrument of some kind. In Bruxner's mind there was a strong case to be made in favour of considerable support being given for children to start learning an orchestral instrument at the primary school stage.

The way forward: findings and deliberations

The response to the questionnaire sent out on behalf of SCAM, in 1958, had been positive, with replies received from 40 counties and 90 county boroughs in England and Wales, which signified considerable interest. Analysis of the data revealed that instruments were being taught in five per cent of all primary schools, in 69 per cent of grammar and technical schools, and in 36 per cent of secondary modern schools. Figures for county boroughs were respectively 16 per cent, 71 per cent and 34 per cent.³⁷⁰ The spread of the teaching clearly favoured the grammar schools, but instrumental tuition was also, significantly, finding its way into some secondary modern schools. Watkins Shaw, musicologist and educator, writing in 1952 on the desirability of introducing instrumental teaching into the secondary modern schools, saw it as an appropriate reflection of the tripartite system's approach towards the education of the secondary modern pupil, that of learning by doing.³⁷¹ There was no mention of comprehensive schools, and it can only be surmised that any replies to the questionnaire from

³⁶⁹ Bruxner, M., 'Instrumental Music at School', *Journal of Education*, Vol. 87, June, 1955, 270-271.

³⁷⁰ SCAM, *The Scope of Instrumental Music in Schools*.

³⁷¹ Watkins Shaw, H., 'Music in the Secondary Modern School', *The Journal of Education*, Vol. 87, April, 1952, 160-161.

these were categorised under the heading of secondary modern schools, or simply that the comprehensive schools, still in a minority, were not included in the study.

With reference to the range of instruments taught, the percentages were approximately the same in the counties as in the boroughs, with strings comprising 80 per cent, violin being the most frequently taught, and woodwind and piano five per cent, the latter being taught mainly in grammar schools. The rest of the instruments were unspecified.³⁷² In an article written in 1957, Eric Brimrose, Hertfordshire's County Music Organiser, had argued the case for lower strings to be introduced into schools in order to create better balance within ensemble work.³⁷³ The findings from the SCAM Report questionnaire indicated that the earlier recommendation of the music advisers, that of providing more woodwind and brass instruments had not, as yet, been realised.

In addition to discussions relating to instrumental provision, the music advisers had also turned their attention towards pedagogical issues, particularly in relation to group teaching. Instrumental work in state maintained schools depended, in the main, on group instruction and therefore required group-teaching techniques. Bruxner, writing in 1955, had highlighted the rarity of skilled string-class teachers, and had outlined the qualities required for effective practice. Firstly, an instrumental teacher needed to be a competent player, as demonstration modelling was a key component of teaching; secondly, some training was required in order to teach and manage groups of pupils; and thirdly, some understanding of pupils' development, and of school procedures and practices, was required.³⁷⁴ As instrumental access broadened to include woodwind and brass, it would be desirable for such qualities to be developed in all those musicians involved in instrumental teaching.

The extensive work of Mary Ibberson and the rural music schools had given rise to better consideration of instrumental teaching methods, particularly those concerned with class teaching techniques for strings. The brass bands, and

³⁷² Ibid., 13.

³⁷³ Brimrose, E., 'Music at the Secondary Stage', *Education*, February, 1957, 280.

³⁷⁴ Bruxner, M., 'Instrumental Music at School', 270-271, *The Journal of Education*, Vol. 85, June, 1955.

Salvation Army bands, had their own history of using group-teaching methods as a common approach to learning instruments. At the MANA conference of 1956 a lecture on teaching brass in schools was presented by Frank Wright, an eminent conductor and arranger for brass bands.³⁷⁵ His message was that serious thought should be given to improving the pedagogy and practice of bandmasters through qualification, as, if well taught, pupils could make rapid progress. He paid considerable attention to the selection of repertoire, including the recommendation of pieces written by contemporary composers, thus hinting at ways to combat the continuing difficulties of pupil take-up. Also, he highlighted the importance of certain details, such as the selection of suitable mouthpieces for young players. The fact that teaching experience, repertoire and suitability of instruments were areas of instrumental practice being explored in a national forum indicates that methodology and current instrumental practice were, for the first time, being openly discussed at a MANA conference. MANA continued to maintain a keen focus on instrumental teaching. In 1960 Alan Cave, a professional woodwind player and respected peripatetic instrumental teacher for the LCC, gave a presentation on the teaching of woodwind instruments. He recommended group teaching for beginners as more desirable than the one-to-one approach, and, as had Frank Wright, focused specifically on the needs of young players by addressing teaching method, repertoire, and the selection of instruments suitable for learners.³⁷⁶

MANA's much-needed deliberations were vital to the consideration of the quality of instrumental teaching in schools at the time. With the increase in the number of instrumental teachers now being employed within LEAs, the MANA conference of 1959 agreed that it was desirable to appoint full-time peripatetic teachers as a way of achieving better commitment to education work.³⁷⁷ Ongoing issues, inextricably linked to the supply of peripatetic teachers, and their pay and conditions, were of concern within the different authorities. By the late 1960s, there was a realisation that, with the ever-increasing numbers of pupils receiving instrumental tuition, some form of training for peripatetic teachers was desirable.

³⁷⁵ MANA, Report of the Annual Conference, June, 1956.

³⁷⁶ MANA, Report of the Annual Conference, June, 1960.

³⁷⁷ MANA, Report of the Annual Conference, June, 1959.

In 1969, MANA viewed the situation as urgently needing attention, a resolution being passed to discuss the situation with the DES, the primary purpose of this being to examine routes to a qualification, leading to recognition by the Burnham agreement on teachers' pay. The insecurity experienced by peripatetic teachers often affected their commitment, one example being that if other playing work were offered, their regular teaching responsibilities would suffer.³⁷⁸

Conditions of service for peripatetic teachers varied enormously across the different LEAs, as did the policies for instrumental teaching. For pupils, access to learning an instrument was a lottery, with some authorities committed to providing free instrumental teaching within schools, as part of an extension of musical opportunities beyond the curriculum, whilst others charged. Parents' contributions to the fees varied, from subsidised lessons to the full economic rate, while patterns of employment for visiting instrumental teachers also differed across the different LEAs. For example, in Leicestershire and Manchester, instrumental teachers were eventually employed on a full-time basis, whereas in London there was a ten-hour work rule in place, which militated against full commitment.³⁷⁹

The effect of the major focus given to instrumental provision by MANA, from the mid-1950s onwards, was to give added momentum to its growth across LEA schools. Towards the end of the 1960s, Gertrude Collins, who over the years had gained an extensive overview of the instrumental situation, firstly as a violin teacher renowned for her commitment to, and success in group teaching, secondly as a part-time inspector for the Ministry of Education, and thirdly as a lecturer at the University of London Institute of Education, gave this positive reading of instrumental developments:

No longer is it necessary to plead the cause of instrumental music in schools. In spite of many difficulties it is now an accepted fact that this aspect of music teaching is of inestimable value.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁸ MANA, Resolution on Instrumental Teaching, 22 June, 1969.

³⁷⁹ Jackson, M., 'The Sound of Pimlico', *TES*, 26 June, 21.

³⁸⁰ Collins, G., 'Visiting Specialist Teachers', 180-183, in Rainbow B., (ed.), *Handbook for Music Teachers*, (London: Novello, 2nd edition, 1968), 180.

From the mid-1960s onwards, and into the 1970s, confidence remained high, with a further increase in instrumental tuition provision, much of it now free of charge, and with demand often outstripping resources. The more advanced players found further instrumental opportunities available at the LEA-run music centres, with many receiving additional tuition and the prospect of participation in prestigious ensembles and youth orchestras.

However, from the mid-1970s onwards, earlier optimism diminished, as future instrumental provision needed to be set into the context of a changing economic climate, and a fall in the school population. Past discussion relating to the effectiveness of teaching methods had raised pedagogical arguments both for, and against, one-to-one and group teaching. In an example cited in relation to a Music Advisers' meeting in September 1980, discussion undertaken in conjunction with the European Strings Teaching Association (ESTA) indicates that financial anxieties began to supersede pedagogical debate. There was a suggestion that the Paul Rolland system of large group teaching, successfully pioneered in America, 'might offer some solution to the problem of equating educational ideals and financial stringency'.³⁸¹

Swingeing education cuts, made during the early 1980s, certainly left instrumental teaching in a precarious position. The devolution of monies directly to schools by the incumbent Conservative government significantly weakened the power of the LEAs across the country. This had a devastating effect on instrumental provision, particularly on pupils in schools where free tuition was not deemed a priority, and on successful LEA music centres, which had been central to nurturing musical interest and aptitude. Some music centres, such as that in Berkshire, which had contracted out of the music teaching service, survived, being partly maintained by grant aid provided by some of the LEAs, thus preserving opportunities for less well-off pupils.³⁸² Other LEAs took more drastic measures, one example being the Metropolitan Borough of Barnsley, which disbanded its service in order to comply with government rate capping.³⁸³

³⁸¹ MANA Conference, Minutes of meetings, 1981, 29.

³⁸² Editorial, 'Berkshire contracts out', *Music Teacher*, November, 1991, 5.

³⁸³ Editorial, 'Barnsley to disband instrumental music service', *Music Teacher*, June, 1990, 5.

One of the key areas of concern raised by the 1988 Education Bill was the proposed introduction of charges for additional services, which included individual music tuition amongst its chargeable activities. The 1944 Education Act had established the principle of free education, but did not prevent schools charging for what they considered to be ‘extras’. Kenneth Baker, Secretary for Education from 1986-1989, sought to clarify interpretations of the clauses within the 1944 Education Act through consultation with the LEAs, some of which were implacably opposed to the principle of charging.

Similar concerns about social and economic environment dictating the level of equal opportunity and eligibility were beginning to mirror those raised in the 1920s. In the publication *Take Care Mr Baker*, which is in essence a compilation of responses to the Education Reform Bill of 1988, the editor, Julian Haviland, was able to reflect the range of reaction extracted from specialist opinion.³⁸⁴ A number of these responses included reference to music tuition, making a plea for its retention as a free activity. Recurring themes emerged, with the consensus being that instrumental tuition should be regarded as an integral component of musical experience. For the National Association of Teachers and Governors (NATG) the expansion of music education was ‘one of the biggest successes of comprehensive education’,³⁸⁵ and, for the National Union of Teachers (NUT), music, along with areas such as field trips, should ‘under no circumstances have been considered chargeable’.³⁸⁶ There was real concern about the introduction of charges, as tuition would be paid for by those parents who could afford it, rather than being offered to those pupils who might benefit the most.

In a lecture, given at the Royal Society of Arts (RSA), in 1993, John Stephens, former Staff Inspector for the ILEA, and Vice-Chairman of the National Curriculum Working Group, noted that patterns of instrumental tuition and the formation of ensembles had often emerged through the work of pioneering individuals employed by the LEAs. He highlighted the changing structures arising from the 1988 Education Act, which had placed greater responsibility for

³⁸⁴ Haviland, J., *Take Care Mr Baker*, (London: Fourth Estate, 1988).

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 205.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 204.

budgeting and planning on individual institutions. In turn, such trends were now placing a ‘strain upon broader, authority-wide services which take a wider strategic view.’³⁸⁷ In particular, he cited the provision of instrumental teaching, orchestras, bands and ensembles, as having allowed more advanced pupils to come together and be provided with challenges that simply could not be offered by individual schools.

Such deep sentiments, reiterated some years later, after the effects of cuts had impacted heavily on instrumental opportunities for some pupils, summed up the position of many LEAs. Since the late 1970s, financial constraints left music advisers faced with the possible loss of music centres, and a reduction in instrumental provision. This resulted in increasing reliance on the market economy, with LEAs seeking funding support from privatised sources and other interested parties, including parents, in order to continue musical opportunities within LEAs, some of which had had a long and illustrious history of providing free instrumental tuition to state school pupils.

London: early commitment to instrumental provision

Within another period of economic stringency, that of the depression years following the First World War, it is notable that instrumental teaching in the capital’s state elementary schools was being established. From the 1920s onwards, a number of London children were benefiting from violin ‘instruction’.³⁸⁸ By 1930, there were a hundred string bands in existence in LCC schools.³⁸⁹ A commitment to whole-class teaching had provided a practical solution to ensuring that large numbers of pupils could be given instrumental experience within one space, such as a school hall. This approach was viewed as being of value to beginners, but serious consideration was also given to ensuring that additional arrangements were made for those children who had advanced to a level beyond what could be offered on a whole-class basis. From 1930 onwards, the LCC awarded annual grants of £200 each to the RCM, RAM, TCM and the LCM, on condition that they reserved 75 free Saturday places for promising

³⁸⁷ Stephens, J., ‘Music in Schools’, *Royal Society of Arts Journal*, 638-649, 1993.

³⁸⁸ Salaman, W., ‘Instrumental Music Making in the Secondary School Curriculum’, PhD thesis, University of Wales, 1988.

³⁸⁹ Review, ‘Education by Music’, *The Times*, 13 December, 1930, 10.

instrumentalists from the public elementary schools.³⁹⁰ Those selected attended general musicianship classes, and received individual instrumental lessons given by college students, of whose pedagogical training it formed a part.

Percy Buck, appointed in 1927 as the first full-time music adviser to the LCC Education Committee, had been in a key position to bring about this situation. As a former member of staff at the RCM, he had maintained close links with its principal, Sir Hugh Allen, and with the world of the music colleges. In 1930, Buck had arranged for one of his more successful violin teachers, a Miss Murray, to bring some of her pupils to the RCM to give a group-teaching demonstration aimed specifically at those students intending to undertake some instrumental teaching.³⁹¹

Some years later, at the Incorporated Society of Musicians' annual conference of 1937, Buck had described a visit to observe a violin class at an LCC school.³⁹² At the time of his visit, he admitted that he still harboured some scepticism about the value of group teaching methods, and had anticipated out-of-tune playing of Handel's *Largo*. The boys attending this elementary school were from economically deprived backgrounds, but, to Buck's amazement, about 40 of them entered the classroom each carrying a violin and ready to play. The teacher gave him a list of the repertoire, towards the end of which appeared Bach's *Double Concerto in D minor*. Buck selected this for performance, thinking the work impossible for these schoolboys to play, but later admitted he was wrong in his assumptions. His own account of this unexpected revelation was reported in an editorial in *The Times* thus:

Two boys stepped out to play the solo parts and the other boys played the first and second violin parts, while the piano and harmonium put in the rest. The results were so extraordinarily good that he could never have conceived it possible.³⁹³

Subsequently, Buck persuaded a reluctant Sir Hugh Allen to accompany him back to the school to hear the boys play. He described Allen as sitting with a

³⁹⁰ LMA, LCC, Minutes of Education Committee, 23 March, 1930, 197.

³⁹¹ Review, 'Education by Music', *The Times*, 13 December, 1930, 10.

³⁹² Editorial, 'Teaching of Music in Classes: Sir P. Buck's Praise', *The Times*, 30 December, 1937, 7.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*,

look ‘as if he were expecting to be attacked by some virulent disease’.³⁹⁴ However, when Allen heard the quality of what these boys could do, he began to take notice. There and then he offered the two soloists scholarships to the RCM. After their musical training, both boys entered the music profession, one becoming a first violinist in the Bournemouth Symphony Orchestra, the other a violin teacher at a public elementary school.

At a time when sociological concerns with education and class were beginning to emerge, and intelligence testing methods were being challenged in some quarters,³⁹⁵ this account of Buck’s initial visit, and his success in persuading Allen to accompany him on a second visit, is genuinely noteworthy. Firstly, it highlights the ways in which these elite musicians initially stereotyped ordinary working-class children, and secondly, it demonstrates that, if given appropriate opportunities, economically disadvantaged children could achieve to a high level, as witnessed by Buck and Allen. Factors influencing the good standard of playing at this particular school depended on the reasonable supply of instruments provided by the LCC, and on an effective teacher. Crucial to success was the conviction that pupils being educated within the mass elementary school system should be given access to musical opportunities beyond the main activity of singing. The positive experience of Buck and Allen must have affirmed the value of the earlier decision to offer Saturday college-led music classes to the more advanced instrumentalists.

Despite the obvious advantages of pupils receiving college-based music tuition, in 1944, anxieties were being voiced about the quality of some of the teaching. With this being undertaken partly by college students, the lack of professional instruction was perceived to be placing some promising instrumentalists at a disadvantage. In response to these concerns, the LCC Education Committee made the decision to discontinue the existing grant arrangements, and to introduce a ‘junior exhibition’ scheme in music. From now on, places offered through the scheme would be available only to pupils of secondary school age,

³⁹⁴ Ibid.

³⁹⁵ Lawson, J., and Silver, L., *A Social History of Education in England*, (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1973).

and not to primary aged children, a shift in line with the implementation of the 1944 Education Act.³⁹⁶ Despite some difficulties, the closer working relationship between the music colleges and the LCC had created the potential to foster interest at school level by those concerned with more advanced training, thus forming a bridge between two very different worlds.

Generous funding represented the commitment of the Council to supporting more advanced instrumental tuition for London children.³⁹⁷ However, parents who were deemed affluent enough were expected to contribute towards fees, these being organised through the introduction of means testing, which allowed for a sliding scale of contribution, thus ensuring that free tuition was available for children from low-income families.³⁹⁸ Whilst the LCC Education Committee was committed to ensuring provision for those children demonstrating musical potential, it was also keen to reflect the optimistic tenets of the 1944 Education Act, by promoting a more egalitarian approach to free music tuition entitlement:

The value of instrumental music as part of a normal education should now be recognised within the school curriculum, and a scheme is submitted providing for class instruction, in school hours where possible.³⁹⁹

Staffing and curriculum issues were obviously being considered, in that, where appropriate, permanent members of staff who were able to support instrumental work were encouraged to lead within-school-hours sessions, although any teaching outside school hours would be deemed to be best taught by visiting specialists. Despite their preference for approved peripatetic teachers, the LCC stance of encouraging instrumental experiences to be included within school hours demonstrates that some thought was being given to the possibility of providing a more practical, skill-based music curriculum.

The minutes of the LCC Education Committee contain substantial evidence of the time given to debate surrounding the growth in popularity of instrumental tuition in schools. Leslie Russell, a post-war appointment to the role of Chief Music Adviser to the LCC, in 1946, continued to obtain sufficient funding to sustain

³⁹⁶ LMA, Minutes of the LCC Education Committee, 3 May, 1944, 431.

³⁹⁷ Ibid.

³⁹⁸ LMA, Minutes of the LCC Education Committee, 27 September, 1944, 479.

³⁹⁹ LMA, Minutes of the LCC Education Committee, 23 October, 1946, 177.

developments, with attention given not only to widening opportunity, but also to maintaining access to advanced teaching. In addition to the individual tuition given by the London music colleges, in 1958, one-to-one instruction was made available to schools for pupils showing promise. Those selected by differentiation could now receive school-based individual lessons for 12 half-hour periods during term time, over the period of their school lives. Such built-in sustainability enabled young instrumentalists to gain long-term benefit from the teaching they received.

It was Russell's legacy of LCC-funded instrumental tuition, and his establishment of the London Schools Symphony Orchestra (London SSO), (see Chapter 6), to which Peter Fletcher fully committed himself on his appointment, in 1966, one year after the formation of the ILEA as a branch of the newly formed Greater London Council (GLC). A former Cambridge music scholar, with experience as an orchestral and choral conductor, Fletcher was well qualified to continue Russell's main focus of musical activity, that of musical performance. He held a firm belief that children come to understand music through learning an instrument, his purpose being focused on setting musical standards that would benefit the London SSO.

From the outset, Fletcher's elitist aspirations were evident. Although not averse to educators and generalists being involved in music education, Fletcher held the strong view that the 'specialist' is firstly a musician, and secondly an educator.⁴⁰⁰ He displayed a lack of confidence in instrumental music teachers in schools, believing that many could not provide the high level of instrumental tuition necessary for those with obvious ability. He was unapologetic about his views that the most 'musically talented' pupils should have the best teachers:

. . . I believe strongly that the State should do better. My aim has been to leave as much as possible in the schools and take out of the schools those things that can only be done with excellence centrally, thereby endeavouring to ensure that talented musicians stay in schools and in state education.⁴⁰¹

⁴⁰⁰ LMA, Fletcher, P., 'Seven Years in Retrospect', *ILEA Contact*, Pub. 9, Issue 6, 1973, 10.

⁴⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 14.

On 4 February 1970, the ILEA Education Committee minuted the following momentous decision:

We have decided that there will be many advantages in establishing the Authority's own scheme for all junior exhibitioners and we have approved the setting up of a music centre in the new Pimlico county secondary school [Westminster]. The concentration of the work in one centre on Saturdays should stimulate enthusiasm amongst instructors and pupils and help to raise standards.⁴⁰²

This initiative was eventually to phase out the junior exhibition places, thus severing links with the music colleges, and the new ILEA Saturday centre would realise Fletcher's vision of creating a Centre for Young Musicians (CYM), which would draw only on pupils from ILEA schools, and offer free instrumental tuition to all. From 1971, there were no new awards at the music colleges, other than senior awards schemes at the Guildhall School of Music.⁴⁰³

Fletcher's energies were now firmly directed towards seeking out some of the 'top drawer' players from the London orchestras and opera companies to lead the way in teaching at the CYM. He was concerned that, although musical resources were being increased, both for instrumental teaching and classroom work, the 'real musical world of the professional had penetrated very little into institutions'.⁴⁰⁴

For the CYM instrumental instructors, hourly pay was higher than the standard rate, but the ILEA enforced the 'ten hour' working rule to ensure that pay did not exceed that of the qualified classroom teacher. Ken Golightly, the ILEA Music Warden, defended this expensive operation on the grounds that, in order to persuade musicians of high calibre to teach there, the Centre's hourly fees needed to achieve equivalence with those offered for an orchestral session.

Fletcher's chosen emphasis on the building of a strong instrumental service is clearly evident. By the time he left the Authority, there were 11 instrumental

⁴⁰² LMA, Minutes of the ILEA Education Sub-Committee, 4 February, 1970, 265.

⁴⁰³ ILEA, Minutes of Education Sub-Committee, 13 October, 1971, 112.

⁴⁰⁴ Fletcher, P., 'Crystal slippers and the fading Cinderella - why the scenario has changed for good', *Education*, June, 1973, 627.

organisers, mostly employed on a part-time basis, who held the status of educational advisers. They taught the most advanced pupils at the CYM, and were also responsible for auditioning and appointing instrumental teachers to an approved panel for school-based instrumental instruction. The selection and quality of instruments was also their responsibility, as was the selection of ILEA pupils for individual awards. Eventually, around 4,000 pupils held these awards, which afforded them free tuition without any cost to their schools, releasing money and time for more pupils to learn instruments.⁴⁰⁵ Fletcher's investment in the instrumental organisers provided

. . . expertise and some rationality to a system that was often chaotic, often amateurish and wasteful; until their arrival on the scene there was, for instance, no central check on the quality of musical instructors 'found' by schools, or on the children whose headmasters had secured them individual awards.⁴⁰⁶

There is no doubt that, by the time Fletcher left the ILEA, the scale of the music service was impressive, and reflected the continuing commitment of the Authority to specialist music education. The CYM, however, was not a place where the fullest and freest activities were pursued. For example, pupils were not introduced to popular, folk or jazz styles, but were presented with a classical training that would prepare them for high-level orchestral and ensemble performances. On the other hand, it could be argued that all those pupils learning instruments within the Authority were taught playing and musicianship skills that were transferable.

