The School Song: Creating identity through shared musical experience within UK independent day and boarding schools.

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Songs

Where does the song go, while words fly,

Somewhere along go, somewhere die?

Say, unto far land sound-waves flow,

Lost in the star-land? No, no, no!

Songs, where the thought was, if aught true,

If tender aught was, there hide too;

Down in the chamber hearts hold deep,

Cradled in amber – so songs sleep!

Can yet the song live, once more come,

Voiceful and strong live, now all dumb?

Say, will it slumber, faint, thin, low,

Years not to number? No, no, no!

When drops the boldest, when hope flies,

When hearts are coldest, dead songs rise;

Young voices sound still, bright thoughts thrive,

Friends press around still – so songs live!

John Farmer, 1885

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ABSTRACT

The anthemic songs composed especially for individual UK independent senior schools belong to a diverse yet fragile body of works performed at key events during the academic year which has remained unexplored and in a disparate state of collection until this research. This research draws together these disparate compositions, enabling a closer consideration of independent school songs as a type of artefact, connecting school communities over time. The outcomes of this research are the first significant collection of independent school songs and a novel *Etymophonological Framework* with which to analyse them. This framework is applied to two distinct case studies which interrogate both the history and performance practice of school songs and records the individual and communal responses to those songs. This thesis therefore establishes how independent school songs have created and maintained communal identity through collective performance since the 1840s, and their relevance to those communities today.

This study utilises a mixed methods approach, involving the collection of school song ephemera, the recording of compositional and prosopographical information in a database and the coding and analysis of the collected song text. Qualitative data was collected from school communities through semi-structured interviews and online surveys.

This thesis demonstrates that songs perform important and complex roles in creating, sustaining and reinventing identity within UK independent senior schools; fee paying schools also known as Private Schools or Public Schools. However, the investigation of this phenomenon has exposed the unstable approaches taken towards song preservation which, in conjunction with school closures, have contributed to the fragility of the corpus. As such, suggestions are made on how song preservation may be addressed on an individual school level and at a national level alongside avenues of further research within this field.

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INTRODUCTION

It is 1945 and a young boy of 10 or 11 sits in the small classroom of Whitland Grammar School in Carmarthenshire, Wales completing a piano part he has recently composed. The boy, already known for his skills on the piano and organ, has been asked by his teacher to write the accompaniment for a school song. The melody bears a striking resemblance to some of the great Welsh hymn tunes which the boy has grown up surrounded by. The accompaniment is peppered with subtle moments of chromaticism which the boy likes and his teacher, thinking the child a bit of a prodigy, tolerates. the song text tells of local saints and a pride in the landscape. Its rousing melody stirs passion in the hearts of those who sing it as if it were a Sunday morning in the nearby Capel Tabernacl or an eisteddfodau.

It is 1988 and the classroom in which the young boy sat now lies empty. Books and desks have been removed; cupboards filled with long ignored pieces of now sepia paper have been packed into boxes and stored ready to be forgotten or recycled. Photographs and honour boards have been taken down from the walls leaving behind sun bleached silhouettes where they once hung. The hall which once rang with the voices of singing children is now silent. The doors to Whitland Grammar School close for the last time signalling not only the end of this school in particular, but the closure of the last operative grammar school in Wales.

It is Christmas some years later in another school in Wales. A music teacher is looking for a carol medley arrangement they did previously for the peculiar collection of instruments which constituted the school orchestra.

They know it is in a cupboard somewhere…

The teacher remembers having put it away for safe keeping in case it was needed again and so, having gone through the shelves, they pull forward a box from the back of the gloomy storage area in the hope it may be in there.

Blowing the dust off the top of the box they lift the lid and begin to search. Their face contorts slightly with frustration as they soon realise this can’t be the right box, the

paper within is clearly far older than that which they are looking for. The teacher spots what looks like a score written in a neat hand and pulls it out. Perhaps they could use this instead… whatever it is.

Their eyes dart over the paper, scanning the piano part's strident chords and wonder out loud "Is this a hymn? I don't recognise this…" . They read through the lyrics and hear in their mind a rousing melody, finding themselves imagining children singing proudly in an assembly hall on a summer morning as light catches dust particles in the air. The image fades and the teacher's eyes come to rest upon the name of the composer. They pause, unsure if this is correct. They decide to photocopy the score and send it to a friend because this discovery is special and needs to be kept safe. They pause a moment before carefully putting the paper back where it came from. The dusty box is closed once more and put back in the cupboard. The teacher is sure they will come back to it at some point in the future, maybe when they have some time, but for now the search for the unorthodox carol medley arrangement continues.

It is 2021 and the director of music at an independent school in Wales checks his inbox to see an email requesting information on independent school songs. He takes a photocopy of his school's song from the hymnal and is about to send his reply when something stirs in his mind and he remembers the curious song his friend sent him some years ago. He thinks, trying to remember where he put it, knowing it is somewhere safe, but where? He searches his office for a while before remembering and walking to the old collection of *Groves* that sits on the shelf. He pulls down the volume with M on the spine and carefully removes the score of that *other song* from between the pages. This was found in the back of a cupboard, if his friend is to be believed, and so he decides he will pass this on as well. He looks at the score and smiles before taking a scan of the Whitland Grammar School Song, written in 1945 with music by William Matthias.

Explanation of the Research

Independent schools, sometimes referred to as private schools and occasionally public schools, are an important aspect of the historical development of education within the UK.[1] Several schools were founded by British monarchs including Eton College, founded by Henry VI in 1440 and Shrewsbury School by Edward VI 1552. Other independent schools such as Harrow School were founded under the royal charter of Elizabeth I in 1572 who refounded Westminster in 1560. Music held a role of significance within such schools with evidence of reciprocal musical ties to universities. This can be seen between Eton College and King's College Cambridge where musical staff and compositions were exchanged, but also where choristers from King's College were favoured for scholarships at Eton.

Singing in independent schools therefore has a rich history which includes important manuscripts such as the 15th century Eton Choir book,[2] and well-known 19th century independent school songs such as *40 Years On* by John Farmer of Harrow (2018). But what of that history, tradition and repertoire remains today? How have centuries of change in educational policy, and the continuous churn of students and staff who have moved through these schools shaped such musical practices? Such topics are explored fully in the Literature Review of this thesis, however it is their communal significance which lies at the heart of this research project.

This research was born from my curiosity as a music educator to explore potential factors which influence pupil's attitudes towards music. My experiences of having been a director of music at three independent schools across England and Wales was also integral to my understanding of the school song phenomena at the start of this research. However, this understanding was from the viewpoint of someone who was state educated. In the face of the national decline in the uptake of music qualifications, with entries in England falling by approximately 36% at GCSE and 45% at A level since 2010 (Campaign for the Arts, 2023) it seemed pertinent to evaluate why, in my own

[1] Definitions of the current school types in the UK may be found at https://www.gov.uk/types-of-school
[2] A description of the Eton choir book may be found at https://www.diamm.ac.uk/publications/eton-choirbook/

experience, this decline was occurring at a slower rate in independent schools. Having worked as a director of music in two independent schools and initially as Head of Academic Music at Stowe before being appointed Director of Music and Faculty Chair for Arts and Culture, my professional experience had informed me that, contrary to popular belief, not all independent schools were academically selective, well-resourced or primarily populated by the children of affluent families. What had differentiated the independent schools and state schools where I had worked was the presence of a school song which the community sang at important events throughout the year. The performance of this song, and its associated performance practices, had been of a noticeably higher standard than the singing which occurred in the regular school services. This caused me to question whether this phenomenon may in some way shape and positively influence a school communities' musical identity and possibly influence pupils' attitudes towards music and, by implication, foster a sense of communal identity within communities.

Two authors have written extensively on the topic of music in independent schools, namely Bernarr Rainbow (1990) and Gordon Cox (2006). Their works outlined the development of the role of the independent school director of music from 1840s onwards and offered insight into groups such as the *Music Masters Association*. However Rainbow and Cox did not directly examine the role of independent school songs in creating identity or the songs themselves as musical artefacts.

There are two independent school song anthologies, one by Gavin Ewart (1969) and another by Celia Haddon (1977), both of which are useful but have significant shortcomings. Ewart's anthology focused upon song lyrics but provided no music, musical analysis or discussion of the ethnographic context for these texts. Haddon's anthology provided vignette reflections on the songs themselves but only featured song texts in a highly fragmented form.

One article which did explore the topic of independent school songs and identity, although in a different educational context, was '*Shaping Imagined Communities Through Music: Lessons from the school song practice in Nepal'* by Treacey and Westerlund (2019). Whilst the article discussed findings and observations pertinent to

my own topic, the research was focused upon schools in Nepal and the sample size of schools was very small. It should be acknowledged however that Treacey and Westerlund did make the connection between school songs and community. I therefore felt it necessary to undertake my own novel research in this field exploring this phenomenon within the UK and address the limitations outlined earlier. My intention was to generate data which enhanced current understanding of the school song phenomena which I had experienced through my educational career but which also captured a wider range of school songs than had previously been presented.

This research therefore examines the role of school songs in creating and sustaining individual and ethnographic identity within independent day and boarding senior schools in the UK. The scope of the research includes songs from single-sex and co-educational schools, day schools, full boarding schools and schools with a mixed day and boarding community.

The songs which were collected, analysed and whose performance practice was observed during this research included both those written for a specific school, here referred to as *unique* songs, and common hymns which had been adopted and used by schools for this specific purpose. Data which captured individual and ethnographic responses to such songs were collected through three extended semi-structured individual interviews and three anonymised online surveys involving approximately 280 pupil and staff participants. These responses and their associated songs were analysed within three distinct case studies, two of which utilised a novel framework developed during the research project.

Aims and Objectives

Research Aim

This research aims to understand how independent senior school songs create identity through shared musical experience. To explore this aim fully, it was necessary to accomplish three objectives. These were:

1. To advance understanding of the historical emergence, development and use of independent senior school songs.
2. To compile a comprehensive collection of independent senior school songs from a variety of independent school types and record salient compositional details in an appropriate format.
3. To investigate the ways in which independent school songs may contribute to the creation and maintenance of identity through shared musical experience for individuals and communities.

Research Question and Subquestions

The primary question which this research seeks to answer is 'Do independent senior school songs create identity through shared musical experience?' This question specifically addresses the research aims; it was necessary to develop subquestions to focus upon specific facets of the principal question to establish measurable research objectives. The subquestions are therefore as follows:

1. What is the general function of a school song within UK independent schools and has this changed over time?
2. How, and to what extent do school songs contribute to UK independent senior school identity?
3. How does the textual or musical alteration of a school song revise the identity of the song, with specific focus on addressing colonialist and other sensitive content?
4. What measures are employed by schools and/or school archivists to store and preserve songs across multiple generations?

Objectives

My first research *objective* establishes the historical development of independent school songs and their positionality within music education between 1840-1900. This

will provide information necessary for answering my principal research question and subquestion 1. To achieve this, it was essential to examine existing literature and identify gaps in the field.

Establishing the pedagogical positionality of the composers of independent school songs and the role of those songs within music education required a review of historical UK governmental attitudes and approaches towards music education. From this literature emerged evidence of conflicting attitudes regarding the genre of the songs selected to be used in educating state school pupils. Additionally, this conflict was also evident amongst the methods by which the songs were to be taught. Such opposing positionalities may be seen between figures such as John Hullah and John Curwen[3], who illustrate such tensions in pedagogical approach, and John Stainer and John Farmer, who disagreed on the genre of singing repertoire for pupils.[4]

To fulfil the second research Objective, it was necessary to collect independent school songs as this had not been done in a meaningful way since Ewart's anthology (Ewart, 1969) or in a way which supported analysis of the artefacts themselves. Within this research this was primarily achieved through generating an email contact list of schools which met the criteria of this study. This was achieved by utilising the independent schools Council website (ISC, 2022). Other methods employed to achieve this *objective* included identifying and examining online sources such as school websites, YouTube, SoundCloud, Old Boys'/Girls' associations and online PDFs of school speech day programmes. Physical copies of school song books and school song anthologies were investigated to provide additional data whilst compositional data from the collected songs were compiled in an Excel workbook to facilitate organisation and future data retrieval.

The third research *objective* requires the analysis of not only the collected songs but the attitudes towards those songs from the communities that taught and performed them.

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[3] John Hullah being the first government appointed inspector for music (1872-1882) and promoter of a *Fixed-Doh* training method first established by Wilhem in Paris, whilst John Curwen promoted the *Moveable-Doh* method which he derived from Sarah Ann Glover's *Norwich Sol-Fa Method*.
[4] John Stainer was the second government inspector of music (1882- 1901) and favoured Folk songs whilst John Farmer, Music Master of Harrow (1862 -1885) favoured nationalist songs.

This analysis generates further data necessary to answer subquestions 1, 2 and 3 but moreso is essential in answering my principal research question.

To achieve the third Objective, it was necessary to first evaluate whether existing analytical models were appropriate for generating data which sufficiently answered my research question. It was necessary to undertake semi-structured interviews with individuals identified as *Privileged Participants* or *Complete Member Participant*.[5] It was then possible to collect and interrogate individual responses to independent school songs. Further data was collected through the completion of online surveys by staff and pupils which generated both communal and personal responses which were used in fulfilling aim 3.

These data, and data gathered from observing performances and rehearsals of school songs, were analysed using the newly developed framework to answer the principal research question and subquestion 1.

Having outlined the research aim, objectives, and research questions, Table 1 summarises the relationship between these components and demonstrates how each research question contributes to addressing the overall aim of the study.

[5] These terms are explained fully in 4.2

Table 1.Research aim, objectives and questions

Research Aim	**Research Objective**	**Research Question/Sub-question**
To understand how independent senior school songs create identity through shared musical experience.	**Objective 1:** To advance understanding of the historical emergence, development and use of independent senior school songs.	**RQ1:** What is the general function of a school song within UK independent schools and has this changed over time?
	Objective 2: To compile a comprehensive collection of independent senior school songs from a variety of independent school types and record salient compositional details in an appropriate format.	**RQ4:** What measures are employed by schools and/or school archivists to store and preserve songs across multiple generations?
	Objective 3: To investigate the ways in which independent school songs may contribute to the creation and maintenance of identity through shared musical experience for individuals and communities.	**RQ2:** How, and to what extent do school songs contribute to UK independent senior school identity?
	Objective 3: To investigate the ways in which independent school songs may contribute to the creation and maintenance of identity through shared musical experience for individuals and communities.	**RQ3:** How does the textual or musical alteration of a school song revise the identity of the song, with specific focus on addressing colonialist and other sensitive content?

As above, each research question addresses a distinct aspect of the overall research aim. Together, the questions facilitate an examination of the historical development, preservation, and contemporary functions of independent senior school songs, as well as their role in creating and maintaining identity through shared musical experience.

Fragility of Works

Before undertaking this research, I was acutely aware of the fragility of independent school songs and how easily they may be lost. A few years into my second director of music appointment I was contacted by a colleague from my first school who had been asked by an Old Boy (past pupil) for a copy of the music for the school song, however none were to be found. I was asked if I had kept a copy of the song and if so, could I please provide them with it. I had indeed retained a copy of the song which I provided, ensuring its continued performance. My successor at that school had considerably different musical tastes to my own and had removed all copies, perhaps feeling the Latin text and 19th century hymn-like melody were no longer appropriate for modern pupils. It was this experience which informed my fourth subquestion 'What measures are employed by schools and/or school archivists to store and preserve songs across multiple generations?'

This led to deeper considerations of the extent to which other songs had been lost due to changing musical tastes, changing cultural sensitivities around colonialism and racism or school closures and why these songs had not been collected and preserved as a corpus. My curiosity was piqued further when, shortly after joining Stowe and considering my research topic, I enquired about whether the school had a school song. I was informed that there had been one, however it had been 'retired' and lost almost a century ago. It was believed that it had been deemed inappropriate and unsuitable for use, and so the hymn *Jerusalem* (Parry, 1916) was performed in its place. As such, the song was thought to have been lost around a century ago and correspondence relating to its composition was stored in the school archives. As I discuss in 5.1.1, an examination of the archival material led to the discovery of three school song texts for Stowe and outlined the difficulties the Headmaster, J. F. Roxburgh had in commissioning and establishing the song within the school community. This discovery led directly to my third subquestion 'To what extent does the textual or musical revision of a school song change the identity created by the song?'

It became apparent that it was necessary to address this subquestion through the collection and preservation of independent school songs and their prosopographical details to prevent their loss. As many of these songs only exist in what may be referred to as *grey archives* and are often unknown or inaccessible to those outside of the school community, the preservation of songs would facilitate my own analysis of their text and music. Additionally, this would and support future projects which would be beneficial to schools, educators and researchers in both the state and independent sectors. These data would facilitate my second research aim and assist in the exploration of my first and second subquestions.

Roadmap of Thesis

This thesis is structured in three main sections. Section One establishes the foundation for the study through a review of the existing literature and an outline of the methodological approach used to identify current gaps, most notably the limited scholarly attention given to how communal performance of independent school songs contributes to identity formation. This section also evaluates the constraints of existing song-analysis models, thereby demonstrating the need for, and explaining the development of, the proposed *Etymophonological framework*. Section two presents three case studies, each illustrating how this framework can be applied across different contexts to reveal the cultural, historical, and identity-shaping functions of school songs. Section three synthesises the analytical insights gained from these case studies, drawing together the principal findings and offering conclusions regarding the broader implications of the etymophonological approach.

Chapter 1. Literature Review

The thesis begins with an exploration of the existing literature concerning music in independent schools. The purpose of this chapter is to establish the historical use of independent school songs and situate them within developments to national music education pedagogical praxis. This investigation of the literature will facilitate answering

my primary aim and outline the materials necessary for achieving my second aim. The historical literature examined in this chapter will include government papers, independent school song books and anthologies of songs from both the independent and state education sector. This chapter therefore provides the initial point from which to answer subquestion 1 and review the role of the independent school song over time.

The second part of this chapter interrogates papers which explore the ways in which music shapes identity. This portion of the chapter also examines the notion of musical identity itself. The findings will establish that the current literature does not directly explore the role of shared musical experience and the generation of identity in independent senior schools but that the existing literature does offer pathways to approaching that matter. These findings will be examined and developed to establish a new song analysis framework in chapter 2.

Chapter 2. Methodology

Whilst the literature reviewed in chapter 1 is shown to be essential in answering my first research aim and subquestion 1, the methodology chapter provides the framework from which I will establish the findings to answer subquestions 2, 3 and 4 and subsequently formulate my conclusions.

This chapter outlines the methods used to collect data and conduct rigorous analysis, bringing historical and modern-day perspectives into direct dialogue. The theoretical framework and approaches taken to both the quantitative and qualitative aspects of this research are discussed, and the order in which the data was collected is justified. Here, I outline the way in which I established and organised the database necessary for achieving my second research aim. This database will generate data used in the findings chapter and assist in formulating my conclusions. This will be of particular importance to establishing the answers to subquestions 1 and 3. Additionally, this database will provide information relating to subquestion 4 and the preservation and storage of school songs.

It is in this chapter that I will establish the limitations of current analytical models for use in the context of this research and subsequently propose my own novel framework for song analysis, the Etymophonological Framework. This analytical framework is then used within the later chapters of this thesis, each of which focuses upon a particular case study.

Chapter 3. Limitations of Existing Analytical Frameworks

This chapter is an examination of 5 independent schools, each with at least one school song which is seen as the *dependent variable* within a *Multiple Linear Regression Framework* (Punch and Oancea, 2010) but which offers differing independent variables. These demonstrate the short comings of existing analytical models and suggest what data may have been gathered through using the *Etymophonological Framework*.

Chapter 4. Harrow School Case Study

This case study examines the Churchill songs Evening at Harrow School. Drawing upon an interview with David Woodcock, Director of Music, my own reflections on this event, and the songs and their performance practice. Each element is scrutinised through the Etymophonological Framework. The data from this chapter is later used to address my primary research question.

Chapter 5. Stowe School Case Study

The case study of the Stowe School song begins with an account of the songs commission, as outlined in archival correspondence, to situate it historically and establish why it was retired. The chapter outlines the use of the Etymophonological Framework to guide and evaluate the effectiveness of a reconstruction of a school song, as pertinent to subquestion 3. This chapter also addresses the extent to which identity

can be established across different communities and enables a thorough examination of the communal and musical complexities in play.

Chapter 6. Findings

Chapter 6 will present the findings of the surveys, semi-structured interviews and the three distinct case studies which were informed by the literature review undertaken in chapter 1 and subsequently undertaken using the methods outlined in chapter 2.

The three case studies focus upon distinct facets of independent school songs to fully interrogate my primary research question.

This chapter will therefore outline how, drawing upon findings from the series of surveys and interviews undertaken as part of this research, it was possible to analyse how these songs create identity. From these data it was possible to identify effective ways in which to embed a song within the life of the school.

Chapter 7. Conclusions

This chapter will present my conclusions, informed by the findings of chapter 3, in relation to my sub-questions and primary research question. Following the answering of these questions, I will evaluate the extent to which the research aims have been met, I will outline the limitations of this research and then provide ways in which this research topic may be advanced still further in future projects. My contributions to knowledge, namely the collection of songs, the database and the *Etymophonological Framework* will be presented, and recommendations made for directors of music and independent schools.

1 LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1 UK independent schools

To enable a study of independent school songs it is necessary to present the key differences between independent schools and state schools in relation to governance and pedagogical approach. In 2021 there were 2,345 independent schools in the UK. This accounted for 7% of the UK's total number of schools (British Educational Services Group, 2020) and provided for the educational needs of 8% of the UK school population (UK independent schools' Directory, 2021). independent schools, sometimes known as 'private schools' or 'public schools', are schools which charge fees to those who attend them. However, some independent school pupils may be in receipt of bursaries and scholarships which pay for a defined portion of those fees. Independent schools do not receive funding from the government (Gov.UK, 2021) and as such, an independent school is not required to follow the National Curriculum. The education of fee-paying pupils separates independent schools from other school types such as state boarding schools, faith schools and grammar schools. It is however acknowledged that independent schools may share features with such state schools, including the provision of boarding accommodation, having been established upon a religious foundation and the selection of entrants based on academic performance.

During the 16th century, the number of independent schools in the UK, and particularly in England, grew exponentially to cater for the educational needs of a growing population (Cressy, 1976). Several schools whose songs are of importance to this research were founded during this time and may be seen in the table below.

Table 2. Early independent school foundation information

School	Foundation Date	Clarendon School[6]	Royal Founder	Other information
The King's School Cambridge	597	No		
Westminster School	1370	Yes		Saved by decree of Henry VIII in 1541. Refounded in 1560 by Elizabeth I
Winchester College	1382	Yes		Linked to New College Oxford
Eton College	1440	Yes	Henry VI	Linked to King's College Cambridge
St Paul's School	1509	Yes		Saved by decree of Henry VIII in 1541
Shrewsbury School	1552	Yes	Edward VI	

[6] Being those schools included in the Clarendon Report of (HMI, 1864) which sought to 'Inquire into the nature and application of the Endowments, Funds and Revenue belonging to or received by the hereinafter mentioned Colleges, Schools and Foundations; and also to inquire into the administration and management of the said Colleges, Schools and Foundations'. The Clarendon report is discussed further within this chapter.

Merchant Taylor's School	1561	Yes	Elizabeth I	
Rugby School	1567	Yes		
Harrow School	1572	Yes	Elizabeth I	
Charterhouse School	1611	Yes	Elizabeth I	

The schools shown in Table 2 were founded to provide education for boys only. Despite recommendations regarding the education of girls being published towards the end of the 18th century (Darwin, 1797), the concept did not gain momentum until the publication of the Taunton Report (1868: 548). This report outlined concerns that education for girls in the UK suffered from:

> *Want of thoroughness and foundation; want of system; slovenliness and showy superficiality; inattention to rudiments; undue time given to accomplishments, and those not taught intelligently or in any scientific manner; want of organisation - these may sufficiently indicate the character of the complaints we have received, in their most general aspect.*

The National Union for Improving the Education of Women of All Classes was formed in 1871 by educationalist Maria Georgina Grey in response to the Taunton Report (1868). This society supported enabling the formation of female independent schools in southwest London other areas across the UK. It is from this point in time that independent girls' schools became more prevalent, along with their school songs, many of which are found in a fragmented form in Celia Haddon's book *Great Days and Jolly Days* (1976).

Today, musical pedagogical identity across state and independent schools is disparate and this can be seen to reflect differences in the prioritisation of music education within the two sectors. During the early twenty-first century, a number of initiatives sought to influence music education in England, including *Musical Futures*, *Sing Up* and the wider aims of the *Music Manifesto*. Of these, *Musical Futures* became particularly influential following its launch in 2003 and was adopted by more than 1,000 secondary schools within its first decade (Isbell, 2018). Although supported through the Government's *Music Manifesto* and widely promoted within music education, *Musical Futures* was not a statutory policy requirement and schools retained discretion over whether and how it should be implemented (Heath and Dipple, 2015). Its informal learning approach was found to engage many pupils whose musical interests lay in popular music.

However, concerns were raised regarding this pedagogical approach favouring male learners and not fully challenging students with advanced musical skills or providing accessibility for neurodivergent students (McQueen, 2011). Whilst some aspects of the *Musical Futures* approach such as co-constructionism may be found in independent school music teaching, the approach has not gained a similar popularity in independent schools as in state schools. This may be because of the popular music focus of Musical Futures suiting qualifications such as BTEC Music which is offered as an alternative to GCSE and A Level Music in state schools but are not commonly found in independent schools.

Whilst it is recognised that young people in both types of schools will listen to popular music, it is possible that the perception of pupils preferred musical tastes may play a part in approaches to music teaching and learning in schools and this is discussed in depth later in this chapter. Cook stated, 'Deciding what music you listen to is a significant part of deciding and announcing to people not just who you "want to be"... but who you are.' (Cook, 1998: 5). The same may be seen to apply to music teachers' choices of pedagogical approach and the genres and styles of music explored in their classrooms and promoted in their departments. It is however recognised that an inclusive and engaging pedagogical approach and its associated identity, should be multidimensional and contain aspects of both formal and informal learning as suggested in Partti and Karlsen (2010). In this way pupils are more likely to recognise their ability, engage with and contribute towards musical learning, and as such identify as musicians.

1.1.1 The Purpose of Studying Music

In the first half of the 19th century, singing formed an integral part of musical education in countries such as Germany and France where group tuition was commonplace (Golding, 2017). Music became a compulsory subject in Germany at the beginning of the 19th Century with the German Minister of Education, Wilhelm von Humblot saying:

> *In Germany singing forms an essential part of a good education…it is also considered the most efficacious and indispensable means for improving the morals and developing the taste and understanding of all classes…it [singing] forms a part of every regular system of education; and in schools more especially designed for general instruction, it ranks next to the Bible in importance.*
>
> (Southcott, 2007: 313)

Such an approach was adopted in the UK not only by people such as Sarah Anna Glover, John Curwen and John Hullah who will be discussed shortly, but also within independent schools, albeit not as a distinct timetabled lesson (Parker, 1894).

The literature relating to music education in the 19th century shows a development and use of German influenced pedagogical singing materials by people such as Sarah Anna Glover[7] (Leinster-Mackay, 1981) to improve the standard of singing amongst large portions of the population. The intended purpose of musical study in early to mid-nineteenth-century Britain was similarly focused upon educating the lower classes in morality and character development (Rainbow, 1990). However, this intention and purpose of study was at odds with the independent school communities of that time which consisted largely of the sons of the upper classes. Indeed, Paul Nash comments on older students at Rugby school, who, under the guidance of the Headmaster Thomas Arnold, were 'encouraged to regard themselves as an aristocracy who held in trust the character and moral level of the whole school.' (Nash, 1961). With such elitist views being held amongst independent schools of the time, literature on historical music education (Rainbow 1989, 1990) shows that the purpose of musical study in independent schools was approached differently to state schools. It was through their engagement with the school song that independent school pupils began their musical education (Harrow, 2018).

[7] By 1827, Glover had developed the 'Norwich Sol-Fa' method of teaching singing with the intended aim of improving the psalm singing of children. This method would be expanded upon by John Curwen, without her permission and become popular across the UK. Curwen's influence upon music education in the UK is discussed further in 1.1.5

In the mid-1800s independent schools such as Hurstpierpoint (founded 1835) and Lancing College (founded 1857), both of which were founded by Nathaniel Woodard, along with Llandovery College (1848) founded by Rev. John Williams and Radley College (1847), began 'a new musical tradition' (Rainbow, 1990: 3). This tradition involved centralising music within a school's communal act of Christian worship as a means of expanding musical provision outside of individual instrumental lessons (Rainbow, 1990). Distinct school songs emerged as part of this *new tradition* and became part of the school's musical pedagogical practice.

The historical involvement of musical societies within music education has supported and promoted aspects of pedagogical identity as will be discussed later in 1.1.5. Indeed, John Hullah's *Fixed Doh Method* was endorsed and financially supported by the *Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce* during the 1860s (Golding, 2017) and in 1861 this society supported the 'Hullah Fund' which raised money to support his singing classes following the destruction of St Martin's Hall by fire, enabling Hullah's work to continue. Hullah's 1872 appointment as Inspector of Music in Training Colleges was strongly opposed by Curwen who said 'no-one whose name is publicly known as the advocate of a particular method should be made the judge over his educational antagonists' (Lynch, 2010). Whilst Hullah's fixed-doh method was initially successful, regularly attracting hundreds to his Singing School at Exeter Hall in London, it was surpassed in popularity by John Curwen's *Tonic Sol-fa System* (Rainbow, 1990). Whilst both methods were taught across the UK and had strong advocates across society including in Government, neither system gained a lasting hold in independent schools (Rainbow, 1990).

The use of distinct pedagogies in state schools such as those of John Hullah and John Curwen, as will be discussed in 1.1.5, is a clear difference between the approach to music education and musical experience within state and independent schools where neither were used extensively. Whilst the musical methods of Hullah were well supported by societies and later the government, the funding of music within independent schools however held a far more variable position.

1.1.2 Music Education and Funding

Whilst the perception exists that the arts are well funded in independent schools today, from the early 1800s to the early 1900s it was the state schools who were able to financially support the teaching of music and who benefited from government monies (Lynch, 2010). In *Music in our Public Schools* Louis Napoleon Parker, Director of Music of Sherbourne School references a 'Mr Southgate' addressing the topic in a meeting of the Royal Musical Association where he said:

> *It is in the case of these lower schools there is a musical training provided by the State, and for which education the State pays a sum of £170,000 a year. Properly trained, the children leave these schools carrying away with them a love of music that permeates their whole life. Unfortunately, this is not done in public [independent] schools.*
>
> (Parker, 1894: 111)

This training of state school music teachers and the repertoire they were expected to deliver was subject to the pedagogical preferences of the Government Inspectors for Music and as such the type of songs state school pupils were given access to were restricted. Almost 100 years after John Hullah's drive to embed music within state school education, independent schools remained reticent to include it as a timetabled subject. In 1936, when writing about the place of music as an academic subject in independent schools, John Ivimey said, 'Music has not so far become a recognised subject in any public-school curriculum, and its mere toleration is a matter of comparatively recent history.' (Rainbow, 1990: 261). Ivimey continues by discussing directors of music such as Farmer of Harrow and Parker of Sherborne saying that they 'managed by their zeal and persuasiveness to convince their respective Headmasters that it was time something was done in the way of general music education instead of confining all activity to private lessons'. (Rainbow, 1990: 261). This 'general education' was achieved in no small part through traditions such as house singing and part song competitions which often included the school song. Despite the efforts of Farmer,

Parker and other directors of music, music was still not perceived as a subject worthy of academic pursuit. Parker of Sherbourne commented that:

> *In English schools I fear there is still some of the old feeling that music is a rather despicable art. An old Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, once remarked to me, many years ago: 'Music is a very nice amusement for a man who can't afford to hunt.' That feeling is still, perhaps, represented among us.*
>
> (Parker, 1894: 109)

It therefore became necessary for independent schools to address such attitudes as those expressed above to assist in moving from viewing music as a recreational communal and cultural activity to one worthy of inclusion in the curriculum. Literary works such as those by Rainbow (1989, 1990) and Cox (1992, 1996) show that the way in which directors of music approached this challenge, using the perceived value and status of the music studied within their schools to assist with the creation of school identity and therefore establish music's educational value. A. H. Peppin, Director of Music at Clifton College and Rugby School describes this in 1927:

> *In a school atmosphere which is clean and strenuous and wholesome a general interest in worthy music [emphasis added], and enthusiasm for it, tend to the growth of all that is wholesome. In school atmosphere which is, on the whole, at a lower level, it is quite possible that musical excitement might end in a downward direction.*
>
> (Rainbow, 1990: 145)

It is this change in attitude towards the study of music and how it emerges within historical literature on music education that shall now be addressed.

1.1.3 From Music Appreciation to the Study of Music

Literature on the study of music in independent schools from the mid-1800s until the 1920s (Cox, 1990) shows that music education primarily focused upon *music*

appreciation rather than the academic approach one would find in schools today. H.C Stewart of Tonbridge School (Rainbow, 1990: 77) states:

> *Ask any Headmaster whether he wants his school to be musical, and, if so what he means by musical. Most would answer 'yes' to the first question, not only on the ground around that all subjects should be taught well at their school, but from a genuine appreciation of the cultural power of the art.*

Similarly, Brent-Smith of Lancing College said, 'Musical appreciation can only be obtained by direct contact with music.'[8] (Rainbow, 1990: 87) whilst Paul David of Uppingham School (Crotchet, 1906: 456) explains that:

> *In trying to rouse in boys a genuine feeling for music and to give them a start in the appreciation of it, we must, in my opinion, begin by offering to them works that are simple and transparent in form and harmonies, easy to grasp and not too difficult to execute.*

These historical perspectives are important because they illustrate a distinct approach to music education in independent schools at this time, that of engaging pupils in singing performances and through that contact with the repertoire, developing academic musical understanding both as a means of establishing and reinforcing school culture, but also developing academic musical understanding. Indeed, it was this approach which was the premise upon which Farmer established his house singing competitions at Harrow (Parker, 1894). The importance of singing in educational establishments is further shown in that it was not until 1927 that the Board of Education officially changed the wording of the state curriculum from the study of 'singing' to 'music' (Cox, 2010). Whilst the current literature on music in the 19th century therefore acknowledges the importance of singing in independent schools, these authors do not consider the ways in which communal singing, especially via the vehicle of the school

[8] Brent-Smith and his contributions to the school song corpus will be discussed further in the Stowe School Case study, Chapter 5

Song, may contribute to a sense of shared identity. As such there is a clear gap in the field.

1.1.4 School Songs

The meaning, purpose and intent of school songs and indeed the term *school song* has changed and developed over time. The variance in meaning and the manner in which songs were historically employed within educational settings emerges when examining literature relating to both the independent and state school sectors during the 19th century. There is however no single repository or data source accounting for school song development and the topic has received relatively little attention as a corpus or a distinctive practice which has limited the examination of the tradition as a whole. Instead, evidence is scattered across a range of disparate sources, including independent and state school song books. Additionally, pertinent information on the school song phenomena may be found amidst meeting notes from musical organisations and the personal correspondence between directors of music and those individuals involved in governmental educational reform. When combined, these sources provide literature and data which establish the context for this study.

Independent school songs which emerge during the mid-1800s contain aspects of both nationalist songs and folk songs,[9] and this is especially evident in independent school songbook collections (Harrow, 2018). However, the text of the songs shows that their focus remains primarily upon establishing the identity of the individual school, preserving its history and promoting an associated moral standing or other ethical idea.[10] These themes fall within several broad categories which will be discussed shortly (Ewart, 1969). Individual independent school songs have been likened to national anthems for their schools (Graham, 1933). In this role, school songs may be seen to enable the development and continuation of a shared musical experience which links

[9] Within this research, nationalist songs are songs which speak of a nation within the UK and its heritage. Folk songs being those songs which include aspects of the life and customs of the working class and often have a regional focus to their lyrics

[10] This is discussed in 4.2.2 and in 6.2.2.

generations of pupils within a specific community and physical location.[11] Understanding this history is essential to contextualising independent school songs amongst those used by state schools.

The use of communal singing in state schools was initially heavily influenced by Christian ideas of morality (Golding, 2019). Similarly, communal singing in schools was utilised by the government as a tool to assist with developing 'Patience, temperance, power of attention, presence of mind, self-denial, obedience and punctuality' amongst the general population (Hullah, 1854: 15). These moral principles were achieved through the collection and publication of song anthologies consisting firstly of nationalist songs and later folk songs for specific use in schools. These song styles, their respective repertoire and pedagogical methods of delivery were imposed upon state schools by the first and second government inspectors for music, John Hullah and John Stainer, respectively. The defining characteristics of the songs of such communities as those found in existing literature shall now be discussed.

1.1.5 Government Prescribed Song Types

As shown previously, in the 1800s state schools became the subject of governmentally imposed singing repertoire as a means of developing moral traits amongst the general population such as obedience and self-denial. The repertoire was grounded in prevailing ethical, moralising, and religious conceptualisations and illustrates how aspects of the politics, religion and morality were intertwined during the nineteenth-century. To historically situate the independent school songs corpus within UK education it is necessary to examine the development of state school music education to understand why and how the independent schools chose to develop their own repertoire.

Since the Elizabethan era, the purpose of songs in educational settings has been to morally educate the masses and maintain the social order through the development of

[11] References to local patriotism are found in a large proportion of the collection and are discussed in 6.2.2.2

a broader identity (Golding, 2017). Often, these songs would be collected and entitled 'School Songs' but as time progressed, song collections with 'Cheerful views of industry' (Golding, 2017: 5) were entitled 'Labour Songs'. John Hullah's *Old English songs for Schools* (Hullah, 1873) was a relatively small collection of such songs however the first substantial collection of national songs was compiled by C. V. Stanford (Stanford, 1905) and, similarly to Hullah, was heavily influenced by the song collections of Chappell (Chapell, 1858).[12]

In direct opposition to John Hullah's use of nationalist songs in educational settings were those educationalists who favoured folk songs. This included people such as John Stainer, the second government inspector for music, and Cecil Sharp (Cox, 1990). Whilst more recent academics have argued that the folk music repertoire used by Sharp and Stainer should be considered as belonging to Hobsbawm's 1983 depiction of an 'invented tradition' (Cox, 1990), those writing at the time strongly objected to the 'bacchanalian or amorous nature of many folk songs' being used in schools (Cox, 1990).[13] The preference for teaching folk songs through the oral tradition was at odds with the work of Hullah which had focused upon teaching school children to sing from sol-fa notation, albeit within an unsuccessful promotion of G. L. B. Wilhem's Fixed doh method (Lynch, 2010). These figures may be seen in Table 3.

[12] William Chapell was an antiquarian who studied English folk music, assisted in the formation of folk song societies such as The Percy Society and published 'Popular Music of the Olden Time' in 1858. Chappell was integral to the publications of song collections by Hullah (1866)

[13] The concept of an 'invented tradition' is discussed within the interview with Dr Anthony Wallersteiner (11.2) and the Stowe School case study (5.3.3)

Table 3. Political and pedagogical influences upon state school music

Key Date	Name	Governmental Position	Pedagogical approach	Publications	Other Information
1835	Guillame-Louis Wilhem	NA	Fixed Doh		
1840	John Hullah	Became music inspector at Battersea training institute for teachers	Wilhem Method[14] Literary Tradition Nationalist Repertoire	The Songbook(1866)[15]	
1872	John Hullah	Became government Inspector for Music	Wilhem Method	English songs for Schools (1873)	
1882	John Stainer	Became government Inspector for Music	Folk song Repertoire Oral tradition	A Theory of Harmony (1871) Harmony Textbook (1893)	Removed the study of harmony from music education

[14] This method, named after Guillame-Louise Wilhem, was fiercely opposed by John Curwen who founded the Tonic Sol Fa association in 1853 and published the *Standard Course of Lessons on the Tonic Sol-Fa Method of Teaching to Sing* in 1858

[15] Hullah was encouraged to write this by the music publisher and antiquarian Chappell who had himself published a collections of songs, *Popular Music of the Olden Time* (1858-9)

					requirement (1885)[16]
1901	Arthur Somervell[17]	Became government Inspector for Music	Nationalist Repertoire	Songbook for Schools (1884) The National Songbook (1905)	
1920	Arthur Somervell	Became principal Inspector for Music	Nationalist Repertoire		

[16] Following his departure as Government Inspector for Music, the Board of Education deemed Stainer's system of musical training to have failed.

[17] Studied under C. V. Stanford, (Professor of Composition at the Royal College of Music in 1883). Somervell was the first Principal of the National Training School for Music in 1876 which, after it was deemed an ineffective alternative to the Royal Academy of Music in 1880, became the Royal College of music in 1883 under George Grove.

Towards the end of the 19th century, the Folk song Society became a key component in not only the collection, compilation and preservation of British folk songs but in promoting them as repertoire for use in education. This occurred under the leadership of John Stainer as Government Inspector for Music and was supported by Cecil Sharp (Hirose, 2018).[18] Folk song compilations had been used in state schools previously and in particular, *Old English songs for School*s (Hullah, 1873) which was supported by the antiquarian Chappell. The Folk song Society brought together those who believed that:

> *A nations cultural soul can be found in its folk variously imagined or defined but always including elements of the people, uneducated and therefore unspoilt, transmitting cultural traits through conservative tradition.*
>
> (Hirose, 2018)

Whilst the Folk song Society supported those involved in the collection and promotion of Folk Song, The Music Masters Association, formed in 1902, supported directors of music and those with musical responsibilities within independent schools in developing a network of similar professionals. Prior to the formation of the Music Masters Association, independent school directors of music worked in a less clearly defined role existing on the boundary between school, university and academia. Parker of Sherbourne School spoke on their subject at meetings of societies such as the Royal Musical Association (RMA) to raise awareness of the unique difficulties and isolation they faced:

> *The history of music in public schools only dates back some twenty years, and during that time I have been so busy minding my own affairs at Sherborne, that I have had few opportunities of inquiring into other people's business.*
>
> (Parker, 1894)

[18] Cecil Sharp was a folk song collector whose five-volumed *Folk songs from Somerset* (Sharp, 1905) contained many of the near 1,500 songs which he collected between 1903 and 1907. It was during this time that the British Board of Education introduced traditional folk music into schools.

The above comment highlights the importance of such associations in generating a network. Although it remained limited to male members for many years, in 1952 the RMA expanded to include a 'Parallel list of music mistresses' (Dyson, 1952). However, it is from the meeting minutes of the early years of the RMA (Rainbow, 1990) and in the minutes of other societies such as those mentioned previously that we find further evidence of the struggle within independent schools to integrate music within the academic curriculum. These meeting minutes are therefore important as they show the approaches directors of music took to address this challenge. The two opposing pedagogical approaches to teaching music within state schools, fixed-do and moveable-do, directly informed the decision of independent schools to compose their own repertoire and build song books using individually selected songs which were not limited to a strictly nationalist or folk style. This may be seen in historical literature including governmental reports (HMI, 1868), method publications (Hullah, 1866 and Curwen, 1858), and accounts of directors of music (Rainbow, 1990).

There was a genuine fear amongst middle class musicians of the late 19th century of folk music being lost to industrialisation and to the detrimental effect this loss could have on pupils. This fear can be seen in the following quote from Cecil Sharp, a leading figure in the revival of Folk song collection, who in a letter to Paul Oppe said: 'In music I would bar all modern music and concentrate at first upon British folk songs… It is too risky to give children modern stuff that has not been tested' (Sharp in Cox, 1990: 93). Because of the growing interest in the promotion and preservation of folk song, figures such as Sabine Baring-Gould, Kate Lee and Lucy Broadwood collected and published folk songs towards the end of the century as a means of preserving them (Hirose, 2018).

In 1889, prior to compiling the *National Songbook* (Standford, 1905) which is a collection of short songs taken from each of the four nations within the UK, Stanford said:

> *My proposition is this: that the first effect of education upon the uneducated masses is the development of socialistic and even of revolutionary ideas amongst them. I am inclined to think that the systematic development of art is a lever in the hands of education which if properly applied, will act more powerfully, if less slowly, than any measures of socialistic repression… In music you have at your disposal the most powerful living agency for the refinement of the masses.*

(Cox, 1992: 244)

The *National Songbook (*Stanford, 1905) sought to bring about such 'refinement' through providing a collection of songs to be used in state schools as part of a pupil's musical education. This was done in the hope of the songs reflecting what Stanford believed were the highest aspects of 'English Nature' namely 'Patriotism, self-reliance, constancy in love and friendship, good humour, good fellowship and brotherly kindness' (Cox, 1992: iii). The introduction to the *National Songbook* directs the reader to ensure that the pupil's selection of home nation songs should be learned first and only following this were songs from neighbouring nations to be explored. Stanford suggests that the order for pupils within English schools should be England, Ireland, Wales and then Scotland, but no such suggestions are made for the pupils of the other nations.

Whilst Stanford acknowledges the assistance of the Director of Music at Bangor University College for their 'Selection, explanation and revision of the Welsh songs and texts' (Stanford, 1905), it is unlikely that the songbook would have been widely used in Wales at that time. This was due to a continued reticence in Wales towards using the English language in educational settings which grew out of governmental suppression of the Welsh language (Snell, 1999). However, Stanford's intention for the use of music in schools as an ethical training tool, as had been done by Hullah and Stainer, was clear when he said, 'The children of today will be the men and women of tomorrow, and according to the training of its children, so will the power of the nation be.' (Stanford, 1905).

Therefore, whilst folk song collecting at this time was initially undertaken by individuals, the preservation of folk songs become a collective undertaking through the formation of groups such as the *Folk song Society* in London in 1898 and the *English Folk Dance Society* of 1911 (Hirose, 2008).

1.1.6 Independent School Songs

Whilst some literature on independent school songs exists in the form of books by Rainbow (2010), Ewart (1969) and Haddon (1977), much of the school song repertoire does not exist in a collected or organised manner. This is principally because the songs were physically located in the schools they were created for, and there has been little interest to share these beyond the immediate communities and there is rarely a formal preservation plan for the materials. Some independent school songs, such as those of Harrow School and Eton College have been adopted by other independent schools but this is not a common occurrence. the songs themselves are therefore the primary source of literature for this research. As such it was necessary to undertake my second research aim in order to study them.[19] This research project therefore began with reviewing the songs and information included in Gavin Ewart's anthology *40 Years On* (1969) and identifying those songs which fulfilled my inclusion criteria to establish a song collection.

Ewart's anthology (1969) categorised independent school songs within eight areas which he named:

1. Founders
2. Old Boys
3. Games
4. Local Patriotism
5. Nostalgia
6. Morals and Morale boosting
7. General Moral uplift
8. Joy at the prospect of Holidays

[19] Aim 2. Compile a comprehensive collection of independent senior school songs from a variety of independent school types, recording salient compositional details in an appropriate format.

Ewart (1969) defined each of these categories as shown in Table 4

Table 4 song category definitions (Ewart, 1969)

Category	Ewart's definition
Founders	Honour the founder. He was a good man, and we must try to emulate him.
Old Boys	People of achievement. We must also try to achieve something, however small.
Games	As enjoyment. As not enjoyable but 'character building' (team spirit, perseverance, etc.)
Local Patriotism	Regional pride, the beauty of the landscape etc.
Nostalgia	We are growing old, and it is pleasant to remember our youth.
Morals and Morale boosting	The school as a preparation for Life or as a microcosm (the great world in miniature). Don't disgrace it.
General Moral uplift	Be good.
Joy at the prospect of Holidays	(No definition given by Ewart)

Ewart's anthology does not relate songs to categories. However, Ewart's approach of independent school song categorisation would become a starting point for this research. These categories are expanded upon in the methodology chapter (2.2.1) and utilised in the coding of song text later in this thesis (6.2.2)

The earliest independent school songs were written with the intention of being performed by the school community and over time these performances became linked to communal musical experiences and traditions within their schools. Such songs may be seen to emerge in 1843 with *Carmen Carthusianum* by Charles Horsley of Charterhouse School and individual school songs quickly became a distinguishing feature of independent schools. By the 1880s, the existence of school song collections (Harrow, 2018 and Thring, 1887) show a tradition had established whereby the Headmaster or headmistress of a school would write the lyrics for a school song and the director of music or other important musical figure with some connection to the school would compose the melody (Harrow, 2018). Directors of music such as Paul David who wrote *Ho, Boys Ho!* for Uppingham School in 1850 became important figures within their schools and are still celebrated today in their school communities. Commenting upon a performance of the Uppingham School song in 1873, Edward Thring, Headmaster of Uppingham wrote in a diary entry that 'Never before in England has such a thing happened as a great school having its own music in this way and rising with it. The zeal of the boys was wonderful.' (Crochet, 1906: 452). Although the 'Never before in England' claim is factually incorrect, it represents the pride in the assertion that Uppingham was the first school in England to have 'its own music', scores and historical literature relating to music in independent schools (Cox, 1990). Collected scores however clearly show that Charterhouse, Llandovery College and other schools had songs at this point. Thring's view however clearly demonstrates the importance placed upon independent schools having their own distinct repertoire and its perceived value to the community who performed it. What is of importance to this research is the explicit tie to a schools ownership of that musical material with which to mediate a sense of identity and communal belonging.

Whilst an increasing number of independent schools had a single, bespoke school song by the late 1800s, some larger and long-established independent schools, such as Uppingham, Harrow and Sherbourne had several unique songs which were compiled into a school song book. These unique songs were often included in the songbook with other non-school songs which had been selected by the director of music . This served to expand their songbook repertoire and support communal singing. Such books are of

extreme importance to this research project (as may be seen in 4.2.1) and their being situated within the field of the independent school song tradition and the field of educational songs of the nineteenth century.

Independent schools sought to separate themselves from the songbooks and repertoire being used in state schools through the development of their own unique school song books (Cox, 1992). This shows a growth in the popularity and importance of independent school songs from Thring's previous quote. Indeed, by the early 1920s, the content of these song books would be the matter of debate at a yearly meeting held by the Union of Directors of Music, now the Music Masters Association (MMA) (Rainbow, 1990). H. C. Stewart of Tonbridge school explained that:

> *Every school should have its own songbook, containing a few carefully chosen songs of purely local interest, and more, far more, of recognised traditional beauty. There is no lack of such. the songbook should be found in every new boy's first batch of books.*
>
> (Stewart, 1922 in Rainbow, 1990: 80)

Such additional content may be found in many independent school song books of the time, usually in sections such as the 'Frivolia' portion of the Tonbridge School Songbook (Tonbridge School, 1927). The categorisations show that whilst these songs were performed, they were not deemed as important as those school specific songs contained within the main body of the book. However, it is in these additional sections that repertoire from genres which are seen to be problematic today, such as minstrel songs, appear (Tonbridge School, 1927) and the motivation for their inclusion needs to be examined.

In the Tonbridge School song Book, Wood comments that, regarding the Frivolia collection 'Many of the songs in this section have been included not on account of their musical or literary merit, but because they are good marching tunes.' (Tonbridge School, 1927: viii). This quote from Wood suggests an understanding that some of the songs are problematic, however it does not provide a truly insightful answer for why such songs were included. However, as such songs would not be performed today for reasons of

racism and racist or gender stereotyping, the inclusion of such songs within a school artifact provides justification for the inclusion of my third and fourth subquestions as part of this research.[20]

Independent school song books are akin to time capsules, offering an historical insight on values, trends and opinions through the varied categories and styles of songs they contain. They may also be viewed as an attempt by independent schools to further distance themselves from the singular song style focus of the government inspectors for music, Hullah and Stainer (Golding, 2017). Whilst aspects of nationalist and folk songs exist within the independent school song tradition, the corpus is far more eclectic. This eclecticism may be seen in those songbooks used by the school's which were (Harrow, 2018) and still are compiled by the director of music today (Dearsley, 2015).

1.2 Identity

Whilst the literature on independent school music is limited, literature concerning independent school songs even more so, much has been written on the role of music in identity formation, especially in the context of education, including works by Hargreaves (2002), Welch et al., (2010) McPherson (2016) and Stakelum (2013). For the purposes of this study, identity formation is understood as both an individual and collective process through which a sense of self and belonging is formed and maintained. Hargreaves (2002) argues that musical identities emerge through interactions between personal, social, and musical experiences, with music providing a vehicle through which individuals and groups can express and negotiate their place within that community. Similarly, Dalladay (2014) demonstrates that educational experiences shape the understanding of musicality by individuals. Savage (2007) highlights the importance of reflexive approaches to understanding how individuals construct and articulate their

[20] Subquestion 3. To what extent does the textual or musical revision of a school song change the identity created by and song?
Subquestion 4. What measures are employed by schools and/or school archivists to store and preserve songs across multiple generations?

identities. In the present thesis, identity formation is understood as a dynamic process which is shaped through participation in shared musical experiences and through the meanings attributed to those experiences and practices by the individuals and communities who engage with them. The music which pupils perform and are exposed to during their education not only shapes their understanding of what a musician is, but how their skills are measured within this understanding and what is prioritised in formal settings. This is affirmed by the results of Welch et al., (2010) which showed that those pupils with a developed skill in singing but had a more positive view of themselves as a musician and experienced a greater sense of social inclusion. However, it was found that the specialist provision necessary to support developing such vocal skills in pupils is not evenly distributed across the UK (Varvarigou, 2009). It is possible that access will become further displaced in Wales with the introduction of its new National Curriculum (Welsh Government, 2022) which has no specific model for music education in schools and does not have its own discrete learning area for expressive arts. Equally, the *National Plan for Music* (Government, UK, 2022) which sought to establish pathways for all pupils into music, is no longer policy under the current Labour government in the UK though it has not yet been replaced. How these events will impact the provision of, or access to, this specialist provision will not be known for some time and so is outside the scope of this research. However, to situate the independent school songs as vehicles for identity it is necessary for this research to examine if similar disparity of provision occurred historically.

1.2.1 School Identity

28% of the songs collected during this research were published by schools between 1840-1900. These 60 years contain significant events pertinent to this research, namely the start of educational reform regarding music teacher training (Cox, 1992), the Clarendon Report (1864) and the appointment of John Hullah as the first government inspector for music in 1872, as previously outlined in Table 3. It may therefore be considered that in becoming more popular and widely available during this period, school songs became differentiating factors between independent and state music

education. The emergence of independent school repertoire during this period therefore provided a clear alternative to the homogenic repertoire used in state schools in England and its intended purpose of character reform (Cox, 2012). School songs from Wales however, both state and independent, need to be considered somewhat differently to understand underlying assumptions and so this is addressed here first.

The standardisation of education across the UK, and particularly the publication of *The Revised School Code* of 1862 (Arnold, 1862) had a significant impact on school identity within Wales where it became mandatory for schools to teach through the medium of English (Jones and Roderick, 2003). This had a direct impact upon independent school songs which were written in Welsh.[21] Prior to this period, many small independent schools were opened in Wales to provide parents with nonconformist religious alternatives to schools founded by the Church of England (Jones and Roderick, 2003).[22] These nonconformist independent schools were assisted in part by the formation of the Cambrian Education Society in 1846 and a direct response to some 80 schools established across Wales by the British School Society (Jones and Roderick, 2003).

Within the UK, a Scottish or Welsh pupils' musical identity may be subject to additional national influences in addition to the type of school they attend, as discussed by Hamilton (2002). Here, a musical identity may be closely tied to a sense of patriotism and the songs sung may establish this identity further. The works of Knight (1926) and Jones (2003) show that this relationship was especially important in Wales during the second half of the 1800s where the language of the song sung is of great pedagogical, religious and cultural significance.

By the mid-19th century, over one and half million children across the UK were educated within Sunday schools (Snell, 1999). Whilst Ysgolion Sabothol, or Sabbath Schools, emerged later in Wales than in England they may be seen as a continuance of the peripatetic Welsh Charity Schools established by the Reverend Griffith Jones shortly

[21] At present only one Welsh language school song has been discovered, that of Whitland Grammar school, Carmarthenshire which was composed by William Matthias in 1945. It is highly possible that more were composed however the fragility of the corpus is such that physical copies are likely lost.
[22] One such school formed slightly later than the Revised School Code was Dr Williams' School for Girls in Dolgellau which is discussed further in 3.3.

after the 1730's where communal singing was central a central feature of the movement. Communal singing, similar to that of historical Ysgolion Sabothol (Snell, 1999) and also house singing competitions established by John Farmer in the mid 1860's (Harrow, 2018), is found today in Welsh schools in the form of the school Eisteddfod. This annual competition takes place around March 1st and is a replication of the annual National Eisteddfod competition established in 1861 (Jones, 2003). Welsh pupils will also compete, both individually and in groups, at the Urdd Eisteddfod, which was established in 1929, although participation is more common amongst Welsh medium schools.[23] By 1946, almost a quarter of the population of North-East Wales were attending Sunday schools and they were regarded as being 'a chief centre in the religious life of people and custodian of the national language and ideals' (Snell, 1999). When the Welsh language was supressed by Governmental education reform, Welsh hymn singing provided a way for communities to retain and foster their national identity (Wyn, 2011). Indeed, when developing his own pedagogical approach to school singing, Stanford divided songs within his book by nation, saying 'You have two distinct schools [of song] – Saxon and Celtic; and four distinct styles'(Stanford, 1908).[24] As noted, Stanford believed that a pupil's musical education should begin with learning the songs of their own nation before learning those of others. Stanford believed songs to be 'The wholesome aid to patriotism' and this is evidenced by the inclusion of songs in Welsh in *The National Songbook* (Stanford, 1905).

Half of current UK independent schools describe themselves as having a specific religious identity. Of the 1401 independent schools listed on the ISC website (2022), 50% were listed as having a specific religious ethos, a breakdown of which may be seen in Figure 1 which shows the number of schools with specific religious descriptions. In addition, 52% of schools were categorised as 'non-denominational' which enabled schools to self-identify their religious foundation. Here, terms such as 'All Faiths' and 'Non-Denominational' were to be found as were also descriptions such as

[23] This being a school which delivers the curriculum through the medium of the Welsh language.
[24] These four styles are each of the four nations.

'Catholic/Interdenominational' and 'Church of England/Interdenominational'. The figure below recorded the first identifier used by a school on the website.

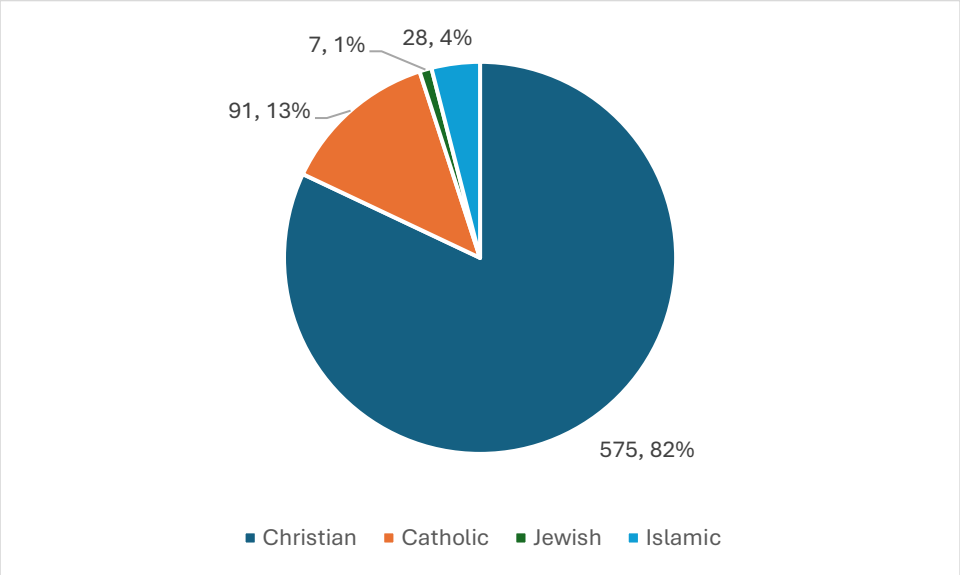


Figure 1. Religious status of registered UK independent schools (ISC, 2022)

A religious or spiritual identity therefore remains an important aspect of a school's identity today, as it was in the 19th century. Literature discussing religious identity and independent school songs includes correspondence taken from independent school letters. One such letter from A.S.M. Baker was printed in *The Shirburnian* (1927), the magazine of Sherbourne school, when it was announced that the school hymn would no longer be performed stated:

> *We believe further that part of the 'religion' of a Public School Boy is love for and loyalty to his School, and we should probably be justified in saying that human nature has demanded some sort of hymns for its religious expression, and that the best School songs are in this respect both a need and a satisfaction.*

The religious identity of an independent school in the mid-19th century reflected the trend of working class and lower-class people being educated through the Sunday school movement (Snell, 1999). The success of the Sunday school movement was described thusly by Frank Smith:

> *The growth of Sunday Schools … is a phenomenon in the history of education which is without a parallel … they performed the gigantic task of assembling together, under some sort of discipline, the majority of the children of the poor, and of giving to them some notions of behaviour and some ideas of religion.*
>
> (Smith, 1931, cited in Snell, 1999: 122)

19th century government education reforms moved the education of working-class people away from churches and religious organisations. Instead, this was placed under parliamentary control, whilst independent schools were able to continue as before. Congregational singing practice in the school chapel occurred not only in independent schools such as Wellington College but also as a part of other academic lessons as described by the Headmaster of Oundle School who said:

> *Naturally, singing is the prime instrument in teaching music and developing the music capacities, and it can easily be provided for in schools. There is class singing in the Junior School, say, twice a week; There is also singing needed in modern languages, in French, German, Spanish, Italian, Russian one period of language per week for the young boys, with phonetics.*
>
> (Rainbow, 1990: 213)

The comment above shows that in addition to the spiritual and community building aspect of group singing mentioned earlier there is another distinctly academic application of the activity. This academic application may be juxtaposed with the use of group singing as a means of social moral refinement for state school pupils and adults, and even as a means of rehabilitating prisoners and those in asylums (Golding, 2019). Whilst there is therefore evidence in the existing literature recording the importance ascribed to singing activities in educational settings, the specific role of the independent school song within this field is not discussed. As such my research aims to address this gap.

Whilst each independent school has its own unique and distinct identity, since the 1860's 'groups' of independent schools have formed amongst the varied population of

independent schools to provide members with opportunities for networking and professional support. The Rugby Group and Eton Group of schools consist of schools who are members of the Head's Conference (HMC, 2022). The Rugby Group formed first, and its members are boarding schools, the Eton Group being established shortly afterwards and including day schools. Member schools of both groups were discussed in the *Clarendon Report* (HMI, 1864) regarding the use of finances, management practices and buildings. Although the *Clarendon Report* did not investigate the day school members, the conclusion of the report offers interesting commentary regarding the perception of identity both created and maintained within the school's which were investigated:

> *It is not easy to estimate the degree in which the English people are indebted to these schools for the qualities on which they pique themselves most – for their capacity to govern others and control themselves, their aptitude for combining freedom with order, their public spirit, their vigour and manliness of character, their strong but not slavish respect for public opinion, their love of healthy sports and exercise*.
>
> (HMI, 1864)

Whilst independent schools may have had fewer formal professional relations with each other, historical accounts of independent school meetings such as those discussed in Rainbow (1990) demonstrate that the more established schools, such as those in the Clarendon Report, did maintain contact with each other and called upon each other for support.[25] Today other groups and school organisations may be found within the independent school population today. These include Woodard Schools (Woodard, 2022), Round Square Schools (Round Square, 2022), Cognita, Alpha Plus, Girls' Schools Associations and the Girls' Day School Trust. Schools within these groups and organisations retain their individuality but conform to an overarching pedagogical or spiritual approach to education.

[25] This may be seen in the Stowe School Case Study where Headmaster J. F. Roxburgh asks the precentor of Eton College for assistance with the school Song, the melody of which was written by a colleague, the Director of music at Lancing College. Further working and educational links are shown in Figure 51

1.2.2 Pupil Identity

The potential for music making to be a valuable aspect of lifelong learning was highly regarded in independent schools such as Clifton College. Here pupils were encouraged to engage with music through instrumental lessons and house music competitions, whatever their ability (Rainbow, 1990). Samuel Peppin (1905: 46) offers an illustrative example of this, stating:

> *Unison 'house singing' of the type which he [John Farmer] invented has been an institution at Clifton for a dozen years. The good-fellowship and good feeling which are promoted by all singing together, whether they have voices or not, do not cease with the moment, but are a permanent influence making for unity.*

The recognition of the role of music upon an individual's educational identity was a point of contention and even fear for some 19th century educators and musicians. Such an opinion may be seen to be expressed by C. V. Stanford, who in an address to the London Board Schools in 1889, said:

> *My proposition is this: that the first effect of education upon the uneducated masses is the development of socialistic and even revolutionary ideas amongst them... I am inclined to think that the systematic development of art is a lever in the hands of education which if properly applied, will act more powerfully, if less slowly, than any measures of socialistic repression.*
>
> (Stanford, 1908: 244)

Stanford therefore illustrates a view of music, and especially songs, as being an important tool for developing a pupil's academic identity towards the end of the 1800s.

The educational policy reforms of the 18th century, especially in relationship to music, were intended to influence how pupils viewed themselves as citizens (Rainbow, 2006) as shown below.

Table 5. Governmental reports and education acts

Date	Name	Focus
1861	Clarendon Report	The finances, buildings and management of Clarendon Schools (boarding schools only) which included • Charterhouse • Eton • Harrow • Rugby • Shrewsbury • Westminster • Winchester
1861	Newcastle Report	The use of public money by schools
1868	Public Schools Act	Gave autonomy to the governing bodies of the schools in the Clarendon report who no longer had to educate scholarship students as per their original charters. Furthermore this Act removed the schools from direct involvement from the crown, the church of England and the Government.
1868	Taunton Report	Investigated the remaining endowed grammar schools not covered by previous investigations and reports.
1869	Endowed Schools Act	Following the Taunton Report, the Act promoted a more organised national system of secondary education. It removed the requirement for grammar-school teachers to hold a Church of England teaching licence, thereby reducing direct church influence over teacher appointments.[26]

[26] In this year Edward Thring of Uppingham held the first meeting of headmasters from schools who considered the Endowed Schools Act as a threat to the future of their schools. This meeting continued yearly and exists today as The Heads' Conference.

1870	Education Act	Established school boards to create a fairer distribution of schools across the UK, required children aged 5-10 to attend school and placed the cost of education onto the government. It did not however remove the involvement of churches in the provision of state education

These reforms and acts, whilst establishing some new practices, also enabled the continuance of public policy positions on music education that could be traced back to the Stuart period some two centuries earlier. These early policies on education containing references prompted responses such as one recorded at a meeting Coventry in 1628 where an unnamed school trustee said, 'This school is a free grammar school, for the teaching of grammar and music unto the children of all the free inhabitants within this city and the inner liberties thereof.' (Cressy, 1976).

The approaches to music education at independent schools such as Uppingham, Radley and Harrow in the mid to late 19th century focused on providing students with access to concerts and performances of classical music (Rainbow, 1990). Raffe (2007) suggests that education and training policy has become progressively less inclusive in the modern era when regarding the needs of pupils, providing little time for teachers to be involved in the policy making process or to implement suggested changes. This inundation of policy changes during the 1800s may be seen to be detrimental to pupils' musical identity because of the shifting perception of music as a subject within schools as noted by McQueen (2010) and Hallam (2017). That independent schools do not have to implement these policies, or their changes may therefore be beneficial to those pupils who attend such an establishment.

A pupil's identity is to some degree influenced by their academic environment as discussed earlier, but in addition to the school environment their home environment and the educational perspective of their parents is also an important factor. The movement from the home environment where individuality is valued to a school environment which may require conformity to lesser or greater degrees may interrupt a student's concept of self and their identity (Rosenholtz and Simpson, 1984). The

literature of Rosenholtz and Simpson therefore encourages a review of the song text to see what role the concepts of ‘home’ and ‘parent’ play within the independent school song. This is discussed in 6.2.2.2 where these aspects become sub-categories of the song categories presented earlier in this chapter.