During the early 1970s, within an increasingly egalitarian climate, concerns began to be raised at various levels about an elitist approach to music education. Writing in the *TES*, in 1973, Mark Johnson highlighted his unease:

Ashley Bramall, ILEA leader, talks of an 'overwhelming transformation' in the provision for music in London. It is a transformation that seems at first glance curiously lopsided in relation to the egalitarian strategies of the ILEA's Labour majority.⁴⁰⁷

Fletcher's resignation in 1973, the same year as Johnson's article, provided an apposite moment to redress a growing imbalance between the vision of the Staff

⁴⁰⁵ Jackson, M., 'The Sound of Pimlico', *TES*, 26 June, 1973, 18.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

Inspector for Music and the comprehensive idealism of the ILEA. Fletcher's successor, John Hosier, not only came to the post with a more egalitarian brief, but also ensured, during his short tenure of three years as Staff Inspector for Music, that his different, but not conflicting positioning allowed the CYM to continue to flourish. A positive move was made to widen its activities with a project based in East London, which was to provide ensemble playing opportunities for young string players, but initially there were too few players and they were spread over too many schools. John Stephens, Hosier's successor, persevered with the project, teaming up with Peter Shave, Director of the CYM, and Sheila Nelson, an internationally renowned string teacher. The task was to develop what was to become known as the 'Tower Hamlets String Project', a school-based group instrumental programme. Yvonne Enoch, another teacher with a worldwide reputation, and commitment to group teaching, was employed to lead small-group piano and guitar teaching initiatives.⁴⁰⁸ The backing of the ILEA, during a time of increasingly severe cuts in education spending and the Conservative Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher's 'animus against it', was testimony to its continuing support for music education initiatives.⁴⁰⁹

The Project provided a counterbalance to the uneven geographical distribution of musical benefit across the capital. The Tower Hamlets Project allowed children, whatever their instrument, to receive teaching two or three times a week, raising the profile of music in one of the poorest boroughs of London. Many came from homes that could not financially resource instrumental lessons, and the majority of whose parents would not have made the Saturday journey to Pimlico. Also, Tower Hamlets maintained a high proportion of Asian children from Bangladeshi backgrounds, for whom English was an additional language. This was possibly the first time that instrumental teaching in London had reached so many children from ethnically diverse backgrounds.

Sheila Nelson brought her own open approach to her work, viewing these whole-class sessions in the same way as non-selective maths or English lessons, an

⁴⁰⁸ Thomas, S., 'Grassroots in London', *TES*, November, 1981, 34.

⁴⁰⁹ Driver, C., 'The East End fiddle', *Guardian*, 31 March, 1981, 15.

integral part of the primary curriculum.⁴¹⁰ The timetabling of group teaching needed to be approved by head teachers, many of whom saw the behavioural and social benefits of the work, in addition to the musical advantages. Nelson attracted string teachers and graduate music students who wanted to learn her methods. This pedagogical approach was far removed from that of the individual instrumental lesson which, for many of these teachers and graduates, was their only experience of learning an instrument. Peter Shave considered team teaching as a means to ‘in service training in the best master-craftsmen-apprentice tradition’, alongside weekly meetings which provided discussion of the philosophy underpinning the group teaching methods.⁴¹¹

The new model of CYM activity, as implemented in Tower Hamlets, led to an increase in musical opportunities being offered in other boroughs. Throughout the late 1970s and early 1980s, Saturday morning Junior Centres for Young Musicians were established in the boroughs of Westminster, Hammersmith, Greenwich, Lambeth and Hackney, along with an after-school CYM based in Southwark. Christine Richards, an ILEA divisional co-ordinator, was given responsibility of overseeing the satellite centres during the last years of the service. She recalls that, unlike the arrangement at the Pimlico-based CYM, admission was by head teacher recommendation, rather than by audition. In effect, entry was not selective, but the centres were always oversubscribed, with children placed on waiting lists.⁴¹²

In essence, John Stephens’ egalitarian beliefs were similar to those of Hosier, but, whilst fully in agreement with Fletcher’s notion of opportunity for all to achieve excellence in music, he also aspired to realising a better deal for all children. Writing in the *TES*, in 1974, Caroline Moorhead posited her support for a more democratic view by proposing that, although ‘clever’ children can take advantage of special music facilities, there is ‘no reason for denying them to other children’.⁴¹³ In 1980, in response to the growing political focus on curriculum, and as a means of bridging the gap between the classroom and the instrumental

⁴¹⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹¹ Ibid.

⁴¹² Christine Richards, interview with the author, 30 July, 2002.

⁴¹³ Moorhead, C., ‘A gifted child can be a problem child’, *The Times*, 9 May, 1974, 9.

service, Stephens created a radically edged Head of Music Services post at the ILEA Music Centre. He believed that the strength of the Centre and its staff lay in coherence, and the responsibility of the new appointee, Geoffrey Kinder, who had directed music at Dartington School, Devon, was to tie the instrumental service into the curriculum. The instrumental organisers expected a leader with an instrumental background, but, for Stephens, this would have been a backward step.⁴¹⁴ As part of his scheme to broaden musical opportunity, he had proposed that selected primary schools be permitted ‘to employ up to 0.2 of instrumental music teacher time at no cost to the school.’⁴¹⁵ Part of Kinder’s brief was to implement a scheme of group teaching in those primary schools willing to integrate the initiative into the broader music curriculum, rather than regarding instrumental teaching as an add-on. For the most part, instrumental teaching had previously been funded out of monies known as Alternative Use of Resources (AUR), whereby ten per cent of funding was allocated to schools to spend as they wished. The ILEA granted additional resources to implement this initiative, but the scheme was operative for only one year, not being awarded any subsequent funding, owing to increasing financial constraints. However, during his tenure, Stephens attracted substantial funding to support group instrumental initiatives in schools, and to ensure that there were centres of musical activity beyond the centrally-based Pimlico CYM.

A report published in 1988, based on research and discussion undertaken by a working party of teachers in the West Midlands, referred to the generous extra AUR funding enjoyed by ILEA schools and to the ‘seemingly bottomless pool of London’s extremely talented sessional musicians’.⁴¹⁶ The capital was acknowledged as being advantaged, both by its considerable wealth, and by accessibility to its thriving musical professional world. Ironically, the West Midlands report, published in 1988, coincided with the Conservative government’s abolition of the ILEA, which ended the liberally funded music

⁴¹⁴ John Stephens, interview with the author, 13 May, 2011.

⁴¹⁵ Stephens, J., *Music in Schools: Report, no.5102, prepared for the Equal Opportunities Sub-Committee*, (ILEA Music Centre, undated).

⁴¹⁶ Midland Centre for Music in Schools, *Instrumental Teaching in Schools, Report from a working party of teachers in the West Midlands*, January, 1987 - June, 1988.

service that had provided children across the London boroughs with instrumental opportunities since the 1920s.

Manchester: an early instigator of instrumental teaching

As was the case in London, instrumental teaching had been implemented early on in a number of the elementary schools in Manchester, although it was not the main priority within the music education agenda of the first music adviser, Walter Carroll. He had chosen to direct his resources towards teachers and their classrooms, appointing specialist teachers to support work in schools. However, there is evidence that violin teaching was being promoted within some of the elementary schools, and in 1923, Carroll discovered that about 200 children across the city could play an instrument. His solution to making the most of this adventitious situation was to bring the children together after school hours to form a string orchestra, later known as the 'Children's Orchestra' (see Chapter 6).⁴¹⁷ After 1945, with a view to increasing orchestral ensemble opportunities across Manchester, instrumental teaching for children was reorganised on a district basis.⁴¹⁸ This scheme was planned in line with the Manchester Education Committee's commitment to decentralising activities in music.⁴¹⁹

In 1947, Manchester's post-war response to the national call for instrumental opportunities had been to invite applications for two appointments that would contribute to the broadening of the music adviser's vision. Dr William Griffiths, the serving music adviser, had been one of the delegates at the 1942 MANA music conference, and was therefore very much aware of, and involved with proposed developments.⁴²⁰ The real challenge that he was facing in Manchester was the continuing dearth of effective teachers leading classroom music.⁴²¹ Although as late as 1952 difficulties remained, with funding still being channelled into employing a number of peripatetic teachers to support curriculum music,⁴²² the music adviser's report, submitted to the Committee later in the same year, indicated that instrumental teaching progress was being made. After a

⁴¹⁷ Walker, A., *The Children's Composer*, (Manchester: Forsyth Brothers Ltd., 1989).

⁴¹⁸ MCL, Minutes of Manchester Education Committee (MEC), Vol. 12, 1945-46.

⁴¹⁹ MCL, Minutes of MEC, Vol. 11, 1944-45, 1357-1358.

⁴²⁰ MANA, Conference List for 1942.

⁴²¹ MCL, Minutes of MEC, Vol. 13B, 1946-47, 1703.

⁴²² MCL, Minutes of MEC, Vol. 17A, 1951-52, 1858.

modest start, 22 centres had been established, in which a total of 32 classes was provided with string, woodwind and brass tuition, taught by a team of 15 instrumental teachers.⁴²³

In 1960, Griffiths continued to voice serious concerns that mirrored those raised by MANA, in particular ones that related to the shortage of suitably qualified instrumental teachers. In Manchester, the position in 1958 had been that almost 50 per cent of pupils gave up instrumental lessons after the age of 13, a situation raising pedagogical questions relating to quality of experience. Only a small number of pupils were emerging ready to undertake the orchestral repertoire, and the large drop-out rate demonstrated a lack of interest. The music adviser recommended the appointment of committed full-time teachers to lead the instrumental work that was taking place within the districts, and pointed out that much needed to be done to reach those schools in Manchester that were not involved in the instrumental teaching scheme.⁴²⁴

The concern for quality is encapsulated in the following report on brass band teaching, which validates some of the concerns raised by MANA at their annual conference of 1956:

Boys are learning brass instruments at eight centres. Owing to a shortage of tenor instrumentalists, neither a School nor a Youth Band has materialised this year. Some new classes have not settled down and a serious view must be taken of one cornet changing hands so frequently. It seems that quality not quantity should be more strictly adhered to and further investigations into the working of the scheme and the supervising of classes are to be made.⁴²⁵

By the late 1960s, the situation had begun to improve in terms of organisation and access, as indicated in a more encouraging report to the Manchester Education Committee. There had been an ‘increase of instrumental work in both primary and secondary schools’ and a ‘growth in brass and woodwind teaching’.⁴²⁶ One solution to the continuing shortage of string teachers was to be set out in a resolution, passed in 1967, which offered music classes at the

⁴²³ Ibid., 1857.

⁴²⁴ Ibid., 2691.

⁴²⁵ Ibid., 2692.

⁴²⁶ MCL, Report of City of Manchester Education Committee, 1965-1966, (Wilmslow: Richmond Press Ltd., 1966).

Northern School of Music, one of the two music colleges based in Manchester, to children of school age.

It is clear that instrumental provision in the past had been patchy and intermittent, but significant change came about when, in 1971, during a period of instrumental teaching expansion, Victor Fox was appointed District Inspector with responsibility for music. In communication with the author, Fox indicated that he had inherited a skeletal instrumental service, with the city employing about a dozen peripatetic teachers who managed their own teaching. For Fox, strong leadership was the key to improving this situation. After gaining an initial overview, he organised the existing peripatetic work into two areas, north and south, with schools utilised as premises, and known as bases. A centre leader was given responsibility for the north centre and leadership of the team in that area, and another was appointed to lead the south.⁴²⁷ Subsequently, an additional 12 peripatetic teachers were engaged, and the two existing centres divided to form four school-based centres in all. This move allowed for better geographically organised coverage of the north, south, east and west areas of Manchester, thus retaining the area-based feature of the immediate post-war years, but with the addition of strong leadership.

According to Fox, 'each centre developed its own distinctive character, reflecting its neighbourhood and the strengths of its schools'.⁴²⁸ The newly appointed centre leaders were regarded as members of staff, a position from which they were well placed to build up pupil membership, and to oversee the quality of instrumental teaching. In the south, Alan Gregory was a peripatetic brass teacher and creator of the Manchester Swing Band. In the west, violinist George Sidebottom brought string-playing skills, and, in the east, Ron Davies offered vocal expertise. Allan Jones and Morris McLean contributed brass playing and arranging skills, the brass playing tradition now being heavily represented within the teaching teams. Ensembles, which grew directly from the group instrumental lessons, became a strong feature of these locally-based centres.

⁴²⁷ Notes, written by Victor Fox in response to specific questions asked by the author, 1 March, 2011.

⁴²⁸ Ibid.

For those pupils who made good progress, there was a similar approach to higher-level provision as that taken earlier in London. In the mid-1970s, the decision was taken to introduce a Junior Exhibition Scheme for those young instrumentalists who would benefit from individual tuition. Exhibitioners would be expected to become members of the Manchester Youth Orchestra (MYO), where they would gain access to high-level group teaching within sectional rehearsals. In addition, if an 'A' grading was given by the audition panel, and that grading was acceptable to the Manchester-based Chetham's Music School, the LEA then agreed to finance a scholarship place, but Fox pointed out that this was a rarely exercised option. Perhaps loyalty, and the sense of belonging, within the communities surrounding the Manchester centres, had led to pupils' preferred choice of staying local.⁴²⁹ Fox maintained that his key approach to managing the music service stemmed from his socialist principles, the basis of his philosophy being rooted in the desire to serve 'recognisable communities', a stance that resonated with the prevailing egalitarian climate.⁴³⁰

It was clear where Fox positioned his priorities. By 1975 he had overseen substantial growth and progress, it being recorded that:

Music Centre Staff are now meeting about 12,000 pupils a week, an increase of 3,000 in two years, representing about 13% of the schools' population. The staff visit all county secondary schools, all but 4 voluntary secondary schools, 66 county primary schools (50%) and 10 special schools, a total number of 178 out of 301 Manchester schools. Additionally each centre has its own programme of evening and weekend activities available to all.⁴³¹

This was achieved with a force of 72 full-time equivalent staff. If the expansion of instrumental teaching had continued, even to 20 per cent, music would have remained a minority pursuit within the state system, highlighting the difficult challenges to achieving democratic aims. In 1976, Manchester won the National Music Council's award for 'doing more for music than any other local authority in Britain'. This award gave full endorsement to the area centres, and acknowledged the considerable growth in instrumental learning opportunities since 1971.⁴³²

⁴²⁹ Victor Fox, interview with the author, 19 November, 2010.

⁴³⁰ Ibid.

⁴³¹ MCL, Minutes of the MEC, Vol. 3C, 1973, 1749.

⁴³² Morris, M., 'Judges note a city's musical score', *Guardian*, 13 December, 1975, 6.

It is evident that, during his tenure, Fox had been able to expand the music service substantially, and he fully recognised that the means of achieving this had been dependent on the support given by the city's officers.⁴³³ In the author's 2011 interview with Allan Jones who, during Fox's time in post, had worked as an instrumental teacher and then as a centre leader, it was revealed that, at its height, 13 per cent of pupils in Manchester were learning an instrument, the national average being six per cent. Jones confirmed Fox's own view of his aims for music: 'Victor's vision was one of inclusiveness'.⁴³⁴

During the years following the implementation of the 1988 Education Act, the situation for LEA and County Music Services changed dramatically. By 1990, the year in which Allan Jones was appointed Music Adviser for Manchester, the number of peripatetic teaching staff in the Authority had been reduced from 87 (63 full-time equivalent) to 40. As part of reorganisation and national cost cutting, the area-based centres were disbanded and the music service centralised.

Leicestershire: a latecomer and example of post-war commitment

In stark contrast to London and Manchester, it appears that there was very little in the way of any structured instrumental experiences in Leicestershire schools until the years immediately following the Second World War. Within the minutes of meetings held by the Leicestershire Education Committee during the period 1940 to 1945, references to music are perfunctory, and estimates of music expenditure do not include any funding other than for hymn books.⁴³⁵

The dearth of instrumental activity in schools, and the lack of support for it, is exemplified in a letter sent, in 1940, to the Education Committee by a grammar school headmaster, requesting the employment of a peripatetic violin teacher. The Committee was of the opinion that instrumental playing could not be regarded as a regular feature of the school curriculum, and so turned down his request.⁴³⁶ Any prospect for change would not materialise until after the Second World War. At the time of the first discussions and development plans relating to

⁴³³ Ibid.

⁴³⁴ Allan Jones, interview with the author, 9 February, 2011.

⁴³⁵ LRO, Minutes of Leicestershire Education Committee, October, 1940 – May, 1946.

⁴³⁶ Ibid.

the 1944 Act, Sir William Brockington was in post as Director of Education for Leicestershire. Although Brockington had led a forward-looking authority, by 1945, his long tenure was coming to an end. The appointment of his successor, Stewart Mason, in 1947, was apposite, as the national move towards increasing the number of subject advisers coincided with Mason's particular interest in the arts.

In 1946, a timely report from the Leicestershire Rural Community Council (LRCC), an independent charitable body, was sent to the Emergency Education Committee, indicating that interest in music and drama was increasing across the county, and that some support and structures needed to be put in place.⁴³⁷ The work of the Council for the Encouragement of the Arts (CEMA) during the years of the Second World War, had clearly fed into this growing interest, live music and drama performances being brought for the first time to many rural areas (see Chapter 7). As the number of requests from schools escalated, not only for instrumental tuition, but also for the purchase of musical instruments, the case grew stronger for securing instrumental opportunities for pupils, as part of the new vision for secondary education:

After full consideration of the matter in the light of information as to the practice of other authorities, your Sub Committee resolved to recommend that a general policy should be adopted throughout the county and that a capitation of 10/-, for pupils being trained under approved conditions in instrumental music, should be authorised.⁴³⁸

The minutes of the Leicestershire Education Committee record that a resolution was passed to appoint 'Advisory Officers', one for music and the other for art, to be advertised as full-time posts, a move that was in line with the decisions of other LEAs across the country.⁴³⁹ Stewart Mason had already visited Melton Mowbray Grammar School, where Eric Pinkett, a music teacher in Nottinghamshire before the Second World War, and military bandleader during the years of that war, had been appointed Head of Music. During his first years at the school he had built up a reputation for music, setting up an orchestra, a brass band and a choir. As well as being an active musician, Pinkett was an

⁴³⁷ LRO, Minutes of Leicestershire Education Committee, October, 1940 - May, 1946.

⁴³⁸ LRO, Minutes of Leicestershire Building and Site Committee, 15 September, 1947.

⁴³⁹ LRO, Minutes of Leicestershire Schools Organisation and Staffing Committee, report of Governors of Leicestershire School of Music, 26 September, 1947.

amateur artist, and the two men immediately formed a common understanding through their mutual artistic interests.

Pinkett, a clear favourite for the advisory post, was appointed in 1948. He immediately identified areas of urgent musical need in the county, one of them being the lack of instrumental teaching opportunities in schools. Drawing on his own school education experience, which consisted of lessons solely based on singing, he indicated that this alone had not satisfied his personal musical needs. He saw singing as a valuable 'medium', but was of the opinion that it often 'expected nothing from the children except imitation'.⁴⁴⁰ He summarised his thoughts in the following words:

My experience had convinced me that music consists mainly of that which is sung, and that which is played. I was strongly of the opinion that in this rough division of music 'that which is played' came poor second.⁴⁴¹

As a RAM-trained violinist, and with a military band and school teaching background, Pinkett's skills were appropriate for his role as adviser, being in accord with the post-war focus on instrumental teaching. In addition, he was in a prime position to bring a fresh post-war perspective to this new post, his experience not being rooted in pre-1945 educational ideology, but in practical musicianship and classroom experience.

Pinkett's military background had equipped him to play a range of instruments, and his aim as Music Adviser was to replicate his own school teaching achievements across the county. For Pinkett, the purpose of learning an instrument was to be able to participate in ensemble playing, pupil motivation and the will to improve being promoted through commitment to the group, and through performance. Apart from visiting selected schools, and teaching all the instruments himself, Pinkett experienced the frustrations of other music advisers, in that funding the supply of instruments was difficult. His solution was to set about finding instruments from junk shops, and getting them into a state of repair

⁴⁴⁰ Pinkett, E., 'Music in Leicestershire' in Mason, S., (ed.), *In Our Experience: the changing schools of Leicestershire*, 175.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid.

for playing. With quantity rather than quality high on his agenda, some of the instruments were less than satisfactory:

The woodwind instruments were frequently held together by elastic or string; no present day player would attempt to play with the only reeds we could buy and, in any case, all the woodwind and brass were high-pitched instruments, but these were the only types available with the small amount of money I could beg.⁴⁴²

In order to escalate the speed of change, Pinkett's solution was to offer instrumental tuition to as many pupils as possible. If he could build a broad instrumental base, he could eventually realise his ambition of establishing a music school and an orchestra. However, he could not achieve this merely working alone, and sought assistance. Post-war difficulties were exemplified in Pinkett's account of the problems he met when recruiting help. With peripatetic teaching still in its infancy, and an instrumental diploma not recognised as a teaching qualification, it was difficult to make a case for full-time, permanent instrumental teaching appointments. As was the case in other authorities, during the mid-1940s and 1950s, Pinkett faced problems when recruiting part-time instrumental teachers, because of the low pay rate. In addition, during the early days of his tenure, he required peripatetic teachers who could play and teach a variety of instruments, if a newly formed County School of Music were to materialise. With the support of Mason, and with his own energies firmly directed towards building and establishing a comprehensive instrumental service, expansion gradually took place, and, by 1969 there were 11 full-time and six part-time peripatetic teachers, including players with professional experience. Employing the Manchester model, area music centres were established, thus allowing access to more pupils across the county.⁴⁴³

Pinkett retired in 1976, after having been in post for 26 years. Having gained unflinching support from both Mason and the Leicestershire Education Committee, his legacy, including a renowned youth symphony orchestra (see Chapter 6), provided a strong base upon which his successor could build. The new appointee to the post of Senior Principal Music Adviser, in July 1976, was Peter Fletcher, who brought with him his own ideas based on his achievements

⁴⁴² Pinkett, E., *Time to Remember*, (Northampton: John Dickens & Co. Ltd, 1969), 23.

⁴⁴³ Pinkett, E., 'Music in Leicestershire' in Mason, S.C., (ed.), *In Our Experience*, 179.

when in post in London. Pinkett had taken full advantage of the growth years in funding for music, and of the supportive patronage he received, retiring just before the economic crisis of the mid-1970s began to impact on education provision. Although Fletcher's appointment coincided with increasing funding constraints, he benefited from the support of Andrew Fairbairn, Mason's former Deputy, and his successor as Director of Education. Fairbairn, with his extensive knowledge of the history of the music service, and an accomplished musician himself, was keen to continue the high profile work.