Parental attitudes towards music education have changed over time. H.C. Stewart of Tonbridge school states that 'The ‘Parent’ meanwhile, votes for the school where they make satisfactory music but no fuss about it' (Peppin, 1927, reprinted in Rainbow, 1990: 127). This sentiment is also found expressed by the English musicologist A. H. Fox Strangways (Rainbow, 1990: 108) and as such suggests an historical parental acceptance of pupil participation in musical activities whilst not wishing for it to overshadow other involvements. Literature such as that by Hallam and Creech (2010) show that these views have changed in a positive way and parents now value musical activities and study to the extent of it being a selling point for schools. In Fitz (1997) a teacher from a girls’ grammar school explains that they feel their 'high proportion [of instrumental lessons] … attracts parents, particularly from outside the city limits.' Fitz later states:

> *We are not surprised that Latin and Music figure prominently in the way the schools seek to market their reputations…These are subjects likely to be of interest to middle-class families seeking out schools which provide something corresponding to traditional notions of a good education.*
>
> (Fitz, 1997: 10)

Here, it is interesting that the parent equates music and Latin as hallmarks of ‘traditional notions of a good education’ whilst the literature discussed previously shows that historically this was not the case for Music. This quote therefore demonstrates that there is an underlying tension between music as something which is done, music as a profession and music as an academic subject and this illustrates how perceptions of the value of music education have changed over time.

1.3 Shared Musical Experience

If the intended role of the school song was to influence the identity of the school community, as literature on historical music education shows, then this is only achieved through the song's communal performance. As such, it is important to examine literature regarding the subject of music education and identity formation. In discussing the development of identity through choral performance and rehearsal, Elizabeth Parker says 'In all studies, music-related decision making engendered shared music knowledge and meaning. Music was the medium by which self-identity was constructed.' Parker continues 'Authors of studies exploring meaning have posited that music making is socially integrative and acts as a vehicle for self-development.' (Parker, 2014: 19). These comments reflect the observations of Hullah and Stainer (mentioned previously in 1.1.5) although their intention was for the musical education of working-class pupils and adults to develop specific morals and behaviour. Parker's research showed that self-development may occur through emulating the behaviour of older students within the choir. A student participant from Parker's research comments upon such an influence saying 'You mirror what your role models are. I find myself acting more like the seniors that have passed more than I thought I would have. You look up to them, then you become them, and others look up to you.' (Parker, 2014: 26). This *passing on* of behaviour modelled by older students during communal singing, and those pupils' aspirational role modelling for younger pupils may be found in the historical school song tradition performance practice (Harrow, 2018). This will be discussed in 4.2.7.2 and is evident throughout the text of the songs themselves, such as *You* (Harrow, 2018). [27] Similar ideas on role models may be found expressed by Peppin (Rainbow, 1990: 183) who says that involvement in choral singing, especially as part of a house team for a singing competition, encourages boys to do 'Better than their best' to support their house community.

Pierre Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* includes the embodiment of a culture by a pupil and the culture's role in the development the pupil's identity (Bourdieu, 1973). This is of

[27] For further discussion of this song and the role and influence of past pupils on present pupils, see 4.2.7.3

importance to this research as it provides insight into the role of the school song as part of the school's culture and as such, the *habitus* of a school. Bourdieu comments upon this saying 'Between the child and the world the whole group intervenes…with a whole universe of ritual practices and also of discourses, sayings, proverbs, all structured in concordance with the principles of the corresponding habitus.' (Bourdieu, 1977).[28] An independent school song fulfils these roles and influences and sustains the habitus, having been written to promote the ethos of the individual school through ritualistic performance practices, utilising a school specific lexicon and acting as an anthem for its community. In this situation, the 'whole group' referred to by Bourdieu is the school community and in particular to this research, the communal performance of the song is an *intervention*.

A similar understanding of identity formation is to be found within social constructionism and the writings of Peter Berger who, with Thomas Luckmann wrote that:

> *Identity is formed by social processes. The social process involved in both the formation and the maintenance of identity are determined by the social structure. Conversely, the identities produced by the interplay of organism, individual consciousness and social structured react upon the given social structure, maintaining it, modifying it or even reshaping it.*
>
> (Berger and Luckmann, 1966: 194)

Within this research, the social structure mentioned above is the school and the performance of the school song one of the social processes. Schools are dynamic communities where staff and student communities always change which present opportunities for subtle shifts to take place around the wider institutional perspective. The individual consciousness of each pupil within the structure of the school may indeed influence the continued performance of the song.[29] In the same manner, Etienne

[28] The importance of concordance between the language of a school song, its music and location is discussed further in the methodology chapter 2.2.3.2

[29] For an example of a positive influence see Chapter 4 on the Churchill songs Evening at Harrow. Examples of negative influences may be found in Chapter 5 on the Stowe School song and in the interview with David Woodcock of Harrow (11.1)

Wenger saw identity as being shaped by *negotiated experience, community membership* and as *a nexus of multimembership,* all of which are relevant to this research and understanding how shared musical experience may create identity (Wenger, 1998: 149). In the same manner, Erik Erikson's understanding of individual identity recognises the importance of how a person experiences social interaction within a given communal structure such as a school (Erikson, 1950). However, Erikson, like Berger and Luckmann, also recognises that an individual may resist and even change these communal structures through their involvement with them. Indeed, Pekka Sulkunen comments that 'The habitus is constantly being formed in the daily practices of individual subjects' (Sulkunen, 1982: 109). Of import to this research, Sulkunen's views are evident in the historical references made earlier in this chapter to the incorporation of daily singing practice into schools and also that this praxis continues to this day.[30]

School song books such as that of Harrow (2018), and ephemeral materials such as concert or event programmes (Stowe, 2023) show common features of school song performances. Both historically and currently, school songs are performed at Speech Day or Founder's Day ceremonies (Rainbow, 1990), usually immediately before the national anthem. This often takes place in the school Chapel (Crotchet, 1906). Cox (1990) and Rainbow (1990) further demonstrate that how and when these performances occurred historically differed widely throughout UK independent schools, as did the role of those involved in the performance. This variance remains amongst independent schools today with individual institutional practices and tradition sustaining performance practice modalities. Therefore both the historical and present day performance praxis are of equal importance to answering my primary research question and therefore warrant in depth investigation.

When considering independent school songs as essential literature for this research, significant data relating to the song's performance may be found within individual song scores. It is here that the unique variations between school resources and the musical

[30] An analysis of the relationships between the regularity of a songs performance and the enjoyment of the songs performance by the school community may be found in 6.2.4.1.

ability of its pupils at the time of composition become apparent. Across the collected corpus, some songs were found to be written for choirs of considerable skill (Parker, 1887) others were composed for a soloist with congregational refrains (Shebbeare, 1914), or for unison communal singing (Mathias, 1945). In other cases, the accompaniment of the school song called for a highly skilled organist with orchestra (Ross, 1914), modest piano accompaniment (Harrow, 2018) or a guitar fronted pop band (Sinnett, 2018).[31]

Parker of Sherbourne School viewed the inclusion of a choir, or choral society within a school as being integral to pupils' musical education. Parker advocated that directors of music 'Get everybody into it [the choir] who chooses to come, whether he sings like an angel or squeals like a pig. You want to make music popular, and you can only do it among those who take active part in it.' (Parker, 1894: 100). In contrast to the communal participation focus of Parker at Sherbourne, Eton College is steeped in historical choral tradition through its relationship with St George's Chapel from whom it gained choristers and its recruitment of Walter Smythe from Magdalene College in the 1480s who then sponsored and compiled the *Eton Choir Book* (Williamson, 1997). It is therefore unsurprising that this high standard would be re-established during the mid-late 1800s and continue to the present day. Parker, Director of Music at Sherbourne, acknowledged the quality of Joseph Barnby's choir at Eton whilst referring to the aim of music education's focus upon appreciation saying '…and if he fails in producing a Richter orchestra or a Barnby choir, he will produce what neither of those great institutions could live without, namely an audience that can appreciate them.' (Parker, 1894: 101). This quote illustrates not only the historical attitude towards developing music appreciation in pupils but in the role of communal singing in establishing a continuing cycle of musical involvement in pupils lives during and after school.[32]

In the late 19th century, many of the larger independent schools established orchestras which would be used to accompany choral singing in concerts. The orchestra offered a means of collective musical experience which involved those who did not wish to sing.

[31] W. B. Ross is discussed further in 3.4
[32] Further discussion of this may be found in Chapter 4

Such concerts were recorded by John Ivimey as having happened at Harrow during his time there from 1890, recalling which he said:

> *At the end of term concert- a great feature at Harrow- the singing of the boys was led by 'The school XII' a picked team, accompanied by orchestra and organ. School songs formed the bulk of the program ...'Forty Years On ' - the school national anthem, and 'Auld Lang Syne' always concluded the concert.*
>
> (Rainbow, 1990: 275-6)[33]

Similar orchestral concerts featuring school songs occurred at Wellington College, Cheltenham College, Sherborne and Marlborough (Rainbow, 1990). The orchestras often included those who taught the instruments within the school and other professional musicians known to the school. This served to raise the standard of the orchestra, enabling a school to present works considered standard repertoire for professional orchestras today. Similarly, Dr Edward Thring's appointment of Paul David as Music Master at Uppingham School enabled the school to draw upon David's experience not only as an accomplished violinist who trained in Leipzig but his enthusiasm for the works of Romantic composers such as Mendelssohn whom he knew personally (Crotchet, 1906). The appointment of Paul David had a significant impact on musical life at Uppingham. According to Tozer, David raised both the standard and participation of music within the school and, through his friendship with Joseph Joachim, helped attract leading musicians to perform alongside pupils. (Tozer, 2020)

Of the quality of the Uppingham orchestra under David's direction, George Dyson, past director of the Royal College of Music (1938-1952) said, 'David brought distinguished musicians to set standards for his boys, and between 1865 and 1908 he created the Uppingham orchestra and the Uppingham orchestral tradition, at that time without parallel in any school in the world'. (Dyson, 1952). Whilst an orchestral tradition

[33] This is discussed in Case Study 2, Chapter 4 and *Reflections on the Churchill songs Evening at Harrow* (12)

provided musical opportunities for some students, communal singing was a vehicle by which all students at a school could engage with music making.

Communal singing occurs in most independent schools today on a weekly or other regular basis where the entire community will gather to practise hymns or other songs intended for performance in a service or forthcoming occasion. Samuel Peppin of Clifton College acknowledged the success of communal singing in raising musical standards across independent schools (Peppin, 1928) but this tradition was by then long established. In the early years of Radley College, two and a half hours a day were devoted to 'singing and musical instruction' (Rainbow, 1990: 3). This would not be achievable without the support of the Headmaster and such a level of support is recognised by John Farmer in his school songbook collection, used for the purpose of communal singing. Here Farmer writes 'To the Reverend H. Montague Butler, Headmaster of Harrow School, through whose encouragement singing has become part of our school life, these songs are dedicated'. (Rainbow, 1990: 5).

The historical accounts from independent schools presented here show that the shared experience of the school song is seen to be unique to the members of the school community. Any analysis of a song therefore requires a careful consideration of geographical, communal and pedagogical nuances to establish a full understanding as well as an investigation of the historical and modern context of a song. This research seeks to address gaps in current understanding and can facilitate a deeper appreciation of the unique relationship between school song performance and the creation and continuance of identity and establish if and how this repertoire continues to be part of school life. The methodology chapter which follows will outline those approaches which were taken to investigate this relationship and the rationale for those choices.

2 METHODOLOGY

2.1 Methods

In this chapter I will set forth the methods by which the research was conducted and evidence why these approaches were necessary. As interrogating the primary research question necessitated a mixed methods approach this chapter will, after first presenting the ontological and epistemological philosophies used, discuss the quantitative and then the qualitative research methods employed in this thesis.

2.1.1 Research Paradigm

Westerlund (2019) argues that an epistemological philosophy, in particular social epistemology as defined by Popkewitz (1997) where social interaction and praxis influence knowledge, is useful in 'using and disseminating knowledge by individuals and complex social entities' such as schools (Westerlund, 2019: 504). This approach was suited to the subjective nature of the school song experience as it facilitated the integration of data from individual perspectives into the study of the communal response to the school song phenomena. The exploration of school songs in Nepal undertaken by Treacy and Westerlund (2019) sought to expand upon the questions raised by Westerlund who asked

> *Moreover, if the existence of shared collective values meant to create unity in a school sounds strange, it does raise the questions: Do we not have such collective values in our own country's schools? And if so, how do they manifest through our music education in a time when community perspectives are returning to school curricula?*
>
> (Westerlund, 2019: 507)

Whilst the focus of this research is the role of the school song in creating identity, other aspects of a school shape the reality of the school community, as discussed in the

literature review (Bourdieu, 1973). In this thesis these additional facets are named as the independent variables of a school (Punch and Oancea, 2010) and will be outlined later in this chapter. The epistemological assumption that lived experiences and interactions construct our reality necessitated the exploration of the wide variety of independent senior schools which exist within the UK. It was also important that an exploration of individual cases occurred and the vehicle within which these schools and their variances may most accurately be interrogated is a Multiple Linear Regression Framework.

2.1.2 Multiple Linear Regression Framework

The quantitative aspect of this thesis generated a body of work from which several data sets were recorded including the name of the composer and lyricist, date of composition, operational status of the school, gender profile of the school and analytical data about the music of the song where available. As such it was necessary to organise and analyse these data in a way which accommodated the significant variances between individual independent senior schools. It was therefore essential to examine the occurrences of the dependent variable, the song, within the context of independent variables, those aspects shown in light blue in Figure 2, to identify trends. To accurately reflect the differences between independent schools who participated in this research, as outlined in the literature review (1.1) the data was organised within a multiple linear regression framework (Punch and Oancea, 2010)

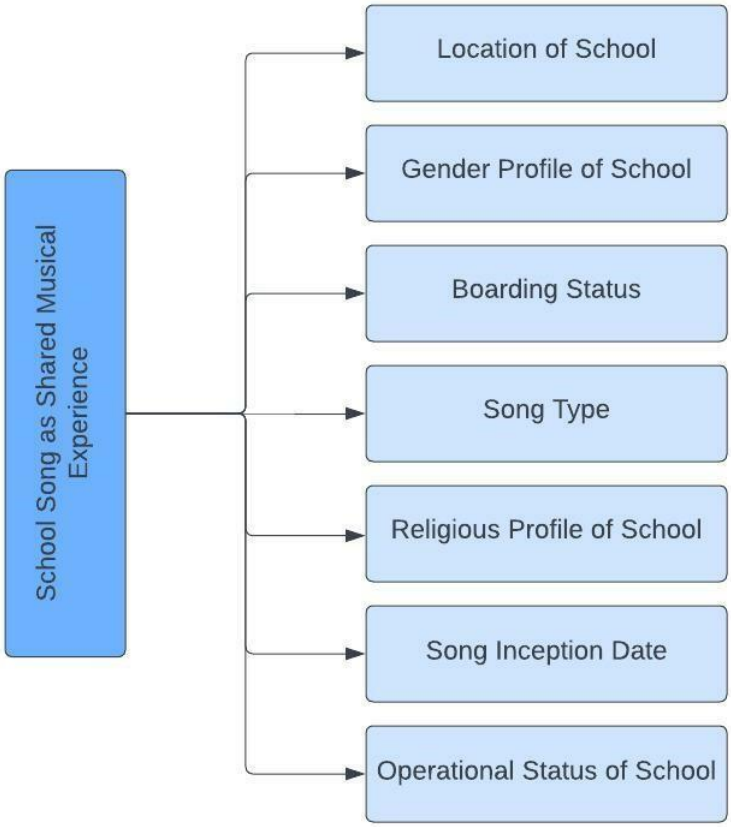


Figure 2. Multiple Linear Regression Framework

2.1.2.1 The Dependent Variable

Within this thesis, the dependent variable is defined as the presence of a school song within a school however it will not indicate whether that song is still in use or performed by the school community.[34] the song may be unique to that school, or it may be a hymn or other song which is not unique to the school.

When defining which schools would be approached to participate in this research, several factors including the age range of the school, its location, religious profile and operational profile were considered. Within this thesis it is recognised that there is a

[34] This may therefore indicate the presence of song materials existing in archival form which will be interrogated through subquestion 4 (see 7.1.1.4) or a song which is performed during the academic year. The dependent variable is categorised thusly for this thesis to support the collection, inclusion and analysis of as large a portion of the corpus as possible.

body of school songs written for Independent preparatory schools which have not to date been collected or examined. My own teaching experience led me to believe that most school songs would be located within secondary schools and so it was there that I focused my data collection. The emergence of repertoire for prep schools during my senior school song collection phase confirmed that to include prep school songs in this research would have significantly expanded the scope beyond what was practical in the context of a PhD thesis. Additionally, the inclusion of prep school songs would have generated data which, through having to be analysed separately due to the different age range of the pupils, would extend the length of the project beyond a reasonable timeframe. There are songs in the collection which are sung by prep age pupils, but this is through the nature of the school being a *through-school* which educates pupils from EYFS age to A Level or another combination of Prep to Senior school age, these age ranges may be seen in Table 7

As there is no centralised database of independent schools, it was impossible to contact all independent senior schools in the UK. It is therefore unlikely that the entire corpus will ever be collected or known, and this necessitates the inclusion of subquestion 4 and an examination of how songs are preserved by schools.[35] the songs collected during this research therefore represent a diverse cross-section of independent schools.

2.1.2.2 Independent Variables

Whilst the general public's perception of independent schools has been shaped by an awareness of schools such as Eton College, Winchester College and Harrow school, the academic profile of pupils, gender profile, boarding status and age of independent schools are far more diverse. For this reason, the independent variables of the multiple linear regression framework are essential in analysing the quantitative data.

[35] The findings of this subquestion may be found in 7.1.1.4 and recommendations arising from these findings are discussed in 7.1.3

Many of the older independent schools in the UK trace their beginnings back to monastic foundations such as The King's School, Canterbury, founded 597, and the Minster School in York who record being founded in 627. A series of schools did however receive a royal charter in the mid 1500's in England and amongst those are The King's School Canterbury (1541), Warwick School (1545) and Sherborne School (1548). A similar pattern may be seen in Wales with schools emerging in the sixteenth century such as Christ College, Brecon (1541) and King Henry VIII School, Abergavenny (1542). In Scotland several schools that are still in operation can trace their foundations to the twelfth century including the High School of Glasgow (pre-1124), Royal High School, Edinburgh (1128) and Stirling High School (1129). However, not all schools are able to trace their educational beginning to earlier periods and schools such as Bedstone College, Shropshire (1948) and Stowe School (1923) are relatively new in comparison.[36] This comparative newness shapes the identity of the school and in some instances results in an *invented tradition* of school history framed within a school song as is discussed later in this thesis in the Stowe School Case Study. Even amongst those independent schools which are considerably older, the education pupils receive today is likely to be considerably different to that when the school was founded by virtue of schools being dynamic institutions which change over time.

There are a wide range of population sizes amongst independent schools in operation today with school communities ranging from 100 pupils to 1500 pupils (ISC, 2023). The influence of other independent variables relating to the school such as its location, campus size and facilities are also important factors in a parent's decision to send their child to a particular school. Historically, independent schools were mostly boys' boarding schools (Rainbow, 1990). However, the change in status of many schools to co-educational over the course of the last 70 years, and the formation of day schools or the provision for day pupils at boarding schools, offers a more affordable and possibly desirable option to parents. As such, independent schools became able to serve pupils living within travelling distance and this has led to an increase in pupil numbers in many

[36] In February of 2025, Bedstone College announced its intended closure at the end of the academic year due to sustained low pupil numbers. A copy of the school hymnal is now in my collection.

schools, making them more accountable to the local communities where they are located then previously.

Whilst some of the older independent schools remain full boarding, the demand for day or flexible boarding options, as mentioned above, has grown in recent years. It is possible that day places have become more popular due to being approximately half the cost of a boarding place. Similarly, the inclusion of VAT on independent school fees in January 2025 may also steer some families towards the *day pupil* option for financial reasons. The pandemic and indeed Brexit have also changed the shape of the boarding school landscape as international pupils have found it more difficult to come to the UK for educational purposes due to travel restrictions and obtaining necessary visas.[37]

2.1.2.3 Perceptions of Independent vs State Schools

There are misconceptions about independent and state schools which are oftentimes drawn from historical facts which are no longer correct. These can centre upon the financial status of the parents and families of pupils in both types of schools as reported in the media (Clarence-Smith, 2023 and Wood, 2024) but which also arise from outdated stereotypes influenced by personal ideologies. As discussed in the literature review (1.1) whilst most independent schools were academically selective during the 19th century, many are no longer so. Similarly, the notion of state schools offering an inferior educational experience is also incorrect. However, the perpetuation of these two views plays a role in the musical identity of each type of school and the echoes of these views continues to contribute to individual and ethnographic understanding of musical identity in school as discussed in the literature review (1.2)

Hansen and Hansen (1991) suggest theories that show not only a link between musical preference and personality, but that this preference is a commentary on their notion of self and their perception of their 'social reality'. A pupil may however express a different preference to that internally felt so to sustain the perceived musical identity of their

[37] The experience of school songs by international pupils in a boarding environment is discussed in the Harrow Case study (4.2.7).

environment (Crozier, 2006). The perception therefore that independent school pupils listen to and perform 'classical' music whilst state school pupils prefer popular music is inaccurate and pupils' musical preferences should be examined beyond such limiting viewpoints. As discussed previously (Identity 1.2) the concept of cultural capital as expressed by Bourdieu (1973) where the school is the habitus which reinforces success or failure, has a significant role in identity formation. The perceived, and perhaps more importantly *reproduced* musical cultural capital of the school is therefore important to its identity, and this can be directly influenced by its school song. The musical identity of each academic environment therefore has an important role in acting as a collative variable which is a stimulus for a pupils 'arousal potential' (Berlyne, 1974) as discussed in 1.3. It should therefore be considered that, as suggested by Hargreaves and North (2006), there is an 'inverted-U' correlation between a pupil's musical preference and stimulus arousal potential, as would be expressed by a Wundt curve (Wundt, 1874). [38]

2.1.3 Mixed Methods

For this thesis I employed a mixed methods approach, namely an explanatory design as described by Punch and Oancea (2010) where quantitative data is situated and expanded upon by qualitative data for fields of research where the established literature base is limited in size. As such, I first collected school songs which were analysed textually and against the independent variables mentioned earlier to produce quantitative data. Qualitative research methods such as surveys and interviews were used in the second phase of this research to gather data from people from school communities. These data would be crucial in investigating and situating the songs within those communities, as demanded by the social constructivist epistemological philosophy. Figure 3 outlines these approaches and their relation to the progression of my research, beginning with song collection.

[38] This idea is examined through data collected from surveys as part of this thesis and is discussed in 6.2.4.1

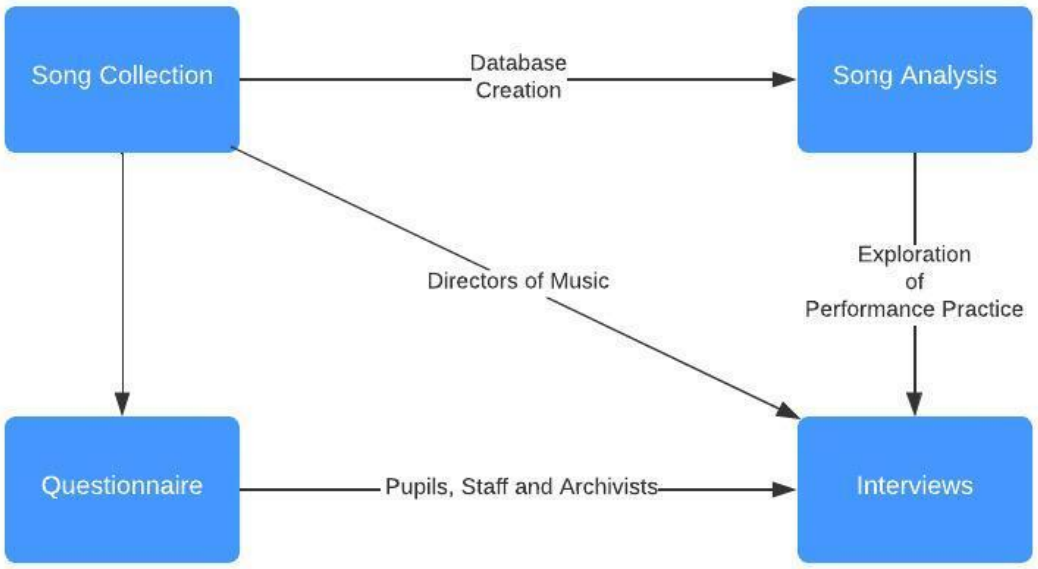


Figure 3. Interaction of chosen mixed methods approaches

Figure 3 illustrates the relationship between the principal stages of data collection and analysis employed in this study. The collection and cataloguing of school songs enabled the creation of a database which supported musical and textual analyses of the collected materials. Findings emerging from this analysis informed the semi-structured interview process, while questionnaire responses provided additional perspectives from pupils, staff and archivists. The inclusion of multiple forms of evidence allowed findings to be examined across different participant groups and data types. Consequently, interpretations were not dependent upon a single source of evidence but could be brought into dialogue with archival materials, song analyses, questionnaires and interview data. This process enhanced the credibility of the findings by enabling areas of convergence and divergence to be identified throughout the analysis.

The first phase of this research focused upon the collection and analysis of independent school songs, including those songs in the public domain, and locating and recording the details of independent school songs which were retrieved from school archives. This collection process informed the representative sample size through schools self-selecting to participate and creating the field of data as such the

responses identified schools for interviews and surveys. My preliminary investigation into the independent school song tradition revealed that the known corpus of school song collections was significantly limited and belonged to independent schools who were firmly established within British educational history such as Harrow, Eton, Sherbourne and Uppingham. Whilst these published school song collections, which I named as the *Genesis Collection* are important, they represent only a small component of the diverse demographic landscape of independent senior schools. Whilst I continued to discover and recover songs throughout the research, the majority were collected in year 1.

The sample of Nepalese schools used by Treacy and Westerlund (2019) was very small, being made up of 5 schools out of 6,000 in Nepal (0.08%). I expected to include songs from around 100 schools across the UK, which would constitute between 7 and 10% of day and boarding schools. However, the response rate was much higher than expected, resulting in a sample that includes songs from some 220 schools. This represents around 15% of the independent schools in the UK.[39] This exceeded initial expectations and suggests that many schools continue to retain and value their musical heritage, whether through active use of school songs or through archival preservation.

To provide as accurate a view as possible, this research sought to sample from a similar ratio of independent school types as currently exists within the UK. At the time of writing there were a total of 765 independent day and boarding senior schools in the UK listed on the independent schools Council website (ISC, 2021). A breakdown of these schools by their gender profile may be seen below.

[39] This figure includes songs taken from Gavin Ewart's book (Ewart, 1969) from schools who may now be non-operational

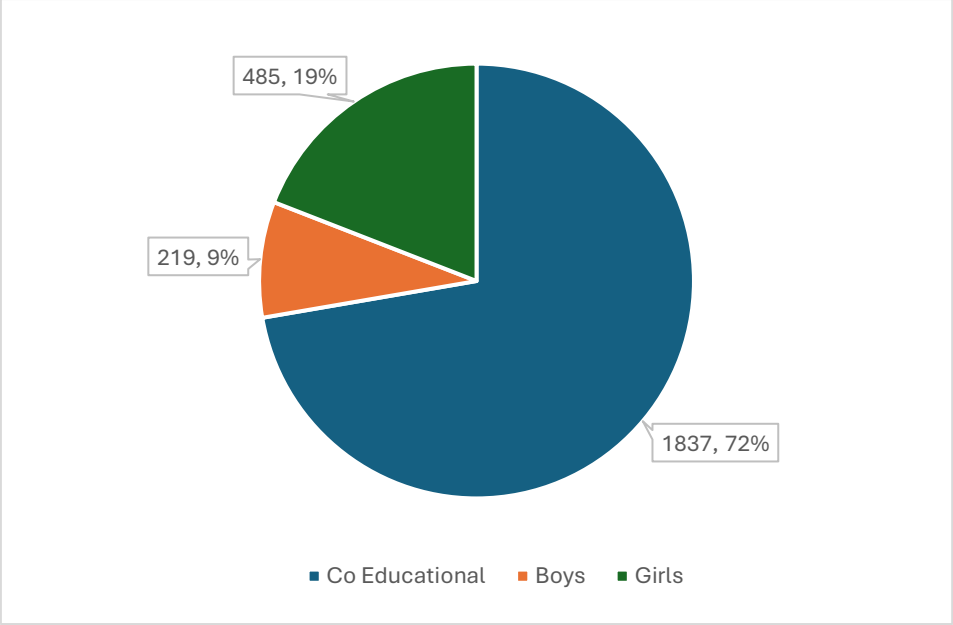


Figure 4. Gender profile of registered independent senior schools (ISC, 2021)

The gender profile of the schools as recorded in the database from information from the song artefacts shows that the gender profile of independent schools shown in the above figure does not represent the historical gender profile of independent schools which were predominantly single-sex until the 1980s. There were exceptions to this, including schools such as Archbishop Tenison's School, founded in 1714 and believed to be the oldest co-educational school in the world and Bedales School which became co-educational in 1898, some six years after it was founded. This change in gender profile is of particular importance to answering subquestion 3 and understanding the influence upon individual and communal identity through the alteration of a songs text.

The gender profile of the 202 schools which responded to my initial request for school songs shown in Figure 5.

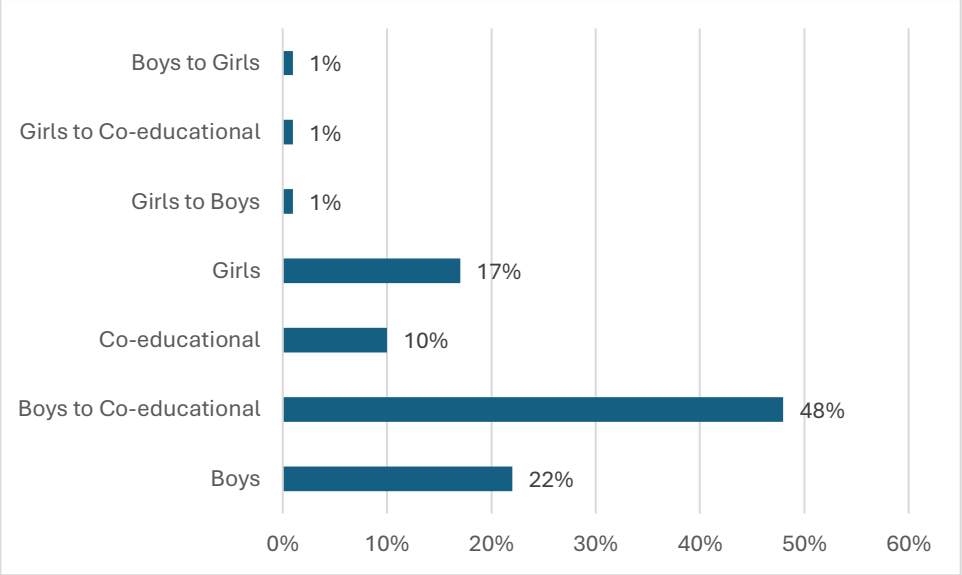


Figure 5. Gender profile of schools included in research generated database (Bryden, 2024)

When these figures are compared to the national percentages of gender profiles for senior independent schools the following emerges.

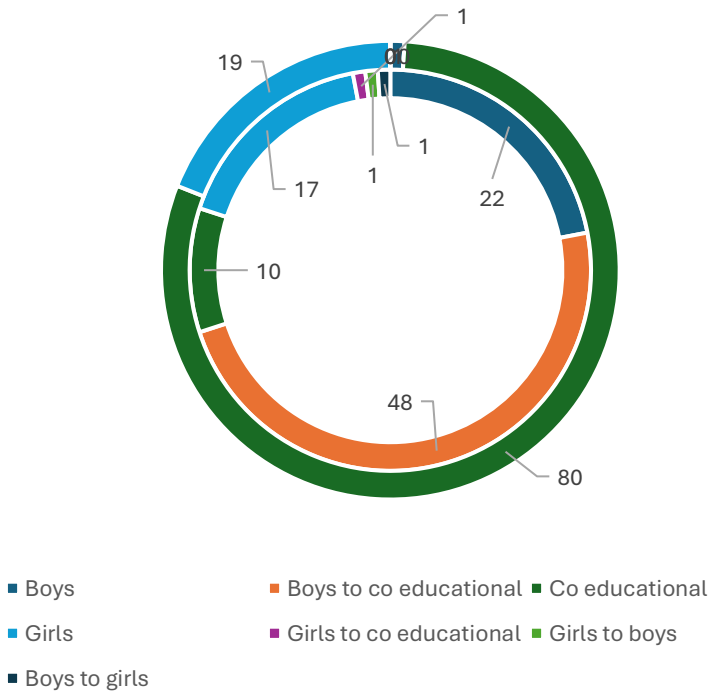


Figure 6. Comparison of the % gender profile of research sample schools and national gender profiles

Here, the national percentages may be found in the outer circle and the sample percentages within the inner circle. The national profiles do not record changes in gender profile and so only show Boys schools (1%), Girls (19%) schools and Co-educational schools (80%). Whilst there is a considerably larger proportion of Boys' schools included in the sample used for this research (10% in comparison to 1%), the percentage of girls schools is similar to national figures and the number of co-educational schools are comparable.

2.2 Quantitative Data Generation

2.2.1 Song Collection

The first phase of the research utilised several approaches to facilitate the collecting of songs from as wide a field as possible and my initial source of reference for independent school songs was Gavin Ewart's anthology, *40 Years On* (1969). Those songs belonging to preparatory schools and songs from schools outside of the UK were disregarded. songs from grammar schools were included if the school had been fee paying when the song was written.[40]

A list was compiled of the remaining schools from Ewart's book and subsequently used in the creation of an initial email contact list. Due to the age of Ewart's book, several schools had closed or merged since its publication and so in these cases attempts were made to contact the new school or members of Old Boy's/Girl's societies.[41]

[40] Many grammar schools in the UK were once fee-paying schools until the 1960s and 1970s when comprehensive schools became the norm. After this point grammar schools would typically become non fee paying but remain academically selective or would become independent schools and continue to charge fees.