Fletcher's vision of a music service remained firmly focused on requiring excellence at the top of the pyramid, in order to attain the highest standard he could from the youth orchestra. In 1977, he gained the Director's approval to upgrade the pay scales of five of the peripatetic teachers, a similar move to the one he had made in London, in order to keep his 'good' instrumental teachers in post. In contrast to Pinkett's early pragmatic solution, Fletcher was keen to ensure that instrumental teachers taught only the instruments in which they were qualified. In addition, he created a position for an additional Senior Music Adviser, who was to oversee the instrumental work in schools.⁴⁴⁴ This appointment allowed Fletcher to focus his energy on the Leicestershire School of Music, previously named the County School of Music, and to rehearse and conduct the youth orchestra.

By the late 1970s, Fletcher had been forced to rationalise the instrumental service by revisiting the job descriptions of the peripatetic teachers, and looking at ways of ensuring better value for money. One of the key issues for such a large rural county was the travelling costs incurred by peripatetic teachers when moving from school to school.⁴⁴⁵ With the expansion of the School of Music, more pupils now travelled to it for their instrumental lessons, leading to a more productive use of teacher time.⁴⁴⁶ In 1979, instrumental tuition was established in 40 per cent of schools, although, in some, for only one hour a week. John

⁴⁴⁴ LRO, Minutes of Leicestershire Arts Education Committee, report of Governors of the Leicestershire School of Music, 17 June, 1977.

⁴⁴⁵ John Ridgeon, interview with the author, 28 October, 2011.

⁴⁴⁶ LRO, Minutes of Leicestershire Arts Education Committee, report of Principal Music Adviser, 30 November, 1979.

Ridgeon, the Senior Music Adviser, had gained an overview of the pattern of instrumental teaching across the county. When interviewed, Ridgeon maintained that the smaller primary schools suffered most from the lack of instrumental teaching,⁴⁴⁷ an observation verified by an examination of HMI primary school reports of the period.⁴⁴⁸

Fletcher's response to ever-increasing financial constraints was to concentrate on the 'more talented' pupils, thereby bringing a more meritocratic approach to running the instrumental service. In his 1980 report to the Education Arts Committee, he highlighted what he perceived as emerging perennial problems: cuts to instrumental staff, alongside growing demand for instrumental tuition, and disaffection amongst schools and parents in response to funding restrictions. Difficult decision making on his part, despite any concerns he might have had, nevertheless resulted in his retention of his top of pyramid focus, rather than spreading resources across more schools.⁴⁴⁹ A specially formed sub-committee met in 1980 to discuss the challenges that the music service was facing, and voted by a majority to retain free instrumental lessons within the county, despite the moves by some other counties, such as Oxfordshire and Warwickshire, to levy a charge.⁴⁵⁰ Income for the School of Music was to be supplemented by charitable trusts, and, by 1984, equipment for it was almost entirely acquired from voluntary funding. Fletcher had stated that 'Educationally, music is an unusually complex subject to administer',⁴⁵¹ and his resolve had ensured that, even in challenging times, he could continue to hold on to his particular vision. With the resignation of Peter Fletcher in 1984, the Director of Education indicated that the music advisory service would need to be restructured.⁴⁵² Fletcher's successor would be functioning within a different framework, being compelled to function within a changing agenda.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁸ NA, ED156/599, ED156/1770, Ministry of Education, reports by HMI Inspectors.

⁴⁴⁹ LRO, Minutes of the Leicestershire Arts Education Committee, report of Senior Principal Music Adviser, 31 January, 1980, 30.

⁴⁵⁰ LRO, Report of the Special Sub-Committee on Peripatetic Teachers, Leicestershire Education Authority, 14 October, 1980.

⁴⁵¹ LRO, Minutes of the Leicestershire Arts Education Committee, report of Senior Principal Music Adviser, 27 November, 1980, 30.

⁴⁵² LRO, Report from the Senior Principal Music Adviser, 24 May, 1984.

Conclusion

The Music Advisers National Association (MANA), formed in 1942, provided a collective and powerful voice for music education. With its membership considerably increased after the inception of the 1944 Education Act, the Association was able to place the subject in a much stronger position when arguing the case for LEA provision of instrumental tuition.

From an examination of the history of instrumental developments within Leicestershire, London and Manchester, there emerges a real sense of the pioneering work that was undertaken in order to broaden opportunities for pupils, and of the intense activity required when establishing thriving instrumental services. After 1944, London and Manchester were able to build on the foundations laid down by early pioneers, whilst Leicestershire, as a large rural county, was a latecomer in organising structured instrumental teaching in schools.

Whereas some music advisers unashamedly promoted instrumental teaching as a means to creating prestigious youth orchestras and ensembles, others were keen to broaden access to practical music making opportunities. Entitlement for the few, or for the many, was a debate that would continue, the question being how to balance supporting individual aptitude against wider opportunities for all. London, as a relatively rich authority, had the resources, not only to broaden opportunity, but also to support pupils who demonstrated musical potential, whilst other authorities needed to consider the allocation of funding more judiciously.

It is clear that parents and children valued instrumental tuition, as demand began to outstrip resources. However, quantity did not always equate with quality, which resulted in music advisers being challenged, and having to make difficult decisions. Again, London was in a more advantageous position, with many professional musicians working within the capital, and with access to four music colleges. Manchester, too, boasted a history of professional orchestral players employed in the city's orchestras, and two music colleges. Nevertheless, during the post-war years, and well into the 1960s, it experienced difficulties in seeking

out and appointing suitably qualified instrumental teachers, as was also the case within Leicestershire.

The structure of the different LEA music services dictated what was to be offered, some being more centralised, whilst others, such as Manchester, creating area bases from the outset. Whilst it might be argued that the heavy focus on instrumental tuition from 1944 onwards took precedence over curriculum content, and ‘music for all’, there is no doubt that many pupils, through access to free instrumental tuition, and free loan of instruments, benefited from this practical approach to musical learning. Some of these young players would gain places within the youth orchestras and ensembles that were to become the prestigious face of music making within the LEAs.

Chapter 6

The Youth Orchestra: a post-war phenomenon

Introduction

After the Second World War, the growing emphasis placed by LEAs on state school instrumental provision, alongside pledges offering further opportunities at LEA-funded music centres, allowed the eventual realisation and expansion of performance-based ensembles, the most prestigious of these being the county or borough youth orchestras. With a vision of music education rooted within the aesthetic of the Western European classical tradition, such development was viewed as key to extending the musical horizons of young people. In effect, the vision of the post-War education system was to reflect aspects of earlier routes to cultural education, which connected with the autodidactic tradition and working class group initiatives for self-improvement. The result was a growing awareness of, and demand for classical music, with amateur music making and concert going, alongside the advent of audio recording and radio, opening up avenues of aspiration.⁴⁵³ This chapter documents the commitment of LEAs and their music advisers to steering the course of music education towards the instigation of performance-based activity, and examines ensuing tensions within the profession, with some challenging the distribution of LEA allocation of music funding, and raising questions closely related to breadth of opportunity. It seeks to explore further the different and unique ways in which Leicestershire, London and Manchester channelled instrumental achievements into orchestral playing opportunities for young people.

Early commitment: influences and inroads

The Hadow Report of 1926 included suggestions for the teaching of individual subjects, with the section relating to music placing emphasis on the importance of the subject as an equal component within the secondary curriculum.⁴⁵⁴ The Committee Chairman, Sir William Henry Hadow, educationist and historian of

⁴⁵³ Rose, J., *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, (London: Yale University Press, 2nd edition, 2010).

⁴⁵⁴ Board of Education, *The Hadow Report*.

music, had exerted some influence on the promotion of music for all.⁴⁵⁵ In this instance, the background and character of the Chairman in affecting outcomes was paramount to giving music a higher profile within a more practical curriculum.⁴⁵⁶ In addition to suggestions for music as a subject integral to the secondary curriculum, there were recommendations for extending the musical experiences of young instrumentalists. They were to be encouraged to join school orchestras, and to attend orchestral holiday courses.

In London, early residential orchestral courses organised by Ernest Read, attracted young players drawn mainly from the independent schools, and from among the junior students at the RAM. Read, himself a former student of the Royal Academy, was a keen educationist and a pioneer of the youth orchestra movement, founding the London Junior Orchestra, in 1926, and the London Senior Orchestra in 1931.⁴⁵⁷ Pupils were selected from England and Wales, and the course was so popular that one consequence was the decision to found a National Youth Orchestra for Wales, in 1946, with the support of the Central Welsh Board, and the Welsh section of the Ministry of Education.⁴⁵⁸ Not only were there sufficient numbers of young instrumentalists keen to participate, but also enough of these were of the playing standard required to realise orchestral repertoire. Another example of a youth orchestra attracting plenty of young players, and emerging in the wake of the success of Read's orchestral courses, was the London Schools Symphony Orchestra, (London SSO), conceived, in 1948, by Dr Leslie Russell, Senior Inspector for Music of the LCC, and realised in 1951.⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁵ Cox, G., *A History of Music Education in England 1872-1928*, Goldby, Rev., 'Sir (William) Henry Hadow (1859-1937)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edition, 2006).

www.oxforddnb.com/catalogue.urls.lon.uk/view/article/33631, accessed 4 January, 2011.

⁴⁵⁶ Gordon, P., Aldrich, R., and Dean, D., *Education Policy and Practice in the Twentieth Century*.

⁴⁵⁷ MacGregor, L., 'Read, Ernest', *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com/catalogue.urls.lon.ac.uk/subscriber/article/grove/music/22989, accessed 22 September, 2011.

⁴⁵⁸ James, B.B.J., and Allsobrook, D.I., *The Story of the National Youth Orchestra for Wales*, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1995).

⁴⁵⁹ Golightly, K., *A Brief History of the London Schools Symphony Orchestra*, (London: published by the Friends of the LSSO, 1984).

By way of contrast, in Manchester, orchestras were being formed on a district basis as early as the 1920s, with elementary school players forming the Manchester Children's Orchestra, in 1923.⁴⁶⁰ The district orchestras, and the Children's Orchestra, remained mainly strings based, but, in 1944, with compulsory secondary schooling for all coming on stream, it was an apposite moment to broaden the range of instruments to be made available. If Manchester were to create an ensemble capable of realising classical orchestral repertoire there was an urgent need to purchase woodwind, brass and percussion instruments.⁴⁶¹ The pace of change, as was the case in other authorities, was to be affected by post-war austerity, which severely challenged the resolve of music advisers to realise their aspirations for music education.

A prime example of such determination can be found in Leicestershire, which formed its first youth orchestra from scratch in 1948, with the newly appointed Music Adviser, Eric Pinkett, himself initially providing the instrumental tuition, and then gradually building an orchestra and music service that was to reach illustrious heights.⁴⁶² With more newly appointed music advisers leading the way, such initiatives were to be replicated across a large number of LEAs. Hazel Shaw, writing in the *Guardian* in 1973, nearly thirty years on from the inception of the 1944 Education Act, made the salient point that LEAs had been under no obligation to generously fund their music services, and, as a consequence, the commitment to, and pace of musical development varied enormously across England and Wales. However, Shaw, in highlighting what had become a national trend, was also keen to emphasise one kind of 'educational revolution' that had taken place since 1944, when she referred to the many 'excellent' youth orchestras that were now in existence.⁴⁶³

Post-war context: the focus of extra-curricular provision

Despite some schools offering choral and instrumental experiences for pupils, the Norwood Report of 1943 highlighted concerns that music had not been considered important enough as a component to be included within the secondary

⁴⁶⁰ RNCM archives, WC8, Walter Carroll Papers, undated.

⁴⁶¹ MCL, Minutes of the Manchester Education Committee, Vol. 11, 1944-5, 1358.

⁴⁶² Jones, D., *Stewart Mason: the art of education*.

⁴⁶³ Shaw, H., 'Play it again, Sam', *Guardian*, 20 March, 1973, 18.

curriculum, but had hitherto been organised as an ‘extra’ or ‘spare-time’ activity’.⁴⁶⁴ This ‘extra-curricular’ role placed on the subject allowed instrumental teaching to be offered as private tuition, out of which grew opportunities for ensemble work, including school choirs and orchestras. The Norwood Report, somewhat hopefully, suggested that, within the newly implemented tri-partite system, minimum training could provide pupils with enough skills to participate in corporate activity, which could build self-confidence and create a sense of community.

The Education Act of 1944, and the McNair Report of the same year, perpetuated the same theme, emphasising the opportunities for higher levels of musicianship that could be developed now that the school-leaving age was to be raised to 15 for all pupils.⁴⁶⁵ With the assumption that the classical liberal tradition should be transferred *per se* from the independent and grammar schools into the tri-partite system, such a move would also assume appropriate teacher skills and experience. The McNair Committee, set up in 1942 to investigate sources of supply and methods of recruitment of teachers and youth leaders, had recommended that all music teachers should receive some professional training. The post-1944 vision would not only require pedagogical consideration in relation to the curriculum, but would also necessitate better musical training for classroom teachers, and peripatetic instrumental tutors, in order for them to organise and lead instrumental and extra-curricular ensemble work with confidence. The McNair Report recommended that specialist courses should be run, as a gateway to wider experience and to developing appropriate skills.⁴⁶⁶

One significant feature of the Education Act of 1944 was that the responsibility of providing education for all was to be in the hands of the LEAs. Research notes compiled by Noel Hale, Organiser of Instrumental Music for the Bournemouth Education Authority (1940-43), and published in 1947, reflect his own response to the proposal as embedded in the Act. His recommendation was that musical developments should be considered in relation to local characteristics, and that

⁴⁶⁴ Ministry of Education, Norwood Report.

⁴⁶⁵ Board of Education, McNair Report.

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid*, Appendix 1, 155-159.

demand would signal the variety of opportunities that could be opened up by an LEA for young people and their communities.⁴⁶⁷ However, Hale's views are ultimately cautious in tone, conjuring up an education system that, whilst allowing opportunity for local initiatives, was still one to be designed to maintain the old divisions. Conversely, there were a number of educationists who enthusiastically believed in the 'New Jerusalem' optimism that had accompanied the implementation of the 1944 Education Act.⁴⁶⁸ In reality, such hopefulness could be realised only over a period of time, the fact being that legislation is less difficult to achieve than the process of actually effecting changes in everyday practice. Key to change was political will, alongside a favourable economic climate.⁴⁶⁹

In 1948, the timely appointment of Bernard Shore as HMI for Music provided a fillip to the LEA music advisers. Shore was a keen supporter of instrumental work, having experienced a career as a professional orchestral viola player, and his subsequent influence in steering music education towards instrumental and orchestral opportunities cannot be underestimated. Indeed, this apposite appointment reflected the credence now being given to the value of instrumental teaching and performance as a component within state education, and came with the specific brief of 'special surveillance of string teaching and performance'.⁴⁷⁰

For some pupils, one of the positive outcomes of a 'fairer system' as it related to music was better access to school-based instrumental tuition, followed by opportunities to play in newly formed youth orchestras as set up by individual LEAs, and on a national level. The founding of the National Youth Orchestra of Great Britain in 1948 demonstrated the level of commitment. Youth orchestras continued to be formed over the next few decades, among them the London Schools Symphony Orchestra in 1951,⁴⁷¹ Stockport Youth Orchestra in 1956,

⁴⁶⁷ Hale, N. V., *Education for Music: a skeleton plan of research into the development of the study of music as part of the organised plan of general education*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947).

⁴⁶⁸ Barber M., *The Making of the 1944 Education Act*, 14.

⁴⁶⁹ Gosden, P., *The Education System since 1944*.

⁴⁷⁰ Rainbow, B., 'Onward From Butler, 1945-1985', 230-244, in *Bernarr Rainbow on Music: memoirs and selected writings*, (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2010), Obituary, 'Mr Bernard Shore', *The Times*, 10 April, 1985, 12.

⁴⁷¹ Golightley, K., *A brief history of the development of the London Schools Symphony Orchestra*.

Kent County Youth Orchestra in 1963, Hampshire Youth Orchestra in 1971, the National Youth Orchestra for Scotland in 1979 and Nottingham Youth Orchestra in 1985.⁴⁷² From the following sample, it is notable that, LEAs both large and small, had supported such musical opportunities in the decades following the mid-1940s. A more global base for young players was also created with the founding of the National Association of Youth Orchestras, in 1965, which represented the interests of all the youth orchestras in Great Britain. This development was closely aligned to the growth of youth orchestras across Europe and America, a positive move towards forming better international relations as part of post-war reconstruction.⁴⁷³

If state schooling were to ensure the high-level music tuition that would enable musically motivated pupils entry into the world of orchestral and ensemble playing, then it was clear that funding and commitment were vital to achievement. London was in a prime position to start its own youth orchestra, with those scholarship pupils attending the Junior Departments of the London music colleges already musically proficient, and with free instrumental teaching established within a number of the capital's state schools.⁴⁷⁴ As in London, Manchester, with its early history of orchestral opportunities for elementary school children created through Walter Carroll's vision, had in place a secure foundation from which to build in the post-war period. In contrast to the situation in London and Manchester, Leicestershire started from a very different position, with no LEA history of emphasis on instrumental teaching, or ensemble work. The appointment of a music adviser for the first time in the county's history provides an example of starting with a 'tabula rasa'.

Leicestershire: starting from scratch

In 1947, with Stewart Mason the newly appointed Director of Education for Leicestershire in post, and Eric Pinkett appointed as Music Adviser in 1948, the moment had arrived when the county could consider its musical future. From the

⁴⁷² <http://www.syo.org.uk>, <http://kent-music.com>, <http://www.hants.gov.uk/hyco>, <http://www.nyos.co.uk/orchestras-youth>, <http://www.nottinghamyouthorchestra.org>, accessed 16 May, 2011.

⁴⁷³ McCarthy, M., *Towards a Global Community: The International Society for Music Education 1953-2003*, (Australia: The University of Western Australia, 2004).

⁴⁷⁴ Golightly, K., *A brief history of the development of the London Schools Symphony Orchestra*.

outset, the appointment required a person who enjoyed autonomy and challenge, as the job description demanded a mixture of vision, and a determination to implement it. Pinkett was fully aware that Leicestershire was viewed as a progressive authority, one in which he could pursue his musical ideals, and cited Mason as giving the ‘impetus the means’.⁴⁷⁵

Pinkett was not appointed to a county that had gained access to a thriving range of centrally or regionally organised educational musical activities, but one in which wartime factors had brought about some new thinking. The large numbers of children evacuated to rural counties during the Second World War had highlighted differences between urban and rural educational provision. Elsewhere, there had been moves to bring music to areas where young people and adults had little access to instrumental and vocal tuition, as for example through the work of the Rural Schools Music Association (RSMA), (see Chapters 5 and 7). By the time Pinkett was appointed, the RSMA funding was being diverted to support the establishment of LEA and county music advisers. This invariably led to some competition between the RSMA and the LEAs.⁴⁷⁶ No records have been identified which indicate that Leicestershire joined the Association, possibly suggesting that Pinkett decided to steer his own educational path.

On his appointment, Pinkett set about finding instruments from sources such as junk shops, and getting them into a state of repair for playing (see Chapter 5). Donald Jones, Stewart Mason’s biographer, noted the improving situation, indicating that by 1952, ‘21 [Leicestershire] county secondary schools had formed orchestras, seven had military or brass bands and there were eight string orchestras.’⁴⁷⁷ However, as in Manchester, the supply of instruments remained a problem, and although the message from the Ministry of Education had been one of positive encouragement, in reality difficulties still prevailed. Pinkett’s determination was such that he ‘managed to purchase 200 clarinets at less than £2 each from the Royal Marines and every nook and cranny throughout

⁴⁷⁵ BBC Radio Leicester, interview with Eric Pinkett, recorded in 1974, interviewer unknown, <http://www.mediafire.com/g2m2ynyxtzc>, accessed 6 April, 2010, sourced with the permission of John Whitmore, holder of the Leicestershire Schools Symphony Orchestra archive.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibberson, M., *For joy that we are here*.

⁴⁷⁷ Jones, D., *Stewart Mason: the art of education*, (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1988), 73.

Leicestershire had been searched endlessly to find instruments of every kind'.⁴⁷⁸ The LEA's bureaucratic ways did not suit Pinkett's unorthodox approach to buying instruments. In his own account of his work in Leicestershire, he admitted that he 'became a plague and a nightmare in the lives of the "Treasury Boys"', with his dogged persistence in trying to procure adequate funding to realise his aspirations.⁴⁷⁹

Weekly orchestral rehearsals brought interested and promising musicians together, as a result of Pinkett's having circulated schools in the county in order to encourage applications. Pinkett later recalled that he 'could magnetise children for a short period to play an instrument', but then needed to 'vitalise' them through playing in an orchestra and performing, in order to improve.⁴⁸⁰ From May 1948, pupils who could already play an instrument were invited to Saturday morning rehearsals, which were held at Elbow Lane School in Leicester. Pinkett had persuaded the Authority to hire this conveniently situated school, making access through available transport links easier. All those attending were drawn from the state school system. Most pupils had no other option than to travel to the venue by bus, but the Education Committee agreed to reimburse their fares, this being in line with the duties and powers given to local education authorities. In all, there were about 60 players attending Pinkett's Saturday rehearsals, most of them violinists, a few viola players, one cellist, one flautist, one oboist, and a small number of brass players.

During an interview with the present author, Malcolm Fletcher, one of the members of the original Leicestershire County Youth Orchestra, later to be renamed the Leicestershire Schools Symphony Orchestra (Leicestershire SSO), who had been learning the cello in primary school, described his own first appearance at one of Pinkett's rehearsals. The following account provides an indication of the *ad hoc* way in which this first orchestra evolved, and of the paternalistic guidance and support Pinkett continued to give to promising

⁴⁷⁸ Pinkett, E., *Time to Remember*, (Northampton: John Dickens and Co. Ltd., 1969), 15.

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁴⁸⁰ BBC Radio Leicester, interview with Eric Pinkett recorded in 1974, interviewer unknown, accessed 6 April, 2010, sourced with the permission of John Whitmore, holder of the LSSO archive.

musicians beyond their school days. On arriving at the Saturday rehearsal venue, Fletcher asked if a cellist about grade three standard might be useful, and as the Orchestra had no cellist he was welcomed.⁴⁸¹ Later, as an adult, Fletcher was encouraged by Pinkett to work as an instrumental teacher in the county, before moving on to become Music Adviser in County Antrim, Northern Ireland and, later, in the borough of Bexley, Kent.

Pinkett admitted that, during the early days of his tenure, the instruments given to pupils were initially not of good quality, and that the emerging Youth Orchestra played very badly. Nevertheless, he started to take it to perform at different village venues, and as the Orchestra improved, a number of concerts followed at schools across the county.⁴⁸² Behind this move were two intentions: the first, an example of what might be achieved by existing school orchestras, the second a means of stimulating the founding of more ensembles. Pinkett's main desire was to promote instrumental teaching, and attribute to it the same status that singing had enjoyed in the past, a desire that fitted perfectly with the message of the times. In addition, he wished to raise musical standards democratically across the county.⁴⁸³ Jones, in his biography of Mason, writes that the 'speed with which the foundations of Pinkett's musical edifice were laid was remarkable', a comment that not only validates Mason's appointment of Pinkett, but also provides insight into the enthusiasm and energy that the latter brought to the post.⁴⁸⁴

Malcolm Fletcher, when interviewed, admitted that the Orchestra played a selection of only about five pieces in the early days, all basic school arrangements. He maintained that the Orchestra initially played at an elementary level, gradually improving up until the early 1960s, a point at which Pinkett made the wise and far-reaching decision to bring in guest conductors. He knew that the level of performance would be a strong indicator of successful leadership. A review of the orchestral tour to Norway, in 1960, indicated the progress made:

⁴⁸¹ Malcolm Fletcher, interview with the author, 1 December, 2009.

⁴⁸² Pinkett, E., *Time to Remember*.

⁴⁸³ Jones, D., *Stewart Mason: the art of education*.

⁴⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 71.

We know that they are interested school pupils who have practised and attained a standard of musical ability, under excellent tuition, and also with the necessary support and direction of the government. But, when one listens to the performance, as at the concert in Sandes yesterday, then there is something more to it – something connected to culture and tradition in its broadest context. This is more than a mere hobby for amateur players. The orchestra has reached an impressive standard and has above all a charm and sustained tone which has long ago passed the stage of technical difficulties.⁴⁸⁵

Pinkett's awareness of looking beyond any tendency to 'self-congratulatory'⁴⁸⁶ accounts of performances was clearly evident from the outset:

We needed sterner criticism than that provided by our own well-wishers and we needed to be provoked to even harder effort.⁴⁸⁷

Some eminent guest conductors worked with the Orchestra, including Michael Tippett, Norman Del Mar, Rudolph Schwarz, Alan Ridout and André Previn. Meirion Bowen, writing in the *Observer*, in 1965, recognised the long-term commitment of Leicestershire LEA in providing 'financial backing, musical instruments, professional advice and tuition', provision that was being 'proffered constantly and enthusiastically'.⁴⁸⁸ However, there were opportunities for some players to be directed towards the Orchestra through other channels. During interview, Richard Hallam, a member of the Leicestershire SSO, from 1959-1966, conveyed the effectiveness of the networking Pinkett had undertaken in order to advertise and promote the Orchestra. Hallam also highlighted Pinkett's approach to learning the orchestral repertoire, recalling that his own introduction to the Orchestra had come through his primary school. At the time, he was gaining playing experience as a member of a local brass band, and his headmaster, who knew of this, recommended that he join Pinkett's Saturday morning music school. Hallam learned his instrument to a high standard through regular attendance at the orchestral rehearsals, moving up through the ranks of the trumpet section, and learning new techniques in sectionals that would support the orchestral works to be performed. This 'learn as you go' approach was very

⁴⁸⁵ Press article, concert review, *Stavangeren Attenblad*, author unknown, August 1960, sourced from the LSSO archive held by John Whitmore.

⁴⁸⁶ Rainbow, B., 'Onward From Butler, 1945-1985', 231-241, in *Bernarr Rainbow on Music: memoirs and selected writings*, 236.

⁴⁸⁷ Pinkett, E., 'Music in Leicestershire' in Mason, S.C., *In Our Experience: the changing schools of Leicestershire*, (London: Longman Group, 1970).

⁴⁸⁸ Bowen, M., 'Setting an Example', *Observer*, 16 May, 1965, 25.

much in line with group teaching methods within the brass and military band tradition. Hallam's first one-to-one lessons did not begin until the age of 16, when he attended the Royal Academy of Music once a fortnight. He went on to study there, as did a number of the Orchestra's players, subsequently pursuing a long and influential career in music education.⁴⁸⁹

With the strong links now being made to the professional world of music, Pinkett's next move was to seek a patron for the Orchestra, and he made the decision to invite the composer Michael Tippett, who accepted. Pinkett, when interviewed by BBC Radio Leicester in 1974, was asked by the interviewer if this was a lucky break for the Orchestra, and replied that 'lucky breaks are those you yourself make', and that 'one grasps the opportunity'.⁴⁹⁰ This attitude was certainly in evidence on one occasion, when the Orchestra's residential summer school took place in Wiltshire. Tippett did not have time to visit Leicestershire in 1965, but a determined Pinkett borrowed a local school in Corsham, Wiltshire, where Tippett lived, and it was agreed that Tippett would work with the Orchestra in his own locality.

Broadening horizons: realising ambition through exposure

Pinkett's efforts soon began to reach beyond their provincial beginnings. As early as 1953, after a visit by Stewart Mason to Essen in Germany, a first orchestral exchange was organised, which was viewed as a way of bringing of two nations together 'after many troublesome years'.⁴⁹¹ The Essen group made the first visit, and Pinkett was aware that the players in this orchestra were older and more accomplished musicians than the Leicestershire pupils, for whom this was a new challenge that acted as a stimulus, and resulted in a raised standard overall. Pinkett claimed that this experience 'did more to create our present level of attainment than anything which has happened since'.⁴⁹² He certainly appears to have been able to capitalise on such an event in a truly educational way, promoting aspiration and a desire to learn in young players.

⁴⁸⁹ Richard Hallam, interview with the author, 21 September, 2010.

⁴⁹⁰ BBC Radio Leicester, interview with Eric Pinkett, recorded in 1974, interviewer unknown, accessed 6 April, 2010, sourced with the permission of John Whitmore, holder of the Leicestershire SSO archive.

⁴⁹¹ *Leicester Mercury*, July, 1953.

⁴⁹² Pinkett, E., *Time to Remember*, 38.

The gender balance within the orchestra on tour to Essen was 32 boys and 38 girls, with an age range between 12 and 22 years. This fairly even gender divide did not prevent one female member of the percussion section of the orchestra taking the realistic view that it was ‘still difficult for a woman to get a job playing percussion with a professional orchestra’.⁴⁹³ This was a common situation in 1953, with some instruments particularly gender biased, for example brass and percussion, and the only female in the orchestra often the harpist. In a short feature in the *Philharmonic Post* of 1940, this state of affairs was referred to as ‘100 men and a girl’.⁴⁹⁴ Subsequently, the situation gradually changed, with more women employed in all sections of many of the orchestras, but, even as late as 1971, two of the London orchestras were still all male, and women a minority in orchestras across Britain.⁴⁹⁵ With the growth in the number of youth orchestras across the country, it was inevitable that attitudes to employment for women instrumentalists needed to evolve. In an article in *Orchestral World*, in May 1980, Shirley Civil, a top exponent of the french horn, recorded her own negative experiences as a woman brass player in an all male orchestra: that not one remark was made about her playing ability, but that 17 members of the orchestra officially protested at her presence in their all-male domain. The article included the pertinent observation that there were more female players in youth orchestras and music schools than in professional orchestras and ensembles.⁴⁹⁶

The annual concert tours abroad gave the Leicestershire SSO a broad international profile, realising important cultural interrelations. Entry into the media, gained through television appearances and gramophone recordings, also boosted the visibility of the Orchestra, it now being viewed as a successful example of the development of instrumental work within Great Britain. Writing in 1969, Pinkett recorded that there were currently 36 former members of the Orchestra playing in the leading professional orchestras.⁴⁹⁷ This was fine testament to the success of a group of state-school educated pupils who had been

⁴⁹³ Press article, ‘Previn and the other LSO’, September, 1973, sourced from Leicestershire County School of Music: Major Press Articles from 1953-1980, (Leicester: Leicestershire County School of Music), 57.

⁴⁹⁴ LPO archive, Editorial, *London Philharmonic Post*, Vol. 1, No. 8, November, 1940, 10.

⁴⁹⁵ Ford, C., ‘The eternal triangle: men, women and orchestras’, *Guardian*, 28 May, 1971, 9.

⁴⁹⁶ Editorial, untitled, *Orchestral World*, May, 1980, 16.

⁴⁹⁷ Pinkett, E., *Time to Remember*.

given the opportunity to pursue their interests and talents. Although there is an argument for Pinkett's approach as resulting in working class children being inculcated into middle class values and 'bourgeois cultural hegemony', the historian Jonathan Rose's counter argument, that of subjugation created by 'denied access in the past', and the need for 'the return of the oppressed', is a powerful one.⁴⁹⁸ Pinkett's orchestra was a tribute to the long line of voices of those working-class radicals who had, through their own endeavours, validated a more inclusive inheritance.

In 1974, as a result of the Local Government Act of 1972, the city and county youth orchestras merged, as Leicester and neighbouring Rutland became administrative districts of Leicestershire. Only the most competent players from the Leicester City Youth Orchestra were selected to join the established Leicestershire SSO. To compensate for this, a second senior orchestra was set up, and a base for the County School of Music established at the town of Wigston Magna, five miles south of Leicester.⁴⁹⁹ Pinkett ensured inclusivity by stressing the importance of achieving total integration of the musical activities across the Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland authorities.

By 1974, the County School of Music boasted a full senior orchestra, an intermediate training orchestra, a junior orchestra, and a wind band. Eight thousand pupils of all ages were engaged in learning instruments. Pinkett was totally committed to involving state school pupils in orchestras as far as possible:

Very often LEAs develop 'Youth Orchestras' and these are generally made up of students who attend Colleges of Music: certainly the senior pupils in secondary schools are included in the orchestra, but nothing like to the same degree as in the former Leicestershire. I believe that a School of Music is the right approach to instrumental music education for the greatest possible number in the county.⁵⁰⁰

The appointment of Pinkett's successor, Peter Fletcher, heralded a different approach to maintaining the high profile that the Leicestershire SSO had warranted. With Pinkett's retirement, the orchestras had lost their founder and inspirer, but Fletcher had inherited a county that had given full commitment to

⁴⁹⁸ Rose, J., *The Intellectual Life of the Working Classes*, 23.

⁴⁹⁹ LRO, Minutes of the Leicestershire Education Arts Committee, 30 May, 1974.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid.

the musical and orchestral aspirations of its first Music Adviser. At its peak, the Leicestershire SSO had gained a national and international reputation. Eminent composers and conductors had been associated with the Orchestra, and surviving recordings bear testimony to the high level of musicianship achieved.

Financial constraints: implications and responses

Fletcher brought to Leicestershire experience gained from his role as director and conductor of the London Schools Symphony Orchestra (London SSO), which had always been selective, able to form its ranks from state schools based within a very large authority, and able to draw on the teaching expertise of a broad range of professional players. He was determined to replicate this model in Leicestershire, but this was at a time when falling school roles and national financial constraints began to affect funding streams in education.

In 1981 *Arena*, the BBC documentary series, screened a programme with an arts focus on education entitled, 'If the music had to stop'. The swingeing financial cuts made from the mid-1970s were impacting on a number of well-established areas within state education. The programme revealed that over the two years 1975 and 1976, with 15 per cent annual inflation, almost £1 billion in total had been removed from education in England and Wales. Following this cut, the then Conservative Education Minister, Mark Carlisle, proposed further reductions in LEA funding. Across the country, 41,000 teaching posts were to be cut by 1984, and it was admitted by Carlisle that this might have some adverse effect on the curriculum in some schools.⁵⁰¹

The Director of Education for Leicestershire, Andrew Fairbairn, gave stalwart support to Peter Fletcher and the Leicestershire Music Service during this difficult period, being himself particularly critical of the Conservative government's move towards charging for instrumental tuition, and of the consequences of denying state school pupils equal access to musical opportunity:

Probably half the players in the major symphony orchestras and chamber ensembles of this country acquired their love of music and knowledge of instrumental playing via peripatetic teachers and membership of one of the

⁵⁰¹ BBC Television Documentary, *Arena*, 'If the music had to stop', DVD recording, 1981, made available by John Whitmore, holder of the LSSO archive.

many wonderful youth orchestras sponsored by the local education authorities.⁵⁰²

It is within this context that the *Arena* programme focused on the Leicestershire schools' service, and on the negative effect of cuts in the arts within the authority. Fletcher, when interviewed, gave a positive view of youth orchestra development in Britain, but warned of the consequences of funding cuts in education:

Certainly I haven't seen anywhere the quantity of instrumental teaching being offered free as part of the state school system. I don't think there is any other country that has youth orchestras of such quality and we are in grave danger of losing it now in England.⁵⁰³

Peter Fletcher had been keen to ensure that the London SSO continued to recruit state school pupils, and, as Pinkett's successor, he maintained the same vision. An interview with John Whitmore, a member of the Orchestra during Pinkett's time, reveals a clear indication of the impact of such musical opportunity:

In my teens, playing all over Europe with the senior orchestra and Michael Tippett is something that I will never forget. The [Leicestershire] LSSO was for state school kids who were good enough to play at a high level for the enjoyment of it, having gone through the system of feeder orchestras. That's the whole point, isn't it? Also, it was all free. Any pros that came through the system were bonuses and Eric [Pinkett] was very proud of their achievements but we weren't an academy for young pros - that wasn't what it was about. I can't imagine what my life would be without music. It would be really strange.⁵⁰⁴

These words, from a former player who subsequently did not take up music professionally, but who clearly benefited enormously on many levels from the experience, resonate closely with those of Sir Michael Tippett, when interviewed on the *Arena* programme. With the peripatetic service so crucial to the orchestral system, Tippett was dismayed by the loss within Leicestershire of 13 out of 52 peripatetic teachers:

This is a social service, something many children get into because the opportunity was put before them. Now, OK if you've got musical parents who encourage it from the start. The point is parents probably would not have thought of doing so until they actually saw their children come home with an instrument, and eventually play in an orchestra, and eventually play in a better orchestra and a better orchestra still until this absolutely becomes

⁵⁰² Fairbairn, A. N., letter to the editor, 'Music's rightful place in schools', *The Times*, 5 January, 1983, 11.

⁵⁰³ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁴ John Whitmore, email subsequent to interview with present author, 26 November, 2009.

a consuming interest with them and it is quite easy for 25 years work to be destroyed in one year.⁵⁰⁵

It is clear why the *Arena* programme makers had chosen Leicestershire to demonstrate the losses to education and in particular to arts education. The commitment of Mason and Fairbairn to a strong emphasis on the arts provided the ideal platform on which to attack the damaging cuts. The programme's presenter pointed out that the arts in Leicestershire had been particularly badly hit by a deep cut of 25 per cent.⁵⁰⁶

The consequences of this were that music, dance and drama in schools were all affected, and the art collection built up during Mason's tenure, consisting of works by living British sculptors and artists, would be sold off to recoup some of the lost funding. In reality, the Leicestershire SSO continued to exist within an LEA of decreasing powers, and in juxtaposition to the national growing trend towards egalitarianism. This was a world completely opposite to the period of growth and autonomy that Pinkett had experienced.

The question arises as to whether or not Pinkett was unique in his approach. He certainly reflected post-war optimism, which embodied the idea of creating something better for young people in state schools than had previously been available. His military service during the Second World War was inextricably linked to the collective will to defeat fascism and ensure that democracy prevailed. During the war, the armed services had begun to realise that there were many recruits who demonstrated high ability but had experienced little formal education.⁵⁰⁷ Pinkett was able to transfer both his musical training and life experiences within an educational setting conducive to his talents. He was known to demand full commitment and hard work from his young players but, as in the examples of Malcolm Fletcher and Richard Hallam, there was continued interest and support into adulthood. It could be argued that he was a leader astute enough to liaise with professional artists, aware of the kudos and leverage that would be gained from this. In addition, he commissioned new works for the

⁵⁰⁵ BBC Television documentary, *Arena*, 'If the music had to stop', 1981.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁷ Burgess, T., *Inside Comprehensive Schools*, (London: HMSO, 1970).

Leicestershire SSO, thus bringing the players into contact with contemporary music. The Leicestershire SSO discography bears testimony to this, with recordings of works by composers Arthur Bliss, Michael Tippett, Alan Ridout, Malcolm Arnold, David Bedford and Havergal Brian.

Malcolm Fletcher posits the notion that ‘Any fool can start an orchestra but to keep it going is the difficult part, if after five or six years it becomes very good’.⁵⁰⁸ The idea of success breeding success is evident here. In addition, the support mechanisms required to sustain development were central to that success, with Stewart Mason being key to setting up systems of support and efficient administration. The prestige that the Orchestra brought to the county ensured continuing backing from its directors of education, backing that greatly contributed to its survival.

London: starting from a secure base

In 1947, the LCC had made individual instrumental tuition available to ‘the more talented pupils between the age of 11 and those of exceptional aptitude at a younger age’.⁵⁰⁹ The lessons were offered on an out-of-school hours basis, and were given by approved teachers. In addition, junior exhibitions were awarded for tuition at London-based music colleges.

With additional training at a more advanced level in place, Dr Leslie Russell, then Senior Inspector of Music for the LCC, was keen to develop residential courses for these young instrumentalists. In the past, LCC funding allocated for instrumental provision had enabled some of the more skilled players to gain access to the Ernest Read courses. It was some time during the year 1948 that Russell conceived the idea of a London SSO. In a publication, *A Brief History of the London Schools Symphony Orchestra*, written by Ken Golightley, administrator of the London SSO from 1968 to 1984, there are clear insights into Russell’s determination to achieve his aims during the period 1947-1951. Russell made a request to the Leader of the LCC, Sir Isaac Hayward, and the Education Officer, Sir Graham Savage, that he ‘be allowed to organise a holiday course for

⁵⁰⁸ Malcolm Fletcher, interview with the author, 1 December, 2009.

⁵⁰⁹ London County Council, *Education in London 1945-54*, (London: LCC, 1954), 65.

the burgeoning numbers of young instrumentalists from the LCC schools throughout the Metropolis'.⁵¹⁰ Council backing was agreed in February, 1951:

That the Education Officer do arrange for a short course to be held during the Easter vacation 1951 at Buckingham Gate Secondary School for pupils in secondary schools who are studying instrumental work under the Council's scheme and expenditure not exceeding 25 pounds to be authorised for this purpose.

There were 200 applications from 50 different schools, and 130 pupils attended. In contrast to concerns raised in other LEAs, the LCC reported that between them these pupils were able to play all the instruments found in a classical orchestra. However, Russell had achieved this wide-ranging instrumental line-up through the inclusion of students drawn from the RAM and the RCM, but it was noted that few of these had any experience of orchestral discipline. The newly formed Orchestra gave a concert with a rather ambitious programme, but, despite this, the performance demonstrated its potential.⁵¹¹

In order to strengthen the quality of performance, an additional course, to be held during the summer holidays, was arranged, and as recorded in the LCC Education Committee minutes, was deemed to be successful.⁵¹² Holiday courses would prove to be an effective way of preparing youth orchestras for concerts, and were to become a fixed aspect of orchestral training within the different LEAs. A significant milestone for the Orchestra was an invitation to perform at the recently opened Royal Festival Hall, a centre for the arts created for the 1951 Festival of Britain (see Chapter 7). Following this, the LCC sanctioned additional expenditure for residential courses that were to be held over the Christmas, Easter and summer holidays. In addition, it authorised a fortnight's concert tour of Denmark as part of the summer vacation course, thus demonstrating its full commitment to the Orchestra.⁵¹³ In 1952, a group of 120 players left for Denmark, 59 boys and 61 girls, the gender balance of the London orchestra comparable to that of the Leicestershire one. The players, aged 13 and upward, represented about 40 different London secondary schools.⁵¹⁴

⁵¹⁰ Golightley, K., *A brief history of the development of the London Schools Symphony Orchestra*, 2.

⁵¹¹ LMA, LCC, Minutes of the Education Committee, 4 July, 1951, 180.

⁵¹² *Ibid.*, 24 October, 1951, 259.

⁵¹³ LMA, Minutes of the LCC Education Committee, 11 March, 1952, 400.

⁵¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 556-557.

In contrast to Eric Pinkett, who acknowledged his limitations, and actively sought to engage professionals to rehearse and conduct the Leicestershire SSO, Russell continued throughout his time in post always to train and conduct the London SSO himself. This approach, of an orchestra experiencing only one conductor, had its limitations, as the two following concert reviews reveal, the first being written in 1956, the second in 1964:

The performance suggested that the orchestra could profitably devote some time to the aesthetic part of musical performance – to shading and phrasing and matters of style. Dr Russell's conducting, which seemed somewhat nervous and thus intent on matters of pure accuracy, recalled the problems of those who guide the young in matters musical: accuracy is important, but the spirit is more than the letter, as generations of amateur musicians can testify.⁵¹⁵

Technical grasp was the prime feature of the performance under the authoritarian baton of Dr Leslie Russell. Shostakovich's teeming ideas were always well ordered but seemed emotionally restrained until the last movement.⁵¹⁶

However, whatever approach Russell chose in pursuing his quest to form a fully functional London-based youth orchestra, his main achievement had been to raise the profile of music in line with the national trend for securing instrumental and performance opportunities within the capital. Central to his success was the gaining of approval and full support of the LCC for his agenda, and the funding to underpin it.

On his appointment to the newly formed ILEA, in 1966, Russell's successor, Peter Fletcher, immediately set about reorganising the Orchestra, firstly by insisting that entry should be open only to pupils in full-time education, thus relinquishing the previous arrangement of drafting in players who had left school and were now studying at colleges of music,⁵¹⁷ and secondly by holding the holiday courses in a residential setting, thus allowing for a more intensive approach to rehearsing repertoire.⁵¹⁸ Admission to the London SSO by audition, an approach taken by Russell, and which continues to the present day, proved to be an eminently feasible method of recruitment within such a large authority.

⁵¹⁵ Review, 'Choir and orchestra from schools', *The Times*, 17 January, 1956, 6.

⁵¹⁶ Review, 'Talent and grasp', *The Times*, 17 January, 1964, 11.

⁵¹⁷ Review, 'New schools symphony orchestra', *The Times*, 5 January, 1967, 4.

⁵¹⁸ Golightley, K., *A brief history of the development of the London Schools Symphony Orchestra*, 8.

Also, during his time in post, he began to broaden the repertoire by commissioning new works, including compositions that demanded encounters with avant-garde techniques of notation, and which required creative realisation.⁵¹⁹

Fletcher continued to channel his energies into his particular vision of a music service by creating the CYM (see Chapter 5), by establishing a base for the music inspectorate and instrumental team, and by continuing the high-profile London SSO tours abroad, and orchestral performances at the Royal Festival Hall. His mission to engage first-class instrumentalists to teach at the CYM was realised, thus giving young players access to experienced professional musicians. As in Leicestershire, training orchestras began to play an important part in the overall plan in preparing young people for advanced-level performance opportunities. During Fletcher's time, these training ensembles were viewed as independent of the London SSO, being named the London Schools Concert Orchestra, and the London Schools Concert Band, the latter formed to accommodate the large number of pupils within the authority that was opting to learn woodwind and brass instruments. In the years following Fletcher's departure from the Authority, more ensembles were established: the London Schools String Ensemble, aimed at younger players, and the London Schools Steel Orchestra, the latter a reflection of the growing awareness of ethnic diversity. The training experienced within these large ensembles, in addition to widening access, provided a stepping-stone for those instrumentalists working towards the required standard for entry to the London SSO.⁵²⁰

Over the long period between 1951 and 1973, the Orchestra had been conducted solely by the Senior Inspectors for Music, firstly by Russell, and, later, by Peter Fletcher. William Mann, a music critic for *The Times*, once again highlighted the limitations of the 'one conductor' approach. In a review of a concert in which he commented on 'a none too polished account' of a work, he suggested that

⁵¹⁹ Mann, W., 'New music for young players', *The Times*, 23 January, 1968, 6.