[41] The communities of some closed schools, such as The Marist School, London and Dr Williams' School for Girls, Dolgellau were incredibly helpful during the research. In the case of the latter, although after initial contact I was informed that the melody to the song had been lost, former pupils of the Marist School contacted a retired Nun, Sister Magdalen, who agreed to be filmed singing the school hymn. This melody was then transcribed and harmonised by an ex-pupil who had pursued a career as a music teacher and passed to me for the collection. Similarly, I was invited to join the Old Girls association of Dr Williams' School for Girls on Facebook group where members provided information regarding the hymn tune and brought my attention to their website which contained a recording of the final performance of the school hymn at its closing service.

Where those schools had become comprehensive schools or academies, email contact often proved unsuccessful or I was informed that they had been unaware of such a song existing, or that the song was now lost.

In addition to Ewart's book, a book by Celia Haddon, entitled *Great Days and Jolly Days. The Story of Girls' School Songs* (1977) provided commentary on songs from girls' schools. Within this book Haddon provides commentary on 163 girls' school songs. However, this often appears as a few lines of text from each song. There is little cross over between the schools included in Ewart's book and that of Haddon, but there are some notable similarities in the language used in sports songs which will be discussed later in the thesis (6.2.2). Haddon's book lists international schools, junior schools, high schools and other educational settings. After being unsuccessful in contacting any schools other than Roedean school,[42] it was necessary that to remain within my proposed timescale, other methods of song collection were used to generate data collection on girls' school songs as will be discussed shortly. The song extracts included throughout Haddon's text are however worthy of their own research and may offer significant insight into the role of school songs in identity creation within girls' schools.[43]

2.2.1.1 Independent schools Council Website and Email Lists

The ISC website includes a searchable database of operational independent day and boarding schools in the UK (ISC, 2021) which may be filtered by independent variables such as gender, age, boarding status, location and religion. Using filters to refine the search parameters to those specific to this research, the results were used to compile a list of 700 schools, the email addresses of which were added to an excel spreadsheet in three main categories: boys' schools, girls' schools and co-educational schools. When designing the initial contact email for this process, I made the conscious decision to reference my position at that time as Head of Academic Music at Stowe to

[42] In this book, Roedean school had been included by Haddon under its original name of Wimbledon School.
[43] For further discussion of this, see 7.1.4.2

signal to the contact that I was a member of the independent school community. Schools were contacted at a rate of approximately 30 a week and during school term time to maximise response potential.

Each school on the Excel list was shaded blue at the point of contact, those who responded were then shaded green, and emails which were returned as undeliverable were shaded orange with an attempt then made to find a working email address. Having received a limited response from Girls' schools and so I contacted the Girls' School Association (GSA) for assistance. The GSA emailed member schools with details of my research and as a direct result of this several schools forwarded their songs and additional information.

I contacted the directors of music within the Rugby Group of schools and each responded offering information on their song.[44] The Directors of Music for Harrow and Eton were not contacted at this stage of the research as their school song collections were readily available through the public domain.

2.2.1.2 School song Books

When I began this research it was possible to purchase first or second edition school song books such as those of Eton and Harrow from online sources. On other occasions, schools who had been contacted loaned me a copy of their songbook. the song books allowed access to not only a wide range of songs written by the directors of music at each school but, through their inclusion of sections containing compilations of non-school songs, provided a glimpse of other repertoire performed at the school's during that time period. It should be noted that it was these additional portions of the books which were found to include songs with problematic language which was racist, sexist or depicted corporal punishment or colonialist ideas and imagery.

[44] During this initial contact I became aware that there were no female Directors of Music within the Rugby and Eton groups of schools. The landscape and culture is however beginning to change and there are currently to my knowledge three female Directors of Music across the Rugby and Eton Groups of schools, of which I am one.

2.2.1.3 Archivists and SARA

During the collection of quantitative data, the essential role school archivists perform in the preservation and organisation of school song materials emerged. It became apparent that independent school archivists are most frequently found in older independent schools who have their own distinct cultural heritage, such as those within the Rugby and Eton groups, and other medium to large size schools.[45] To reflect the importance of the archivists provision, I modified my contact email to petition the school archivist as well as the director of music in my request for song materials. As a result of one such email, an archivist published my request to the school Archives and Records Association website forum (SARA, 2021). This post generated almost 50 responses and, in some cases, provided songs from schools where the director of music had previously informed me that there was no school song, or that song materials had been lost. The benefits of a good working relationship between a schools director of music and the school archivist, where available, are discussed in my recommendations section 7.1.3.3

2.2.1.4 Internet

Scans of school songbooks such as those of Uppingham and the text of other songbooks such as Harrow and Sedbergh are readily available on the internet. In other cases, school songs may be found listed on the school's own website or a Wikipedia page. Where this occurred, the information was confirmed with the school, where possible, before its addition to the database. As a result of the pandemic, some schools created virtual performances of their school songs (Lucton, 2021) or school hymns or prayer (Garrard, 2020) and posted them to YouTube, making them readily

[45] In this thesis, a medium sized school is one with 500-1000 pupils on roll whilst a large school will have 1000-1500 pupils on roll.

available to the public. In other cases, performance recordings were found on school websites, as mentioned previously (Dr Williams' School Old Girls' Association, 2021).

During this research, internet searches for independent school songs were used to facilitate song collection from encounters at teacher networking events with or chance information from Directors of Music. In one instance, a director of music informed me they had destroyed all copies of their school's original song due to its colonialist text, but they were frustrated that Old Boys would upload scans of the score to the internet to share with other past pupils. Through undertaking an internet search of the songs title I was able to locate one such PDF which was subsequently uploaded to the secure area of my university account and included the data in my database, preserving the materials within my collection.

2.2.1.5 Personal Recommendation

Some of the collected songs were provided by people who wished to make me aware of a song from their previous school of employment. In particular, this happened with two past employees of Downside School who, unprompted, provided me with the school song in addition to their current school song and in both cases the directors of music stated a clear preference for the Downside song.[46] It was through such a contact with another director of music that I was provided with a score for the school song of Whitland Grammar School, written by William Mathias. The song had been found in a cupboard at a different school, but they were unsure how it had come to be there. Recognising the composers name they took a copy and it was this copy which was then shared with me. Through interactions such as this, it became essential to the research to explore this phenomenon of preference preservation further. This would take place within the qualitative phase of this research during the semi-structured interviews, and the archivists survey, the data subsequently informing the outcome of subquestion 4.

[46] As a direct result of these recommendations, I examined the song and decided to include it in 3.6

2.2.2 School Song Database

This thesis argues that school songs assist in the creation, perpetuation and, on occasion, re-imagining of a school's identity. To fully investigate and establish the ways in which school songs intersect with and influence identity, it was necessary to record the salient details of the collected songs in a manner which would facilitate quantitative analysis. A relational database was therefore developed using Excel software to record the collected song data and enable the analysis of individual elements of each song.[47]

The database recorded information relating to the independent variables of the multiple linear regression framework discussed previously in Figure 2. These independent variables are essential factors in the differentiation between schools' demographics which may or may not be explicitly reflected in their songs. Therefore, to interrogate the similarities and differences between songs and their respective schools, the following information was recorded, where available:

- Country
- Gender profile
- Operational status of school
- Religious affiliation
- Song title
- Composer
- Lyricist
- Melody name (where appropriate)
- Date of inception (where known)
- Instrumentation

[47] A relational database enabled the data collected on each song to be examined to determine whether links existed between composers, lyricists, thematic categories and across independent variables.

- Form
- Melodic range
- Key
- Language
- Metre

There are many other factors which may have been utilised as fields within the database, however it was important to ensure that the database remained a manageable, concise and useable tool. The fields chosen were intrinsically linked to my primary research question and sub questions, often being relevant to more than one subquestion in the following way.

In considering subquestion 1, fields such as the country, gender profile, religion, melody, language, melodic range, key and instrumentation offer insight into the general function of the song and how this has changed over time. Of the 220 schools included in the database, 48% are recorded to have changed gender profile from single-sex to co-educational.[48] Such a fundamental change to the school's functional identity should therefore be explored for instances of it being reflected in changes to the school song. An exploration of the fields is also pertinent to subquestion 2, an examination of which will be informed by the findings of subquestion 1.

Subquestion 3 will be informed by fields such as the school's country, date of inception, religion, lyricist, instrumentation and language used. These fields situate the songs within their historical context, acknowledging global events such as the British Imperial century, abolitionism and world wars. These historical events may prove to be additional influences upon a song, occurring externally to the school but impacting its region, providing further insight into the climate within which they were composed.[49]

[48] This is discussed previously in the literature review 1.1
[49] An example of this may be seen in Figure 51

Subquestion 4 is directly related to the findings of subquestion 3 with both positive and negative outcomes. Where schools, school archivists or directors of music have taken steps to address sensitive content, songs may have been archived or destroyed. The operational status of the school is also prevalent here and may indicate national changes in educational practices such as the abandonment of grammar schools and the tripartite system by England and Wales between 1965 and the mid 1980s (Pischke, J. and Manning, A. 2006).[50] Many of the examples of songs from schools that are recorded on the database as now closed were derived from Ewarts anthology (Ewart, 1969).

The song 'type' was initially recorded using wording from Ewart's categories. However, in building the database it soon became apparent that in contrast to Ewart's statement that the school song categories were '…as one would expect, fairly restricted' (Ewart, 1969) they were widely varied and highly nuanced. This is potentially because of the larger collection of songs which informed the database in comparison to those included in Ewart's anthology and this database having been drawn from a more diverse range of schools than was readily accessible to Ewart. To support this larger corpus of works some terms were altered, one such example being 'Local Patriotism' which was changed to 'Regional Pride'. The term 'Local Patriotism' was used by Ewart defined the category noting a songs specific reference to 'the beauty of the landscape'. However, 'Regional Pride' better evoked the notion of the *local* landscape and its potential geographical influence upon the school whereas 'Local Patriotism' suggested more militaristic sentiments.[51]

The songs included in Ewart's anthology (1969) contained thematic elements from more than one category and as the collection grew this trend continued. To explore this fully, following the completion of the song collection phase, textual coding was undertaken using Nvivo software to identify these themes within songs via coding. This textual coding facilitated an analysis of thematic occurrences against the independent

[50] One such example being Whitland Grammar School, the last grammar school in Wales which closed in 1989 whose school song was written by William Matthias as mentioned previously in 21, Ysgol Dyffryn Taf, the comprehensive school which superseded Whitland Grammar School, does not perform the song.
[51] Examples of the influence of physical geographical influences upon a school song may be seen in Sedbergh school's *Winder* and Harrow school's *East is East ,* both of which are discussed in 6.2.2.2.

variables discussed previously and this process is discussed fully in 6.2.2. However, to maintain the functionality of the database and facilitate searches, only the most prominent textual theme and therefore the song's primary theme, was recorded in the database.

Biographical information relating to the composer and lyricist of the song, where known, were recorded using details from song scores. In the database, additional notes or comments were added to individual cells to provide additional information describing specific prosopographical details. As a result of this, links between school songs emerged which were not immediately apparent from the music or text data, such as the composer having previously studied at or been employed by another Independent school.[52]

The third type of data included in the database were those of an analytical and theoretical nature such as metre, key signature, structure and melodic range. These were recorded using appropriate musical terminology where the information could be found within existing scores. However, not all songs recorded within the database have records for each data field as in some cases scores have been lost, destroyed or the school has closed. Whilst initially this called into question the validity of including such songs within the database, those songs where the text was still in existence were included as this enabled their textual analysis in NVivo.[53]

The database has over 500 records and these records have been drawn from 220 schools.[54] It is probable that the body of independent school songs which exists is considerably larger than those included in the database. However, the active phase of song collection which began in February 2021, was concluded in May 2022, to enable analysis of the data to be undertaken. It is intended that the database will continue to be added to after the thesis is completed.

[52] An example of such links may be seen here Figure 51
[53] The impact of the loss of a school songs music or *Sign* (see 2.4.2 for definition of this term) is fully interrogated in the Stowe School Case Study (5.3.4)
[54] The dependent variable having previously been defined and explained at the start of this chapter as the presence of a song within a school also recognises lyric sheets as a representative artefact of a school song.

2.2.3 Song Selection and Analysis

Following the song collection stage, it was necessary to analyse a portion of the corpus which would be representative of a cross-section of school types and locations so to answer my primary research question. Where possible, the school's included were those who had participated in the quantitative phase of my research activities to enable an exploration of the song ephemera alongside the data from interviews. These included semi-structured interviews with directors of music, important school staff who were involved with the school song and the undertaking of pupil surveys, as supported by my explanatory design philosophical assumption.

The five schools discussed in case study 1 (0) were chosen because of their independent variables in relation to the multiple linear regression framework (Punch and Oancea, 2014) as shown in Figure 2, and the significance of their school's song or songs when compared to other schools with similar independent variables.

Four of the five schools were in operation at the time of writing; however, George Watson's Ladies' College was merged with their male counterpart, George Watson's College, creating a fully co-educational school in 1974 (Howie et al., 2006). Case study 1 will therefore focus upon the following five schools shown in Table 6

Table 6. independent variables of schools featured in Chapter 3

No.	Name	Location	Gender	Composition Date	Operative (2026)
1	Roedean School	England	Girls	Unknown	Yes
2	Dr Williams' School for Girls	Wales	Girls	1887	No
3	Downside School	England	Co-Ed.	1910	Yes

4	George Watson's Ladies' College	Scotland	Girls	1890/1928	No[55]
5	Harrow School	England	Boys	1872	Yes

2.2.3.1 Non-operative Schools

Dr Williams' School for Girls, a non-conformist independent day and boarding school in Dolgellau, North Wales, closed in 1975 but retains its community through a strong and active Old Girls Association (Dr Williams' School Old Girls' Association, 2021). This is a clear indication of how school songs continue to hold importance to their communities, even after the school has closed. This song is included within the case study to facilitate an examination of the tensions which existed between religious expression, music and education in Wales in the late 1800s, as discussed previously in the literature review (1.2.1)

George Watson's Ladies' College merged with the boys' college in 1974 and is a key figure in Independent education in Scotland. Their school song, its composers and the lyricist, Dr Charlotte Ainsley, form an integral part of the school's history which remains central to the ethos and character of the merged school today. It is included within the case study as a rare example of a school song whose melody and text were written by women (Ainsley, et al., 1890).

2.2.3.2 Methods of Analysis

This thesis argues that school songs hold an elevated status within their individual communities and may act as a focal point for community building and school legacy. To

[55] The Ladies College merged with the Boys School in 1974. George Watson's College is currently operational however recent media reports suggest it is experiencing financial difficulty following the inclusion of VAT on independent school fees.

understand these phenomena, it was essential to explore the physical musical artefacts themselves. Whilst any investigation of the music and song text undoubtedly offers insight into how songs assist the creation of identity; the analysis of the songs must also consider the school itself as an additional component as discussed in the literature review (1.2). Through examining the tripartite relationship of music-text-location, it was possible to more clearly establish the identities created or promoted through the song.

The model used for this analysis draws upon the Multimedia Method described by Marshall and Cohen (1988). In their method, Marshall and Cohen examine the ascription of a person's connotative understanding of music onto the film they are watching and the development from those connotations of other associated meanings which are then applied to the film. For this research, and in particular those songs analysed in chapter 3 instead of using Marshall and Cohen's two-component model using music and film, I developed a three-component variant to explore similar ascriptions within the intersection of music, song text and location/institutional context. Where two components intersect, aspects of the multimedia analysis approach developed by Cook (2000) exist, namely connotative qualities, parallelisms of process and enabling equivalences as shown in Figure 7. It is here that the social dimension of Cook's analytical method may be drawn upon to further examine the ethnographic aspect of school song performance.



Figure 7. Three Component Variant Multimedia model (Bryden, 2022)

In this thesis therefore, when examining the song text's potential contribution to identity, the text will be studied diachronically to understand changes in language over time. Moreover, this will assist in exploring how textual changes may impact the connotative qualities of the song and its enabling equivalences. The music of the songs will be analysed using Western Classical Music conventions, examining how various musical elements are used to create or suggest aspects of identity. The location component of Figure 7 may refer to the school, the geographical area where the school is located or the performance venue for which the song was written. These variables have particular significance in the song's ability to create or influence a community identity as will be illustrated by the case study examples and the survey findings (6.2.4)

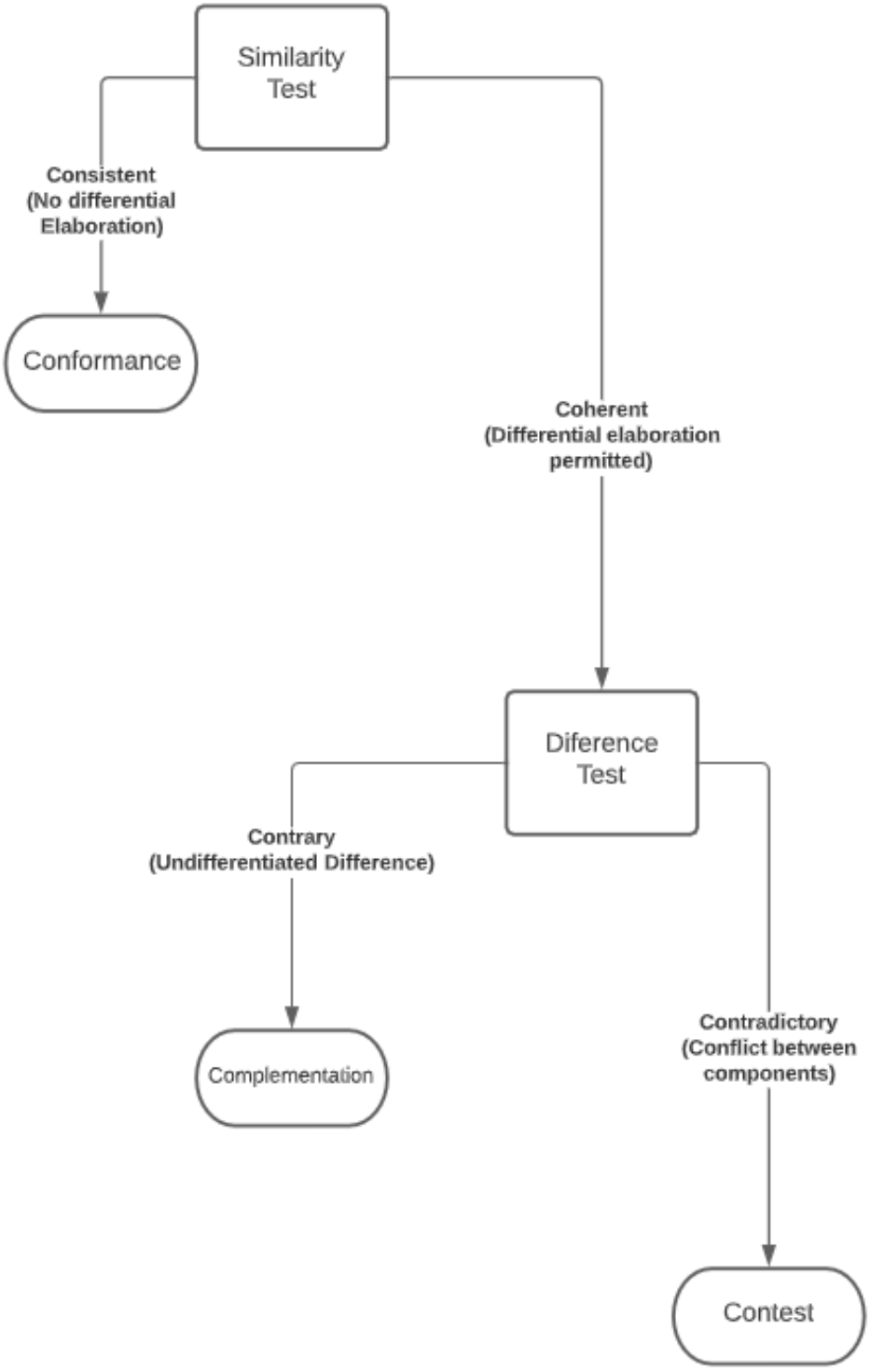


Figure 8. Multi-component analysis model using similarity and difference testing (Cook, 2000)

2.3 Qualitative Data Generation

A Post Positivist approach as discussed by Panhwar, Ansari and Shah (2017) where my own educational experiences and career were fully acknowledged, was utilised to ensure the validity of this research. This approach is clarified by Phillips and Burbules (2000: 86-87) who said:

> *Part of the post-positivist view of research…is a certain pluralism of method. It is not the particular type of research that makes it scientific in this view. One can study individuals or groups; one can study personal actions or patterns that appear at a higher level of social aggregation or organisation; one can study intentions, observational, statistically oriented or interpretive research - or some combination of these even if some will say these can't be combined.*

As my own education took place within state schools but I have spent the majority of my professional career in the independent sector, I am both part of and yet outside of the independent school communities I sought to examine in this research. Additionally, my positionality as an educator who has worked in both Independent and state secondary schools would influence my perception and understanding of the communities I studied and as such it was impossible for me to be entirely impartial in my research. However, through a strict adherence to ethical research practices, I was able ensure the validity of the data I collected and the manner in which it was analysed.

2.3.1 Ethics

2.3.1.1 Sociocultural Theory

Drawing upon the work of Vygotsky (1978), sociocultural theory recognises that 'Symbolic tools serve as an auxiliary means to control and reorganise our biologically endowed psychological processes' (Lantolf and Thorne, 2007: 201). That practice of the identity, morals and other facets of a school being introduced to its community

members through communal performance, thus enabling imitation,[56] and is then processed and internalised by the individual, aligns with Vygotsky's concept of the Zone of Proximal Development and as such, sociocultural theory. Here, Vygotsky explains that:

> *Any function in the child's cultural development appears twice, or on two planes. First it appears on the social plane, and then on the psychological plane. First it appears between peoples as an interpsychological category, and then within the child as an intrapsychological category. This is equally true with regards to voluntary attention, logical memory, the formation of concepts, and the development of volition... It goes without saying that internalisation transforms the process itself and changes its structure and functions. Social relations or relations among people genetically underlie all higher functions and their relationships.*
>
> (Vygotsky, 1978: 57)

The identification of *mediation by symbolic artefacts* (Lantolf and Thorne, 2007: 201), through the implementation of sociocultural theory was therefore a necessary aspect of this thesis.[57] The interrogation of people's perceptions of independent school songs demanded data which showed individuals attitudes towards those songs. Such data were generated by the qualitative portion of this research and those perceptions subsequently addressed. This was done because the internalisation of these qualities forms an essential aspect of how identity is created through the shared musical experience of performing the school song, as discussed in the literature review (1.3).

The mixed methods nature of this research included both the collection of songs and the gathering of qualitative data relating to the opinions of pupils and staff from independent senior schools within the UK. The first phase of the research, that of active song collection, involved contact with adults working in educational institutions and as such my ethical considerations included.

[56] See literature review (1.2) for a discussion of this in the research of Parker (2014)
[57] In this thesis the artifacts are the songs and their mediative qualities may be symbolic, cultural or both.

1. Preserving anonymity regarding the expression of personal views pertaining to the school song or details of its storage and preservation
2. Copyright
3. Songs with sensitive content and the potential damage to the public reputation of the school
4. Professional conduct of staff
5. My own professional conduct

This research generated considerable interest amongst the directors of music in the Eton and Rugby Groups of Schools, 70% of whom responded to my initial contact, as discussed earlier in this chapter and provided copies of their songs and song books. Many of these thirty schools are commonly known through their historical presence within the UK educational system and as such face wider media scrutiny than other independent day and boarding schools across the UK. Due to the historical context of many independent school songs, there exists a body of works which feature colonialist, racist and other content which today is rightly deemed unacceptable. It is acknowledged that many of these songs exist within the wider body of independent school song books and are not, for the most part, the principal songs of the school's. These songs with problematic contents do however form an important part of the dialogue I wished to engage with, investigating why these songs were included and the school's thoughts on these songs today. I recognised that there was a strong possibility of research discovering songs which included sensitive issues with the potential to damage the reputation of these schools. As such, and as stated in my ethics review, it was imperative all schools involved in this research were anonymised, that all data was reported accurately and that materials relating to colonialism, corporal punishment

and practices such as 'fagging' were dealt with anonymously, sensitively, accurately and without bias.[58]

When dealing with compositional materials, every effort was taken to ensure copyright laws were upheld, even though the majority of texts gathered throughout the research fell under the 'fair usage' policy (U.K. Government, 2021). For unpublished works of significance (Mathias, 1945) all attempts were made to engage with the composer's estate and/or main collections holder to gain permission for the piece's use. Where the recordings of performances of school songs were sent to me or had been made freely available online, the songs and their performers are acknowledged within the thesis. Permission for inclusion in this thesis, if appropriate to the research, was sought and obtained before inclusion.

Whilst past directors of music, headteachers and school governors may be identifiable through a song's text or in the inclusion and depiction of historical events relating to a school, this information would, in most cases, be available to the public through other avenues. The anonymity of the adult participants was preserved, so far as possible, through the pseudonymisation of schools and employees' names when discussing findings, unless participants gave consent for their names to be included. Indeed, in some cases participants were keen to be named because of their roles and association to the school and its song.[59]

As staff within educational settings are subject to professional behavioural and safeguarding guidelines dictated and enforced by their individual institutions, it was deemed highly unlikely an adult participant would step outside of these boundaries due to the possibility of breaching their contract in doing so. There was therefore a very limited opportunity for ethical concerns regarding the professional conduct of directors of music to occur during the song collection and interview/survey stages of the research. As such, I subsequently concluded that I would not encounter situations

[58] In some cases, particularly that of Harrow School where the songbook and songs are readily available to the public, it was not possible to anonymise the school. The details of such songs are recognised by the school and steps have been taken to address the content and not include them in future performances.

[59] One such example is Dr Anthony Wallersteiner, Head of Stowe School, who was interviewed as part of the Stowe School song case study (0)

where my personal safety would be compromised, however all occasions which involved meeting with persons I did not know were adequately risk-assessed before commencement and the Lone Working Guidance (Health and Safety Executive, 2020) and checking in policies for BCU were adhered to.

My positionality as a researcher, a director of music and Head of Faculty at an independent day and boarding school, and as someone who has previously worked as a director of music , raised ethical considerations regarding the potential for this research to adversely affect myself. This may have occurred through my interactions with other people and the research material itself, and as such I sought to avoid any negative impact on my professional reputation and to minimise the potential for risk and harm to others.

As a female researcher with mixed heritage and who is a member of the LGBTQ community, I worked to ensure that I was not adversely emotionally affected by my research whilst being actively engaged with topics such as racism, colonialism and other related areas.

After gaining ethical approval to undertake this research and in keeping with BCU guidelines, all interviews and communications with adults were conducted remotely via email or Microsoft Teams. This assisted in adhering to the wide range of changing Covid guidelines and restrictions which were in place during the course of the research.

2.3.1.2 Online Surveys and Interviews

The qualitative aspect of my research consisted of online interviews with members of staff from selected independent schools. This fulfilled not only the BCU guidelines regarding Covid restrictions as outlined above but also facilitated an ease of interview scheduling for all parties. In most cases, the identity of the director of music associated with a school is readily available online as the majority of Independent schools post a staff directory on the school website and music features prominently as a selling point on websites and social media accounts for independent schools. Schools, and by

extension their directors of music, may also be identifiable through their size, location, boarding status and gender profile of their school. However, pseudonymisation was still used for adult survey responses, such as those provided by members of SARA.

To ensure the process of informed consent, the adults who were approached for interviews and survey participation were provided with a copy of an Information for Adult Participants sheet (10). Here, information regarding the purpose of the research, the method of interview and the benefits and risks were clearly explained. This information was additionally included at the start of the online surveys for archivists and pupils. My research did not involve the deception of individuals or communities, and all those approached for inclusion were able to choose to not be involved.

I distributed a survey to a sample of 145 independent senior schools who had responded to my initial contact email. This sample was chosen to reflect the same national make up of independent schools using country and gender profile. As my research focuses upon school songs, many of the songs contain references to the name of the school and are therefore, by their nature, identifiable as belonging to that school. Pupil surveys were therefore designed to be anonymous, and the results thereof were likewise subject to the same pseudonymisation as the school.

To ensure informed consent for pupils, schools were sent a copy of an *Information for Parent/Carers of Participants* sheet which outlines the purpose of the research along with details relating to the online survey and the benefits and risks to pupils' involvement in the research. Each school was asked to email this information sheet to its students' parents and carers, negating the requirement for me to store personally identifiable data about pupils and parents/carers. The survey included an additional consent statement tick box on the front page of the survey enabling pupils to decide their own involvement with the research. All letters, survey questions and the content of the semi-structured interview questions were presented to and passed by the RBC ethics approval board prior to undertaking this stage of the research.

I managed, stored and protected the data gathered from interviews and surveys on BCU OneDrive which has multifactor authentication. Through asking schools to contact their

pupils I actively limited my access to pupil personal data beyond the age of the pupil and the name, location and gender profile of the school. To protect the staff who wished to be involved, all interviews were recorded on appropriate devices borrowed from BCU and encrypted before being saved as password protected files in safe spaces. A physical copy of the file was saved on a password protected device held in a locked area at BCU. Staff were able to read a transcript of their interview before giving final approval for its inclusion in my research and were free to withdraw from the process at any point.

2.3.2 Surveys

Following my initial correspondence to schools outlining my research and requesting school songs (see 10.1) a short online survey was sent to the directors of music of independent senior schools who responded to my email. The survey was developed in accordance with the educational research guidelines outlined by British Educational Research Association (2018) and to BCU's ethical research policies. Informed consent was sought from schools for their participation in this survey, which was aimed at the youngest and oldest pupils of the school. An examination of pupil opinion was essential in understanding the school community's perception of the songs, and to discern if this conflicted with or complemented the views of adults in the school community.

The student survey (10.1) consisted of multiple choice, rank order and Likert questions. In addition to these questions, the survey included space for free-text responses to enable pupils to record their thoughts on their school song. Students were anonymised by the survey software and were able to undertake the survey only once. By drawing from the first and final year of the school, the survey enabled a comparison of student attitudes towards and experience of the school song from two different points of school life. The survey examined the role of others in a student's learning of the school song and student views on the experience of communal performance of the song, as demanded by Sociocultural Theory as previously discussed in this chapter. These data

enabled the formulation of answers for my primary research question and sub questions, in particular subquestions 1 and 2 as described in *Aims and Objectives*.

2.3.2.1 Purpose

When designing my thesis, it was essential that I facilitate the gathering of data which captured the attitudes of school communities towards their individual songs. Purposive sampling as described by Woodhouse (Woodhouse in Thomas and Mohan, 2007: 165) was therefore chosen as a means of addressing this limitation through inviting pupils from a variety of independent school types to undertake an online survey in the summer term.[60] This timing would enable new pupils the opportunity to learn and perform the song whilst also capturing data from pupils in their final year before they undertook exam study leave.

When designing the surveys, it was necessary to consider how to collect data which reflected the age ranges found across UK independent senior schools. To enable as many types of senior school age range to be represented as possible, it was decided to collect data from senior school students in their first year and final year. An option for the student to select their age from a range was included to assist with the analysis of the responses. These age ranges are an aspect of the independent variables discussed earlier 1.1 and vary considerably across the independent sector as may be seen in Table 7:

[60] The sample of 145 schools approached from the responses to my initial email contact was designed to reflect the spread of independent variables relating to school gender types found in the UK. This is discussed in 2.2.1

Table 7. independent school type and year of entry

School Type	Year of Entry	Age	Final Year	Age
Traditional Independent school	9	13	13	18
Senior (no 6th form)	7	11	11	16
Senior (with 6th form)	7	11	13	18
Through-School	3	7	13	18

To test the method, a selection of 20 pupils from Stowe School were asked to undertake the pilot. This enabled an examination of the suitability of the questions and assess the survey's ability to collect useable data before rolling it out to all schools in the summer term of 2023.

The online survey provided all involved in the process the opportunity to adhere to the safeguarding and ethical considerations discussed previously and reduced the burden to staff and myself in organising visits to the school's in light of ongoing Covid concerns. A limitation of the research is that it is not longitudinal and so the capturing of pupil attitudes must be recognised as showing only the attitudes of pupils at that time.

2.3.2.2 Response Rates

The first survey (see 10) was sent to schools which had responded to the original request for assistance with the collection of song material. The colour coding of the school's within the excel database ensured that schools which were no longer in operation were clearly visible and not contacted. The colours and their meanings can be seen in Table 8 .

Table 8. School status as shown in database

Status	Colour
School is open and responded to contact	Green
School song featured in Ewart's anthology	Purple
School song data taken from school songbook	Blue
School song in researchers' personal collection or known to researcher	Grey

Of the 145 schools contacted for this portion of the research, 5 schools responded (4%) with a total of 71 pupil respondents. There are several factors which may have resulted in a low response rate from schools and these include the timing of the survey coinciding with school internal and external exam pressures, school events or the school not wishing to engage with the research further, having already provided details of their school song. The gender identity of the pupils can be seen in Figure 9:

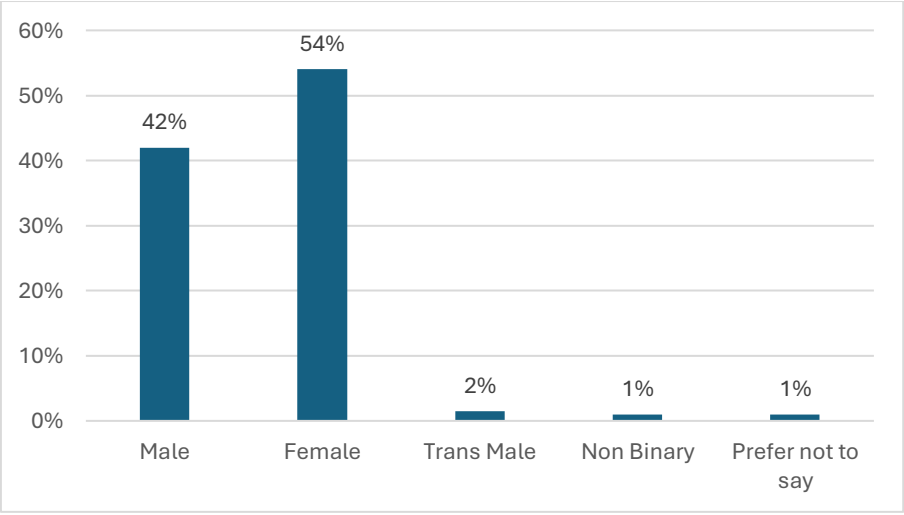


Figure 9. School survey pupil participants by gender identity

The number of respondents from each school can be seen below in Figure 10:

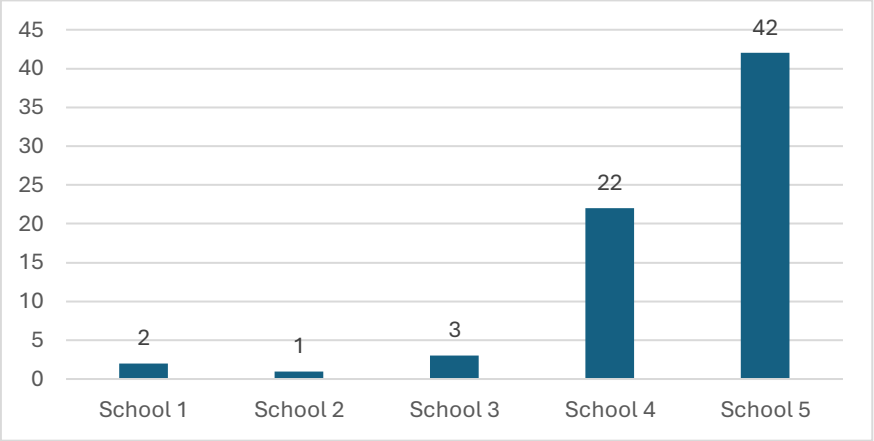


Figure 10. Number of pupil responses per school for survey

2.3.2.3 Question Types

In developing the survey, I drew upon the 'knowledge, attitude and behaviours' framework discussed by Punch and Oancea (2014). The survey therefore consists of a range of question styles to facilitate data gathering from each of the areas, these included open and closed questions, multiple choice and Likert scale. To maintain student focus and engagement, and to mitigate the potential for misunderstanding questions, the survey was constructed mostly of short answer questions. Extended answer questions were not an essential requirement and can be seen in 10.1. However, specific optional open response questions enabled the collection of pupils individual views on their song relating to:

1. The song's role as part of the school identity
2. The song's role within the school community
3. Pupil views on the theme of the school song.

2.3.2.4 Archivist Survey

The interest in my research from SARA members, as discussed previously, was of a sufficient degree to suggest that a survey for archivists which was similar to that created for pupils would provide valuable data relevant to subquestion 4. The questions of the original pupil survey were modified to ensure they were appropriate for adult participants who were professionals with knowledge of the field and these can be seen in 10.2

When designing the survey for Archivists, it was necessary to capture information relating to independent variables (Punch and Oancea, 2014) as outlined in Figure 2 such as the school's gender profile, number of pupils on roll and the format in which the school song existed. Whilst the questions in the pupil survey were aimed at collecting affective and behavioural information, it was recognised that the Archivists would be able to provide cognitive data relating to the history and preservation of their school songs. The archivist survey therefore was designed to provide more opportunities for text responses because, as adults who had chosen to undertake the survey, the risk of fake/nonsense answers being provided was minimal.

Eight archivists responded to the survey, with seven being from England and one from Wales. The gender profiles of the Archivist's schools can be seen below.

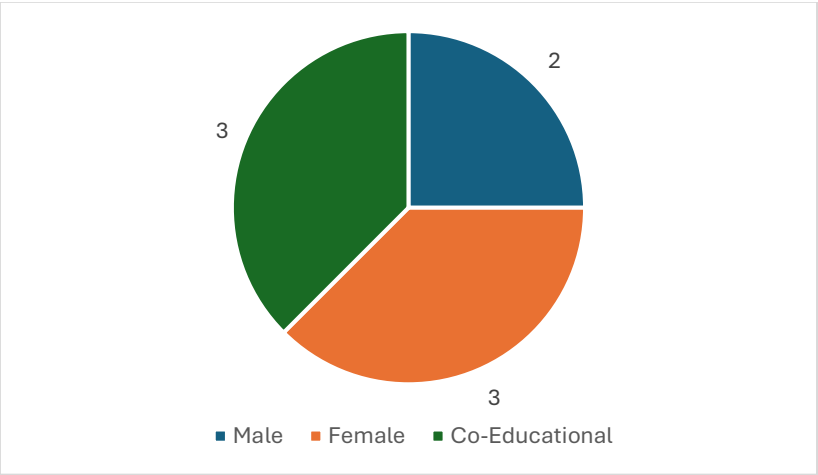


Figure 11. Gender profile of schools included in archivist's survey

The size of the pupil population for each of the archivist's schools may also be seen below in Figure 12.

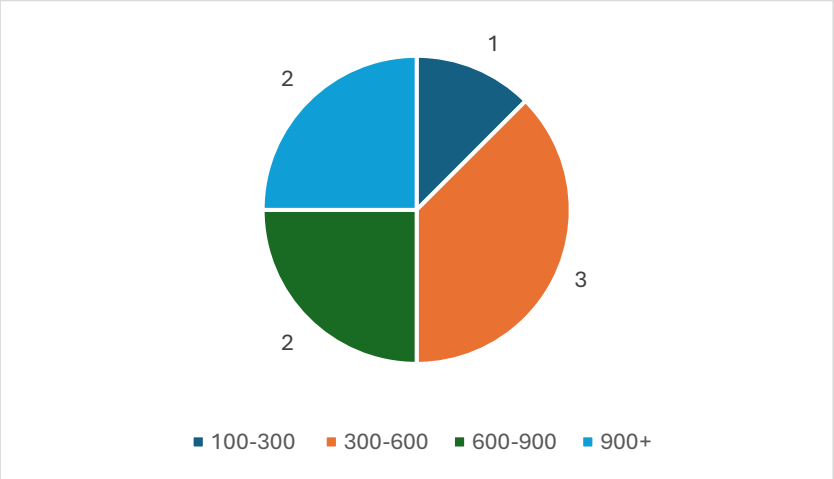


Figure 12. Cohort size of schools included in archivist's survey

Therefore, whilst the number of respondents was lower than those who had provided information relating to their school song on the forum (8/50 or 16%) the spread of gender profiles and school population size provided information across a range of Independent variable examples.

2.3.2.5 Pupil and Staff Survey (Stowe)

During this research, the school song of Stowe, *Sto Persto Praesto!* was rediscovered. It was subsequently reharmonised and taught to the school before performances at the school's centenary service and, by pupil request, at the leavers' chapel service.[61] These performances which took place in May 2023 provided a small window of opportunity in which to gather data on staff and pupil attitudes towards the song before two year groups left on study leave. With the support of the Headmaster, a survey link was sent out to all pupils and staff which received 195 responses. 83% of respondents were pupils and 17% were staff accounting for 18% of the pupil body and 17% of staff. Unlike

[61] A detailed account of the rediscovery of the song may be found in 5.3.4

the first pupil survey there was no age restriction on the pupils who could participate as the song was new for all members of the school community. Similarly, the survey questions were the same for pupils and staff as, unlike the Archivist survey, the only members of staff with prior knowledge relating to the history of the school song were myself and the Headmaster as Stowe did not have an Archivist at the beginning of this research.

2.3.3 Semi-structured Interviews

2.3.3.1 Social Constructivism Framework

To fully explore the role of the school song in creating identity through shared musical experience it was important to establish ways in which members of the communities interact with themselves, each other and the cultural practices found within the school's. Additionally, it was important that I interrogate my own academic experiences and teaching career to understand how this has generated my own perceptions of independent schools and the phenomena I wished to research. The subject matter therefore demanded the use of a social constructivism framework to enable me to combine 'rationality with social and political contexts' (McKinley, 2015: 2).

2.3.3.2 Design Considerations

When designing interviews for this thesis I chose to undertake semi-structured interviews as a structured interview may have limited the opportunity for data to be provided through the development of questions which arose out of the discourse, whilst an unstructured interview had the potential to stray off topic too easily.

It was therefore essential that the semi-structured interviews cover three phenomena discussed by Denscombe (2017) which are pertinent to this research, these being

1. Opinions, emotions and experiences

2. Complex issues relating to how factors are interconnected and how systems operate

3. Privileged information

These phenomena directly relate to the principal research question and the subquestions in the following ways.

Table 9. Phenomena and research questions

Phenomena	Research Questions
1. Opinions, emotions and experiences	Principal research question Subquestion 1, 2 and 4
2. Complex issues and interconnectivity	Subquestion 2, 3 and 4
3. Privileged information	Subquestion 2, 3 and 4

When approaching the design of my interviews, as a female identifying researcher it was necessary to acknowledge the gendered approaches of some interview structures. I sought to avoid the masculine paradigm of structured interviews as discussed in Punch and Oancea (2014: 187) in favour of facilitating a co-creator relationship (Haig, 1997) between myself as the researcher and my interview subjects, especially those from the school I work in.

My interview approach therefore draws upon aspects of postmodern ethnography (Fontana and Frey, 1994) including an exploration of the importance of gender and a recognition of the disempowered within the text and performance practices of independent school songs.[62] In this research, the disempowered are those without

[62] These topics are discussed in more detail in 4.2.7, 5.5.1 and 6.2.2.2

access to an Independent education due to financial circumstances and the role of gender within independent school songs.[63] Additionally, the school song being an artefact which brings together the school community also implies aspects of exclusion from the community for those who do not engage with the song in the same way.

2.3.3.3 Teacher Identity

The concept of music teacher identity and the formation of identity is a complex area of study which may be considered from vastly different philosophical assumptions (Green, 2014) and therefore an important consideration for the research interviews. Mockler (2011) recognised three intersecting areas of importance to the formation of teacher identity, namely personal experience, professional context and political environment. It is this model which offered a starting framework for developing my interview questions and situating the qualitative portion of this research. When considering the relevance of this model to independent school directors of music and exploring where school songs may appear as a facet of the process of identity formation, the following interview framework emerged.

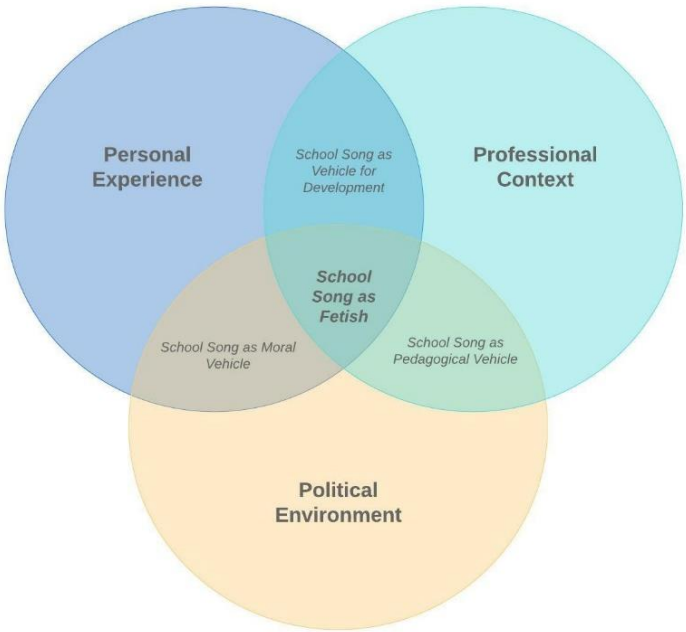


Figure 13. Development of Mockler's (2011) Teacher Identity Model

[63] For further discussion of this see 11.3. Additional evidence of gender roles within school songs may also be seen in 6.2.2.2.

It is recognised that teacher identity is an active, continuous and multifaceted process which will contain sub identities depending on the individual teacher and the nature and location of the school in which they work (Beijaard, Meijier and Verloop, 2004). The development of Mockler's three area model into the model shown above, where the areas of intersection represent specific school song phenomena, facilitates a more nuanced picture of the individual teacher and their interaction with and experience of the school song. In addition to teacher identity, the school song was seen as an important vehicle in imparting specific aspects of a desired communal identity.

There is historical evidence of the use of the school song as a moral vehicle by people such as Farmer (Cox, 1992), Peppin (1905) and John Hullah (Golding 2017), which has already been discussed in the literature review (1.1.1) and this is an aspect which it was essential to explore in the interviews. Similarly, the use of school songs as a pedagogical vehicle has also been explored in the literature review (Cox, 1996 and 2012) and this is later discussed in the interview with David Woodcock of Harrow (11.1). Historically, as independent school songs became more commonplace, the composition of a successful and popular song became not only a benchmark of what was perceived as an aspect of being a 'good' director of music but also of the skills and qualities of the Headteacher. As such, semi-structured interviews with those personally linked to a song provided an opportunity to discover whether these perceptions still exist today. These songs therefore not only enforce a cultural expectation of the musical identity of future students, but arguably of the future directors of music (Hallam, 2017). This specific facet is discussed in the Harrow Case study (4) and may be seen as a common thread through my interview with David Woodcock, Director of Music at Harrow School. The song, through its continued teaching to students by the director of music and performances throughout the year, assists in shaping engagement with and commitment to music in what Hallam refers to as 'serious leisure' (Hallam, 2017). This is seen as a mid-point between a casual and an extensive commitment to a musical activity which recognises its unique ethos and accompanies an attractive personal and social identity.

It is for these reasons that at the heart of the expanded Mockler model, we find the school song *as Fetish*. When considered through this lens, a school song's anthemic

qualities, historical, spiritual and communal/environmental importance, its ritualistic performance and longevity are perpetuated both by and for those who perform it. A semi-structured interview would therefore provide opportunities to explore and record such data and any other insights offered as they arise during the interview process. This style of interviewing additionally offers the space to situate the cultural artefact within the context of the community and the individual.

2.3.3.4 Director or Music/Leadership Interviews

The director of music and school leadership interviews serve to examine the shared musical experience of a school song from the viewpoint of those directly involved in facilitating such experiences for the school community. It was intended for those approached for interview to be drawn from schools which had responded to the pupil survey so to facilitate data on the Director of Music's thoughts towards their school song in comparison to that of the pupils. Whilst this was not possible as those directors of music contacted did not reply to the invitation for interview, it became possible to conduct an interview with the director of music for Harrow School following an invitation to attend and observe the Churchill songs evening at Harrow School. This interview was semi-structured to provide the opportunity to discuss the continued school song traditions which are unique to Harrow School and the school song legacy left by other Directors of Music. The interview may be found in 11.1.

2.3.3.5 Stowe School Case Study Interviews

The semi structured, co-creator approach discussed earlier was particularly suited to the interviews of the Headmaster and the Head of Vocal studies of Stowe School as part of the Stowe School case study (5). This approach enabled a fluid discussion of the three phenomena shown in Table 9 discussed previously (Denscombe, 2017) by both the interviewees and myself, as we had each been significantly involved in the re-establishment of the school song. These interviews therefore served to answer a priori

hypotheses drawn from my own experiences of and involvement with delivering school songs in my previous schools. These interviews sought to illuminate the conceptualisations and thought processes that lay behind this reconstruction, and to examine potential emotional connections to the song. Deeper insights into these areas enabled a richer understanding of the emergent identities within the school community. The semi-structured interview process allowed for the discussion and capturing of a significant amount of privileged information which may otherwise have not been known.

2.3.4 Performance Observations

Understanding how and where independent school songs are rehearsed and performed was a central aspect of this research and essential in answering my primary research question. As such, it was necessary to observe performances to collect data on fields within the analysis frameworks discussed previously (2.4). Because the research began during the pandemic which made making on-site visits impossible, schools were facilitating performances through a variety of means to conform with social distancing regulations and so the definition of *performance* for this thesis includes both virtual performances and in-person performances.

2.3.4.1 Documentary Research

The Covid pandemic forced schools to reconsider how performances and large gatherings of people could occur within their community (Anderson, 2024). Several independent schools utilised the livestreaming of assemblies and events such as speech day in addition to recorded performances of the school song (Lucton, 2020 and Garrard, 2020). It was important to ensure that observations of these recorded performances were undertaken in an appropriate manner. Scott's two-way typology (Scott, 1990) provided a suitable framework for approaching these recordings and can be seen below in Figure 14

		Authorship		
		Personal	Official Private	Official State
Availability	Closed	Closed Personal	Closed Official Private	Closed Official State
	Restricted	Restricted Personal	Restricted Official Private	Restricted Official State
	Open Archival	Open Archival Personal	Open Archival Official Private	Open Archival Official State
	Open Published	Open Published Personal	Open Published Official Private	Open Published Official State

Figure 14. Cell representation of Scott's Two-Way typology (1990)

In addition to Scott's typology, any data drawn from observations of those recorded performances would also need to be properly evaluated and so the four evaluative questions proposed by Jupp (1996) were utilised for this purpose.[64] Within this thesis, Jupp's questions were framed as

1. Is the recorded performance original and genuine?
2. Is the recorded performance accurate?
3. Is the recorded performance representative of the song's usual performance practice?
4. What is the meaning of the performance of the song?

2.3.4.2 Naturalistic Approach and Fieldwork in Natural Settings

Denscombe describes fieldwork taking place in natural settings as observing 'situations which would have occurred whether or not the research had taken place' (Denscombe, 2017: 225) and this is of particular relevance to observing authentic independent school song performances and rehearsals. This thesis presents two chapters on unique school song performances, namely the performance of the Stowe School song *Sto, Persto, Praesto! (Brent-Smith, 1925)* at the Stowe Centenary Service of May 2023 and the Churchill songs evening at Harrow School in November 2023. When considering the

[64] These questions were of particular relevance to the evaluation of the recording of the final performance of the school song of Dr Williams' School for Girls, as discussed in 3.3

observations of the Stowe School song (see 5.5.10) I was able to undertake the observations without disrupting the 'naturalness' (Denscombe, 2017) of the situation through my position as director of music . My presence at the rehearsals and service did not unduly attract the attention of those performing as I am commonly in attendance at school events and occasions which include music. When observing the Churchill songs evening held at Harrow School, my inclusion in the audience equally did not detract from the normal nature of the performance as, when held at the school, there is a varied audience in attendance.

2.3.4.3 Participant Observation

Figure 15 shows what Gold (1958) called the typology of naturalistic research roles.

	Complete participant
Mainly participant	Participant as observer
Mainly observer	Observer as participant
	Complete observer

Figure 15. Typology of naturalistic research roles

Whilst the above model is useful in considering the different roles of the observer, it does not reflect the complexity of the roles found in the observations which I undertook as part of this research. Adler and Adler (1994) expanded upon Gold's model (Gold, 1958) and discussed three potential roles a researcher may have, depending on their involvement with the research setting. These roles are

1. The observer researcher
2. The complete-member-researcher
3. The active-member-researcher

Within these three types of researchers, my positionality is best described as active-member-researcher due to my position in the school as director of music and the functional role I hold within the organisation. Because of my role within Stowe School and my understanding of the conventions surrounding instances where independent school songs are usually performed, I may also be described as a privileged observer (Wolcott, 1975). Indeed, my positionality as a director of music at Stowe School can be seen to have provided me with assistance in contacting other Directors of Music. Here, my professional or as Wolcott would describe it *privileged* understanding of music within independent schools removed barriers that another researcher undertaking the same project may have faced.

2.3.4.4 Perception of the Observer

When undertaking observations, I ensured that I took fieldnotes as soon after the observation as possible to accurately record my response to what I observed. Denscombe (2017) discusses the impact of *selective recall* and *selective perception* on the part of the observer. To avoid these I ensured that, as far as possible, salient aspects of the performances were recalled correctly and what was observed was perceived fully with as few barriers to the observation as possible.

2.3.4.5 Direct Observation

Punch (2014) says 'The requirement for direct, prolonged on-the-spot observation cannot be avoided or reduced' and this was essential to observing the Stowe School song. Here my presence at rehearsals, performances and around the school campus, enabled me to directly observe the song being performed by the community both formally and informally as well as fully and in fragmented form. This ethnographic observance of the growth and development of a school song within its community was especially important to correctly situating the song within the culture of the school in an informed manner. As Wolcott states:

> *We are ethnographic observers when we are attending to the cultural context of the behaviour we are engaging in or observing, and when we are looking for those mutually understood sets of expectations and explanations that enable us to interpret what is occurring and what meaning are probably being attributed by others present.*
>
> (Wolcott in Punch, 2014: 199)

2.3.4.6 Systematic Observation

I chose to undertake systematic observations of school song performances at both the Stowe School centenary service and the Churchill song event at Harrow to ensure the qualitative data gained from the observations and following interviews were valid and to personally experience some of the phenomenological points raised. The specific systems used to ensure validity were that the persons interviewed and surveyed, in the case of the free text responses to the Stowe survey, were present at and actively participated in the performances. The responses were also captured as soon after the performances as possible to support clarity and accuracy of recall for those involved.

Denscombe comments that a disadvantage of systematic observation is that it 'Describes what happens, but not *why* it happens' (Denscombe, 2017: 232). In the case of the Stowe School song rehearsals and performance, the reasoning behind the rehearsals and performance were, in part, devised by myself through my role as director of music and these are outlined in 5.3.5. The survey of the pupils and staff at Stowe which followed the performance, along with data provided by the semi-structured interviews was able to provide significant context for the 'why' of the community response to the song and the final outcome and enabled me to consider the experience from multiple positions.

Following both the Stowe and Harrow events I was able to compare my observations with those of the person leading the rehearsal or performance, as expressed in their semi-structured interview. Through this comparison I was able to analyse whether my perception of the performances reflected that of the interviewee, and this supported the addressing of any issues with selective recall and perception. The semi-inter-

observational approach therefore assisted in analysing the reliability of my observation and in the production of additional qualitative data through the transcript of the interviews and quantitative data through coding undertaken in NVivo.[65]

2.3.4.7 Structured and Unstructured Observations

Punch (2014) suggests using the terms *structured* and *unstructured* when referring to observation used to gather data, and these are appropriate to use for this research also. To preserve the naturalistic element of the observation and not draw attention to myself during the observations, I did not take notes during the rehearsals and performances. I did however take notes immediately afterwards to capture my reflections on what I observed and how I felt. My approach was therefore unstructured as it did not adhere to any of the educational observation frameworks or structured observation schedules discussed by Foster (1996).

2.3.4.8 Triangulation

To ensure the validity of the observations, aspects of triangulation as discussed by Denzin (2012) were considered and implemented where possible. Figure 16 below shows the triangulation which occurred during the observation of school song performances drawing upon Gold's two-way typology (1958):

[65] For the Stowe School observation, There is a semi-interpersonal relationship between Mr Jonathan Kingston and I as he was directing the performance. The same is found in the relationship between David Woodcock of Harrow School and I. Regarding the relationship between myself and Dr Wallersteiner of Stowe, the relationship was inter-observational as we were both watching the performances.

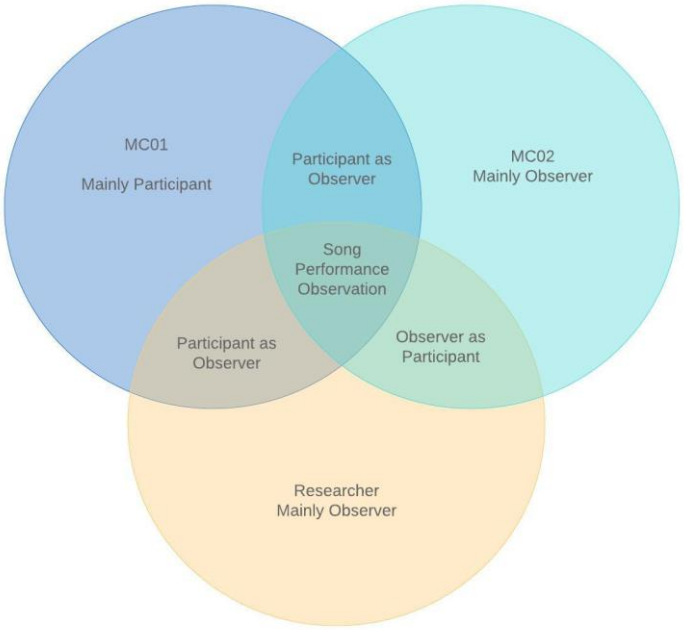


Figure 16. Triangulation of Gold's (1958) typology for Stowe School song observations

When considering Adler and Adler's categories (Adler and Adler, 1994), the diagram showing triangulation then can be seen in Figure 17

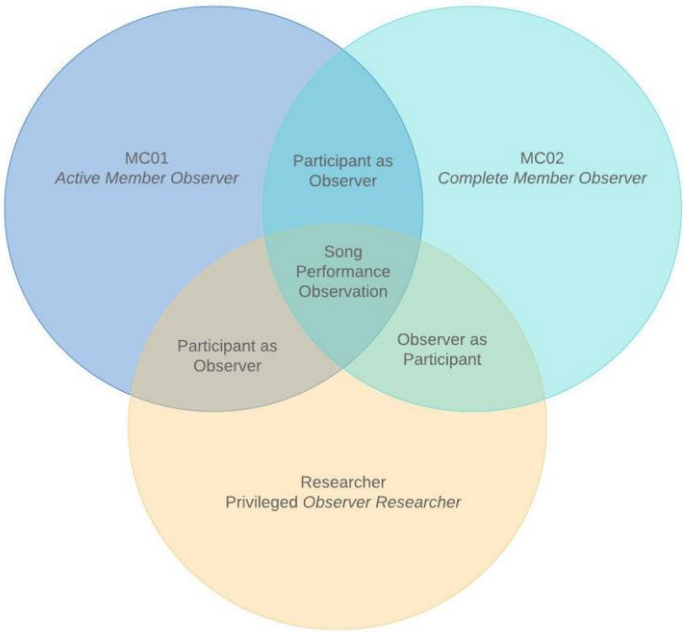


Figure 17 Triangulation of Stowe School song *observation Including Adler and Adler (1994)*

The aforementioned approaches to the collection and exploration of school songs, interviews and analysis were applied to three distinct case studies as part of the thesis. Two of the three case studies emerged from opportunities which arose during the course of the research, namely the Churchill songs evening at Harrow School and the discovery and re implementation of the Stowe School song during the school's centenary year celebrations. Although not originally considered as part of this research's outline, these afforded unique opportunities as a *Privileged Insider* to gather data on my primary research question. The first case study focuses upon five school songs from schools with different independent variables within the Multiple Linear Regression Framework outlined earlier (Figure 2) to explore their role within the creation of identity through shared musical experience.

2.4 Etymophonological Analysis Framework

The analysis frameworks of Gold (1958) and Adler and Adler (1994) provided a starting point for the development of a framework which would facilitate the exploration of individual and communal responses to school songs from both an historical and present day perspective. Furthermore, this framework would situate the song artefacts and lyrics as key aspects of the individual and communal interpretation of the school song. The development and implementation of this Etymophonological framework was necessary to address the primary research question and sub questions as discussed in the introduction.

2.4.1 Identity Construction Theory

The analysis of the song texts was considered through the framework of Ivanič (1998) and the suggested three types of self (autobiographical, discoursal, authorial) and the possibilities for self-hood. This is essential as the phenomenon of an independent school pupil, either a current pupil as with the title 'Stoic' or a past pupil in the case of an 'Old Stoic', carrying a title associated with their school may be viewed through the self-categorisation and in-group classification aspect of identity theory as discussed by

Hogg and Abrams (1990). These factors were later considered using a novel analysis framework to explore the relationship between the text and the independent variables of the school itself, as facilitated by the explanatory de*sign* mixed methods approach outlined previously.[66]

The multimedia analysis model of Cook (2000), whilst beneficial in exploring the interaction between the location, words and music of a school song, does not allow for an inclusion of the performer's response to or understanding of the song. Cook's model therefore was unable to provide data as to how a school song creates identity through performance and shared musical experience, only on the conformance, complementation and contest between various components of a song. It therefore was necessary to develop a methodological approach which considered the human aspect of identity.

To facilitate this, I drew upon two main sources, Meyer (1961) and Tagg (2013). Meyer explained that 'The semiotics of music, in the broadest sense of the term, deals with relations between the sounds we call musical and what those sounds signify to those producing and hearing the sound in specific sociocultural contexts.' (Meyer, 2013: 145), which itself drew upon the semiotic theory of Charles Sanders Peirce (Peirce, 1867). In considering the application of this model to independent school songs, it became apparent that neither the object nor the sign alone could adequately explain the creation of meaning for those who performed the materials. Instead, the interpretant emerged as the central point of interaction through which musical and textual material is understood. This observation provided the foundation for the development of the etymophonological framework and led to the initial working model shown in Figure 18. This initial stage foregrounded interpretation as the process through which meaning is generated. To represent this process, I initially developed the following model which centred the Interpretant, or performer/participant, as shown below.

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[66] See Etymophonological Analysis Framework section (2.4)

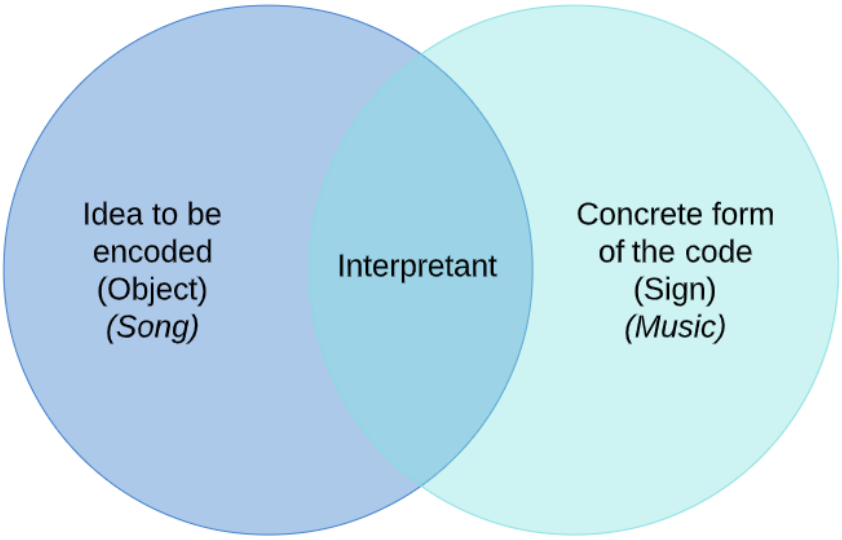


Figure 18. Semiosis as explained by Meyer (1961)

Figure 18 draws upon the semiotic relationship between the object, sign and interpretant described by Peirce (1867) and later adapted for musical analysis by Tagg (2013). Whilst retaining the underlying triadic structure, the present research applies these terms in a more specific manner to the study of independent school songs. In this framework, the object is understood as the textual content of the song and the ideas it conveys, whilst the sign is the phonological manifestation of the song, including its performance, notation, or remembered melody. As in both Peirce's and Tagg's models, the interpretant remains the point at which meaning is produced through interpretation. However, in the present study particular emphasis is placed upon the interpretant as an individual or community situated within a specific educational, geographical and historical context. Meaning is therefore understood not as residing solely in the song itself, but as emerging through the interaction of text, sound and interpretation, informed by both the context of performance and relevant paramusical factors.

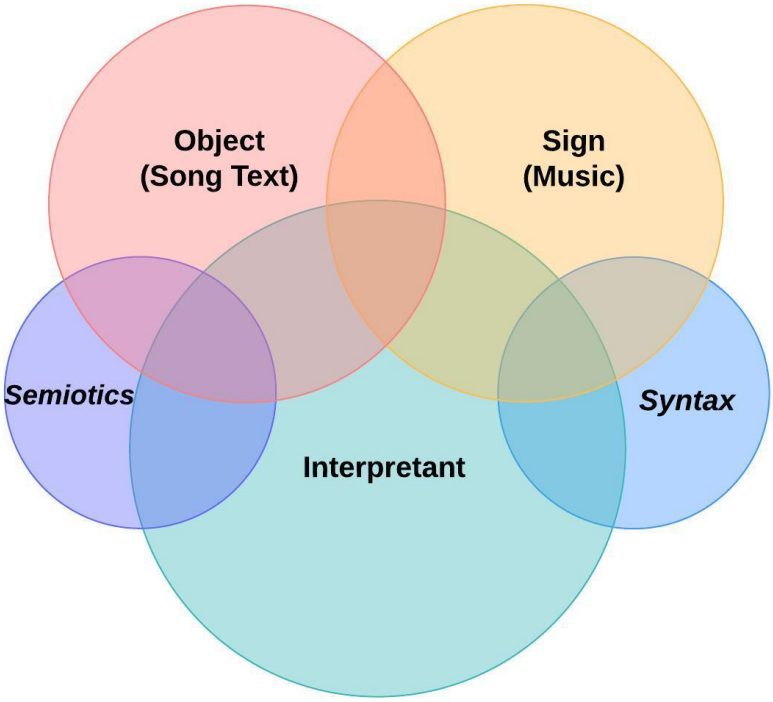


Figure 19. Conceptual overlap between the analytical fields employed within the etymophonological framework model.

Figures 19 and 19a should not be understood as depicting a series of discrete or mutually exclusive categories. Rather, they present a conceptual model in which meaning emerges through interactions between overlapping fields of analysis. Figure 19 illustrates the principal areas of overlap between the object, sign, interpretant, semiotics and syntax, whilst Figure 19a demonstrates the relationships between these fields and the potential interpretative outcomes that may arise from their interaction. Together, the figures are intended to highlight the layered and interconnected nature of the model. To clarify the specific role of each component, the individual fields and their relationships will now be discussed in turn.