⁵²⁰ Golightley, K., *A brief history of the development of the London Schools Symphony Orchestra*, 8.

Fletcher seemed ‘to need more conducting experience’.⁵²¹ Stanley Sadie, another music critic for *The Times*, viewed Fletcher’s conducting as ‘steady and generally clear’, but the work’s interpretation was ‘rather weak in rhythmic tension’.⁵²² The situation changed dramatically with the appointment of John Hosier in 1973, a staff inspector for music who had no desire to take on this particular mantle. At this point the London SSO began a new tradition of engaging professional conductors, a beneficial move. The first of these was Andrew Davies, followed by Simon Rattle, who was associated with the Orchestra over a period of three years.

In 1976, John Hosier resigned from the ILEA to resume his position as Head of the Schools Music Service at the BBC, where his connections had allowed the Orchestra to be afforded a wider profile, through the making of a documentary programme tracking three of its players, their everyday and musical lives. John Stephens, Hosier’s successor, continued the tradition of engaging professionals. These included Sir Charles Groves, Michael Tippett, John Georgiadis, Emanuel Hurwitz, John Carewe, Stuart Bedford, Elgar Howarth, Nicholas Cleobury and Meredith Davies. Groves and Tippett already had a long history of closely maintained links with Leicestershire, becoming spokespersons for the preservation of instrumental teaching and youth orchestras during government cuts in the 1970s. In addition, Stephens instigated a move towards commissioning a number of composers, including a young George Benjamin, to create and conduct new works for the Orchestra. Other composers who were engaged to conduct their own works included Michael Tippett, Paul Patterson and Witold Lutoslawski. As in Leicestershire, a number of young players went on to pursue music at a professional level, including Christopher Warren Green, later to become leader of the Philharmonia Orchestra, Tristan Fry, percussionist, Alan Hacker, clarinettist, and Irvine Ardetti, leader of the Ardetti quartet.⁵²³

In May 1990, the ILEA was abolished. This was a moment when the London SSO faced the possibility of relinquishing its status as a flagship orchestra for

⁵²¹ Mann, W., ‘New music for young players’, *The Times*, 23 January, 1968, 6.

⁵²² Review, ‘Youthful orchestra’, *The Times*, 13 January, 1970, 11.

⁵²³ Golightly, K., *A brief history of the development of the London Schools Symphony Orchestra*, 8.

inner London, and of losing its funding. However, the Conservative government announced temporary guarantees in order to retain four key services threatened by abolition, and one of these was London-wide music provision, and the London SSO.⁵²⁴ Writing about the Authority's legacy in 1992, David Mallen, the last ILEA Education Officer, cited the 'magnificent orchestras and bands and the music tuition which underpins them' as one of the achievements to be remembered.⁵²⁵ As in Leicestershire, these were orchestras and ensembles that had provided a gateway for a number of state-school pupils to enter the orchestral world as young professionals. The size of the ILEA had ensured the financial resources to maintain opportunities for implementing and sustaining a wide-ranging music service that could support a large number of pupils, some of whom were able, as a result, to pursue music to a high level. After 1992, the dividing up of the ILEA into separate boroughs led to concerns that no single borough would be able to offer the same level of service.⁵²⁶

Manchester: transcending difficulties

In Leicestershire, and in London, the social attitudes and philosophical ideals of individuals had shaped the structure and organisation of their respective music services. From early on, in his post as adviser, Manchester's first pioneer for music education, Walter Carroll, had realised the benefits of drawing on the expertise of like-minded individuals to achieve aims. His close links with the Hallé Orchestra, and the BBC, would prove to be influential to what he could achieve. Importantly, Carroll gained the full backing for his activities from Spurley Hey, the Director of Education for Manchester from 1914 to 1930. Hey, who came from a northern working-class background, and knew the value of opening up educational opportunities, respected Carroll's aspirations.⁵²⁷

In 1923, the year Carroll set up the Manchester Children's Orchestra, this centrally run string ensemble with its members drawn initially from public

⁵²⁴ Gow, D., 'Peers dash last hope for ILEA', *Guardian*, 18 May, 1988, 1.

⁵²⁵ Mallen, D., 'The ILEA Legacy', in Barber, M., (ed.), *Education in the Capital*, (London: Cassell, 1992), 64-73.

⁵²⁶ Letter to the Editor, 'Why the sound of young music may be off-key in London', *Guardian*, 18 March, 1988, 18.

⁵²⁷ Robertson, A.B., 'Hey, Spurley, (1972-1930)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, www.oxforddnb.com/catalogue/urls.lon.ac.uk/article.58494, accessed 12 January, 2012.

elementary schools, gave entry by audition. The Orchestra consisted of 60 players, but was reorganised, in 1925, to widen the age-range to 30 junior players and 40 senior players, with weekly rehearsals held after school hours in central Manchester. In 1932, the Orchestra made its first broadcast, a reflection of Carroll's close links with the BBC, and, from 1923 to 1935, concerts were given annually in the prestigious Manchester Free Trade Hall. The interconnection created by Carroll's musical networking allowed young orchestral players to experience highly trained local musicians as conductors, such as the organist Stanley Grundy, Archie Camden, principal bassoon player with the Hallé Orchestra, and Eric Fogg, the Manchester-born composer and conductor, who led the senior section of the orchestra.⁵²⁸ Fogg also worked as an accompanist and broadcaster for the BBC. The focus on providing some quality ensemble experiences for children being educated within the state school system reflected Carroll's commitment to creating favourable conditions in which they could advance musically.

Following the outbreak of the Second World War, in 1939, the Manchester Children's Orchestra was disbanded. However, several area rehearsal centres were set up, but some were not successful owing to a dearth of players. Lack of funding was evident, with little money available for repairs, or to address the issue of a shortage of bows. More positively, there was a higher overall number of players across the centres, and more individual tuition given than under the centralised system, owing to the smaller numbers at each centre.⁵²⁹ Decentralisation had brought some benefits.

Although, in the past, the City of Manchester had been central to British industrial growth, it was not particularly large in area for an education authority to administer. However, despite the centrally organised Children's Orchestra being a success, the early decision to divide the city into smaller musical districts, a system retained until the 1980s, possibly militated against the potential musical achievement of some of its young musicians. The Manchester Education

⁵²⁸ Walker, A., *Walter Carroll: the children's composer*, 46.

⁵²⁹ MCL, Minutes of the MEC, Vol. 12, 1945-6, 1641-2.

Committee Minutes of September 1944 included a report compiled by the incumbent Music Adviser, William Griffiths, indicating that school orchestras were to be formed on a district basis. Interestingly, one element of the rationale for this was purely logistical, ‘so that a pupil may not have to travel in dark weather to town for rehearsal’.⁵³⁰ Ten or twelve centres were to be based across the city, and each of these was to engage two musicians, ‘one with a knowledge of orchestral playing and the other to tune the strings’.⁵³¹ It was recommended that, as well as stringed instruments, woodwind, brass and percussion should be purchased. Progress towards the creation of centres was slow, as indicated in the Music Adviser’s annual report for 1945.⁵³² Like Pinkett in Leicestershire, Griffiths needed to be resourceful, and a plea for instruments was made in an advertisement in the Manchester evening papers, which resulted in about 16 violins being donated.⁵³³

The local centres were deemed to be most successful when

. . . rehearsal centres are intimately connected with the school, and where there is a Head Teacher who is enthusiastically interested. In such schools, where orchestral tuition is part of the curriculum, these centres prosper. Where rehearsals commence before school closes, this arrangement is better for the children and it is possible for them to reach home on time. All the schools that have recently formed classes for orchestral instruction have done so as part of the curriculum.⁵³⁴

One Education Committee report highlighted the strong commitment to music made by a number of participating schools, some making the enlightened decision of allowing pupils to attend rehearsals partly within curriculum time. Pupils from the centres fed directly into the now newly reformed centrally based Manchester Children’s Orchestra.

In the early 1950s, with compulsory secondary school education well established, the Children’s Orchestra was appropriately renamed the Youth Orchestra, with some players having left school and started work, but returning for evening and

⁵³⁰ MCL, Minutes of the MEC, Vol. 10, 18 September, 1944, 1305-1310.

⁵³¹ Ibid.

⁵³² Ibid., 1358-59.

⁵³³ MCL, Minutes of the MEC, Vol. 13B, 1946-1947, 1702-3.

⁵³⁴ Ibid.

Saturday morning rehearsals.⁵³⁵ In 1960, it was reported that gaps needed to be filled in the brass section, and that improvement was hoped for when tutors could be found who ‘actually play the instruments they teach’,⁵³⁶ a situation reflecting national concerns regarding the availability of suitably qualified instrumental teachers (see Chapter 5). At this time, the Youth Orchestra, with its 40 members, was still relatively small. With some instrumentalists demonstrating obvious potential and commitment, more advanced routes to progress were being considered.

In 1962, a special report was presented to the Manchester Education Committee that focused on the prospect of players in the ‘active youth orchestras and schools’ orchestras’ becoming eligible for the National Youth Orchestra, thus highlighting the desire to ensure that promising players were given appropriate instrumental tuition.⁵³⁷ The report prompted what was to be an early airing of a wider debate that would gather momentum in later years. The city councillors were divided in their response, with some arguing that the report’s emphasis was directed towards quality rather than quantity, which would result in concentration on a ‘small number of proficient and able scholars’.⁵³⁸ Others argued that increased funding for instrumental provision would extend opportunity. The councillors acknowledged current weaknesses in the system, accepting that, if the orchestras were to play at a higher standard, the instrumental service would urgently require reorganisation, in order to strengthen the quality of the teaching, and offer better access for schools to instrumental provision. The council accepted the report, and recommended that a survey be undertaken in order to examine ways in which recommendations could be carried forward. Such arguments would re-surface across LEAs, as moves towards more egalitarian educational thinking, in the 1970s, would come into conflict with LEA decision-making about the best way to ensure that advanced musicians could benefit from a more specialist musical training than that which could be offered within the classroom music lesson, or within some the locally-based ensembles.

⁵³⁵ MCL, Minutes of the MEC, Vol. 17A. 1951-52, 1961.

⁵³⁶ MCL, Minutes of the MEC, Vol. 25B, 1960, 2689.

⁵³⁷ Report, ‘Manchester may have school orchestras: specialist staff visualised’, *Guardian*, 18 September, 1962, 18.

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.*

It appears that the instrumental teaching service had improved somewhat by the mid-1960s, it being reported in the Manchester Education Committee Minutes of 1967, that W D Pearson, music adviser from 1958-1967, had directed and conducted both the Manchester Schools Children's Orchestra and the Manchester Youth Orchestra.⁵³⁹ It was possibly the case that the Children's Orchestra was now classified as a training orchestra for the Youth Orchestra, but again sustainability became an issue. In 1973, two years after Victor Fox was appointed as District Inspector with responsibility for music, the Manchester Youth Orchestra was perceived to require better focus. On his appointment, Fox had inherited the Children's Schools Orchestra, which met on Saturday mornings under the directorship of a long-established strings teacher, Albert Evans, for whom Fox had great respect. However, Fox considered, at this stage, that this 'scratch' orchestra required a good deal of hard work.⁵⁴⁰

With no existing record being uncovered of any additional professional guest conductors, it can only be assumed that Fox took sole control of rehearsing and conducting orchestral performances himself. As in London, entry was through audition, the area centres providing a strong supply of players. Intensive holiday courses, as in other LEAs, prepared the orchestra for concerts. In 1975, the Education Committee Minutes reported that the 'recently reformed Manchester Youth Orchestra' had toured England in 1974, Belgium in 1975, and France in 1977. Referring to the tour of 1975, the Representative to the British Cultural Attaché commented on the 'splendid performance by the Manchester Youth Orchestra.'⁵⁴¹ The tours abroad indicate that the Orchestra had reached a standard high enough to perform in a concert setting, as confirmed by the above review, but it had never included the word 'symphony' in its title, and, indeed, Fox indicated that the largest group of players ever to have constituted it was about 80. Also, it has to be remembered that the Orchestra's achievements, during the mid-1970s, coincided with cuts in LEA funding. In any case, Fox would strongly argue that instrumental learning opportunities were not set up

⁵³⁹ MCL, Report of Education Officer to Administrative Staffs Sub-Committee, Vol. 33C, 1967, 2428.

⁵⁴⁰ Victor Fox, interview with the author, 19 November, 2010.

⁵⁴¹ MCL, Minutes of the MEC, Vol. 3C, 1976, 1749.

merely to provide orchestral players.⁵⁴² In this respect, his thinking was in line with those calling for more consideration to be given to the broader musical education of all pupils (see Chapter 2). By the mid-to-late 1970s, questions were beginning to be asked nationally about the inequalities created by systems of instrumental teaching that favoured the few, whilst classroom music teachers were attempting to undertake a more practical curriculum with classes of 30 pupils.⁵⁴³

By 1975, the music service supported a number of ensembles, including the Manchester Youth Orchestra, 12 school orchestras in the area centres, a concert band with 70 players, a brass band, and the well-established Manchester Girls' Choir.⁵⁴⁴ However, in 1988, towards the end of Fox's period in post, the Orchestra was on the decline yet again, and was eventually disbanded. The south music centre, situated in an affluent area where parents could support private instrumental tuition, continued to maintain an orchestra that, according to Fox, worked at quite a high level.⁵⁴⁵ Ultimately, the narrative accompanying the history of youth orchestras in Manchester is one that reflects some of the challenges that decentralisation presented. With musical activity varied and fragmented across the city, it was difficult for successive music advisers to co-ordinate the large-scale, centrally based training that was required in order to maintain higher-level orchestral standards. However, it could be argued that schools and their localities were served more democratically by the decision to maintain the early-established tradition of area-based music provision. Fox's real mission had been to give as many children instrumental teaching opportunities as was achievable, rather than to create a flagship orchestra (see Chapter 5).

Conclusion

Lack of funding after the Second World War affected the rate at which instrumental developments could take place. The shortage of instruments available, and the lack of suitable teachers, affected the number of pupils gaining

⁵⁴² Victor Fox, interview with the author, 19 November, 2010.

⁵⁴³ Farmer, P., 'A state of inequality', *TES*, 4 February, 1977.

⁵⁴⁴ Morris, M., 'Judges note a city's musical score', *Guardian*, 13 December, 1975, 6.

⁵⁴⁵ Notes written by Victor Fox for the author, in response to specific questions, 1 March, 2011.

access to instrumental opportunities, which in turn impacted on the speed at which youth orchestras could be established.

For those school-age pupils living in areas where the LEAs and their directors of education supported the creation of youth orchestras, access was opened up to advanced tuition, and intensive holiday courses, which resulted in pupil encounters with the professional musical world. Performances in prestigious venues, and orchestral tours abroad, further enhanced and broadened experience. For some children and young people, such openings had simply not been available before 1944, particularly within state education. However, alongside post-Second World War growth in instrumental teaching, the music advisers signalled a collective desire to ensure that developing instrumental skills were channelled into ensembles and orchestras.

National initiatives had encouraged the early appointed advisers to place their energies into narrow aspects of music education, that of promoting instrumental teaching and the founding of youth orchestras, and this eventually led to questions about the resulting sidelining of the classroom curriculum. Later debate would highlight tensions between timetabled school music and outside activity, questioning the quality of provision, and of funding that favoured a minority, as opposed to better focus on music for all.

Whatever the tensions that began to emerge from a perception of an increasingly unequal focus, in many LEAs, the orchestras were viewed as flagships for their counties or boroughs, their prestigious value reflecting the belief in an education system that could provide quality experiences for more state pupils than in the past. However, from the mid-1970s, such optimism began to diminish, in the light of severe funding restrictions by successive governments, the consequence being that LEAs were left with hard decisions to make about where their cuts in funding were to be made. For the LEAs, the halcyon days of growth were at an end, the result of which was that a number of music services became casualties of economic restraint. The youth orchestras were not exempt, and many were forced to look elsewhere for funding in order to ensure their survival.

From the early part of the twentieth century, there had been a growing public interest in classical music that was now transcending class boundaries. With the introduction of state schooling, those in charge of music education had been keen to ensure that children were introduced to 'high art' as part of their Western cultural heritage. The burgeoning of instrumental provision and youth orchestras for a minority ensured a practical approach to achieving this, but, for the majority of children and young people, the more passive musical appreciation model was still to be their only point of access.

Chapter 7

Music Appreciation and Concerts for Schools: the observers and the observed

Introduction

It was not until the re-publication of the *Handbook of Suggestions for Teachers* in 1927 that the section entitled 'Music' replaced 'The Teaching of Singing'.⁵⁴⁶ This shift reflected the growth in the music appreciation movement, alongside developments in the recording industry. The music curriculum debate that ensued prompted contentious argument between the leading names in music education, some of whom proposed a move away from the mechanistic approach of the past towards one that would encourage more active listening pedagogies. This chapter focuses on the premise that underpinned the introduction of concerts for schools, the ways in which live music experiences grew out of the music appreciation movement, and the developing relationship between the world of education and those involved in professional performance. The synergy that gradually emerged from such connections was to prompt new and crucial debate about the structure and purpose of music education, and where it might take place.

The music appreciation movement: a place in the curriculum

It has been well documented that, during the 1920s, the music appreciation movement was heavily promoted and defended by music educators, such as Stewart MacPherson and Arthur Somervell, although their approaches differed significantly⁵⁴⁷. MacPherson, a professor at the Royal Academy of Music, had founded the Music Teachers' Association in 1908, with the aim of promoting musical appreciation in schools. He actively encouraged teachers to help children to internalise melodic themes heard on recordings, through the use of singing, whilst Somervell, a school inspector, promoted a more systematic aural approach to familiarisation with melody and rhythm, through the medium of the tonic sol-fa, notation and rhythm dictation.

⁵⁴⁶ Board of Education, *Suggestions for the consideration of teachers and others concerned in the work of Public Elementary Schools*, (London: HMSO, 1905), 70.

⁵⁴⁷ Cox, G., *A History of Music Education in England 1872-1928*, and Pitts, S., *A Century of Change in Music Education*.

For some, such as John Borland, inspector and music adviser for the London County Council, there was the danger that the teaching of aural skills and rigorous analysis would be superseded by a tendency to introduce children to programmatic music, which would reduce it merely to a storyline.⁵⁴⁸ With the advent of the gramophone in schools, recordings of works, such as Prokofiev's *Peter and the Wolf*, and Smetana's *Vltava*, the first based on *leitmotif* and the second on six symphonic poems, did, in fact, remain the staple diet within the school listening repertoire for some time to come. Publications by MacPherson, (1923),⁵⁴⁹ Borland (1927),⁵⁵⁰ and Somervell (1931),⁵⁵¹ all promoted listening and appreciation, in an attempt to move the curriculum away from exclusively singing.

In 1934, a memorandum from the Association of Head Mistresses to the Spens Committee on Secondary Education expressed a sceptical view of the appreciation movement, including doubts about the introduction of the gramophone, and the impending national network of radio broadcasts to schools. The mood of the memorandum was that the arts should be practical, and allow for personal expression, a notion that was regarded as 'one that needs jealously safeguarding in our day when the passive threatens to replace the active, when for example listening replaces the playing of an instrument.'⁵⁵²

Jorgenson, writing in 1987 about Percy Scholes, another supporter of the music appreciation movement, and a contemporary of MacPherson, posits the view that his particular approach was democratic in its aim: that of a large body of listener-spectators gaining access to music created by a minority, the composers and performers. Scholes argued that listening should be encouraged as a form of

⁵⁴⁸ Pitts, S., *A Century of Change in Music Education*.

⁵⁴⁹ MacPherson, C.S., *The Appreciation Class: a guide for the music teacher*, (London: publisher unlisted, 1923).

⁵⁵⁰ Borland, J.E., *Musical Foundations: a record of musical work in schools and training colleges and a comprehensive guide for teachers of school music*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1927).

⁵⁵¹ Somervell, A., *The Three R's in Music (Reading, Writing, Rhythm)*, (London: Boosey and Hawkes, 1931).

⁵⁵² NA, ED 10/51, Memorandum of the Association of Head Mistresses, 23 February, 1933, 13.

active and intelligent response to music, and rebuffed the views of those who thought it merely a passive activity.⁵⁵³

In 1934, The National Union of Women Teachers (NUWT) also expressed scepticism about recent technological developments: a large number of pupils ‘regarded the spoken voice on the wireless or on the gramophone as a mere voice, devoid of personality.’ Although not referring directly to music here, but to all subjects, the sentiment conveyed is one of a ‘disembodied’ voice that cannot replace that of the teacher within the classroom.⁵⁵⁴ Perhaps these are early fears about the possibility of technology usurping the powerful role of the teacher. The NUWT was certainly concerned that the introduction of radio might reduce the number of subjects taught at the chalk face. The views both of the Association of Head Mistresses, and of the NUWT, highlight fear of the impact that technological advances in education might have on the responsibility of the teacher, the domain of the classroom being so jealously guarded that even the presence of a radio might be disempowering.

The introduction of BBC Broadcasts and the gramophone into schools added another dimension to music appreciation as, in addition to the teachers playing themes on the piano, whole orchestras could now be heard performing on record or on the radio. In 1919, His Masters Voice (HMV) had established an education department; in 1923, the National Gramophonic Society was founded; and, in 1924, Schools Broadcasting, although not a national service at this juncture, began with Walford Davies presenting the first radio music lessons.⁵⁵⁵ The development of sound technology had opened up new and different listening experiences, not only for children, but also for the whole population: in schools, in the workplace and in the home.

Hubert Foss, composer, critic and broadcaster, proffered the view that:

⁵⁵³ Jorgenson, E. R., ‘Percy Scholes on Music Appreciation: another view’, *BJME*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1987, 139-156.

⁵⁵⁴ NA, ED10/51, Memorandum of the NUWT, 26 October, 1934, 6.

⁵⁵⁵ Crook, D., ‘School Broadcasting in the United Kingdom: an exploratory history’, *JEAH*, Vol. 39, No. 3, December, 2007, 217-326.

The orchestra as a musical instrument has today become a kind of musical norm, but I am certain that many of those who listen have little notion of what in truth an orchestra consists.⁵⁵⁶

It was an obvious step for music educators to make, moving from listening to records played on the gramophone, and music heard on the radio, to hearing live music in the concert hall, and for those children who lived in the large cities that already boasted professional orchestras, matinee performances started to become integral to their musical education.

The growth of professional orchestras: civic pride and cultural transmission

By the 1920s, a number of orchestras were already long established: the Liverpool Philharmonic, founded in 1840 (renamed the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Orchestra in 1957), the Hallé Orchestra, founded in 1857, the Bournemouth Municipal Orchestra, founded in 1893 (re-named the Bournemouth Symphony Orchestra in 1934), and the London Symphony Orchestra in 1904. Other orchestras that were formed during the 1920s and 1930s included the Birmingham Symphony Orchestra in 1920 (re-named the City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra in 1948), the BBC Symphony Orchestra in 1930, the BBC Northern Orchestra in 1933 (re-named the BBC Philharmonic in 1982), and the London Philharmonic Orchestra in 1932.⁵⁵⁷

These orchestras were to be the pride of their cities, most being funded by enthusiastic entrepreneurs or, as in the rare case of the Birmingham Symphony Orchestra, funded by the local authority, the first example of its kind. This was at the instigation of Neville Chamberlain, who, in 1915, was elected Mayor of Birmingham. When the established Manchester Hallé Orchestra performed in the city, the occasion fuelled Chamberlain's desire to bring about a similar form of civic pride. Such was the rivalry, particularly between the large, wealthy Midlands and Northern cities, whose affluence had grown out of the profits of the

⁵⁵⁶ Foss, H., and Goodwin, N., (1954) *London Symphony: portrait of an orchestra*, (London: The Naldreth Press, 1954), xii.

⁵⁵⁷ www.liverpool.com/116/the-orchestra, accessed 15 July, 2011, Kennedy, M., *The Hallé Tradition*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1960), www.bsolive.com/orchestra/history, accessed 15 July, 2011, Foss, H., and Goodwin, N., *London Symphony: Portrait of an Orchestra*, www.cbso.co.uk/history, accessed 15 July, 2011, www.bbc.co.uk/symphony, accessed 15 July, 2011, www.bbc.uk/orchestra/philharmonic, accessed 15 July, 2011.

industrial revolution, that those in power made it an imperative to ensure a high-profile cultural life, and that included supporting a full symphony orchestra:

Chamberlain felt that a city of Birmingham's stature should be endowed with an orchestra of a high standard and that it should be funded partly from the rates. There was, though, an additional agenda: such an orchestra, located in a large concert hall, would, through cheaper seats, make music both accessible to a wider audience and simultaneously more self-financing. In 1919 an annual grant from the rates was voted and made possible the creation of the city orchestra.⁵⁵⁸

In the industrial city of Birmingham of 1919, orchestral music provision was to be viewed as an element within wider social reform, and as offering opportunities for self-education that was to be supported, in part, by public funding. Over the next few decades, with the increase in the number of orchestras, and with opportunities opened up to hear live music, plus a growing perception that all the arts could contribute to social progress, the way had been paved for a more systematic approach. The onset of the Second World War, in 1939, triggered a boom in the demand for orchestral music which, in the words of author Edmund Pirouet, 'nobody could have foreseen', with the result that many more people than before experienced live music performances as given by the large orchestras.⁵⁵⁹ These travelled extensively, 'giving concerts in out-of-the-way places, many of which had never hosted a symphony orchestra before'.⁵⁶⁰

The Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (CEMA), founded shortly after the outbreak of the Second World War by the then President of the Board of Education, Lord de Warr, was to provide the necessary funding for concerts and recitals across the country. The result was a widening of access to music for more of the population, with performances taking place in venues such as factories, air raid shelters, canteens and rest centres. In this context, music, alongside other arts, was being promoted as morale boosting, the 'cheering-up' and 'cheering-on' of a nation in a period when it was to be severely challenged in terms of war and human cost, and of retaining its sovereignty within the world order.

⁵⁵⁸ Crozier, A. J., 'Chamberlain, (Arthur) Neville (1869-1940)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004, accessed online 15 July, 2011.

⁵⁵⁹ Pirouet, E., *Heard Melodies are Sweet: a history of the London Philharmonic Orchestra*, (Sussex: The Book Guild, 1998), 23.

⁵⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 24.

In the past, successive governments had traditionally been reluctant to subsidise music, but, in 1940, the Treasury awarded £25,000 for arts provision, matching funding donated by The Pilgrim Trust, founded in 1930 by an American philanthropist who had an interest in Britain and its heritage. By 1945, growing commitment by the Coalition Government was evident in its increased subsidy of £175,000, which transformed CEMA into a permanent, state-funded organisation, with a royal charter. After the war, CEMA was renamed the Arts Council for Great Britain (ACGB), a body which would provide future public funding for the arts. John Maynard Keynes, economist and patron of the arts, and the first Chairman of ACGB, viewed its role as another arm of the welfare state: in the words of the historian Peter Hennessy, ‘a kind of full enjoyment policy’.⁵⁶¹ In later years, during the recession of the mid-1980s, the then incumbent chairman of the ACGB, Lord Rees-Mogg, was to reiterate this same sentiment, one that continued to maintain that the arts should have parity with other forms of state-funded welfare provision. Arthur Marwick, when writing about the arts in the period since 1945, made particular reference to music, inferring that it ‘was the art form upon which the war had the greatest effect’.⁵⁶²

This was certainly borne out by the increase in the number of people who made their way to the concert halls of Britain. From 1940, the level of attendance at orchestral concerts grew, as the ‘trickle-down’ effect of radio broadcasts and gramophone recordings led to a more popular appreciation of classical music.⁵⁶³ Millions of people had relied on news broadcasts during the War years, and the radio had become ‘almost a domestic necessity’.⁵⁶⁴ The Manchester-based Hallé Orchestra gave 46 concerts in the 1938 season, the numbers gradually rising to 258 in 1944.⁵⁶⁵ During the early years of the war, the London Philharmonic Orchestra gave over four hundred performances within a twelve-month period.⁵⁶⁶ In the opinion of the music education historian, Bernaar Rainbow, this was a time

⁵⁶¹ Hennessy, P., *Never Again: Britain 1945-51*, (London: Jonathan Cape, 1992), 310.

⁵⁶² Marwick, A., *The Arts in the West since 1945*, (Oxford: OUP, 2002), 81.

⁵⁶³ Hennessy, P., *Never Again: Britain 1945-51*, 313.

⁵⁶⁴ Marwick, A., *The Arts in the West since 1945*, 81.

⁵⁶⁵ Rainbow, B., *Music in Educational Thought and Practice: a survey from 800BC*, 309.

⁵⁶⁶ Pirouet, E., *Heard Melodies are Sweet*.

when parents' attitudes to music as a subject within school were being influenced by their own growing aesthetic appreciation of the subject.⁵⁶⁷

Michael Kennedy, in his history of the Manchester Hallé, conveyed a strong sense of an earlier changing pattern of attendees at orchestral concerts:

The Hallé concerts of 1934 were no longer the great social events of Edwardian days. In the audience were the survivors of those days, but also the other members of the Mancunian bourgeoisie for whom the Hallé was a source of pride and habit, sons of mill managers and their employees who read the *Manchester Guardian* and wanted to achieve a more educated outlook and self improvement.⁵⁶⁸

Social consciousness, awakened by the Depression of 1926, the dawning of the welfare state, the birth of radio, and the spread of education, were clearly impacting on the growing cultural aspirations of sections of the population. With increasing awareness of untapped possibilities, it was becoming difficult to separate changing societal influences from the past ideologies that had shaped attitudes towards schooling.

Orchestral concerts for school-age children had been one notable post-First World War development. During the 1920s, the growth of orchestral performances, which began to be aimed at school-age children, was increasingly regarded as a route to broadening musical opportunities and experience. In 1923, Robert Mayer (1879-1985), a wealthy German industrialist, set up a non-profit making, privately subsidised venture, which supported concerts for children in the Central Hall Westminster, London.⁵⁶⁹ Other cities followed this example, including Aberdeen, Birmingham, Edinburgh, Nottingham and Manchester.⁵⁷⁰ Another key figure, and contemporary of Mayer was Ernest Read who, in addition to promoting the youth orchestra movement (see Chapter 6), instigated the Ernest Read Concerts for Children in London in 1944, towards the end of the Second World War.⁵⁷¹ The London Symphony Orchestra, one engaged to perform at both the Robert Mayer and Ernest Read concerts for children, simplistically positioned its role as being one of providing a 'plain and easy

⁵⁶⁷ Rainbow, B., *Music in Educational Thought and Practice: a survey from 800BC*, 310.

⁵⁶⁸ Kennedy, M., *The Hallé Tradition*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1960), 269.

⁵⁶⁹ Mayer, R., *My First Hundred Years*, (Gerrards Cross: Van Duren, 1979).

⁵⁷⁰ Walker, A., *The Children's Composer*, (Manchester: Forsyth Brothers, Ltd., 1989).

⁵⁷¹ Obituary, 'Mr. Ernest Read', *The Times*, 11 October, 1965, 12.

introduction to concert music and opera’, and as developing the ‘love and intelligent appreciation of music among those who will make up concert audiences of the future’, the latter premise signalling self interest.⁵⁷²

In those cities where there were resident orchestras, school outings to prestigious civic venues, such as concert halls, became commonplace. Whatever the intentions of those in charge of concert planning, whether as a route to establishing social well-being or continuing social control, such initiatives resulted in more of the population gaining access to live musical experiences, thus opening up the potential freedom to make aesthetic judgements based on personal response. The growth in the provision of concerts for children and young people after the First and Second World Wars appears to support the proposition that, well-placed intentions emerging out of traumatic periods in history can lead to a more educated and fulfilled society.

Indeed, it can be argued that these concert-going experiences, beyond school walls, were allowing for the development of new concepts of community. Collective consciousness and cohesive national identity, brought about by wartime concerns, could be strengthened and celebrated within the walls of the concert hall, the cinema and other venues. The notion of education for citizenship and civic duty, which continued to be part of the debate on social reconstruction post-1945, had originally stemmed from the counterbalance to the threat of fascism during the 1930s, and was supported by, among others, the Liberal MP Sir Ernest Simon, the Manchester-based industrialist.⁵⁷³ For Simon, educational channels should open up and develop a more ‘critical and discriminating’ public opinion that would be able to defend democracy against contemporary threats.⁵⁷⁴ Cyril Norwood, Chair of the Norwood Committee Report (1943), also supported the introduction of citizenship into education, to be integrated into subject teaching in order to promote English culture.⁵⁷⁵ His thinking was based on a different premise from that of Simon, Norwood’s ideal

⁵⁷² Foss, H., and Goodwin, N., *London Symphony: portrait of an orchestra*, 171.

⁵⁷³ McCulloch, G., *Educational Reconstruction: the 1944 Education Act and the twenty first century*, (Essex: The Woburn Press, 1994).

⁵⁷⁴ *Ibid*, with reference to the Simon papers, M11/14/14, Manchester University Library.

⁵⁷⁵ HMSO, Board of Education, *The Norwood Report*.

being that of developing ‘mind’, ‘character’, and ‘service’ to the ‘larger community’. In the historian Hennessy’s view, such a stance would continue to subjugate the possibilities of personal liberation.⁵⁷⁶ For Fred Clarke, Director of the Institute of Education University of London, 1936 to 1945, ‘education should provide a basis for social cohesion’. This positioning promoted a more flexible ideal of ‘community’ than that of Norwood, one that was able to transcend class divisions and occupations.⁵⁷⁷ It could be argued that some of the principles that guided the implementation of concerts for children resonated with the conflicting concepts of education for citizenship. The cultural historian Robert Hewison, when commenting on the wider artistic contribution of the work of CEMA during the years of the Second World War, summed up an uneasy juxtaposition when the preservation of ‘high art’ by careful selection, but through widespread provision, was being imbued with value judgements, tradition remaining the ‘cornerstone of cultural conservatism’.⁵⁷⁸

Government policy and the arts: a commitment

After the Second World War, Britain reverted to ‘professionalising’ the arts, seemingly forgetting the experience that it had brought to more people across society through both amateur and professional engagement during the war years. The ACGB, having been moved within Whitehall from under the auspices of the Education Department to that of the Treasury, shifted its focus to support a limited number of arts institutions, the majority of these based in London.⁵⁷⁹ The ACGB’s next move was to try to persuade local education authorities to invest in music and drama in the same way that they had traditionally supported public libraries, art galleries and museums.

It would not be until the late 1950s that any real attention was given to formulating a deliberate arts policy at government level. In 1959, the Labour Party produced a manifesto for the arts under the title *Leisure and Living*. This was the first General Election in which the different parties made political

⁵⁷⁶ Hennessy, P., *Never Again: Britain, 1945-51*.

⁵⁷⁷ McCulloch, G., *Educational Reconstruction*, with reference to the Simon Papers, 104.

⁵⁷⁸ Hewison, R., *Culture and Consensus: England, art and politics since 1940*, (London: Methuen, 1995), 53.

⁵⁷⁹ Hollis, P., *Jennie Lee: a life*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

statements about the arts.⁵⁸⁰ In 1964, when Wilson's Labour Government took office, Jennie Lee, a committed socialist and persuasive orator, was appointed as the first Minister for the Arts, and the ACGB was reinstated to its attachment to the Education Department.⁵⁸¹ Lee came into office with her own agenda: a strong belief that the arts were 'life enhancing', and should become more accessible to all, including to children in schools. She had much persuading to do in order to achieve her aims, as Lord Goodman, now Chairman of the ACGB, was seen to be both elitist and metropolitan in his approach, in contrast to Lee's support for popular and regional culture.

In her landmark White Paper *A Policy for the Arts: the first steps* (1965), Lee indicated that children should be introduced to the arts from an early age so that they could consider them integral to everyday life. As mature adults they would then be more likely to relate to them.⁵⁸² More critically, she viewed the current base for arts in education as too narrow, despite the emergence of some high quality artistic achievements from schools, including in orchestral playing and choral singing.

For Lee, the arts ought not to be the prerogative only of the elite supporters of 'higher' forms of entertainment, but should embrace a broader range of artistic achievement from more traditional sources, such as the brass band, the music hall and popular music groups. At the same time, she did not wish quality of experience to suffer.⁵⁸³ She actively promoted more inclusivity in all forms of artistic endeavour, brushing aside the notion of state patronage of the arts dictating taste, and positively encouraging experimental and unorthodox approaches. Those music educators who wished to witness a sea change in attitudes about the nature and role of music in schools had gained a supporting voice.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁸¹ Lewinski, J., 'Janet (Jennie) Lee (1904-1968)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed 23 October, 2011.

⁵⁸² NA CAB/129/120, White Paper, *A Policy for the Arts: the first steps*, (London: HMSO, 1965), 14.

⁵⁸³ Ibid., 16.

Lee was astute in her observations, raising concerns about the ‘old fashioned gloom and undue solemnity’ with which the arts were presented.⁵⁸⁴ For young people, some of the venues in which the arts were performed and displayed appeared unwelcoming. Certainly, the increasing lack of interest pupils were displaying in the concert halls of the big cities, such as Manchester and London, during the 1960s, was revealing an urgent need for providers to re-examine the ways in which young people might be introduced to, and encouraged to engage with music, and for the programmers to reconsider repertoire. For many pupils, the musicians sitting on the platform playing unfamiliar music, often in formal concert dress, were distant figures. In a letter to Jennie Lee, dated 1967, Professor Thurston Dart, then based at Kings College, London, stated his view that ‘bit by bit we have slipped into accepting a museum culture of music’, a caveat that clearly resonated with Lee’s concerns.⁵⁸⁵

For Lee, within a gradually shifting social climate, and in a modern democratic society, the role of the artist would need to be re-examined. Two of her key recommendations were that the arts should be disseminated to the regions, and should be available to young people. During her six years as minister, she trebled the grant from £3.2 million to £9.4 million to the Arts Council of Great Britain, which then distributed its funding to support the Regional Arts Associations (RAA), passing on part of taxpayers’ money to the regions of England and Wales. When a Conservative government was returned to power in 1970, her successor, David Eccles, demonstrated his ongoing commitment to the arts by continuing to fund the ever-growing number of RAAs.⁵⁸⁶

For some LEAs, music advisers and teachers, Jennie Lee was a guiding light in proposing that the arts should be organised on a local, district and national basis. These different funding streams, which supported arts events, were inclusive of education at primary and secondary levels, thus ensuring arts opportunities for school-age pupils in those areas that actively promoted such experiences. For Lee, the place that the arts occupied in the ‘life of the nation’ was a reflection of

⁵⁸⁴ Ibid., 5.

⁵⁸⁵ NA, ED 221/1, Correspondence, letter to Jennie Lee from Professor Thurston Dart, 26 October, 1967.

⁵⁸⁶ Hollis, P., *Jennie Lee: a life*.

the time and effort given to them within educational establishments, such as schools and colleges,⁵⁸⁷ and were a key component within a civilised society. Lee's legacy was that she had actively promoted a different attitude towards the role of the arts in people's lives, and had developed a more pragmatic approach to promoting citizenship than had hitherto been achieved.

By 1976, the Arts Council of Great Britain was receiving a substantial grant from taxpayers' money, but the deep recession of the mid-1970s began to prompt a new agenda of rationalisation. In response to the tightening of the purse strings, the RAA and the ACGB commissioned an independent enquiry into the public expenditure of money and resources on music and the arts. Led by Lord Redcliffe-Maud, and funded by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, the enquiry examined a range of current practices within all the arts across England and Wales.

The subsequent Report, *Support for the Arts in England and Wales*, 1976, looked to 'encouraging the artist to spread artistic experience and enjoyment'.⁵⁸⁸ With more emphasis on creative approaches to the arts in schools, the Report made the observation that 'Although schooling still seeks literacy and numeracy first, the arts have been creeping in from the curriculum periphery'.⁵⁸⁹ At the same time, it was recognised that such pedagogical shifts were dependent on enthusiastic teachers and those in control within the LEAs. Leicestershire was given as an example 'where the education authority has followed leadership from an exceptional chairman'.⁵⁹⁰ The concern was that, over wide areas, the arts were as yet underdeveloped. With the ACGB now matching arts funding from the local councils, there were opportunities here for expansion. In reality, the local councils were being asked to subsidise government-funded art initiatives.

The 1976 Report was keen to emphasise the notion that 'arts support' and 'education' were not two separate entities. This was an opportune moment for schools, as the suggestion was put forward that artists should be employed within

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid., 14.

⁵⁸⁸ Redcliffe-Maud, J. Lord, *Support for the Arts in England and Wales*, (London: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1976).

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid., 17.

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid., 19.

the field of education. The idea that schools would benefit from specialist expertise on a full- and part-time basis was novel, although, in music, a few professionally trained composers, such as Peter Maxwell Davies, had already been engaged with school music (see Chapter 3). The report promoted the idea of professional artists teaching part-time within schools and colleges, on a similar model to that of the Theatre in Education work that had been implemented in schools, and planned in conjunction with teachers. Pupils were interacting with actors, and audience involvement was encouraged, which was proving to be a successful format, one that could be drawn on to help redefine the relationship between music education and the performance world. With a growing focus on progressive ideals of active and creative participation within the classroom, and the ongoing issue of how to make music education accessible, relevant and meaningful for more pupils, discussions began to take place as to how best to engage the professional musical world at the crossing point between school and concert hall.

Manchester: an early example of concert provision

The fact that Manchester had created its own independent musical life since the mid-nineteenth century⁵⁹¹ was a contributory factor in its early commitment to making music available to its young people. The Children's Concerts Society was formed in Manchester as early as 1916, with orchestral performances being given on Saturday afternoons in the Central Hall. Over 1,000 children from Manchester and neighbouring Salford attended each concert, with elementary school children being charged a nominal sum.⁵⁹² In 1924, the City Council agreed to engage the Hallé Orchestra for a series of municipal concerts.⁵⁹³ These were subsidised, with balcony seats being reserved and allocated to children at minimal cost. What is significant here is that, despite the fact that the concerts not only required paid entry, but were also held in the evenings, the response was overwhelming.

⁵⁹¹ Kennedy, M., *The Hallé Tradition*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1960).

⁵⁹² RNCM archives, WC/8, *Walter Carroll Papers*, undated.

⁵⁹³ MCL, MEC, *Education in Manchester: A Survey of Progress*, (Manchester: City of Manchester Education Committee, 1936).

In addition to the professional concerts, there had been a history of school children performing in prestigious venues, the extent of which was reported by the Manchester Education Committee in 1936: ‘Since 1926 the choir and orchestra have given an annual concert in the Free Trade Hall’.⁵⁹⁴ There were collaborations too between the Hallé Orchestra and the Elementary Schools’ Choir, the most famous being the 1929 Columbia recording of the songs *Nymphs and Shepherds* (Henry Purcell), and *Hansel and Gretel* (Engelbert Humperdinck). Collaborative ventures between professional orchestras and schools were maintained by Walter Carroll’s successors, as can be seen in the Education Committee Minutes of 1944, which reported that

. . . a choir of boys and girls from the Princess Road School will broadcast a programme of songs with orchestral accompaniment by the BBC Northern Orchestra, in the Children’s Hour on Tuesday 27 September.⁵⁹⁵

There appears to have been a strong relationship between the Manchester education service and the BBC Northern Orchestra, which invited schools to attend their broadcasts of orchestral concerts. In addition, there were early attempts to promote some rapport between pupils and musicians: ‘Children sit near the players both before and after the concert’, and have the opportunity ‘to appreciate shape and size and tone of instruments’. This was viewed as ‘first-hand instruction under ideal conditions’.⁵⁹⁶

Carroll’s successors ensured that live music was heard in other contexts, and continued to deploy networking skills to good effect in bringing the different music providers and colleges together. Players from the Royal Manchester College of Music (RMCM) supplied additional music for the non-competitive schools’ musical festivals, the line-up usually consisting of a vocalist, a string player and an accompanist. In particular, Carroll had developed a close relationship with the Hallé Orchestra over his time in office, and his final annual report of 1934 for the Education Committee indicated that the orchestra was engaged to give concerts for schools across the city. Carroll’s successors, Denis MacMahon, followed by Dr William Griffiths, were both committed to the

⁵⁹⁴ MCL, MEC, *Education in Manchester*, 47.

⁵⁹⁵ MCL, Minutes of the MEC, 1943-44, Vol.10, 1131.

⁵⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1308.

continuation of such collaborative partnership. Repertoire was agreed between music adviser and the principal of the RCM, who contributed programme notes for distribution to schools. However, the notes encouraged the categorisation of children and divisive methods: pupils were to be ‘introduced to the main themes beforehand alongside interesting facts for the child who was not naturally musical’⁵⁹⁷. The clear message sent out to teachers was that preparation for listening to live music was necessary if children were to gain the most from their visits to concert venues. During the actual concerts, the music adviser guided the audience through the music from the front of the platform, a formula that would be commonly employed in LEAs across Britain.

Patriotism and nationalism were evident, and, for obvious reasons, morale boosting efforts were viewed as essential in a city that in 1940 had experienced heavy bombing raids. During the halfway stage of each performance, all attending would sing a community song: *Rule Britannia* for elementary schools, and Dyson’s *Motherland* for central and secondary schools, the latter encouraging part singing, with a descant added to the second verse.⁵⁹⁸ Additional concerts, in response to the McNair Report (1944), focused on the youth service, the last concert in each series being specifically aimed at the general public, and youth clubs. With the introduction of mass secondary education for all, the Education Committee sanctioned a grant to support the Hallé Concerts, which was to be appropriately apportioned between elementary and higher education accounts.⁵⁹⁹ In 1945, it was reported that pupils drawn from twenty secondary schools had attended weekly BBC Tuesday midday concerts at Houldsworth Hall, a central venue.

With the decentralisation of activities in music, it is significant that Griffiths was to determine that ‘Next year moves will be made to ensure children in the extreme northern and southern parts of the city will be given access’.⁶⁰⁰ In addition, it was decided to focus on primary children aged 10-11, with attendance at concerts viewed as a musical bridge within the new tripartite system (see

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid, 1108.