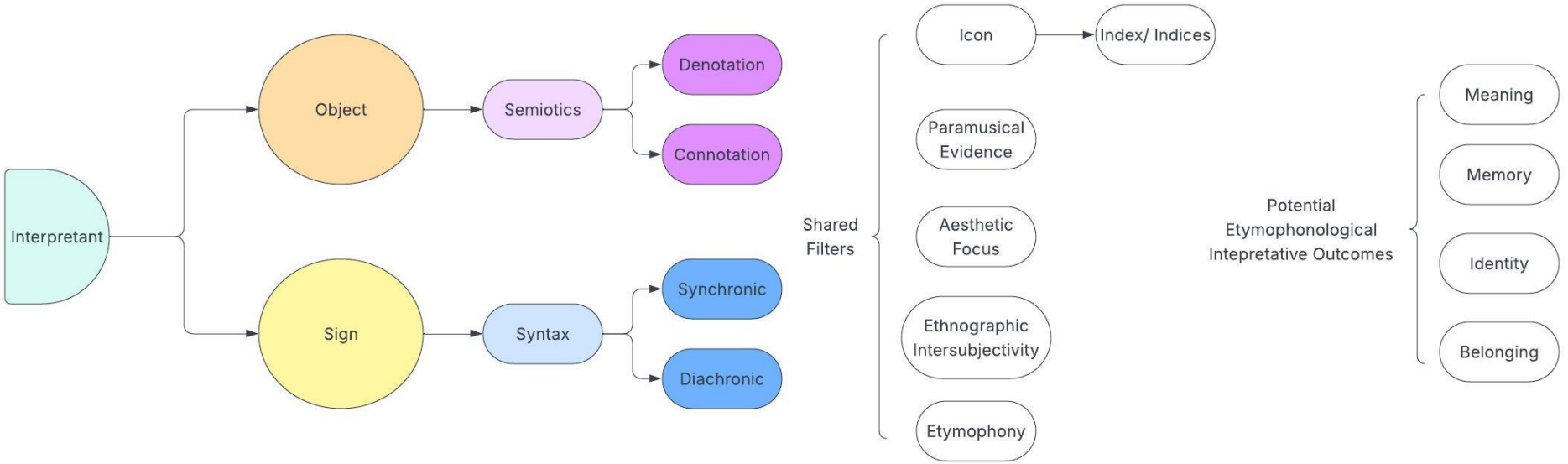


Figure 19a. Relationships between the analytical components of the etymophonological framework and their potential interpretative outcomes.

2.4.2 Object and Sign

Tagg (2013) includes the twin aspects of *Object* and *Sign* within his analysis of musical meaning and semiosis. For Tagg, semiosis is tripartite consisting of the idea or *Object*, the *Sign* and the interpretation (Tagg, 2013: 158). Through a consideration of these three components, one can more thoroughly examine the ethnographic elements of a song and its performance practice.

For the Etymophonological analytical model, the field designated as *Object* will represent a song's text and/or a song as a physical artefact. Within this field, the text of a song is not intended for linguistic analysis but is to be noted for the language itself (i.e., English, Welsh, Latin) which will later be considered and analysed through several lenses. As a physical artefact, the song provides semiotic and syntactical information which is important for consideration across several other fields. However, within this field the physical manifestation of the *Object* is important and may be recorded as one of the following

- Handwritten text
- Handwritten text and partial score
- Handwritten text and full score
- Published sheet music (an individual song, melody and text only)
- Published sheet music (an individual song, full score[67] and text)
- Published sheet music (a collection such as a school hymnal/songbook, melody and text only)
- Published sheet music (a collection such as a school hymnal/songbook, full score and text)

[67] In this thesis, *full score* can refer to a piano accompaniment or other form of accompaniment.

The term *Sign* indicates the song as an aural phenomenon. Unlike the *Object*, the manifestation of the *Sign* may change significantly from rehearsal to performance, across performances and between performers and these changes should be considered during a song's analysis. Changes may be recorded in such ways as:

- Rehearsal
    - Unaccompanied
        - Soloist
        - Ensemble (choir/congregation/other)
        - In final performance venue
        - In other rehearsal venue
    - Accompanied
        - Different instrumentation to *Object*
        - Same instrumentation to Object
        - In final performance venue
        - In other rehearsal venue
- Performance
    - Venue
        - In primary performance venue
        - In other performance venue
    - Occasion
        - Assembly
        - End of Year/Speech Day/Founders Day etc
    - Performers
        - Soloist and Chorus (performing for others)
        - Choir/other ensemble and Congregation (sharing of performance)

- All

The *Sign* field does not include Arbitrary Signs. These are instead considered within the field of Paramusical Evidence.

2.4.3 Icon

Where the *Object* and *Sign* overlap in Figure 19 is designated the *Icon* and is to be considered as a phenomenon where the *Object* bears a physical resemblance to the *Sign*, for example a school hymnal or songs book. However, as Tagg explains, 'the visual representation of Sonic events can only be considered a resemblance if conventions of synesthetic homology are in operation allowing us to equate certain signs encoded in one mode of perception (Tagg, 2013: 163).

Within this framework, Tagg's concept of homology will be discussed using the following terms which have emerged from my research

Table 10. Definitions of Icon type

Icon Type	Definition
Exact Icon	Icon fully reflects the composer's intention as revealed in correspondence.
Inexact Icon	Homological conventions are followed but the *Icon* is not that of the original composer
False Icon	Homological conventions are broken and only one aspect of the Icon, such as the melody, reflects the intention of the composer.

The understanding of these conventions is dependent on culturally accepted and understood musical practices and so may differ between participants (both performing and listening). It is possible that for songs which emerged at the start of the independent school song tradition, all participants would have been familiar with the conventions, the participants being mostly from the UK. However, with the growth of the international pupil market, UK independent schools will now generally contain a more diverse community than 50 years ago and so some of the conventions may be interpreted differently.[68]

This difference in perception and understanding of the *Icon* may also occur between countries within the UK. As an example, when I first saw the bassline in bars 8-9 of the chorus of the Downside School song (Shebbeare, 1915),[69] I immediately recognised it as being similar to bars 12-13 of the Welsh Hymn tune *Rachie* by Caradog Roberts (Roberts, 1921). This may be understood as an influence of an arbitrary sign, being the particular baseline figure or musical quote which I then substituted as an Iconographic observation. Metzer says 'The listener has to be able to "name" the quotation in order to understand fully what it stands for. Recognition then forms a crux for quotation, especially in its role as a cultural agent.' (Metzer: 6, 2003). However, my recognition and understanding of the quote within the *Icon* formed cultural associations beyond those intended by the composer who wrote the work before the hymn from which my quote was drawn. Such an attribution of a specific cultural association then belongs to the next field of the diagram, the *Index*.

2.4.4 Index/Indices

Metzer (2003: 2) said 'Quotation performs as a cultural agent – that is, it participates in and shapes cultural discourses. The role is intrinsic to the gesture.' An *Icon* may then be seen to both contain and represent Metzer's concept of a quote through its indexical

[68] For further discussion of this see 4.2.7
[69] See Figure 28

nature, as with my own example of the Downside School bass line. When such an *Index* is formed, whether intended or not by the composer, the *Icon* is transformed through a process of semiosis whereby a causal *Index* becomes a *Sign* (Tagg 2003). Meyer however goes on to express that:

> *With many quotations, it is not a simple matter of being recognised or not. Some can be noticed but not identified. They [listeners] should, however, be able to perceive musical strands that stand apart from the surrounding work. That distinction can be drawn on several different levels, including style.*
>
> (Metzer, 2003: 7)

Meyer's inclusion of style as an indexical distinction can be seen as present in Ewart's (1969) discussion of the different school song types. Ewart's focus upon song text (the Object) and lack of interest in the music (the *Sign*) in the development of these song types falls firmly within semiotics and will be discussed later.

2.4.5 Ethnographic Intersubjectivity

Meyer describes how 'Different cultures may communicate moods and sentiment in different ways, not because the psychological mechanism of association is different but because the behaviour patterns denoting mood and emotional states are different' (Meyer, 1961: 267) and this is directly relevant to school songs and the field of *Ethnographic Intersubjectivity*. If a school is performing their own unique song, then the Indices of the *Object* and *Sign* are drawn from an understanding of the community for which the song was written. Where a school song is sung by a community other than that for which it was written, for example '40 Years On' (Harrow, 2018) the interpretation of the indices and the semiosis which occurs will be different to those of the intended community. If the adoptive community is geographically distanced from the original and/or has no ethnographic links to the original community the difference in understandings may be even more pronounced. Where a school utilises a hymn, the ethnographic intersubjectivity will be influenced by other variables such as if the hymn

is unique to the school. However, by nature of it being a hymn it will necessarily contain indices relating to a faith with which performers will have at least some knowledge. If the school has adopted a "well-known" hymn, such as *Jerusalem* (Parry, 1916), there is a far wider community with which the interpretants become included which may then bring a religious and secular understanding to the Object.[70]

The communal singing of school songs may therefore establish a positive shared experience in which music is valued and disrupts cognitive dissonance. At Harrow School it was noted in 1881 that through the actions of John Farmer and the support of the Headmaster H Montague Butler, 'singing has become part of our school life' (Rainbow, 1990). This field therefore supports an exploration of the primary research question and an appropriate means of analysing the community's feelings towards these performances.[71]

2.4.6 Interpretant Subjectivity and Intersubjectivity

This research seeks to explore how independent school songs create and sustain identity through shared musical experience. It is important therefore that the individual is considered and within this framework the field of individual subjectivity is of equal importance to ethnographic intersubjectivity. It is here, with the individual, that the intended identity creation of the song may meet dissonance with the individual's view of self, both personally and academically as discussed in the Literature Review (1.2.2). Whilst a proportion of selective independent schools still exist, many independent schools are now 'non-selective' and do not require pupils to pass entrance tests to gain a place. The academic ability of a school's pupils then becomes an important factor in the perceived identity of a school, and it is here that school songs have the potential to promote a positive or negative identity of academic achievement.

The socialisation of pupils within schools will reinforce what Rosenholtz and Simpson (1984) call 'institutional realities' which can in turn influence 'ability formation'. It is

[70] For further discussion on this phenomenon, and Jerusalem (Parry, 1916) in particular, see 5.4.1.
[71] This is discussed further in 4.2.7 and 6.2.3.

within the field of *Interpretant Subjectivity* that these influences may be manipulated by the school Song, as discussed previously in the Literature review (1.2). Parental involvement in the educational process has also been seen to affect a pupil's perception of their own ability and belonging within a school community, especially when other members of the family have attended the same school.[72] Research undertaken by Vincent (1997) showed that the relationship between the parents of independent school pupils and the school itself was likely to involve aspects of negotiation between the two parties regarding what is an appropriate parental role and the role of the parent 'as consumer'. This relationship focuses upon individual pupil development and empowerment, both recognised as positive factors in a pupil's sense of ability (Hamilton, 2002) and will be discussed further in section 3.1.7. These preconceived notions of individual ability and self may be influenced by the school song and as such it was necessary to include this field within the framework.

Rosenholtz and Simpson (1984) claim a pupil's perception of their academic ability changes as their perceptual skills develop and that younger children will often overestimate their ability. The socialisation of a pupil within a school environment will influence a pupil's sense of identity and construct a reality within which their identity exists (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). Equally, a pupil's understanding of intelligence may arise from what Simpson calls the 'cognitive structure' of a portion of societies perception of intelligence (Simpson, 1981). The development of this cognitive structure may be inherent in the text of the song corpus. Both concepts are important to this thesis and the *Interpretant Intersubjectivity* field of the Etymophonological framework.

The concept of musical ability is arguably more difficult to define and will be, to some extent, influenced by a pupil's access to and engagement with formal and informal musical learning. Pupils' perceptions of themselves as musical or musicians may be shaped by the environment, both educational and domestic, as mentioned previously (Hamilton, 2002). Where either environment is not suitable for the development of this facet of their identity, cognitive dissonance may occur and a pupil may avoid or be denied opportunities to develop this ability (Maker, et al., 1994). For pupils with formal

[72] For an example of such a familial link, see 4.2.7.3

musical learning, there will have been a predetermined end point which would serve as an ability indicator such as a performance exam (Jenkins, 2011). For pupils engaged in informal musical learning there is no such definitive milestone. It is here that the school song and related activities such as congregational rehearsals, and performances at occasions such as House Singing may facilitate a pupil's informal musical learning through passive absorption across the academic year.

The descriptions of the pupils' ability will, in some songs, have influenced when it was deemed appropriate for the songs to be performed. This then becomes a factor in the songs preservation and so is necessary to consider as part of subquestion 4. A positive example may be seen in the song *Giants* (Harrow, 2018) where in Verse 2 the lyrics are 'There were scholars of marvellous force, [...], There were scholars of marvellous force;' and indeed this song was adopted by other schools such as Roedean School to perform at sports fixtures albeit in a revised form as discussed in 3.5. A less positive description can be found in the words of Roedean school's song where pupils are described as having 'Turnip like brains.' This description of the pupils may have been a reason why the song stopped being performed and now only exists as a handwritten melodic line and lyrics and is unknown to the current school community.[73] When analysing such a song it is valuable to examine the interpretation of those lyrics by individuals from the community. This provides commentary on their view of suitability or upon any influence the song may have had upon their identity as a current member of that community. It is for this reason that this field within the framework is of such importance.

The role of the interpretant is essential to gaining an understanding of how and to what extent school songs create and sustain identity through shared musical experience. It is however important to recognise that the experiences of the interpretant may be influenced, modified or substantially changed by their interaction with other interpretants. The experience of a communal performance is unlikely to be the same for each individual and so both individual and communal aspects need to be considered when undertaking analysis. As such, a song should therefore be considered polysemic

[73] This song is discussed further in 3.5.

(Tagg, 2013) and its intersubjectivity needs to form an important layer of analysis, interacting with several fields as shown in Figure 19.

The intersubjectivity of a school song is a complex concept where a single relationship or collection relationships may be experienced at any given performance or rehearsal as illustrated in Figure 20.

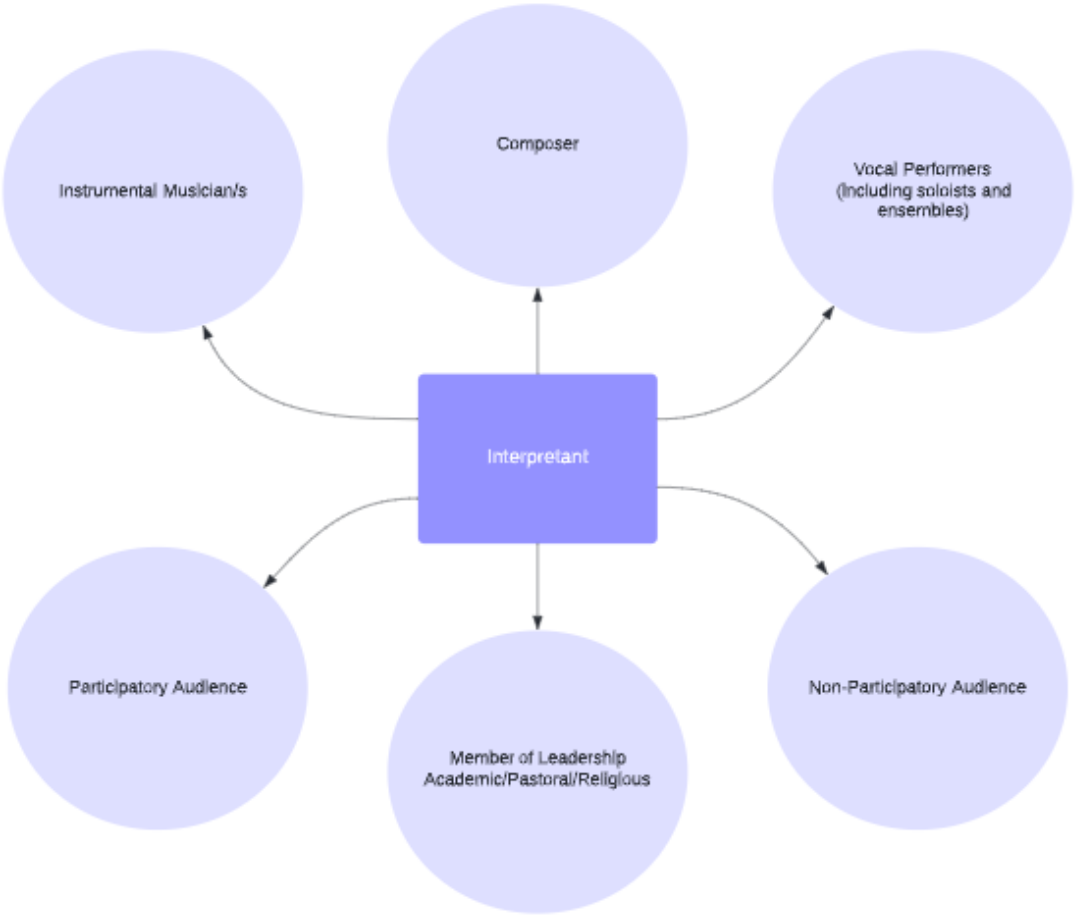


Figure 20. Intersubjectivity relationship diagram

The interpretant may hold one or more of the roles outlined above. Others within those roles will also interact with other components, creating a complex intersection of perspectives on the identity and mood or emotion contained within a song. It is the exploration of these intersections and multiple perspectives which is key to exploring and answering the primary research question.

2.4.7 Aesthetic Focus

The *Object* or physical artefact may influence the experience of the song for the interpretant as it performs a visual and indexical function within the community's intersubjectivity which is represented in Figure 19 as the *Aesthetic Focus*. Many older UK independent schools were founded upon Christian traditions such as the Church of England, and the school song Tradition emerged amongst several religious and secular national movements committed to raising the profile and standard of communal singing. At the time of independent school song emergence, collections of songs (Hullah, 1884), hymn melodies (Roberts, 1876) and hymns (Monk, 1875) were becoming increasingly more popular in churches and schools. The presence of a school songbook or hymnal therefore served as a visual reminder for its community of the schools religious denomination and adherence to or rejection of governmentally imposed repertoire (Stanford, 1905).

It is common for older school song books and hymnals to feature the school crest on its front cover. Many are hardback books and are navy or red in colour and so generate an aesthetical association to hardback books and their associations with learning and knowledge and the practicality of recurrent intended use.[74] The layer of *Aesthetic Focus* should be considered within the time in which the *Object* was initially created, but also how that *Object* is considered now in relation to other similar Objects. In the case of a book, hard backed books were commonplace until the first published softback in the 1930s by Penguin and so would have been considered the 'proper' format for a book. Students today would be more familiar with softback and electronic book formats, rending the hard backed school hymnal or songbook an aesthetic link to the history of the school and its continuance through to modern day.

The permanence of the *Object* relates directly to subquestion 4 and how school songs are preserved. My research has found four classifications which I have organised under the category of *Object Permanence* which are as follows.

[74] For an in-depth discussion of this see 4.2.1.

1. Inclusive Secure Permanence
2. Inclusive Insecure Permanence
3. Exclusive Secure Permanence
4. Exclusive Insecure Permanence

The terminology is explained as meaning

- *Inclusive* – For use on multiple occasions and available inside and outside of the school community.
- *Exclusive* - For use on a single occasion and only available to members of the community or those who attended the performance.
- *Secure* - Long lasting printed format (i.e., hardback book), professionally printed and mass produced to some extent.
- *Insecure* - softcover or printed paper format, short term longevity, limited print run usually done in house.

2.4.8 Semiotics

Semiotics is the study of signs and their use in communication. When discussed in relation to music it examines how those hearing music interpret the signification of sound. In this Etymophonological Framework, the *Object* and *Sign* are shown as two separate sections of the song entire, depicting music and language as requiring individual consideration. As Tagg (2013) explains 'Music and language are not interchangeable sound systems: if they were, they would not exist separately'. Therefore, whilst Figure 19 positions semiotics over both the *Object* and *Interpretant*, it should be considered as layering with all fields of the model to varying degrees.

2.4.9 Paramusical Evidence

Peirce's (1867) concept of *secondness* is important amongst the concepts of *Icon, Index* and *Arbitrary Sign* because of the tension between what they may represent to a community and an individual. Unlike the physical nature of the *Icon* and the causal nature of the *Index*, is related to what it represents only by convention. Tagg (2013) calls this *Paramusical Evidence*. Data was collected in this area through historical images of performances and locations and personal observations (see 4.2.5).

Paramusical Evidence are signs which are non-musical and can assist the listener to relate the song to a specific event or location. Tagg explains that:

> *It is only Paramusical evidence, the language in which the melodies are sung, or, in the case of a national anthem, which flags are flown behind the Olympic medallist's podium- that give uninitiated listeners a clue as to which nation the anthem or the Eurovision song represents.*
>
> (Tagg, 2013: 164.)

What is especially relevant to this research in Tagg's quote is the inclusion of the word 'uninitiated'. Here, the school crest on the cover of a hymnal, with no other words, will be as a national flag to a member of the community and precisely identify their school regardless of where the book is located. However, to a non-school member it will only convey that the book belongs to a community of importance. [75]

2.4.10 Denotation

The text of the songs, when children are able to access opportunities to perform them, are important in establishing a pupil's identity and maintaining or interrupting a pupil's cognitive dissonance as discussed in Treacey and Westerlund (2019). Here it is commented that 'whilst the songs of the "inferior" primary and comprehensive schools emphasised hard work and industry for working-class children, the songs of middle-

[75] This is discussed in specific detail in 4.2.6.1

class grammar schools promised a better social future with “no explicit reference to work”’ (Treacy and Westerlund, 2019). This is similar to evidence found in the historical literature regarding *work songs* used in State Schools during the mid-1800s. It is therefore necessary for this research to closely examine the text of the songs collected to see whether such aspirational references occur in the independent school songs of the UK.

In Figure 19, the Object, when considering Semiotics, has two aspects which must be considered and the first of these is labelled as *Denotation*. A word or portion of song text has a denotive meaning, that is a direct meaning, something which Meyer proposes should not be confused with the interpretants emotional response to the *Sign*. Meyer says, 'A clear distinction must be maintained between the emotions felt by the composer, listener, or critic- the emotional response itself- and the emotional state denoted by different aspects of the musical stimulus’ (Meyer, 1961: 13).

2.4.11 Connotation

The second aspect of Semiotics within this model is that of *Connotation* where the secondary or associated meanings of the *Object* are explored. Tagg explains 'Words, in other words, even nouns denoting concrete Objects, can be context sensitive and polysemic.' (Tagg, 2013: 171). This is an important consideration as a songs text may not only contain ethnographic connotations as a layer of intersubjectivity but may be understood on different levels by individual interpretants. Tagg explains that 'Connotations elicited by music are verbally accurate in relation not to verbal but to musical discourse. Music is an allogeneic sign system whose semantic precision relies largely on connotation and on iconic or indexical signs.' (Tagg, 2013: 171)

To be fully understood, connotations must be considered from a synchronic and diachronic perspective, which will be discussed in detail later. It is however important to approach the connotative qualities of the *Object* with the same precaution described by Tagg previously. As Meyer explains:

> *Since, however, connotations are not necessarily concomitant of musical experience, a potentially connotative passage may fail to evoke any concrete images whatsoever. Instead, the listener may become aware of how the musical passage "feels" in relation to his own designative emotional experiences and the observed emotional behaviour of others.*
>
> (Meyer, 1961: 266)

2.4.12 Syntax

The field labelled *Syntax* in Figure 19 represents the exploration of the relationships between one aspect of the *Sign* or *Object* and others. When examined in this field alone, syntax does not necessarily consider the meaning of the relationship, only stating that there is a relationship such as a school song on the topic of sport being written in a major key. Further analysis of meanings occurs within three additional layers, namely *Etymophony* and *Synchronic* and *Diachronic* perspectives.

2.4.13 Etymophony

Because the independent school song tradition spans over 140 years, any analysis of songs from its corpus must consider changes to language, both musical and verbal, over that time. In doing so, when attempting to analyse the ways in which a song may influence, create and sustain identity through shared musical experience, one can consider its influence on interpretants past and present and any changes in intersubjectivity which may have occurred.

The first field considered here is *Etymophony* which Tagg describes thusly, ‘Etymophony simply means studying the origins of a non-verbal Sonic structure and the development of its meanings and functions over time’ (Tagg, 2013: 159). Meyer also considers this chronological aspect of song analysis and its relevance to intersubjective understanding and experience of the song saying, 'Mood association by similarity depends upon a likeness between the individuals experiences of moods and his experience of music'. (Meyer, 1961: 268). The associations Meyer mentions are

influenced by not only where and how the *Object* and *Sign* are experienced but *when* this experience occurs. This is of significance to this research, and in particular the primary research question, as regularity of occasions at which a community engages with communal singing will impact the experience of that performance and the communal and individual response to the song.

2.4.14 Synchronic Perspective

Synchronic semantics involves the examination of signs from one point in time in one culture. This is important in understanding the composer's possible intention of meaning for the song at its time of composition, especially in those independent school songs which were written between 1850-1900. Eco (1989: 29) divides language by function into the following:

- Referential
- Emotive
- Conative (or imperative)
- Phatic
- Aesthetic
- Metalingual

Eco calls for a further distinction to be considered which examines the referential and emotive function of the language being studied. However, it is believed by Tagg that this is not enough to generate a full understanding of the *Object* being studied, calling for both a synchronic and diachronic perspective to be undertaken, something Tagg names *Diataxis* (Tagg, 2013: 20).[76]

[76] For further discussion of these terms and their application in school song writing see 5.5.6

2.4.15 Diachronic Perspective

Meyer (1961: 267) states that 'Different cultures may communicate moods and sentiments in very different ways, not because the psychological mechanism of association is different but because the behaviour patterns denoting mood and emotional states are different.' This is an important consideration when examining independent school songs and understanding the institutions, traditions and cultures in which the songs were written and developed. It is therefore essential to understand how these patterns and associations change over time so that the meaning of songs such as Jerry (Harrow, 2018) are fully understood.[77]

This chapter has presented the methodological framework used in this research and explained the need for the development of the Etymophonological framework. The adoption of this approach ensures that the aims of the research, particularly determining if and how independent school songs create identity and understanding the historical emergence, development, and use of independent senior school songs, can be fully explored. Each methodological decision outlined in this chapter contributes to the coherence of the research by balancing the historical development and use of independent school songs with the broader historical use of songs as pedagogical vehicles, as well as their ongoing use and relevance to school communities today.

Having identified the limitations of existing analytical models in relation to this research, five school songs were selected which represented the diversity of the collected repertoire. These songs, drawn from schools with varied gender profiles and

[77] *Jerry* begins with the sentence 'Jerry, a poor little fag'. At the time of its composition, Jerry recorded the common practice of fagging, where young students were subjected to varying degrees of servitude to older students within schools such as Harrow, Eton and Winchester College. The common association of the word fag today is with derogatory and discriminatory language used against homosexual men. Whilst it would be wrong to impose that meaning upon the song now, there would be merit in exploring student and staff responses towards the word from members both of those distinct school communities and of schools with no history of the practise.

other independent variables, were analysed to test the scope of the limitations identified. The outcomes of this analysis form the focus of the next chapter.

3 LIMITATIONS OF EXISTING ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORKS

3.1 Methods of Analysis

This thesis argues that school songs hold an elevated status within their communities and act as a focal point for community building and school legacy. To understand these phenomena more fully it is necessary, as outlined in the methodology chapter, to explore the musical artefacts themselves and also consider their complex contests and connections over time. This chapter will show that an examination of the music and song text using existing frameworks will offer limited insight into the ways and means in which the songs assist in the creation of identity. A full and detailed analysis of independent school songs must also consider the school itself, the institutionality of that school created by its independent variables, and its unique history as additional components as outlined previously in 2.1.2. Through examining these variables and other contextual aspects of school life, it is possible to better understand how the musical and thematic material of each song is given further significance, creating a unique tool for identity formation.

Where two components intersect, aspects of the multimedia analysis approach developed by Cook (2000) may be seen to exist. These aspects are connotative qualities, parallelisms of process and enabling equivalences as shown in Figure 7. Within this case study, each song is examined for elements of what Cook describes as the three models of multimedia, these being *conformance*, *complementation* and *contest*. This is achieved through undertaking Cook's Similarity And Difference Tests (Cook, 2000), which utilizes distinctions of components developed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), as shown in Figure 8. After each song analysis in this chapter the limitations of the approaches from using existing frameworks are presented alongside the ways in which an Etymophonological analysis would address those limitations.

3.2 Facebook and Social Media Assistance

During the collection phase of my research, the internet became a useful tool for locating songs for schools which had closed, enabling the collection of information on school songs that other formal avenues could not provide. Websites and Facebook groups belonging to past pupils aided in the collection of two particular songs namely Dr Williams' School for Girls, the song of which will be analysed in this chapter, and that of The Marist School, London.

Dr Williams' School for Girls, Dolgellau has a website dedicated to the school which closed in 1975 and a Facebook group of over 320 members. The website contained a recording of the final performance of the school Song, the school psalm, and a recording of the song undertaken in 2010 by girl choristers at the Cathedral School Llandaff under the direction of Mr Simon Lovell Jones (Dr Williams' School Old Girls' Association, 2021). This recording is dedicated to Dilys Elwyn Edwards, a composer who was both a pupil of the school and later became a member of staff at the Dr Williams' school. The recording was supported financially by Gillian Green MBE who held the directorship of Live Music Now in Wales for several years until 2014.[78] The organiser of the Facebook group was instrumental in providing information which directly led to the inclusion of the school song in this case study.[79]

In addition to Dr Williams' School for Girls, The Marist School became involved in my research following my contacting them on social media. Although not included in this case study, their contribution to this research provided essential data in answering subquestion 4 and is discussed further in 7.1.1.4. Unlike Dr Williams' School for Girls where the school song is recorded for posterity and available in a digital and audio format with potential longevity, the notated form of melody for The Marist School song was lost following the schools closure. Had the melody not been transcribed as a direct

[78] Further information regarding the recording and Ms Green may be found at Gillian Green : a life in music, recognised in Queen's Birthday Honours - Live Music Now

[79] There are however still unanswered questions regarding this song and its composer, especially in the contradiction of positionality between his role as priest of the local protestant church and the religious foundation of the school. Additionally, this song provides further evidence of the fragility of school songs and is therefore relevant to answering subquestion 4 of this thesis.

result of my contacting Ms Martin and her working with others to facilitate its notation, only the text would have remained (Ewart, 1969).[80] However, despite the similar independent variables between the two schools, the song of Dr Williams' school was included in this case study over that of the Marist School due to the existence of a recording of its final performance. Like other songs mentioned during this chapter, in particular the school song of Roedean and George Watsons' Ladies College, and Whitland Grammar School, the fragility of the material I have collected over the course of this research is further highlighted as is the importance of their preservation.

3.3 Dr Williams' School for Girls: A non-conformist, non-operational school in Wales

Dr Williams' School for Girls was a non-conformist day and boarding school in Dolgellau, North Wales. the school opened in 1875 and was in part founded by the Welsh liberal politician Samuel Holland. Holland purchased two acres of land in the area and helped raise an additional £1,400 to assist with founding the school. Holland was instrumental in the school being situated in Dolgellau, the original intended location being Caernarfon (Dr Williams' School OGA, 2021). Holland was the school's first Chair of the Board of Governors, a board consisting of ten members, four of which were women and many of whom were non-conformists.[81] Whilst Howell's School Denbigh and Howell's School, Cardiff were both "through schools" for girls and founded earlier than Dr Williams' school, (Knight, 1926) Dr Williams' School was one of the first senior school for girls of its kind in Wales. [82]

The non-conformist foundation of Dr Williams' School is an important feature of its identity as it speaks to the educational tensions between Wales and the Church of England (Wyn, 2011) as discussed in the literature review (1.2.1). Welsh schools were

[80] This process of re discovery and notation is outlined in 7.1.1
[81] The inclusion of 4 females on the board of Governors is highly unusual for this time, being only 5 years after the Education Act (1870) was passed and 7 years after the Taunton Report (1868) discussed the need for and benefit of educating women.
[82] Howell's School Denbigh was founded in 1859 and Howell's School Cardiff in 1860.

adversely impacted by parliamentary educational reforms in 1839, 1870 and 1880, especially those which made academic provision through the medium of English compulsory (Jones and Roderick, 2003). In Wales therefore, non-conformist chapels played a distinct role in educating the community, usually through the medium of Welsh. From 1850–1880, 95% of all Sunday school attendances in Caernarfonshire, where Dr Williams' School was originally intended to be built, were for non-conformist chapels with nearly 60% of people in this area identifying as Welsh Calvinistic Methodists (Snell, 1999: 147) and it was here in Sunday schools that communities would learn literacy and numeracy skills.

Given the non-conformist foundation of Dr Williams' School for Girls, it is interesting to note that the school song is a hymn whose words were written by the protestant Vicar of Llanidloes, the Reverend H.O. Hughes. There is, in addition to the school hymn which was set to a melody by Monk (1878), a school psalm (Psalm 121 *'I will lift up mine eyes to the Hills'*) of which there is also a recording (Anonymous, 1975). The surviving score of the psalm is shown below

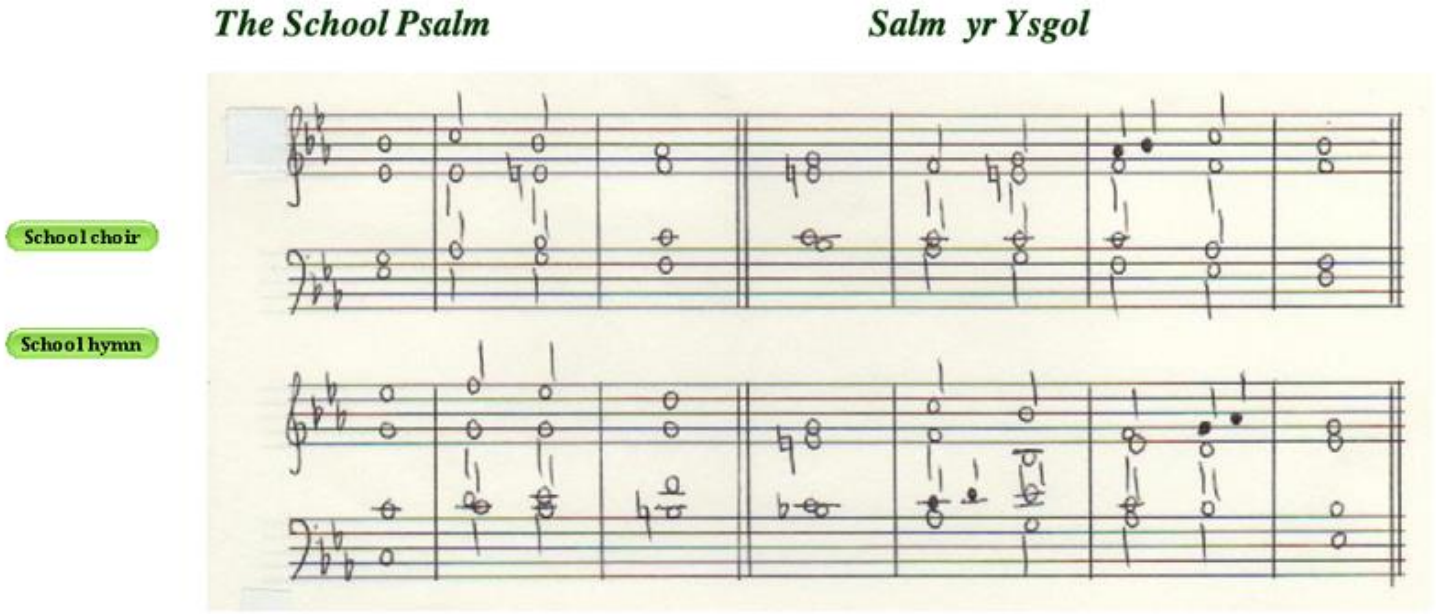


Figure 21. School Psalm score (Dr Williams' School OGA, 2021)

This double chant, shown in Figure 22 does not appear in the RSCM chant book (RSCM, 1981) and is not identifiable amongst those chants found within the Anglican Chant Index (Meijer, 2013) as such, this chant may have been written by someone within the school or by Reverend Hughes himself but there is no clear indication of the composer on the score.



Figure 22. Typesetting of school psalm chant

The song lyrics and use of psalmody show that although the school had a non-conformist foundation it had musical traditions closely associated with the Church of England.[83] The hymn *O God Who Dwellest in the Heavens Above* was written in 1878 and continued to be sung until the school's' closure in 1975, of which a recording of the final performance made by John Peel may be heard online (Dr Williams' School Old Girls' Association, 2021). Another anomaly of this particular school song is that of the song text being in English when Dolgellau is predominantly Welsh speaking. However, the demographic of the school may have changed considerably during the 20th century as there are several recordings from the 1960s on the Old Girls Association website featuring Welsh hymns and traditional Welsh music such as Plygain (Dr Williams'

[83] The Church in Wales did not exist as a separate entity until 1920 following the Welsh Church Act of 1914 (His Majesty's Government, 1914)

School Old Girls' Association, 2021) which shows that a considerable portion of the school spoke Welsh to some degree area.

Furthermore, the melody for the hymn raises several questions, perhaps most importantly that of how it came to be known and used in the school. *Unde et Memores* was composed by William Henry Monk in 1875 (Monk, 1875), only three years before the school song text was written and the hymn performed. Monk was Professor of Vocal Studies at King's College, London, and also taught at the National Training School for Music in 1876 (to become the Royal College of Music) and Bedford College in 1878. Monk was a prolific hymnist and editor, and he is perhaps most recognised for his melodies *Eventide* (Monk, 1861), *All things Bright and Beautiful* (Monk, 1887) and for the hymn *Abide with Me*. In addition, Monk edited four editions of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* in 1861, 1868, 1875 and 1889 and it is possible that due to the popularity of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* as one of the first extensive collection of hymns from a wide range of UK Christian traditions, that Rev. Hughes would have been familiar with or had access to *Unde et Memores*.[84]

The melody for *Unde et Memores* covers the range of an octave and is written for four-part voices. The 1975 recording (Dr Williams' School Old Girls' Association, 2021) suggests that the harmonies were well known and regularly sung by the students. In this recording the song is sung confidently in 3-part harmony with a range of differently aged voices heard within the congregation. Particular attention paid to where to breathe in Verse three which does not fit the pattern of earlier Verses. This congregation is likely to have consisted of past pupils of different ages who returned for the closing service of the school and who had clearly retained that particular performance praxis of when to breathe. The connotative qualities of this school song suggest the type of singing found in Chapels at that time, which is in keeping with the school's non-conformist foundation. The music was written for organ and indeed the recording of its final performance took place in the local church, St Mary's Dolgellau. A photograph of the

[84] Whilst the compilation and printing of National song books for state schools is discussed in 1.1.5, there emerged during my research evidence of a similar tension of opposing ideas between those who sought to compile publish hymnals. This topic is suitable for future research as will be discussed in 7.1.4.4.

school hall in approximately 1940 (Figure 23) shows a piano on the hall stage but an organ is located on the floor in front of the stage.



Figure 23. Dr Williams' School hall, Dolgellau c.1940 (Dr Williams' OGA Facebook Group, 2023)

The new hall was built in 1939 under the direction of the Headmistress of the time, Miss Ellen Constance Nightingale, who was a Quaker. There are considerable similarities in the architecture of the hall and the interior of Quaker Meeting Houses and non-conformist chapels. These similarities include a lack of ornamentation to the space, the upper balcony area overlooking the main body of the room and a raised dais where people of importance sit, as suggested by the seven chairs on a dais behind the piano. Such features may be seen in the image below of the Quaker Meeting House in Herford which is the oldest meeting house in continuous use by Quakers.



Figure 24 Herford Quaker Meeting House (The Religious Society of Friends, 2025)

The similarities may also be seen in the image below, taken from a book on non-conformist chapel building written by Welsh chapel architect, Sir William Beddoe Rees (1903). Here the upper balcony, raised dais and space behind may be clearly seen.



Figure 25. Interior view of a non-conformist chapel (Beddoe Rees, 1903)

There is however conflict in the heterogeneity created by an English language hymn being used in North Wales at this time, compounded by the text of the hymn being written by a Protestant priest. Based on existing evidence, the enabling equivalence between the text of the song and its location does not primarily build a sense of regional pride or nationalism and so this school song would therefore be considered *contradictory* within the *Multicomponent Analysis* model (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) due to its conflict between different components. Under this model the outcome is therefore one of contradiction. However, wider factors such as religious identity in Wales during this period, political tensions relating to language, song repertoire and the way in which songs were taught, clearly bear on this conflict. These factors cannot be synthesised through the Multicomponent Analysis framework, and as such the outcome does not provide a fully accurate understanding of the song.

As outlined at the start of the chapter, these short song analyses serve to highlight the limitations of existing analytical models. As such, although it was not employed here, an *Etymophonological framework* analysis of the components discussed in this case study would consider the paramusical aspects of the hall alongside the denotive and connotative aspects of the song text. When these aspects are utilised with other fields shown in Figure 19, such as the *Sign* and its link to the English hymn writing, and the *Object* being written by a Welsh priest but in English, the outcome of an Etymophonological analysis would have provided a more granular discourse on the ethnographic intersubjectivity of the song. It would then be possible for the resultant *Icon* from where the *Sign* and *Object* overlap to be clearly situated against a wider historical background of educational and cultural policy which were integral to the community in which the song was performed. Such a framework would make it possible to explore these and other variations in the *interpersonal intersubjectivity* of the song, the *Etymophonological Framework* would enable an analyst to avoid statemented outcomes such as *contradictory* in favour of more nuanced findings.

3.4 George Watson's Ladies' College: Female school song composers at a non-operational school in Scotland

George Watson's Ladies' College was founded in 1871 in George Square in Edinburgh, Scotland. Dr. Charlotte Ainslie became the first female head of an Edinburgh Merchant Company school when she was appointed to George Watson's Ladies' College in 1902, having previously attended the school as a student from 1873–1880, and holding the position until her retirement in 1926 (Howie et al., 2006). Ainslie was a prominent figure in Scottish education and in particular the field of female education where she was a member of the Scottish Education Reform Committee and a convener of the Women's Education Sub-Committee (Howie, 2006). Her positions of vice-president of the Edinburgh Women's Citizens' Association and president of the Secondary Education Association of Scotland, arguably making her the leading Scottish expert on the education of girls of secondary age. However, it was only at her retirement that Ainslie announced that she had written the text for the school Song, *Ex Corde Caritas*, translated as 'Love from the heart'. Until this point, it was only known that the text and original melody had been written by three former pupils, making the song unique amongst the current collected corpus.

The score for *Ex Corde Caritas* has a subtitle of 'Festal Hymn', which reflects the themes of service and charity which permeate the text and the notion of it being performed for special occasions as will be discussed later. The first page of this score may be seen below in Figure 26.

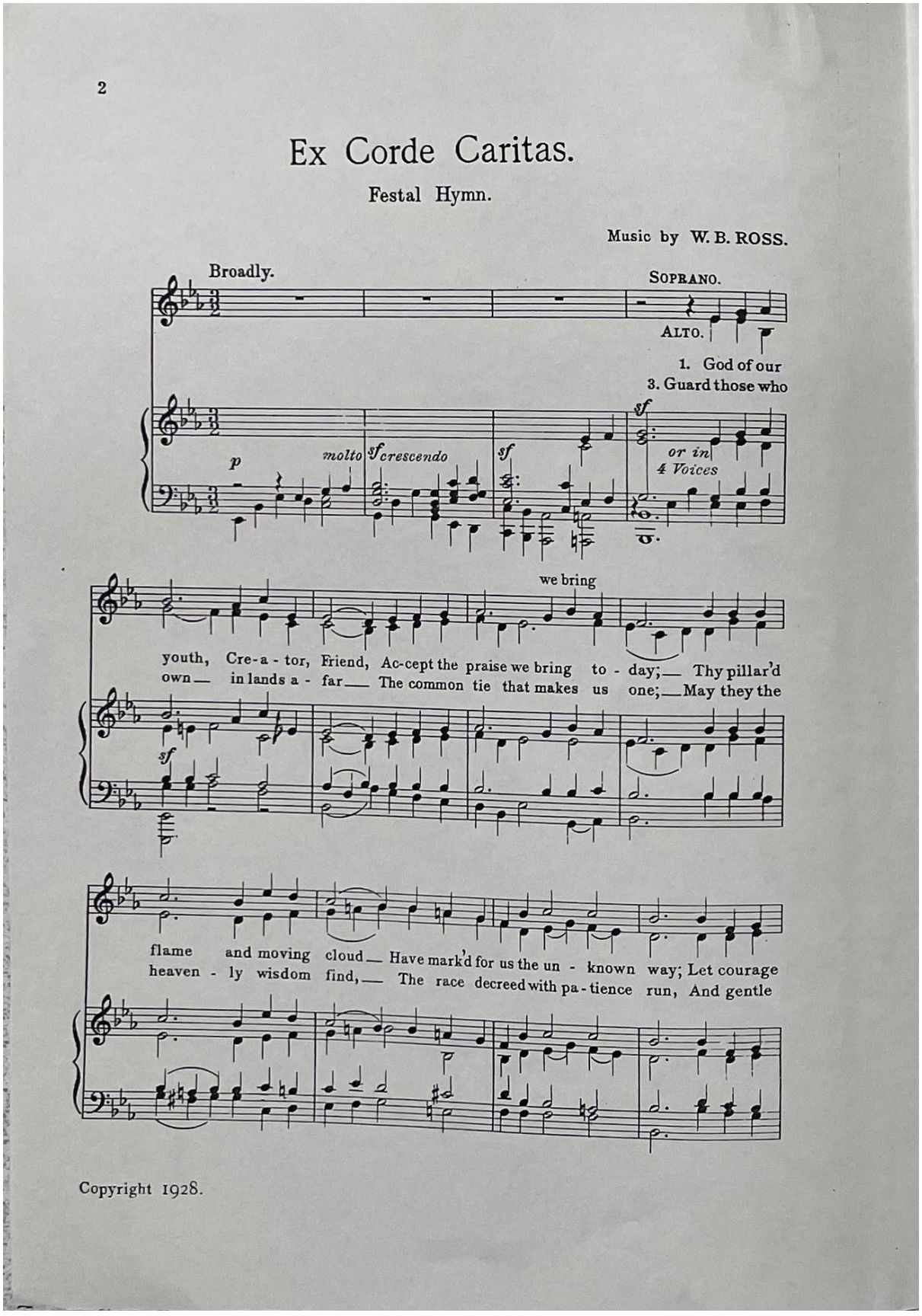


Figure 26. First Page of Ex Corde Caritas score (Ross, 1928)

The text is as follows:

GOD of our Youth, Creator, Friend,
Accept the praise we bring to-day;
Thy pillared flame and moving cloud
Have marked for us the unknown way;
Let courage still our steps attend,
And love enfold us to the end.

Steadfast, united, may we stand,
To right the wrong, to conquer sin;
Nor fail through quest of selfish ends
The nobler victory to win –
Rejoicing in another's good,
With generous glow of brotherhood.

Guard those who own in lands afar
The common tie that makes us one;
May they the heavenly wisdom find,
The race decreed with patience run,
And gentle both in thought and deed,
Bring succour to another's need.

God of our life, no gifts we crave
Of fleeting wealth or idle fame,
No angel tongues with clarion note,
Nor palms that crown the martyr's shame;
Fill Thou the hearts we lift to Thee,
With quenchless fire of charity.

The metre of the hymn is 8.8.8.8.8.8. which would suggest a duple or quadruple metre. However, the melody for the hymn is in 3/2, an uncommon metre for a school song and the only example of this time signature within the current corpus. Additionally, this is one of only 17 collected songs in a triple metre (3% of the collection). The music for the school Hymn, originally composed by students Miss Winnie Fry and Miss Molly Grierson, is a rarity amongst the body of extant school songs where no other song currently has lyrics and a melody written by past students. This research has uncovered

few school songs written by women and no other examples of a school hymn which has been written and composed by three female past pupils. The score has a copyright date of 1928 and shows W.B. Ross as the arranger (Ross et al., 1928). The melody, originally composed by Miss Fry and Miss Grierson, was expanded and arguably elevated by the arrangement undertaken by Dr W.B. Ross. Ross was a prominent organist, founder and president of the Edinburgh Society of Organists and Head of Music at the Ladies College between 1908-37 (Howie et al., 2006).

The hymn is written in Eb major and the melody spans a 9th, fitting comfortably in the female range. The descant composed by Ross extends the range to a top G and is intended to be sung in Verse 2 and Verse 4. The descant and bears a similarity to Ross' descant for *Crimond* (Ross, 1914).[85] A comparison of the melodic shape of both descants may be seen in Figure 27 where that of *Ex Corde Caritas* has been realised in the same metre as *Crimond* for ease of comparison.



Figure 27. Comparison of descants from Crimond and Ex Corde Caritas

[85] Although although written in 1914, the *Crimond* descant was first aired publicly at the wedding of Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Phillip in 1947.

The ascending shape of the first bar of the *Crimond* descant along with its anacrusis is largely the same as *Ex Corde Caritas*. This similarity is also noticeable in the shape of bar 5 where both descants raise a third between beats one and three before descending conjunctly in bar 6. However, the length of the descent for *Ex Corde Caritas* is extended by a quaver with rhythmic similarities between the two descants also exist in bars 6, 9, 10, and 11. The introduction of the festal hymn is similar to the introduction of the Downside School song which will be discussed later in this chapter. Here may be seen a similar rising shape and thickening texture as seen in Figure 27 and Figure 28. Whilst it is unlikely that Ross and Shebbeare (the composer of the Downside School song) knew each other, they may have known of each other's works. Additionally, as both composers were prominent organists, and would have been surrounded by similar repertoire and musical influences.



Figure 28. Opening of Downside School song (Shebbeare, 1914)



Figure 29. Opening of George Watson's Ladies College song (Ross, 1928)

Hymn singing at George Watson's Ladies' College became an important part of morning assemblies from 1902 under the direction of Dr Ainslie and these took place in the Central Hall (Howie et al., 2006). the school hymn, having been sung at major events at George Watson's Ladies' College such as Commemoration Day since 1918, was additionally programmed alongside the *Crimond* setting of Psalm 23 with Ross' descant as part of the 'Annual Closing Concert and Prize Giving' at Usher Hall, Edinburgh in the mid-1920s where the accompaniment was expanded and performed by the school orchestra. the school hymn continued to be performed until the school merged with George Watson's School, a boys' school, in 1974 (Howie et al., 2006). However, Ainslie's teaching legacy and the song itself remain a cherished part of the school and its history.

As the performances of the school hymn developed and moved from the school hall to larger venues such as Usher Hall, Ross' expanded orchestration became even more fitting. The grandeur of the music by Ross may therefore be seen to reflect Ainslie's aspirations for her pupils in particular, as seen in the text and the education of females in general . The text of the song was further reflected in the war efforts of Dr Ainslie and the staff and community of the school during World War 1 where the school remained open and actively sought to help the wider communities and soldiers in need. The final word of the song, charity, is an accepted translation of the word caritas (Collins, 2025) and is found in both the title of the hymn and the school motto. As such this word was known by and of importance to the school community. the song text, music and location may therefore be said to complement each other as each component comes from the school itself.

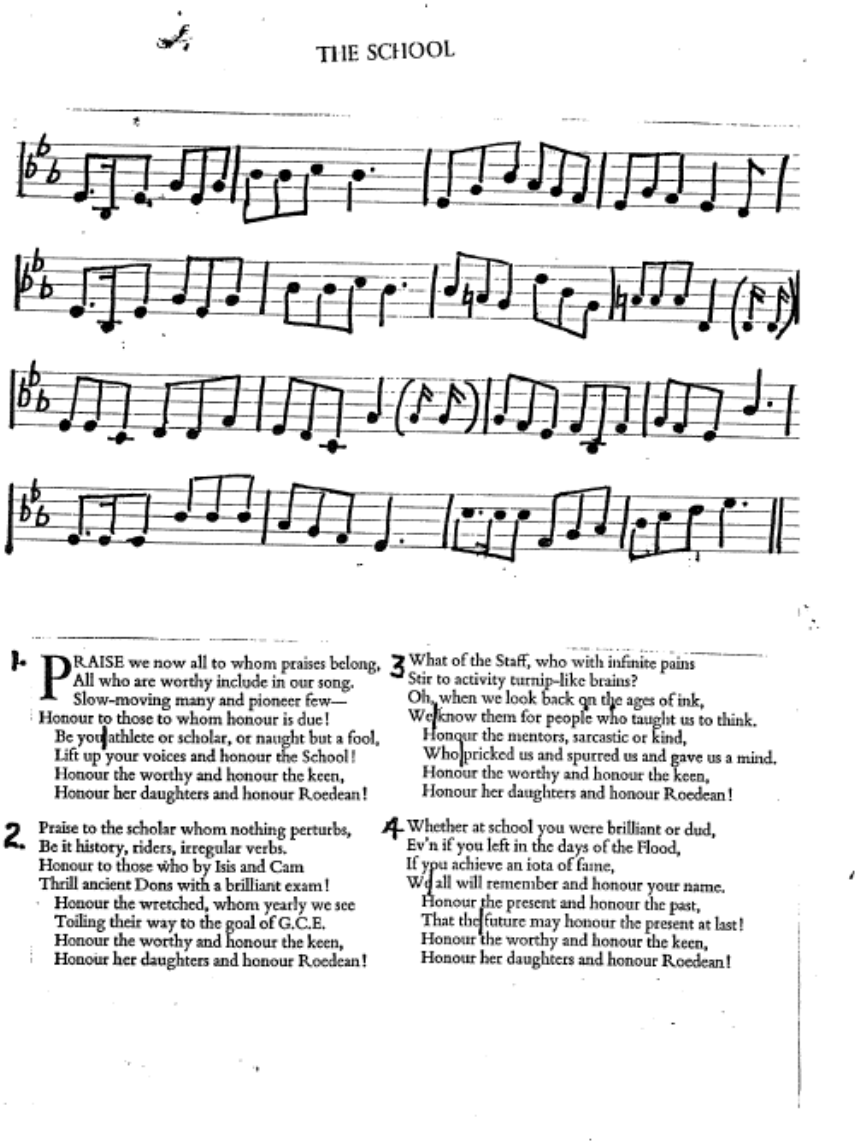
The multicomponent model offers limited opportunity for understanding the impact of the change of venue upon the performance practice and the ethnographic and individual experience of the song. An Etymophonological analysis of *Ex Corde Caritas* would be able to consider the significance of both venues to those performing the song and also those who performed it at the 150th anniversary celebrations of George Watsons Ladies College in 2021. Furthermore, an Etymophonological analysis would examine the potential impact which these venue changes, and as such the change to

any paramusical evidence, may have had upon the school communities experience of the song.[86]

3.5 Roedean School: An example of a school song requiring reconstruction from a melody.

Roedean School is a girls' day and boarding school located close to the Sussex coastline. The school was founded in 1885 by three sisters, Dorothy, Millicent and Penelope Lawrence. It was built with the intention of preparing girls for the new ladies' colleges of Cambridge – Girton College and Newnham College (Roedean, 2014). The surviving score lacks a definitive date of composition. However, through correspondence in 2021 with the Director of Music, it was confirmed that the song is no longer performed. The then Director of Music, Veronica Fewkes, explained 'I'm afraid I can remember only one occasion when we attempted to sing this song.... not very successful[ly]. I think these songs were of their time and sadly are no longer known' (Fewkes, 2021). The only surviving score of the melody is handwritten and appears at the top of an A4 page of what appears to be a photocopy of lyrics as shown in Figure 30. As such, the score contains no authorial details although the text does appear in Ewart's anthology (Ewart, 1969). Its inclusion in Ewart's anthology indicates that the song held significance for the school at the time of publication, yet it evidently fell out of use between then and the 1990's. This pattern highlights an important point within the thesis: independent school songs can fall out of use rapidly, and their associated related materials become at risk of loss or fragmentation within a relatively short timeframe.

[86] See 4.2.5, Harrow Case Study for an etymophonological analysis of the influence of multiple venues on school song performance and the contribution to identity.



THE SCHOOL

1. PRAISE we now all to whom praises belong,
All who are worthy include in our song.
Slow-moving many and pioneer few—
Honour to those to whom honour is due!
Be you athlete or scholar, or naught but a fool,
Lift up your voices and honour the School!
Honour the worthy and honour the keen,
Honour her daughters and honour Roedean!

2. Praise to the scholar whom nothing perturbs,
Be it history, riders, irregular verbs.
Honour to those who by Isis and Cam
Thrill ancient Dons with a brilliant exam!
Honour the wretched, whom yearly we see
Toiling their way to the goal of G.C.E.
Honour the worthy and honour the keen,
Honour her daughters and honour Roedean!

3. What of the Staff, who with infinite pains
Stir to activity turnip-like brains?
Oh, when we look back on the ages of ink,
We know them for people who taught us to think.
Honour the mentors, sarcastic or kind,
Who pricked us and spurred us and gave us a mind.
Honour the worthy and honour the keen,
Honour her daughters and honour Roedean!

4. Whether at school you were brilliant or dud,
Ev'n if you left in the days of the Flood,
If you achieve an iota of fame,
We all will remember and honour your name.
Honour the present and honour the past,
That the future may honour the present at last!
Honour the worthy and honour the keen,
Honour her daughters and honour Roedean!

Figure 30. Surviving Score of Roedean School song (Unknown, 1957)

This song was selected for inclusion in the case study due to unique characteristics of its score and the fragility of its position in the school. It is therefore important in providing data for subquestion 4.

Little is known of the performance context of the song, but an examination of the text and its irreverent nature makes it highly unlikely it would have been performed at formal school events such as speech day. the song text includes commentary upon the varied academic abilities of all those who studied at Roedean and is as follows.

The School

Praise we now all to whom praises belong,

All who are worthy include in our song.

Slow moving many and pioneer few-

Honor to those to whom honour is due!

Beat you athlete or scholar, or naught, but a fool,

Lift up your voices and honour the school!

Honour the worthy and honour the keen,

Honour her daughters and honour Roedean!

Praise to the scholar, whom nothing perturbs,

Beard history, riders, irregular verbs.

Honour to those who by ISIS and Cam

Thrill ancient cons with a brilliant. Exam!

Honor the wretched, whom yearly we see

Toiling their way to the goal of G.C.E.

Honour the worthy and honour the keen,

Honour her daughters and honour Roedean!

Honour to those who in tropical Suns

Add to our laurels with runs upon runs;

Also to those who in wind and in rain

Shoot goals, and save goals, and shoot them again!

Honour to those who play tennis or swim,

To the stars of our dancing, the stars of our gym.

Honour the worthy and honour the keen,

Honour her daughters and honour Roedean!

What of the staff, Who, with infinite pains

Stir to activity turnip like brains,

Oh, when we look back on the pages of ink,

We know them for people who taught us to think,

Honour the mentors, sarcastic or kind,

Who pricked us and spurred us and gave us a mind.

Honour the worthy and honour the keen,

Honour her daughters and honour Roedean!

The song is at times self-effacing of the students, describing ‘slow-moving many and pioneer few‘ in verse 1, ‘turnip like brains’ in verse 3, and ‘brilliant or dud’ in verse 4. It is, in this respect, unique amongst the songs of this case study, and indeed the other songs in the corpus. Such textual references suggest that the song was likely performed during assemblies or at transitional points in the school year, probably in a school hall, where communal humour and collective identity could be reinforced at the start or end of term. This variability in tone and implied performance practice is further evidence as

to the importance of the Etymophonological framework in analysing a tradition of singing which is dynamic, complicated and does not conform to a singular model of performance practice.

The refrain of each verse states 'Honour the worthy and honour the keen, Honour her daughters and honour Roedean!' This is a play on the school motto of *Honneur aulx dignes* meaning 'honour the worthy', which when spoken aloud sounds like "Honour Roedean'. It may be assumed that the *her* of the refrain is the school itself.[87] Additionally, the text offers another reference to the school's initial ties to the Cambridge Colleges mentioned previously through describing the teaching staff as 'Ancient Dons'. *Don* is a term used in Oxbridge Colleges to describe teaching staff and is also used in Winchester College and Radley College for the same purpose.

Whilst the score offers no indication of a compositional date, Ewart's inclusion in his anthology (Ewart, 1969), features textual differences to the copy in my collection which may provide relevant information. The second verse in Figure 30 mentions 'Toiling their way to the goal of G.C.E.', which would provide the earliest date of the song as 1951 when GCE exams were introduced. In Ewart's anthology (Ewart, 1969) the same line reads 'Toiling their way to the goal of S.C' which spans the melodic line more convincingly than the text provided by the school. It is possible that S.C. could be a mishearing and subsequent typing of S.C. or 'School Certificate', a formal qualification introduced in the UK 1918, or a shortening of C.S.E., the Certificate of Secondary Education, which was introduced in 1961 and therefore an updating of the school's text. Here, the intended use of C.S.E. is more probable as the previous line of verse 2 'whom yearly we see', suggests whichever exam is referenced is not a new fixture within the school. The song's inclusion Ewart's anthology, along with additional clues offered by the song text therefore suggests an approximate compositional date range for the song from 1950-1960.

There is a reference in the third verse which initially may be taken as a commentary on the age of some past pupils but may also describe the age of the school. The line 'Ev'n if

[87] Depictions of the school as a feminine mother figure is significant amongst the corpus and is discussed further in 6.2.2.2.

you left in the days of the flood', can appear to suggest pupils from antediluvian times and this continues the songs irreverent tone but it is possible this may instead reference the location of the school itself. A flood map for Roedean Village, where the school was originally founded, as seen in Figure 31 shows high flood risks for a large portion of the dwellings located close to the school. As such the reference to people leaving during 'the days of the flood' may recall a specific event.

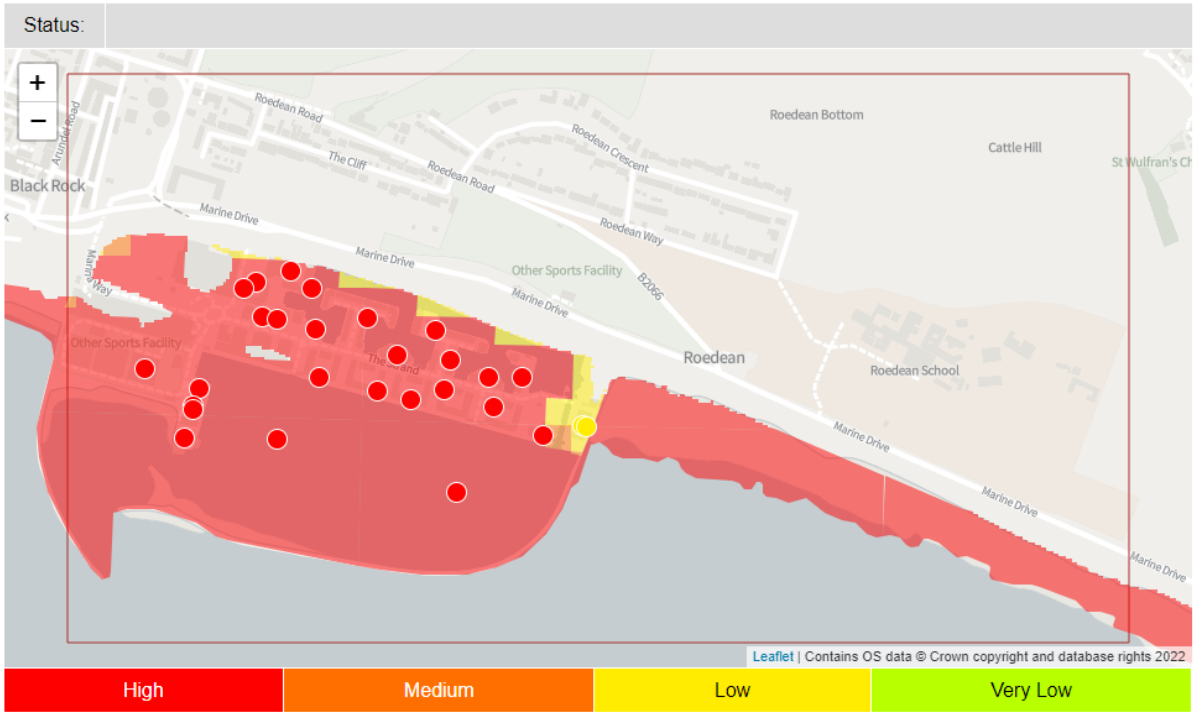


Figure 31. Map of flood risk area surrounding Roedean village (Get the Data, 2021)

The melody of the song survives in handwritten form as shown previously and which can be seen below in typeset form in Figure 32.



Figure 32. Typesetting of Roedean School song melody

Whilst not shown on the handwritten score, the key signature clearly indicates that this melody is in treble clef. At the time of writing, only 31 songs from the corpus are written with a compound time signature, although this may be due to the large number of hymns and religious themed songs in the collection. However, it should be noted that this time signature is in keeping with the jovial mood of the song text which is in contrast to the more serious and often religious or spiritual nature of a large proportion of the discovered corpus. The melodic range of an 11th is found occasionally amongst the corpus, occurring in 26 (13%) of the 196 entries for which the vocal range is known. There is a repeated use of triadic motifs throughout the piece and the rhythm of bar one appears four times during the melody would make the melody simple to learn.

There is no indication of instrumentation or harmony on the handwritten score, however the melody is clearly diatonic and can be harmonized with primary chords. There is a moment of harmonic complexity within bars 7 and 8 where the melody suggests a move to the dominant of the relative minor before using a Dm chord as a pivot back to the tonic bar 9. My suggested harmonisations may be seen on the score below in Figure 33.[88]

[88] A similar approach was taking in the reharmonization of the Stowe School song, as is discussed in 5.3.4.



Figure 33. Possible harmonies for Roedean School song melody

Having examined the location, text and music of the Roedean School song, it may be seen as falling within Ewart's (1969) category of *Moral Uplift*, his description of which is songs that extol pupils to 'Be good' (Ewart, 1969). This was discussed previously in 1.1.6. This is a suitable categorisation in keeping with the songs' major key, compound metre and folk influenced melodic line. The text, by way of its calling for *honour* and *praise* of its pupils, also supports this categorisation despite the less favorable descriptions of some pupils' intellectual abilities. Indeed, using Cook's (2000) model, the metre and text are coherent through the occurrence of differential elaboration in understanding the cultural associations of folk music and in particular secular folk songs with a similar sense of satirical humour.

When considering the relationship between music, text and location, however, a conflict occurs between the high-spirited and self-effacing character of the song and the intention upon which the school itself was founded. It seems unlikely that the Lawrence sisters would have intended the pupils they hoped to prepare for Cambridge to be described as having 'Turnip-like brains', especially at a time when the education of females faced considerable prejudices. This may also explain why the song has not been performed for over twenty years. the school song for Roedean may then be

described as an example of *contest* between component parts where the lyrics have autonomy over the location and, through an incomplete score, the music.