⁵⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid., 948.

⁶⁰⁰ MCL, Minutes of the MEC, 1944-5, Vol. 11, 1157-8.

Chapter 2). Griffiths adopted the same method as that of Carroll, a ‘hands-on’ approach, visiting 180 schools and giving illustrated talks, with the aid of an assistant, before concerts. In addition, 20 youth club centres were visited on educational grounds, talks being given as preparation for the evening concert performance.⁶⁰¹

Manchester’s continuing commitment to concert provision is evident. For example, in 1948 and 1949, there were 13 and 15 concerts given respectively, the performances taking place mainly in the Albert Hall in central Manchester, but also in venues such as local cinemas. A typical programme, such as that performed in April 1949, would include works by Weber, Bach and Berlioz, thus perpetuating the ‘old masters’ approach to listening and appreciation. Little changed in programming and presentation throughout the 1950s, which indicates a lack of educational debate about linking any newly developing classroom practices, or social changes, to these now outdated and tired-looking events.

In 1960, despite growing concerns about the reliability of selection decided by the 11-plus examination, Manchester continued to adopt a divisive approach to concert programming, by planning differently for grammar and secondary modern schools (see Chapter 2). In line with the mainstream thinking behind the tripartite system, separate concerts were being given for primary, grammar and secondary modern schools, with the music adviser recommending that grammar school pupils should listen to whole works rather than to single movements. However, wider questions were beginning to be discussed at education committee level about the educational value of the current concert-going format: ‘there is a danger in the big orchestra in a big hall being too much of an exciting spectacle rather than a musical experience’.⁶⁰² This statement was followed by a proposal that consideration ‘be given to the orchestra splitting into small groups and visiting schools’, and that ‘after a regular series of recitals, the full orchestra could come [together] as a climax’.⁶⁰³ The rationale for sending smaller ensembles into schools was based on the premise that, firstly, better contact could

⁶⁰¹ Ibid., 1358-9.

⁶⁰² MCL, Minutes of the MEC, 1959-60, Vol. 25A, 2688.

⁶⁰³ Ibid.

be made between the professional musicians and pupils, and, secondly, that there could be a more thorough preparation for the main event. The disquiet about the growing negative response of those children attending the concerts was a clear indication that the current formula was not working.

In 1967, ongoing concerns were again raised in an article in the *Guardian*, which reported that attendance numbers had fallen, indicating that Manchester schools were opting out of what was currently on offer. In the same year, the Assistant Education Officer reported that, ‘owing to a reduction in the annual payment to the Hallé Society for concerts to be given to schools and youth centres’, it would not be possible to hold a concert in December that year, as had been the previous practice. Members of the Education Committee had offered their own comments on the now familiar issues, and on the age range of young people attending, the inference here being that the current concert repertoire and presentation format were not appealing to the children of the 1960s.⁶⁰⁴ However, a number of concerts remained in place throughout the decade, with more contemporary works finally being introduced, such as Gershwin’s *An American in Paris* (1965), Malcolm Arnold’s *Tam O’Shanter* (1967), and Krzysztof Penderecki’s *Threnody for the Victims of Hiroshima* (1969). Although Manchester, in line with other LEAs, began to rethink the premise upon which it formed relationships with the professional orchestras, by the mid-1970s, with the onset of recession, and the inevitable funding cuts, the concerts for schools programme ceased.

London: an example of wartime provision and continuing commitment

With London a target for extensive bombing during the Second World War, many children were evacuated to safer areas, thus affecting plans for educational provision within the capital. Whilst waiting to be placed in host homes they were held in reception centres, with those who remained in London, or voluntarily returned early from evacuation, continuing to attend elementary and secondary schools. Sympathetic towards the ensuing social disruption, the LCC awarded a grant of £300 towards music appreciation concerts, to be held in reception areas

⁶⁰⁴ MCL, Minutes of the MEC, 1967, Vol. 33, 1311.

during the financial year 1939-40, and £500 during the year 1940-41, with 36 concerts being given during the latter year to approximately 10,000 children.²¹

In London itself, music appreciation concerts continued to be given within the schools, the LCC sanctioning concert provision for elementary schools, to be carried out by the RCM and RAM:

The programmes will consist of vocal music and music for instrumental trios or quartets. Professional musicians of high competence will be used, and the principals of the Royal College and Royal Academy will arrange for their selection, remuneration etc.⁶⁰⁵

The LCC Education Committee Minutes of June 1943 reported that the initial concerts had been successful.⁶⁰⁶ This within-school method of presentation was viewed as effective in terms of encouraging an appreciation for music, alongside the growing use of the gramophone, and BBC schools broadcasts. Eighty-nine concerts, attended by 23,000 children, were given in the reception areas and schools, about 50 concerts in all, each with an average attendance of 250 children. In 1944, concerts were given for 25,000 children at 100 London schools, and for 6,100 children held in reception areas.⁶⁰⁷ Such investment in providing live musical experiences reflects the ideal of introducing children to classical music as a valuable component of a liberal education, and the fact that the college principals were advocating professional-level performances indicates that there was a desire to give children access to high-quality instrumental playing. With the whole of society having contributed at some level to the war effort, the overall collective ‘pulling together’ began to shape future expectations. As Hennessy pointed out, the whole country had been allocated ration books, including the King and Queen, and this had led to a perception of ‘conspicuous fairness’.⁶⁰⁸

The orchestral world had made its own contribution through constant rounds of touring, in what was to be a boom period for concert going across the cities of

⁶⁰⁵ LMA, Minutes of the LCC Education Committee, 24 February, 1943, 289.

⁶⁰⁶ LMA, Minutes of the LCC Education Committee, 19 March, 1941, 102.

⁶⁰⁷ LMA, Minutes of the LCC Education Committee, 3 May, 1944, 430.

⁶⁰⁸ Hennessy, P., *Never Again: Britain 1945-51*, 50.

Britain. It was the overspill of this surge that reached the school population, now to be affected by the newly implemented 1944 Education Act. By 1946, with the inception of compulsory secondary education for all, serious consideration was now being given to increasing concert provision:

There are in London Schools about 105,000 children of secondary school age and about 34,000 between the ages of 10 and 11 years. It is clear that the demand is greatly in excess of the provision previously made and the sum of £5,000 has been included in the votes for the current year to meet the cost of recitals and concerts to be held in local centres for children from schools in the respective vicinities. It is hoped that every secondary child and a considerable proportion of the older children in primary schools will, during the year, have at least one opportunity of hearing good music.⁶⁰⁹

The intention of the LCC was to bring authenticity to musical performances, signalling concern for quality of experience. The two colleges of music, the RCM and the RAM, continued to provide recitals but, in addition, the newly formed ACGB was asked to provide 73 recitals of a more advanced nature, in order to cater for the growing state secondary school population. A panel of well-regarded performers, from as wide a field as possible, was to be formed, in order to represent music of different periods and styles.⁶¹⁰

The LCC's commitment to expanding concert provision was evident. During the year 1946-47, the London Philharmonic Orchestra (LPO) was allocated a substantial grant of £10,000, which was to include the provision of 12 concerts for pupils in hired halls across the capital. For some critics, this seemed an excessive amount but, from the LPO's point of view, such public funding was recognition of the considerable outlay required to run and maintain a professional orchestra.⁶¹¹ High standards could be maintained and improved upon only if sufficient rehearsal time was given. The LPO was proud of being selected by the LCC, as ultimately, through such support, the status of the players would be raised. As early as 1940, eight years after it had made its public debut, the LPO had been raising concerns about its future audiences, as indicated in the following article published in the *London Philharmonic Post*:

⁶⁰⁹ LMA, Minutes of the LCC Education Committee, 31 July, 1946, 488.

⁶¹⁰ LMA, Minutes of the LCC Education Committee, 4 May, 1949, 537.

⁶¹¹ London Philharmonic Orchestra (LPO) archives, *London Philharmonic Post*, Vol. 111, No. 6, July, 1946.

The efforts of local authorities are inadequate for the purpose of providing children with an education which will ensure a musically cultural nation in the future. The only possible machinery which is able to cope with such vast and important work is the State.⁶¹²

It is important here to highlight the fact that, at the time, the majority of orchestras in Britain, excepting the salaried BBC orchestras, were self-funding, and did not receive any state support. Denis Stoll, writing in the first edition of the *London Philharmonic Post*, raised concerns about this situation, and Edwin Evans, in his contribution, pointed out that the orchestra was neither salaried nor subsidised.⁶¹³ Therefore, it is no surprise that Harold Chasey proposed that ‘Music must no longer be the privilege of the favoured few, but must become a necessity of the whole population.’ He envisaged a role in education for orchestral players giving guidance ‘to make music as much part of a child’s education as writing and arithmetic’.⁶¹⁴ The purpose here appears to have been partly educational and partly to increase future audience numbers, thus ensuring the orchestra’s future. By 1946, the situation for the arts was beginning to shift. Thomas Russell, editor of the *London Philharmonic Post*, remarked on changing attitudes:

Cabinet Ministers have not, in the past, been distinguished for their interest in music. Members of the present Government are showing a keen awareness of its importance in national and international life.⁶¹⁵

He further asserted that:

The other arts have had no lack of official recognition and support, as art galleries and libraries all over the country will testify, only music has been the Cinderella. The new interest shown since 1940 by the Government, counties and municipalities gives us steady encouragement.⁶¹⁶

Growing acknowledgement of the professional musical world by successive governments, counties and municipalities certainly began to impact on music education provision. In 1947, the LCC doubled the grant previously made to the

⁶¹² LPO archives, Chasey, H., contributor, *London Philharmonic Post*, Vol. 1, No.3, July, 1940, 10.

⁶¹³ LPO archives, Stoll, D., and Evans, E., contributors, *London Philharmonic Post*, Vol. 1, March, 1940, 3 and 6.

⁶¹⁴ LPO archives, Chasey, H., contributor, *London Philharmonic Post*, Vol. 1, No. 3, July, 1940, 3.

⁶¹⁵ LPO archives, Russell, T., contributor, *London Philharmonic Post*, Vol. 2, No. 2, month omitted, 1942, 1.

⁶¹⁶ Ibid.

LPO, which was good news for the players, and for Londoners. However, there were still concerns that the concerts were not reaching across the whole social spectrum:

Except for a period during the War, when concerts were given in factories, or expressly for factory workers elsewhere, symphony orchestras have played, in the main, for black coated workers – when they have played for workers at all. There is something wrong when such a large section of the population does not profit by the widest cultural opportunities.⁶¹⁷

For Harold Chasey and Richard Powers, writing in the *London Philharmonic Post*, in 1948, the democratic solution was to offer choice: ‘You cannot make people like music or literature, or any other art, but you can offer it to them’.⁶¹⁸

In May 1951, The Festival of Britain, brainchild of Herbert Morrison, Labour’s Foreign Secretary, was celebrated on a national level. It was intended to commemorate in ‘upbeat-style’ the emergence of the country from post-war austerity, and the move towards modernism. Events were organised around the country, but the Festival’s hub lay at the regenerated South Bank site. Here stood the newly built, LCC-funded, Royal Festival Hall (RFH), designed in the latest British architectural style. The LPO was housed there, and it was subsequently to become a venue much frequented by teachers and pupils from London schools.

Although the Festival of Britain heralded a new decade, the old traditions remained firmly in place, and the transformation of the received culture into a more populist, democratically-led one would be slow, not emerging until the 1960s.⁶¹⁹ In 1951, many people visited the South Bank to experience the Festival, but the historian Hennessy believes that the event continued to highlight the class divisions still so prevalent within British society. He draws on the words of the playwright Michael Frayn to illustrate his point:

There was almost no-one of a working class background concerned in planning the Festival, and nothing about the results to suggest that the working-class were anything more than the lovably human but essentially inert objects of benevolent administration.⁶²⁰

⁶¹⁷ LPO archives, Editorial, *London Philharmonic Post*, Vol. 1V, No. 1, September - October, 1947, 1.

⁶¹⁸ LPO archives. Chasey, H., and Powers, R., *London Philharmonic Post*, Vol. 1V, No. 6, November – December, 1948, 3.

⁶¹⁹ Hennessy, P. *Never Again: Britain 1945-1954*.

⁶²⁰ *Ibid.*, 426.

Such bureaucratic attitudes continued to be reflected within the education system. As had been the case in Manchester, orchestral concerts for schools in London were not created with any regard to the tastes and experiences of the pupils, but rather continued to promote the kind of repertoire that had been performed in the concert halls of Britain since Victorian times. This retrogressive, rather than progressive attitude was inhibiting real change. However, change was on the horizon, and Hennessy's summary of mid-century Britain is that there was a seedbed of 'hope and public purpose'.⁶²¹

During Peter Fletcher's time as Staff Inspector for the ILEA, 1965-1974, the format for orchestral concerts began to reflect much needed change. Although it was still the case that the aim of the concerts was to educate young people into appreciating one particular form of music making, it was decided that Anthony Hopkins, a well-known musicologist and presenter at the Robert Mayer Children's Concerts, be drafted in to bring a livelier presentational presence to these events. As a radio presenter and lecturer, he was professional in his approach, an easy communicator, and used to public speaking.⁶²² In addition, as had been the case in Manchester, Peter Fletcher introduced more contemporary works into the repertoire, including Leonard Bernstein's *West Side Story*, and Aaron Copland's *El Salon Mexico*, respectively completed in 1957 and 1965. John Hosier, Fletcher's successor, drew on his BBC skills, having spent eight years producing radio broadcasts for schools, before moving on to initiate and implement 'the first serious work in the same field' in television.⁶²³ He had been innovative in all areas of schools television programming for music, acquiring a national and international reputation for his work. Hosier's approach to presenting ILEA concerts was to carefully script the programme, and include a more multi-media approach, with film being incorporated into the performances.⁶²⁴

⁶²¹ Ibid., 453.

⁶²² Editorial, 'Concert for Youth', *The Times*, 6 February, 1956, 4.

⁶²³ LMA, Minutes of the ILEA Education Committee, 'Resignation of John Hosier', 16 November, 1976.

⁶²⁴ John Stephens, interview with the author, 13 May, 2011.

When John Stephens was appointed Staff Inspector for Music in 1976, he found the format and presentation of school concerts still outdated, just as they had become in Manchester. His received role was to stand at the front of the platform, as others had done before him, and to direct the listening experience of the audience. In an insightful interview in 2011, he recalled that, at one particular schools performance, during the playing of the Wedding March from Mendelssohn's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, he observed a woodwind player jokingly shower the woodwind section with confetti. The woodwind player's idea of innocent amusement prompted a total rethink. From the moment this incident took place, Stephens took the far-reaching decision to reconsider the role and purpose of professional orchestras in relation to music education within the ILEA.⁶²⁵ The gulf between the platform and the auditorium was palpable. These professional players had been engaged to give a matinee performance, but had not been asked to consider any educational implications beyond playing the chosen repertoire.

For Stephens, the orchestral experience needed to be closely linked to curriculum development, an area of national focus in the mid-1970s. With a strong commitment to creating meaningful classroom experiences, he considered how to 'make the leap from the school desk to the concert hall'.⁶²⁶ His first move was to pay professional players rehearsal rates to take their instruments into schools and play them, respond to pupils' comments and questions, and talk about their lives as musicians. These initial visits were educational in that they allowed players to gain a feel for, and insights into classroom life in London schools, and to engage directly with pupils. Stephens believes that during his previous post as HMI for Music, the Theatre in Education projects he had observed in schools began to influence his own thinking about the relationship between professional musicians and their school audiences.⁶²⁷

With so many London professionals engaged as instrumental teachers within the schools, the network of players was considerable, and visiting a classroom for

⁶²⁵ John Stephens, interview with the author, 8 February, 2011.

⁶²⁶ John Stephens, interview with the author, 13 May, 2011.

⁶²⁷ Ibid.

some of them an educative extension of their peripatetic work. When interviewed, Sally Zimmermann, a London teacher during the years 1978-1994, recalled one instance when two professional musicians came into school as proponents of Stephens' new scheme. Zimmermann believes that 'with most pupils being taught music throughout their school lives by only one or two people, novelty was a key factor in the pupils' positive engagement'. Also, the instruments of the professionals were often the more 'unfamiliar ones, and not those usually played within the school'.⁶²⁸ The interface created by the visits of professional orchestral musicians, although exploratory, was proving, at some level, to be educational for all those participating. For Stephens, the school performances that had filled concert halls solely with children had created 'an artificial audience'.⁶²⁹ His next move was to take advantage of London's rich musical life, gaining access to tickets for evening concerts by setting up booking deals with the South Bank Centre, English National Opera and Covent Garden. This would allow schools to apply for a number of free tickets, and attend concerts and performances as part of an adult audience, with seats allocated so that ILEA pupils did not sit together in one large block, but in smaller groups dispersed around the auditorium.

At the same time that Stephens was looking at ways of breaking down barriers between the audience and the players, one professional musician, Richard McNicol, was also making a commitment to undertaking educationally focused work within various orchestras. He was advantaged in that he had been a teacher before becoming a professional freelance flautist, thus he could straddle the two different worlds, those of orchestral life, and of the music classroom. In an interview given in 1995, he verified Stephens' strong view that orchestral players needed to reflect on their own role within education:

As a member of the various London orchestras, I used to be involved in school concerts and the universal feeling among the players was that they were a waste of time and counter productive. Generally they were done by ambitious conductors and the repertoire was chosen, I am certain, because it

⁶²⁸ Sally Zimmermann, interview with the author, 12 July, 2011.

⁶²⁹ John Stephens, interview with the author, 13 May, 2011.

was what those people wanted to conduct. Long diatribes were issued at halls full of uninterested children.⁶³⁰

In 1977, McNicol founded the Apollo Trust, whose mission was to bring professional orchestral work into educational settings. This was a timely move, and the fact that an orchestral musician was at the helm of the Trust gave his pioneering ideas credence. McNicol's primary aim was to move away from the traditional 'old-style' concerts, and to engage pupils directly with the music itself. During a seminal meeting between Stephens and McNicol, it was agreed that the former would provide the audience, the latter the funding. The result of this partnership between the ILEA and McNicol was a series of concerts, following which there was an expectation that pupils return to their schools and compose pieces based on elements of the music they had been introduced to, which would be shared at a later stage.⁶³¹ As amateur, McNicol was able to experiment with, develop and refine his ideas, which were radical at the time, but later influential across community education work. The practical focus on pupils' involvement with composition and performance in the classroom was in line with curriculum developments that were promoting ideals of different discourses within a period of accelerated cultural change.⁶³² Pupils could now construct and perform their own interpretations of live musical experiences.

In 1983, the London Sinfonietta made another significant move by appointing the first education officer of an orchestra in Britain, Gillian Moore, who was instrumental in developing ways into collaborative work between the players and different types of communities. Moore, an advocate of contemporary music, was a key instigator in redefining partnership between professional musicians and schools. The London Sinfonietta, a group committed to playing contemporary music, commissioned composers to write for them. During an interview with Judith Winterson in 1995, Moore articulated that her appointment was timely, as some of those teachers trying to devise a more practical and creative curriculum were seeking help with composition work. The London Sinfonietta was in prime

⁶³⁰ Winterson, J., *The community education work of orchestras and opera companies: principles, practice and problems*, PhD Thesis, University of York 1998, annotated interview with Richard McNicol, 1985.

⁶³¹ Ibid, annotated interview with Gillian Moore, 1985.

⁶³² Marwick, A., (ed.), *The Arts, Literature and Society*, (London: 1990).

position to help, with players steeped in contemporary music and playing techniques. For Moore, the aim was to provide access to excellence, just as those in the past had expressed a desire to provide children with high-quality performances.⁶³³ The difference was that children were now engaged in music making itself, handling the materials of sound, and finding ways of expressing themselves as groups and individuals. Moore defined her role as one of ‘mediator’ in bringing the artists and teachers together. Sally Zimmermann, during interview, confirmed the effectiveness of Moore’s approach, citing it as one that ‘promoted the idea of pupils and professional musicians as being equals’.⁶³⁴

With market forces driving the economy, appointments of education officers were now determined by the requisite demands of the Arts Council, with those receiving funding from that body required to produce evaluative reports on their educational links. The LPO appointed their first Education Officer, Kate Buchanan, in 1987. She recalls that there had been some collaborative activity before her time, led by Peter Renshaw, pioneer and leader of the Skills and Communication Course at the Guildhall School of Music. Renshaw, who had been a prime agitator in promoting the wider training of musicians, brought a realistic dimension to the course, matching students’ aspirations with a ‘career market that was changing rapidly’.⁶³⁵

On her appointment, Buchanan’s brief was minimal, an indication of how recent and underdeveloped the collaborative approach still was. Initially, she instigated preparatory workshops for teachers prior to concerts, held at the RFH, where the LPO was, and still is, based. This led to the establishment of a working pattern in the schools, with related Teachers’ Packs being produced to support curriculum work. Buchanan admits that the ‘challenges were many and various, one being the preparation of orchestral musicians for a role in the classroom, which included developing some skills in improvisation, and thinking about music

⁶³³ Winterson, J., *The community education work of orchestras and opera companies: principles, practice and problems*.

⁶³⁴ Sally Zimmermann, interview with the author, 12 July, 2011.

⁶³⁵ Email correspondence between the author and Kate Buchanan, 14 July, 2011.

differently, for example, as a creative expression rather than reproduction'.⁶³⁶ Her main aim was modest in that she wished to establish a small team of players who enjoyed working together, and who were willing to actively contribute to education work.

With a music curriculum that was promoting practical engagement, musicians now found themselves working alongside pupils in schools, creating group-performance music based on works that were later to be performed as part of the season's concert repertoire. In the case of the London Sinfonietta, which was often rehearsing new works for their first performance, the composers themselves were, on occasion, actually involved with projects. Pupils, through their encounters with musicians, began to realise that the formal dress reserved for the concert hall platform did not necessarily make the instrumentalists, or the music, remote and unapproachable. They were no longer merely taking on the role of observers, neither were the musicians merely being observed.⁶³⁷

From all the above evidence, it is clear that London was a leader in developing collaborative educational partnership work with orchestras. Interestingly, it would be members of the music profession who would sign petitions calling for the protection of music in schools as a foundation subject within the 1988 National Curriculum.

Leicestershire: an example of challenges facing a rural county

When examining developments in orchestral concerts for schools in rural Leicestershire, there is a strong sense of the considerable efforts that needed to be made in order to initiate access for children and young people to professional music performance events. Research for the present thesis has not revealed any deliberate early policy relating to the provision of them. As Leicestershire did not appoint its first music adviser until 1947, the lack of early developments is not surprising.

⁶³⁶ Ibid.

⁶³⁷ Barrell, J., 'Visualising the division of labour: William Pyres Microcosm', in Marwick, A., *The Arts, Literature and Society*, (London: Routledge, in association with the Social History Society of the UK, 1990), 95-128.

The City of Leicester itself boasts a large concert venue, the De Montfort Hall, which has a history of hosting visiting professional orchestras. Although schools within the County of Leicestershire had the option of taking advantage of seasonal concert programme events on offer, visits to concerts had been dependent on music teachers being proactive in making the necessary arrangements. John Whitmore, a former player with the Leicestershire SSO from 1963-1966, recalled his music teacher at Westfield High School in Hinckley arranging regular visits to this prestigious venue. Pupils travelled the 15 miles from Hinckley to Leicester by train to these mainstream evening concerts. Whitmore clearly remembers the exciting impact of hearing live music, in particular a concert given by the Polish Radio Orchestra, and those by the Manchester Hallé Orchestra.⁶³⁸ Richard Hallam, a member of the Leicestershire SSO from 1959-1966, recalls attending inspirational concerts by that orchestra at the De Montfort Hall, organised by the music adviser, Eric Pinkett.

With limited opportunities to hear professional players, amateur music making events were an important alternative option. When he became a member of the Orchestra, Hallam gained access to a close network of players, which opened up opportunities for attendance at each other's school concerts and shows.⁶³⁹ In addition, Pinkett utilised the Orchestra to provide some live musical listening experiences for Leicestershire school pupils. This 'home grown' approach provided one form of access to live music.

Jennie Lee, as Minister for the Arts, had sought to strengthen regional arts provision, but the South West and the East Midlands were still at a disadvantage, having few concert halls and theatres.⁶⁴⁰ However, sponsorship from the East Midland Arts Association, in conjunction with that of the Leicestershire LEA, had at least enabled an annual concert series to be held during the season of 1968-9. These concerts were held in community colleges, community centres and evening centres, thus bringing live music to small villages and towns across the countryside, the styles of music played being eclectic, ranging from church music

⁶³⁸ Email exchange between the author and John Whitmore, 17 February, 2011.

⁶³⁹ Email exchange between the author and Richard Hallam, 18 February, 2011.

⁶⁴⁰ Hollis, P. *Jennie Lee: a life*.

to jazz, thus reflecting changing musical preferences. Young performing artists from the London music colleges, some of them former Leicestershire SSO players, were engaged, as were national and international ensembles. It was often the case that additional performances were given in the schools during the afternoon of the evening concert. Combining events in this way kept down overall costs. Research into how tailor-made for pupils these concerts were, and how they were received, has not revealed any documented evidence, but it is clear that there was an attempt to bring live performance to this large rural area, including to schools.

One important appointment, which coincided with the 1975 publication of 'Arts with the people',⁶⁴¹ and the ACGB commissioned enquiry into the Arts, ensured that some schools were able to gain access to the professional musical world. Embedded within both reports was positive endorsement of the concept of the resident artist within the community. Leicestershire made a bid to the Arts Council to support such an appointment, and received a grant of £1,000 but, owing to cuts in spending, the LEA declined to support this new initiative. Despite initial funding difficulties, in 1975 the composer Douglas Young was engaged as musician-in-residence.⁶⁴²

Young's work reflected a much more open approach, by taking into account cultural diversity, contemporary music developments, and pupils' musical interests. In his report to the Leicestershire Arts Education Committee in May 1976, he gave an account of the composition work he had undertaken within schools and colleges, including primary schools. In addition, he reported that he was running a composers' group on Saturday mornings. In terms of working across the communities, he was undertaking and leading a 'multi-racial' dance/drama project, which would draw on Chinese, Indian and West Indian traditions, using authentic instruments, thus reflecting ethnic diversity within areas of the county. Young was keen to set up a chamber orchestra that would specifically include contemporary music within its repertoire. Funding for his work, with schools for the academic year 1976-1977, continued to be provided by the

⁶⁴¹ DES, Report, *Arts with the people*, (London: HMSO, 1975).

⁶⁴² Ibid.

AGCB, and, in addition, the Gulbenkian Foundation offered a further £2,000.⁶⁴³ However thinly spread, the community-focused work of Douglas Young certainly brought a level of music professionalism into the Leicestershire schools different from that experienced within the Leicestershire SSO.

Another, and equally successful venture, led by an enthusiast and expert in a particular genre of music, provides an example of a rural county attempting to realise ‘home-grown’ performance ensembles. An unusual initiative came from John Whitworth, the Deputy Music Adviser, who gathered together an excellent collection of Chinese musical instruments. Whitworth, having acquired playing skills, was able to teach these himself. The instruments were taken to Rutland, where sixth form pupils and Village Colleges eventually formed a Chinese orchestra, the ensemble playing well enough to perform at the International Festival of Oriental Music in Durham, in 1976. The choice of Rutland in which to base the resource was a positive move towards extending musical opportunities across the areas newly integrated into the county of Leicestershire.

However, in 1979, the difficulties of sustaining cultural activities within rural areas remained, as it was formally acknowledged in the Report of the Director of Education that the county was still deprived of musical culture of a professional standard.⁶⁴⁴ Finding skilled musicians was difficult, as most lived and worked within reach of the big cities, where their orchestras and ensembles were based. A proposal was put forward that there should be a contracted orchestra, which would be based in the East Midlands. The English Sinfonia Orchestra was suggested as a possibility, and an application made to the ACGB, but nothing came of this.

One idea that was put forward by Peter Fletcher was to create a professional orchestra made up of members of the community, which would come under his direction. His rationale for this was that:

Much of the Eastern part of the country is currently provided with orchestral music by the touring programme organised by the Eastern

⁶⁴³ LRO, Minutes of the Leicestershire Education Arts Committee, 30 May, 1975.

⁶⁴⁴ LRO, Report of the Director of Education, 24 May, 1979.

Authorities Orchestral Association and the quality of playing is not always of the highest standard.⁶⁴⁵

From Fletcher's point of view, this orchestra, which would be based at the School of Music, would feed into music education developments within the county. This personal ambition was not realised, but major concerts continued to be programmed for the main venue, the De Montfort Hall. In the season of 1986 it was reported that, during the Leicester Concerts season, outreach work would include twenty chamber concerts, to be given at the School of Music, in community colleges and at other venues. Jennie Lee's earlier vision for an increase in rural music provision was still proving difficult to realise.

Conclusion

The course that LEAs could pursue when considering the provision of live concerts for children has been, in the main, determined by reasons other than educational efficacy. In addition to the levels of will and commitment required by the local councils in supporting music education, much has also depended on historical and geographical factors, and on issues of access.

The initial rationale for schools concert provision grew out of the appreciation movement, and a desire to introduce children to music of the classical repertoire, based on the premise of providing music as a civilising force linked to nationalism. After the Second World War, the growth in the number of symphony orchestras across Britain, and their popularity, prompted LEAs to invest more heavily in funding concerts for schools.

During the 1950s and 1960s, with musical tastes becoming more eclectic, pupils began to demonstrate their own desire to break with past tradition by showing a lack of enthusiasm for some of the repertoire being performed, and for the way in which it was being presented. This prompted a radical consideration of the prevailing ideology and practice. The growing relevance of collaborative ventures led to a much needed reassessment of clarity and aims for both performers and educators, as inevitable tensions emerged, these undoubtedly

⁶⁴⁵ LRO, Minutes of the Arts Education Committee, 15 March, 1984.

requiring resolution through better agreed definition of roles and responsibilities. It would be these crucial evolving links and developing partnerships, forged between the music professionals and educators, which would give weight to the argument for the inclusion of music as a foundation subject in the 1988 National Curriculum.

Chapter 8

Conclusions

Introduction

The rationale and theoretical framework for this thesis was constructed in the context of the author's interest in the historiography of music education, and from increased personal engagement with reading and reviewing some of the currently available literature. What was particularly noticeable from such appraisal was the emergence of a more critically focused examination of wider-ranging evidence, and the effect that fresh insight was able to bring to any re-evaluation of current theory and practice. Cogent argument, informed through the pursuit of scholarship, can create a powerful tool for reflection and change, as well as providing the potential for bringing additional individual narratives to the history of music education.

Historical examination into music services within LEAs is still a fertile area for research. The cultural validity of the present investigation lies in the explication of material gathered from records, reports and oral testimonies, all of which have provided a conduit for an additional contribution to the knowledge and understanding of music education history. This empirical approach has provided, as far as is possible from the author's current research base, legitimisation of the impact that decision-making by organisations, as well as individual interpretation, has brought to music education thinking and practice.

Early key players

An examination of the contributions made by those involved with, or concerned about the premise on which a state music education should be founded revealed evidence of early airings of contentious issues arising from different philosophical and pedagogical views of the subject. Ongoing polemical argument highlighted the division between those music educationalists who accepted the received canon of a period, and those who were unafraid to speculate about, in the words of the educational progressive, Edmund Holmes, 'what might be', by allowing the boundaries of possibility to be extended through bold experimentation with new orthodoxies.

The visions and influences of successive key players acted as springboards from which followers would be able to formulate their own beliefs and values, with controversial issues often emerging during periods in which significant philosophical, social and economic shifts took place. It is within this context that the thesis has examined wider causes and effects of both stagnation and change, whilst bearing in mind the complexities that individuals bring to influencing patterns of educational practice.

The broader aims of the early-appointed music educators rested on the principles that had guided the inception of mass education. Moral values, patriotism and social control of knowledge and skills resulted in music education being seemingly subservient to prevailing dogma. With growing debate attracting real concerns that music had not as yet found systems that could make it effective, the work of the early-appointed music advisers, such as Walter Carroll in Manchester, and Percy Buck in London, both in post during the 1920s and 1930s, became a contributory factor in determining the basis and construction of music education over subsequent decades. Initiatives undertaken by Carroll and Buck reflected the more ‘humanising’ influences promoted within the Hadow Report of 1926. Hadow’s powerful position as a committee chairman provides a clear example of personal interests contributing to national outcome. As both educationist and musician he had displayed a keen interest in the music appreciation movement, and in amateur music making. Hadow, Carroll and Buck, each of them born Victorians, had entered a long-established patriarchal society in a Britain that had created a vast and powerful empire. The dogma created by a nation’s confidence in itself could easily have led to a paralysis within the thinking of these men. Although all three embodied the nationalistic climate of their time, they also adopted more philanthropic aspects within their thinking, manifested in their desire to facilitate change. It appears that the ability to bring about one form of transformation, based on a combination of reasoned argument and positive action, proved to be an effective way of appeasing those whose preference was to remain entrenched in past doctrines. These liberal thinkers, although still firmly rooted in the belief that the classical musical tradition should underpin a mass education system, were able, through active fulfilment of their particular vision, to demonstrate a belief in the worthiness of a

whole section of the population hitherto ignored by the state, the working class poor.

The premise on which the steering of music education towards performance and appreciation was based is all too obvious when examining the backgrounds of those who were given the responsibility for implementing the subject within schools. From the outset, those appointed to key influential posts had been drawn from classical performance backgrounds.

Educational reconstruction after the Second World War included a national move towards appointing teams of subject advisers within the LEAs, thus acknowledging that there was a need for specialised subject knowledge support. From the research gathered for this thesis, there is strong evidence that post-war appointments of music advisers continued to follow the same pattern as those in the past. First and foremost, it was desirable for applicants to have been trained as performers, although some had gained teaching experience. After 1944, these skills were a perfect fit for realising the Ministry of Education's brief to Bernard Shore, HMI for Music, that of broadening the scope of instrumental teaching and performance within the newly extended school system.

LEA commitment: extending musical opportunity

Educational developments in the LEAs were closely linked to the political will of their councils. Where there was ambivalence or stalemate there were continuing difficulties when reassessing and reorganising education systems for example; the issues surrounding the introduction of comprehensive education, and the commitment to support school building programmes. At a more grassroots level, the music advisers, with their increasing demand for funding in order to realise the national trend of achieving instrumental teaching and youth orchestra ambitions, relied on their CEOs to make a strong case on their behalf. In turn, the empathetic partnership between music adviser and CEO was vital to progress, the combined administrative and professional roles of the CEO requiring the ability to bring together policy and practice. With progress came the demand for further expenditure, as the education minutes of all three LEAs starkly reveal.

London's generous funding for education has always provided a well-resourced environment that has attracted those who wished to work at the 'cutting edge' of diversity and urban challenge. From the formation of the LCC through to the creation of the ILEA, and its abolition in 1990, socialist principles underpinned the tenets of the education service. For those inspectors, advisers and teachers who defined their philosophy and practice as progressive, London was a place where they had the scope to contribute to education in experimental and innovative ways. From the outset, the LCC, and later the ILEA, were able to draw on strong leadership, liberal funding for initiatives, and the 'London' factor. It is impossible to judge any one of these as more significant than any of the others, but the unique combination of all three ensured a comprehensive music service that maintained a high profile throughout its history.

In contrast to London, Leicestershire was a county that did not place any real focus on music education until after the Second World War. What is unique about its subsequent progress is the combination of the aspirations of two men whose lives collided at the opportune moment of post-war optimism. Stewart Mason's progressive ideals, tempered by his gentlemanly qualities, allowed him to negotiate his way through the conservatism of local politics. Mason's appointment of Eric Pinkett as music adviser was astute and timely. Emerging from this distinctive partnership was strong leadership, with Mason providing the means to Pinkett's realisation of shared ideals.

Manchester, in line with London, had invested in school music support early on in its state education history. Arguably, although on a smaller scale than London, the cultural climate was conducive to such developments. Whilst there is much archival material to draw on concerning Walter Carroll, whose contribution to music education was known nationally, little evidence has been uncovered about the range of work undertaken by some of his successors. In this thesis it has been argued that Manchester's decision to spread its expertise into music centres across the city may have diminished the possibilities that could have been gained through a centralised system. Paradoxically, the large number of children learning instruments during the egalitarian climate of the 1970s earned the city an

accolade for opening up opportunities at a time when the elitist nature of some LEA musical activity was seen to be undermining the drive for equality.

In the 1920s and 1930s, the growth of the music appreciation movement had coincided with the advent of the gramophone and radio, both of which proved to be potentially valuable learning tools and, in music, a means for cultural transmission. In London and Manchester, grants were allocated for children to attend orchestral concerts for schools, an experience that could not be easily replicated in rural Leicestershire.

During the Second World War, public funding from the newly formed CEMA was made available to support cultural events around Britain. Concert giving in factories and other public spaces, which resulted in orchestral performances being made accessible to a wider audience, subsequently triggered a boom in concert attendance. Exposure brought about choice, and the expectations that eventually prompted a growing interest in the arts by the government. In this context the continuation of funding of concerts for schools by the LEAs would have appeared justifiable. From primary evidence gathered from London and Manchester Education Committee minutes, and from oral testimony, the unchanging format of concerts that assumed a passive audience did not appeal to the personal music preferences of many young people in the late 1950s and the 1960s. In London, what was to emerge was a complete rethink of the purpose of the concerts and the roles of all those involved. The ILEA continued to fund its orchestral programme, but moved towards creating a more productive partnership between orchestras, schools and curriculum, whilst the Manchester Education Committee chose to withdraw its funding. Leicestershire, out of necessity, continued to steer its own course, using available arts funding to hire ensembles to play within large community schools.

A place for music education: wider vision tempered by physical constraints

Music education's difficulties, in deciding role and purpose, an ongoing thread throughout its history, have been written about extensively, as evidenced in a number of music education related publications, and again in this thesis. In part, this ambivalence stemmed from early emphasis on performance by those in

positions of influence, and from the empowerment given by the LEAs in supporting the vision of the newly appointed music advisers. Despite their combined intentions, only a minority of pupils would ever benefit from instrumental teaching opportunities, even when taught in economically viable groups. For those who did, and who were able to rise to the top of the pyramid, the rewards were many. The 1944 Education Act gave no guidance on curriculum content, which left the LEAs and their advisers in key positions to determine their own courses of action. From the extensive examination of a large number of school inspection reports for Leicestershire, London and Manchester, it is evident that curriculum-based music was not given priority. Musical expectations for the few had not, as yet, filtered down to serious consideration of expectations for the many.

In 1951, the Festival of Britain shone like a beacon of hope within a country that had been devastated by a long and costly war. However, the South Bank of London, transformed into a futuristic monument to new possibilities, contrasted sharply with the bombsites and decaying housing beyond, a grim reality for the many who lived outside the Festival's glittering modernist boundaries. Inspectorate observations of the period, gathered from primary and secondary school reports from the late 1940s and 1950s in all three authorities, highlight some extremely difficult physical conditions, with little in the way of resources, and lack of space for creative and experimental work. For those teachers inspired by the child-centred work of the progressives, the challenges cannot be underestimated, proving that implementation of theoretical ideals, and the shape and form of their content, relied heavily on workable systems undertaken in suitable physical spaces, and supported by adequate staffing and resourcing. In LEA secondary schools the situation was patchy, with some teachers working in newly-built schools offering innovative curriculum possibilities, whilst others were still left to face the challenges of teaching a subject-based curriculum in old, unsuitable buildings. With pupil numbers increasing dramatically after the end of the war, and a shortage of suitably trained teachers, it was not unexpected that the *status quo* remained, with much pre-Second World War pedagogy still in place.

Divisions exposed

The lack of attention given to curriculum music by government, music advisers and schools during the post-war years was to be brutally exposed in the late 1950s and 1960s, particularly in the Newsom Report of 1963, which acknowledged the difficulties that secondary teachers were facing in a subject that was too narrow in content and unpopular with pupils. Whilst a growing minority of the school population was experiencing the benefits of instrumental tuition and the opportunity to participate in LEA-led youth orchestras and ensembles, the majority languished in classrooms on a diet of passive listening, inappropriate song material, historical information, and mechanistic notation learning. Primary school music, too, was deemed to be lagging behind some other subjects, as identified in the Plowden Report, published in 1967. In response, a growing number of voices, as found reflected in newspaper and journal articles, and conference minutes, began to question the premise on which the fundamental principles for music education were based, shifting the focus from additional curricular music to what was taking place in the classroom.

As the research findings for this thesis indicate, there is no doubt that the musical passions of the music advisers had resulted in high-profile activity in one form or another. However, within a growing climate of egalitarian beliefs, some advisers began to slip out of kilter with broader shifts within society, which were prompting an ever-pressing need for serious debate, and a changing focus within the LEAs. There was mounting recognition of the counter-culture that challenged hegemonic power; a growing increase in ethnic diversity, with groups beginning to question the assimilation model; and a grasp of the empowering force of technology in providing choice and democratisation of ideas. From evidence gathered, the ways in which the three different LEAs responded to these wider changes and transformations appears, in general, to have been slow and piecemeal. However, sourced documentation has provided some key examples of attempts to broaden opportunities by those committed to narrowing the gap between what pupils were experiencing in school and their personal musical tastes beyond the classroom. In addition, the male domination of MANA was now being replaced by a more balanced and equitable model, with more women being promoted to newly created music advisory posts, albeit mainly within the

primary sector. The archives of MANA have provided an overview of preoccupations during the decades following its inception in 1942, its collective voice a reflection of national concerns and an indicator of initiatives that were to create a symbiotic relationship with the LEAs. Looking at the similar and different courses of action with which Leicestershire, London and Manchester began to underpin musical activity from the Second World War onwards, it may be deduced that national initiatives were, in part, being administered on the basis of consensus within this body of advisers.

With a growing interest in curriculum, as exemplified by the formation of the SCCE in 1964, teachers were now to be invited to contribute towards future developments, and LEAs followed, setting up INSET opportunities tailored to the demographics of their areas. However, the 1970s witnessed a loosening of the grip of the LEAs on music initiatives owing to severe government-led funding cuts. Concurrent with this, new thinking about music education was emerging from the academic world. Whether out of fear of change brought about by a lessening of control of the shaping of pupil tastes, or out of a perceived lowering of standards away from 'high art', those opposed to newly emerging philosophies responded with an outcry, mourning the loss of halcyon days. In any case, change would come rapidly, particularly for the LEAs, as the serving Conservative government began to execute its own centralised vision of education. Past insecurities about the place of music in the curriculum, and further contentious debate, this time relating to the inception of a National Curriculum for Music, preoccupied the profession once again.

Strengths of the research and areas for further enquiry

The research base for this thesis has been extensively drawn from both primary and secondary sources, which have informed and steered the focus of the writing. Whilst acknowledging the earlier contributions made to charting the history of music education, the author believes that the particular slant given to this piece of research, that of the contribution of the LEAs and their appointed CEOs and music advisers, has created an extended narrative by adding another layer to the wider debate about the ways in which music has been located within educational settings. Although the direct result of national initiatives and their interpretations

is not fully explored at the point of impact upon teachers, implicit within the findings are the consequences of establishment decision making. The thesis initially set out to investigate music education developments after 1944, but the author soon discovered the importance of the influences of the inter-war years, 1918-1939, in shaping developments after the Second World War. There has been a deliberate attempt to balance in-depth research against generic overviews, in order to realise the culmination of cause and effect. After some deliberation, the decision was made to include earlier policy and practice, justifiable on the grounds that, firstly, earlier periods provided an important backdrop to later events and, secondly, as a means of familiarisation with the backgrounds and work of earlier key figures who had provided a template for future directions. In addition, oral testimony has played its part in the thesis, not as a main focus, but as a means of adding a level of personal representation to the narrative. Semi-structured interviews, documented through note taking, or by email exchange, have been judged to be a valid research method, and as an important contributory factor to the whole.

During the twentieth century, increasing use of a variety of media, and rapid advances in communication, allowed access to many styles and genres of music. Such democratisation opened up more starting points for more people. From the inception of the 1870 Education Act onwards, an intensive debate, mirroring wider educational opinion, led to contestation about the positioning of music within the state system: during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the aesthetic versus mechanistic approach to learning, with concern about balance within the curriculum; from the late 1920s onwards, the traditional versus progressive, child-centred ideals; and from the 1960s, elitism versus egalitarianism, provoking argument relating to equal access and range of opportunity.

The writing of this thesis, which has allowed fresh insight into the conflicts and tensions that have shaped current educational thinking in music, has proved to be a fascinating and challenging undertaking, and it is envisioned that areas of the study could provide the catalyst for further research and scholarship. If enlightened education requires an understanding of the society in which it

operates, what seems to be essential for those historians concerned with the field of music education is the maximising effect that broader historical enquiry and discursive analysis can bring to ongoing debate. The period of enforced austerity and wide-ranging educational restructuring taking place within the first quarter of twenty-first century Britain, presents a particularly apposite time in which to reflect upon the historical narratives of the past.

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Oral and Written Testimonies

Interview undertaken by the author with John Ridgeon, former Senior Music Adviser, 28 October, 2011.

Email correspondence undertaken by the author with Kate Buchanan, former Education Officer for the London Philharmonic Orchestra, 14 July, 2011.

Interview undertaken by the author with Sally Zimmerman former music teacher for the ILEA, 12 July, 2011.

Interview undertaken by the author with John Stephens, former ILEA Staff Inspector for Music, 13 February and 13 May, 2011.

Interview with the author undertaken by the author with Gerald Forsyth, former ILEA Steel Band Organiser, 14 April, 2011.

Notes written by Victor Fox, former Music Adviser for Manchester, in response to specific questions posed by the author, 1 March, 2011.

Interview undertaken by the author with Richard Hallam, 21 September, 2010, and email exchange 18 February 2011.

Interview undertaken by the author with Allan Jones, former Music Adviser for Manchester, 9 February, 2011.

Interview undertaken by the author with Victor Fox, former Music Adviser for Manchester, 19 November, 2010.

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