3.6 Downside School: A Catholic Boys' school.

Downside School is a Catholic co-educational day and boarding school in Somerset, England. It was established in 1617 by Benedictine monks and was a single sex boys' school until 2005 when it became fully co-educational. It is currently run by members of the Benedictine Community and lay staff. The proximity of the school to the abbey enables important events during the academic year to take place within the abbey itself. This is the venue for the performance of the school Song, a recording of which is available on Soundcloud (Downside Abbey, 2016). This song was selected for the case due to it being recommended, unprompted, by directors of music who had previously worked at Downside before accepting promotions at other schools as mentioned in the methodology chapter 2.2.1.5. The solo and refrain structure of the song differentiated it from the other works to be included in the case study, as did its Latin text. Additionally, and unlike the song of the Marist school, which was also a Catholic independent school, the song of Downside School has a completed score which is shown below in Figure 34 and is still in use with recordings of its performance readily available online.[89]

[89] A live performance of the song may be found at Downside School song by DownsideAbbey

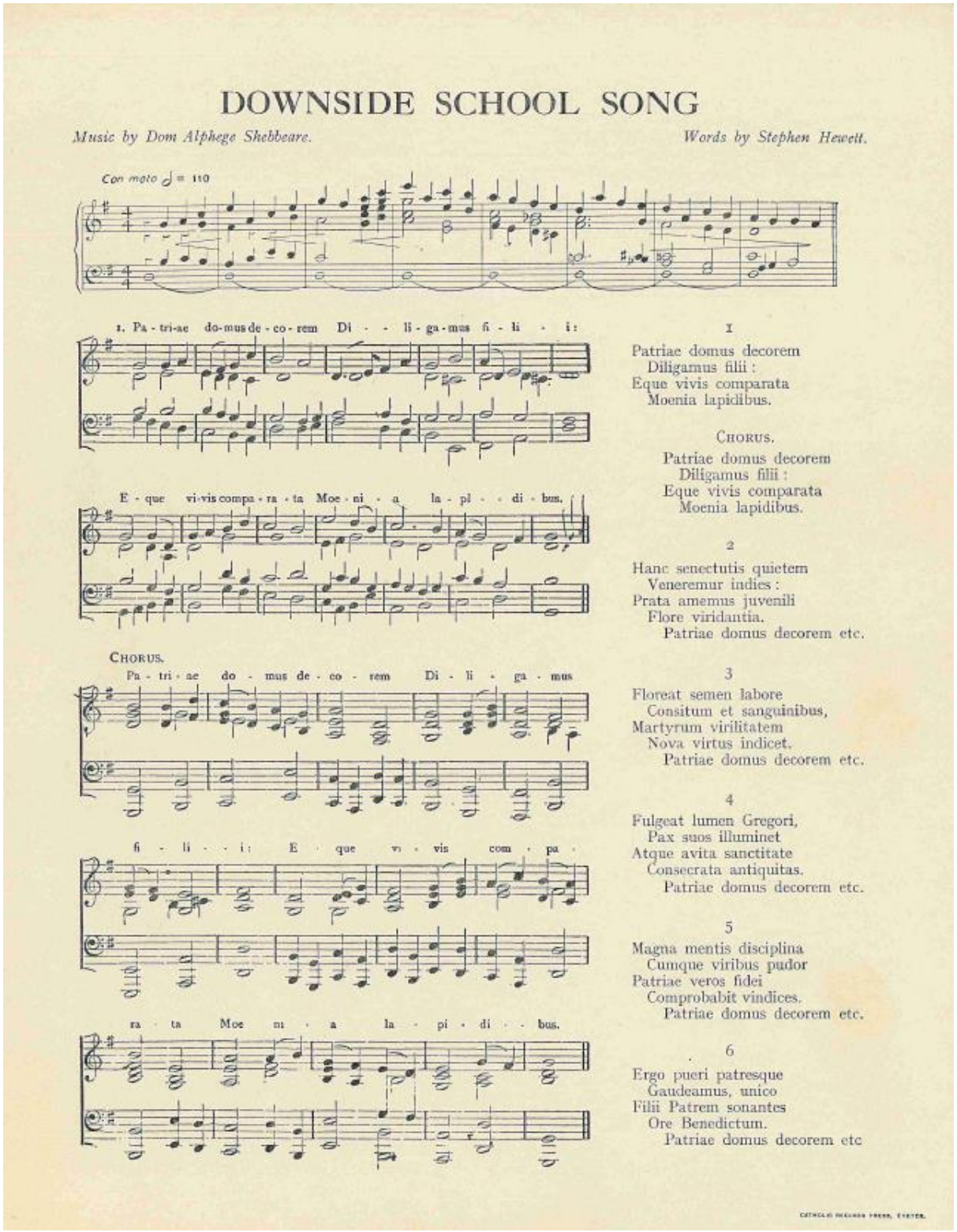


Figure 34. Score of the Downside School song (Shebbeare, 1914)

The music for Downside School song was written in 1914 by Dom Alphege Shebbeare, a Benedictine monk, organist and composer. The text for the school song was written by a pupil, Stephen Hewett, before he left to participate in World War 1 where he was killed in action (C. W. G. C., 2026). The text is in Latin, fitting for a school so closely linked to a Benedictine Abbey, and the song is in verse chorus form where the first verse text is used for the chorus. The verses are intended to be sung by a soloist whilst the chorus is sung by the congregation, as happens in the performance practice of psalmody used during the Catholic Mass. The text includes references to St Gregory, the patron saint of the abbey, to God and to the beauty of the building made of 'living stones'. These stones may be seen to represent the monks, children and the larger Benedictine community.

The first two verses appear in an online document from the school's Prize Giving Day in 2016, but a translation is also included in Ewart's anthology (Ewart, 1969). There is a considerable difference in the translations as may be seen in Table 11.

Table 11. Text and translations of Downside School song

Original Latin (1914)	Gavin Ewart Translation (1969)	Downside Translation (2016)
Patria domus decorum Diligiamus filii: Eque vivis comparata Moenia lapidibus	Praise we our sires In Loyalty Who braved the fires, Whose seed are we.	The glory of a Father's house Is for the children to love And these its walls, Made and built from living stones.

Ewart's translation was carried out by a 'team of two translators' (Ewart, 1969: 3) who appear to have taken references from later verses to make the text rhyme. Such modifications include the mention of 'seeds' from verse 3 and leaving the references to the 'glory of the house/home' until verse 4. Ewart's book does not distinguish the chorus from the verses and so presents the song as if it were strophic which is problematic and enables a misinterpretation of the material and its performance practice.

The music of the school song is written for organ (Shebbeare, 1914) but has since been arranged for full orchestra as can be heard in the online recording (Downside Abbey, 2016).[90] There is an eight-bar introduction of ascending arpeggiated figures, like that of *Ex Corde Caritas* as discussed previously. These occur over a dominant pedal before the soloist enters for the first verse. The introduction is reminiscent of that of *Jerusalem* (Parry, 1916) with an anthemic gravitas which sets a serious but uplifting mood before the soloist enters. There is a clear distinction between the writing for the verse and the chorus. As befits the soloist, the verse features more independent part writing in the accompaniment. The chorus is more clearly written for unison singing and features a bass part which moves almost exclusively in octaves, the lower line of which would be performed on the organ pedalboard.

As shown in Figure 34, the harmonies of this song are diatonic and remain firmly grounded in the tonic of G, with a brief modulation to the dominant towards the middle of the chorus. The vocal line spans a 9th and sits comfortably in the mid-range of the Treble voice or for a Tenor soloist if sung an octave lower than written. The top E of the verse is the high point of the solo vocal line, the congregational chorus not rising above a D.

The three components of the Downside School song, namely the music, the song text and the location, demonstrate a triadic conformance where each component complements and supports the other. The music, written for organ and four-part voices, sits comfortably within the style of music expected for an abbey. There are parallelisms of process between the verse/chorus structure of the Downside School song reflecting

[90] This expansion of instrumentation has also occurred with several of the Harrow School songs, as discussed in 4.2.4.

features of psalmodic performance practices used in the Catholic Mass. Similarly, the Latin text of the song and its composition before the Second Vatican Council in 1965 reflects the use of Latin within the Catholic Mass at the time, after which it became more common for Mass to be held in the language local to the church's location. As such there is no need to employ differential elaboration, where the components of the song such as choice of language and instrumental setting can be elaborated upon from other music of a similar setting, in this case Catholic Mass, as each component is consistent.

This *triadic conformance* may have contributed to the positive individual intersubjectivity expressed by the two directors of music who recommended this song to me. An Etymophonological analysis of the song would provide further information on the extent to which paramusical evidence, such as the presence of Monks wearing vestments, supports the Etymophonological *Icon*. Additionally, an Etymophonological analysis would support an examination of any changes in attitude towards the language of the song in relation to any change in the school population. This may occur both in terms of where students are from geographically and their individual religion, supporting commentary upon how those variations impact the songs ability to create identity.

3.7 Harrow School: The continued singing legacy of John Farmer

Harrow School is a boys' boarding school located in Greater London, England which was founded in 1572 by John Lyon, a wealthy farmer who was granted a royal charter from Queen Elizabeth I. Harrow School remains one of the UK's most prominent independent schools alongside Eton College, Winchester College and Radley. Harrow's body of songs and their performance practice will be discussed in detail in 4.1.

Forty Years On is arguably the most well-known of any UK independent school song and has been performed regularly at Harrow since its composition by John Farmer in 1872 as well as having been adopted by other schools across the UK and indeed internationally (Butcher, 1951). This song was selected for inclusion in this case study

because of its importance to the corpus of Harrow's repertoire and its wider public profile, a unique trait for an independent school song.

John Farmer's contribution to independent school music, especially the writing of his Harrow School songs and founding of House Singing competitions (Peppin, 1905) shaped the face of music in independent schools (Rainbow 1990). George Dyson said in his address to the Music Masters Association at their Jubilee in 1927:

> *The first musician who established himself securely in the center of school life was John Farmer at Harrow. Between 1862 and 1885 he did what no other man has done before or since. He not only made his school sing, but he also created or inspired the songs they sang, songs which have carried his name and the Harrow tradition into every corner of the English world.*
>
> (Dyson, 1952)[91]

Forty Years On, along with Farmer's other songs and those of the directors of music who followed him, namely Reginald Thatcher, Eaton Faning and Percy Buck, were published in the Harrow School Songbook(Harrow, 2018) which continues to be printed by Harrow School Enterprises to this day. Cyril Norwood, writing in 1936 explains that

> *...the end of term concert- a great feature at Harrow - the singing of the boys was led by 'the school XII', a picked team and accompanied by an orchestra and organ. School songs formed the bulk of the programme... 'Forty Years On' - the school national anthem, and "Auld Lang Syne" always concluded the concert*
>
> (Norwood in Rainbow, 1990: 276)[92]

As the popularity of the school songs and communal singing grew at Harrow, so too did the grandeur of the concerts in which they were included. The inclusion of an orchestra

[91] Dyson was a composer and organist who studied under C.V. Stanford and Hubert Parry. Dyson was Director of music at Wellington College (1921-24), Winchester College (1924) and became Director of the Royal College of Music in 1938.

[92] Norwood was headmaster of Harrow School whose educational report on secondary schooling (the Norwood Report, 1943) was instrumental in the future development of secondary school types including secondary modern schools, grammar schools and secondary technical schools. Norwood also wrote the lyrics for Bristol Grammar school's song, *Carmen Bristoliense*, which is still performed to this day.

in addition to the keyboard accompaniment may be heard on a recording which exists of a performance in 1928, directed by Thatcher (EMG Colonel, 2012) and was seen at the Churchill songs event that I attended in November 2023. The largest of these concerts is the Churchill Songs Evening which occurs annually, but every five years it is held at the Royal Albert Hall (Harrow Association, 2022). For these evenings an additional two verses are included to *40 Years On* (Harrow, 2018: 6), the Churchill verses, named after Winston Churchill, who was an Old Harrovian, providing a continued connection to one of the school's most famous alumni through music. These verses can be seen in Table 12.

Table 12. Additional text for 40 Years On

1954 verse	1964 verse
Sixty years on—though in time growing older, Younger at heart you return to the Hill: You, who in days of defeat ever bolder, Led us to Victory, serve Britain still. Still there are bases to guard or beleaguer, Still must the battle for Freedom be won: Long may you fight, Sir, who fearless and eager Look back to-day more than sixty years on	Blazoned in honour! For each generation You kindled courage to stand and to stay; You led our fathers to fight for the nation, Called "Follow up" and yourself showed the way. We who were born in the calm after thunder Cherish our freedom to think and to do; If in our turn we forgetfully wonder, Yet we'll remember we owe it to you.

The text of the original four verses of *Forty Years On* do not contain any specific references to Harrow School or its location and this may explain why it has been adopted by many other schools. It is only in the 1954 verse do we see a specific location reference in the words '…return to *the Hill'* [emphasis added], *the Hill* being a common

name for Harrow School amongst students and staff. Further specific performance practices relating to this song are discussed in 4.2.

The melody of *Forty Years On* spans a 10th and, having been composed in the key of F, fits comfortably within the male voice range. There are several instances of arpeggiated motifs being used, giving the song a militaristic feel, especially in the chorus' ascending repeated figures of 'Follow Up!' The dotted rhythms of the chorus lend a jaunty and triumphant character to this section which occurs over a conjunct ascending bassline which is in octaves. This parallel motion between the bass and the melody embodies the theme of the school community coming together from different areas of life, and indeed the world, before ending with a homophonic perfect cadence.

The score of the song shows a clear difference in character between the composition of the verse and the chorus. This mostly occurs in the use of durations, the verse having only one dotted rhythm, which occurs on the first beat of bar 1. It is possible that Farmer intentionally set the reflective and moralistic text of the verses to simpler rhythms. However, changes to the melody have occurred between the song's composition and the 1928 recording and these changes seem to have been maintained, as shown in Table 13. These changes in performance practice are mentioned by David Woodcock during his interview and is discussed further in 11.1.

Table 13. Comparison of differences between composition and performance practice of 40 Years On

Bar	1872 Score	1928 Performance
1		
4		
5		
9		
15		

Forty Years On is considered to have dyadic conformance when using Cook's model as both the music and song text have parallelisms of process. This is especially noticeable in the consistency between the use of word painting in the chorus on 'follow up!' and the growth and development in texture against the words 'parted are those who are singing today' which moves from unison to a fuller chordal accompaniment by the end of the bar. Additionally, the singing from the Old Harovian's during their verse also depicts the displacement of the community over time (Rainbow, 1990, pg. 276) through

its contrast against the tutti verses. This and other examples of specific participant involvement within the Harrow songs are explored fully in 4.2.9. There is an enabling equivalence between the location of the song and the song text, particularly when either of the Churchill verses are performed, due to their referencing the school and Churchill's association with it. [93]

It must be noted that the outcomes of this multimedia analysis approach do not transfer to other schools who have adopted this song and as such is an argument for the site-specific analysis of each song, which is supported by the Etymophonological framework. For adoptive schools such as the Bolton Girls' Day Division,[94] and Woodford County High School for Girls, the gendered song text with its football reference to '...the tramp of the twenty-two men' seems to make little sense when considering the creation of identity. It is therefore necessary for a different approach to song analysis to capture the unique and nuanced meaning of a song to the community that shares it and as such an Etymophonological analysis would provide this distinction.

3.8 Limitations in Existing Models

The outcomes from the five school songs analysed in this chapter show there is a need to adopt analytical models which reflect the significant differences in the relationships between the musical, visual and ethnographic (both historical and present day) contextual components of a school song. As shown in this chapter, consideration must be given to the diverse range of communities within which these songs are performed and engaged with. It is also essential that the fragility of this corpus is addressed, and the way in which songs are preserved. Figure 35 shows each of the songs from this chapter placed within the multicomponent analysis model based on Lakoff and Johnson (1980) as informed by Cook's multimedia approach (Cook, 2000).

[93] The impact of performance locations is explored fully using an etymophonological analysis in 4.2.5.
[94] This school was one of the first independent day schools for girls which opened in 1877

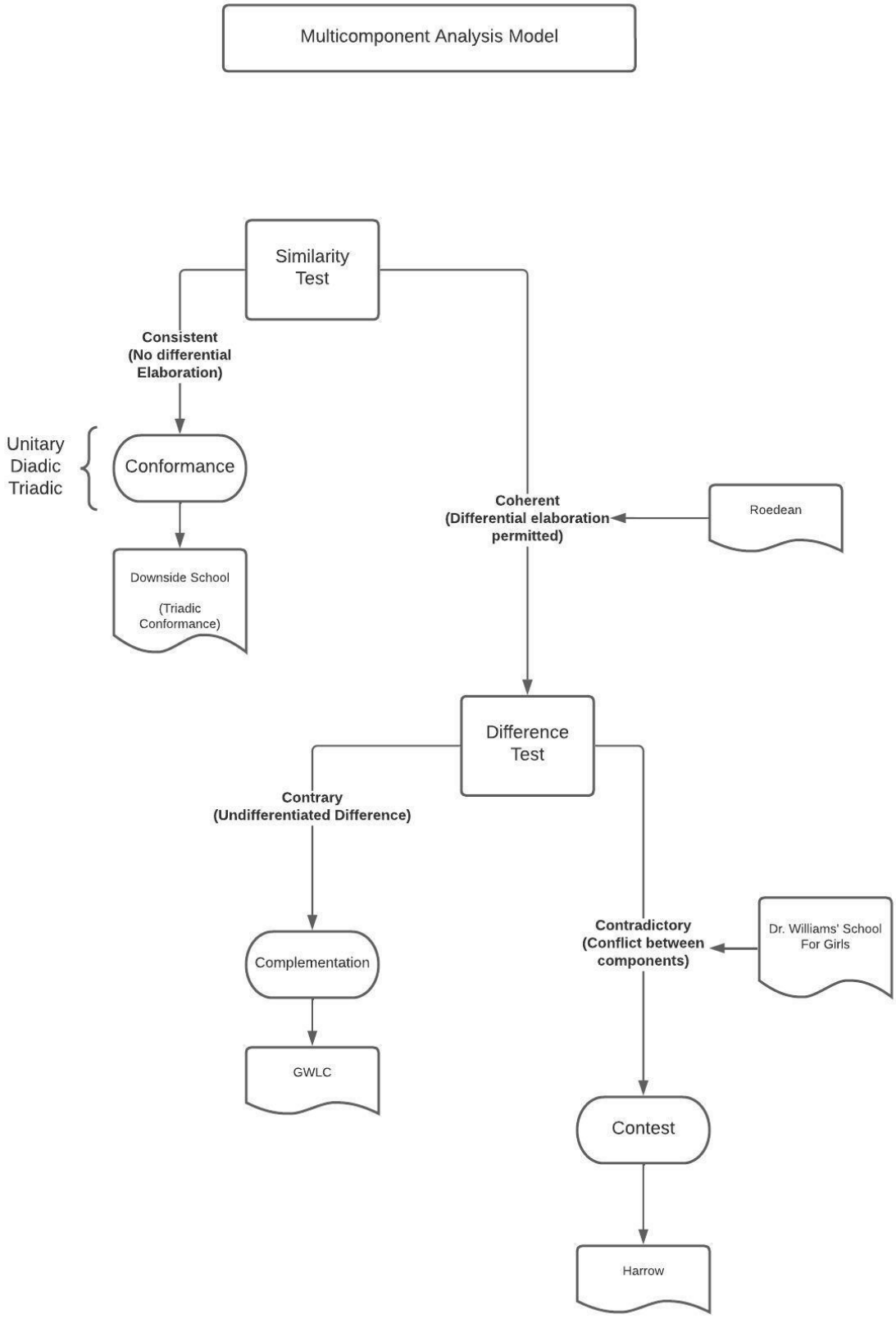


Figure 35. Diagram of selected school songs within a Multicomponent Analysis Model

This chapter has shown that the multicomponent model offers a useful starting point however it lacks the capacity to adequately addresses the historical, linguistic and performance nuances embedded in each independent school community. Because independent school songs function as not only musical artefacts but as vehicles for institutional identity, collective memory and ritualised behaviour, a context-sensitive analysis is required. The *Etymophonological Framework* as outlined in 2.4 provides such an approach, enabling the integration of wider dimensions into a unified analysis. This framework will now be applied to the songs of Harrow School, as observed at the Churchill songs evening in November 2023, and to that of Stowe School, offering insight into how differing school communities and cultures shape, and are shaped by, their musical traditions.

4 HARROW SCHOOL CASE STUDY

This chapter presents an account of the Churchill songs Evening held at Harrow School in 2023, alongside an analysis of the performance practices observed during the event, using the *Etymophonological Framework* discussed in 2.4. I interweave my own reflections throughout this chapter to make my positionality as a privileged observer transparent and to address potential biases arising from my longstanding engagement with similar events. As explained in 2.3.4.3, this positionality affords access to contexts that may not be available to others, making it essential to foreground my interpretative lens.[95] Extracts from a semi-structured interview conducted a few days later with David Woodcock, Director of Music at Harrow School, provide further commentary on the distinctive challenges associated with his role.[96] The history of the songs will be outlined in order to situate them alongside the history of the school and the history of singing in music education. This enables the generation of data necessary for answering the primary research question and all four sub questions.

Excerpt 1: Arriving.

> *I arrived at the music school at Harrow at approximately 4:00 PM on Thursday, November 16th, 2023, and David Woodcock, the Director of Music showed me around the Music School. The building was smaller than I had imagined but the rooms inside had been carefully organised to facilitate the wealth of musical experiences they offer to students at Harrow. I was impressed with the small concert hall they had in the Music School which David informed me can just about house the orchestra for a rehearsal.* [97] *Above the entrance to this hall is a small gallery area where portraits of three former directors of music are displayed. From left to right are shown John Farmer, Eaton Faning and Percy Buck and it was interesting to see in person the portrait of John Farmer that I have used in several presentations. David talked briefly about each of the directors of music before we*

[95] The full reflection can be found in 12
[96] The full transcript of this interview may be found in 11.1
[97] David Woodcock, Director of music at Harrow School is referred to as both 'David' and 'Woodcock' throughout this chapter, the more informal 'David' being used in the *Reflections* extracts.

went to his office to discuss the forthcoming concert and the format the evening would take.

(Reflections on the Churchill songs Evening, Appendix 3)

4.1 History

4.1.1 John Farmer and School songs

John Farmer became Music Master at Harrow School in 1862 where, in collaboration with the Headmaster Edward Bowen, he wrote what would become the first of the Harrow School songs (Harrow, 2018). Farmer introduced an annual House Singing competition to Harrow School in approximately 1863 and the *Harrow Glee Book* containing Farmer's songs was published in 1868 (Harrow, 2018). Over the next 20 years, the House Singing tradition initiated by Farmer became replicated in other independent schools such as Eton College, Sherborne School and Charterhouse School (Rainbow, 2006). The House Singing competition continues to be found in many UK independent schools today where it is held as an annual competition, although few are aware of its founding at Harrow. Harrovians' engagement with singing and music was greatly expanded through Farmer's establishment of the singing competition and regular singing activities.[98] Through engaging pupils with repertoire delivered using pedagogical practices of Farmer's choosing, such as teaching of vocal repertoire without the use of the fixed-do of Hullah or the moveable-do of (see literature review 1.1.5) Harrow was able to circumvent the governmentally mandated songs and Wilhelm Technique (Rainbow, 2006) prescribed by John Hullah that were being enforced within state schools at that time (1.1.5). In my account of the Churchill songs evening, I noted that:

[98] *Harrovian* is a term used to describe past pupils of the school.

Good Night was the final song performed by the school XII[99] and it was a beautiful, emotive and moving performance. Like some of the other earlier songs, there were a lot of performance directions such as several different tempo markings that were required of the performers. It is a challenging song to perform and further illustrates the high standard of the XII, why they are clearly respected within the school, and why it is a privilege for pupils to be chosen to be in this group.

The song also speaks to the ability of the pupils that Farmer had in the school at the time of composition. Whilst the school now has 800 pupils, in 1880 it had between 400-500. Whilst Farmer is now associated with the songs and the positive and iconic position they hold within the school; John Farmer was at this time fighting against the stigma of pupil singing and music's validity as a subject in school. Farmer's house singing event began some 10 years prior to this song being written and so shows that during that time Farmer had been able to build positive relationships with the pupils and that the pupils of the time were of a high [musical] standard and ability.

(Reflections on the Churchill songs Evening, Appendix 3)

Farmer continued composing songs for Harrow into the mid-1880s, expanding the unique repertoire available to pupils whilst further significant changes in state school song repertoire were taking place.[100] Farmer later reflected upon the importance of the choice of singing repertoire used in independent schools and displayed his dislike of the mandatory Folk song repertoire being performed in state schools under the tenure of John Stainer, the government's second Inspector for Music.[101] Farmer stated:

> *We [England] possessed a heritage of beautiful songs second to no other country in the world, and yet it was seldom that children were made acquainted with this*

[99] A group of 12 pupils selected from an audition process each year who may or may not be part of other vocal ensembles such as the Chapel Choir.
[100] In particular the change of repertoire from nationalist songs to Folk songs under the direction of John Stainer, the second government Inspector for music, as discussed in the literature review 1.1.5
[101] Stainer held this position from 1882-1888

> *practically inexhaustible source of profitable enjoyment. Children would be better occupied in learning these [national songs] than in singing about buttercups and violets.*
>
> (School Music Review, 1894: 134)

Arguably the most famous of Farmer's Harrow songs is *Forty Years On* composed in 1872 (Harrow, 2018: 6). This song has been adopted by many other independent schools in the UK (Bedford School, Nottingham High and The King's School Canterbury) and internationally (Pretoria Boys School, Frensham School in New South Wales and Otahuhu College, Auckland). *Forty Years On* is noteworthy as an early example of a song which speaks to not only the current students through lines such as 'those who are singing today' but also the past pupils. The primary thematic category of the song is nostalgia, which is expressed in such lines as 'What will it help you that once you were strong?' This nostalgic text is an unusual feature amongst the corpus, calling both current and past pupils to reflect on their time at school and their place within its community. The importance of this song to Harrow and the reverence in which it has been held for over 100 years was clearly defined by Edward Graham, author of *Some Notes on the Harrow School* songs who said: '[it is] the national anthem of Harrow; wherefore we stand to sing it.' (Graham, 1933). This reverential approach to the song was also evident in the performance I witnessed that evening and will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

Whilst Harrow boasts many famous past pupils including the author Anthony Trollope, British entrepreneur Julian Metcalf, and the actor Benedict Cumberbatch, it is Sir Winston Churchill who is the subject of two additional verses for *40 Years On*.[102] The first additional verse was written in 1954 and the other was written to commemorate Churchill's ninetieth birthday in 1964. Churchill was also the focus of an additional verse written for another Harrow song, *Stet Fortuna Domus* composed by Thatcher in

[102] Other Harrow songs have additional Verses which are used for specific occasions. *The Voice of the Bell* contains a Verse to be performed 'when a member of the school dies' whilst *Queen Elizabeth Sat One Day* has 4 additional Verses which were written and performed on various occasions relating to a visit from the Queen or the Queen Mother. *The Silver Arrow* also has an additional Verse written in 1986 for a visit from the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh.

1891 (Harrow, 2018: 92) and discussed later in this chapter. Each of these songs' additional *verse*s are only sung once a year (Graham, 1933) adding further significance to their performance and separating it from the more regular performances in a tradition that connects the current community with one of its most famous alumni.

4.1.1.1 History of the Churchill songs

The Churchill songs event was established in 1940 when Churchill visited the school for a concert of school songs. The evening was the idea of Churchill's personal secretary Jock Coleville, himself an Old Harrovian, who had heard Churchill singing the Harrow song *St Joles* (Harrow, 2018: 60) whilst taking a bath one evening. Coleville felt a return to his old school to sing the songs of his childhood would lift Churchill's spirits (Harrow Association, 2022: 7) and so arranged for the concert to take place. The yearly visitation continued until Churchill's final attendance in 1961, after which his wife attended the concert annually until her death. Whilst the first of these evenings in 1940 took place in the Speech Room at Harrow, the Churchill songs evening in 1974 was held at the Royal Albert Hall for the first time to mark the Centenary of Churchill's birth. The Churchill songs returned to the Royal Albert Hall in 1990 and the event has taken place there every 5 years since, most noticeably in 2022 to celebrate Harrow school's 450th anniversary.

Speaking on the importance of the Harrow songs to both himself and the Harrow community, Churchill said:

> *These songs play a wonderful part. They shine through the memories of men far and wide throughout the world in which we live. They cheer and enlighten us. They breed a bond of unity between those who have lived here and I think that they are, on the whole, the most precious inheritance of all Harrovians.*
>
> (Harrow, 2018: vii)

Churchill's observation that the songs were known 'throughout the globe' was and still is correct, as evidenced in the number of international schools which have

adopted *40 Years On* as their school song (3.7). The image of the songs 'shining through the memories' and how they 'cheer and enlighten' speak of Churchill's own fondness for the songs, as was witnessed by his assistant Jock Coleville and discussed previously. However, of particular interest to this research is Churchill's observation, and thus his *interpretant intersubjectivity* (2.4.6), in stating that the songs 'breed a bond of unity' which supports the notion of the school as a 'local nation'. The use of the word 'breed' may be considered a reference to the ingressive layers of community provided to Harrovians through the singing of these songs, an exclusive pedagogical 'musical breeding' of sorts that is distinctive to that ethnographic group.[103]

4.2 Etymophonological Analysis of Harrow's Churchill songs

Evening

Excerpt 2: The Opening Of The Evening.

> *Everyone in attendance had been provided with copies of a booklet containing all of the songs to be performed that evening. During the concert the Headmaster would speak a little to introduce each song and the school would then be raised to sing by David [Woodcock] with the orchestra playing and the organ accompanying whilst the guests remained seated. David sat me next to a pillar on the stage which would provide me with a clear view of all of the boys and the staff singing, and I was able to observe them entering the room with ease without being disturbed by other guests arriving. The guests on stage consisted of school governors, the guest speaker who was an Old Harrovian and is now a Ranger in America,[104] the Headmaster and his family, and finally prominent Old Harrovian's who had returned for the evening.*

[103] The phenomenon of ingressive positionality within the Harrow songs is discussed fully later in this chapter.

[104] Significantly, the guest presented the head of the CCF with his ranger blade during the event as a gift for the school. He was also involved in the presentation of the flags during the singing of *Left! Right!*

The boys wear their 'Sunday dress' for this event which consists of tailcoats with striped trousers. This is very different from their day-to-day uniform and reserved for Sundays or special occasions. They were impeccably behaved on entering the room, during the concert and when leaving the room afterwards. It was unusual for me to be in an environment such as an all-boys school, having not worked in or had any significant *contact with a single sex school during my teaching career. It was noticeably a male dominated environment with approximately 800 boys of all ages and all nationalities. The majority of the teaching staff appeared to be male and the majority of the guests on stage were male; those who were not, appeared to be the partners of an Old Harrovian. I felt somewhat on display, being one of the first to arrive and to be sat on the stage clearly a guest but with no male companion. The feeling lessened after an older couple sat next to me. It was a similar feeling to the one I had when I delivered my talk to the HMC [The Heads' Conference] directors of music in June 2023 when I was one of only two females in the room. At least on that occasion (which was where I first met David) I was delivering my paper on school songs and so there was no question as to who I was or why I was there.*

My understanding is that the Headmaster chooses songs for the evening each year, alongside a number which are always performed.[105] *Some songs are cycled in and out, whilst others such as Larry (*Harrow, 2018*) have been quietly retired due to their inappropriate content. David explained that he ensures that there are about 30 songs from the Harrow songs Book in circulation over the course of the year to keep them fresh in the minds of the pupils.*

After processing into the room, the Headmaster Alistair Land spoke to everyone present and discussed Winston Churchill. What was notable was that he discussed Churchill's character and openly acknowledged Churchill's less palatable views. He freely admitted that Churchill was a 'complicated character' and that some of the views which he held (presumably those which would today be deemed racist) were not in keeping with the views of the school today. However, he reiterated that the point of the Churchill songs was to look at the good values that Churchill

[105] These are shown in Table 13

promoted[106] *whilst acknowledging the others. Alistair discussed how undertaking this yearly tradition did not mean that the school was agreeing with everything that Churchill stood for, and I thought this was a well-crafted approach to a difficult and sensitive topic, especially considering how more diverse the student body is today when compared to how it would have been in 1940.*

(Reflections on the Churchill songs Evening, Appendix 3)

Attending the Churchill songs evening at Harrow School in November 2023 provided a unique opportunity to utilise the *Etymophonological Framework* (2.4) in the analysis of the performance practices I observed as it is an event which is rarely seen by those outside of the Harrow community yet which brings together multiple generations of Harrovians. Additionally, I was able to interrogate my own perception of the evening as an outsider, alongside that of David Woodcock, the Director of Music who was a *privileged participant* and member of the community.[107]

4.2.1 Sign & Object

The concepts of *Sign* and Object, as previously described in 2.4.2 are of particular importance to the analysis of the Churchill songs event I observed in the Harrow Speech Room. It may be said with certainty that the *Sign*, the aural phenomenon, is very similar to that of the very first Churchill songs event in 1940, due to the venue and a portion of the repertoire performed being the same. The primary difference between the first event and that which I observed is there were fewer students in 1940, the school now having a roll of some 800 pupils. The melodies of the songs which were performed are unchanged. However, some melodies including *Forty Years On* and *Ducker* composed by Faning in 1887 (Harrow, 2018: 79) and *When Raleigh Rose* written by

[106] Land briefly discussed these as being resilience and bravery.
[107] The title of *privileged participant* should be understood as a combination of the observational roles discussed within Gold's typology (1958) and the recognition of understanding gained through professional/personal experience of Wolcott (1975) as discussed in the methodology chapter (2)

Farmer in 1878 (Harrow, 2018: 36), are now sung at a slightly lower pitch. Only seven songs have been added to the Harrow songs Book since 1971. Prior to this, *The Twentieth Centur-ee* (Harrow, 2018: 110) by Cyril Norwood was written in 1932 and was the first addition to the songbook since *The Silver Arrow* added in 1910 (Harrow, 2018: 107). Of the seven more recent songs, only *Home to the Hill* composed by Walker in 2002 (Harrow, 2018: 118) was sung on the evening I attended.

The Churchill songs which have taken place at the Royal Albert Hall every five years and replace the event in the Speech Room, have a different aural phenomenon to those held in the Speech Room. However, the manner in which the boys are seated in the choir area of the Royal Albert Hall for these evenings does, to some extent, mimic the seating of the Harrow Speech Room. This maintains a feeling of familiarity for the pupils involved, even though the Royal Albert Hall is a considerably larger venue. The size difference between the two venues may be seen in Figure 36 in the Royal Albert Hall and Figure 37, the Speech Room at Harrow.[108]



Figure 36. Churchill songs in the Royal Albert Hall (Harrow Association, 2022)

[108] The Royal Albert Hall has a seating capacity of 5000 whilst the Speech Room at Harrow seats 550



Figure 37. Harrow School Speech Room (Harrow School, 2025)

The *Sign*, or aural phenomenon of the Old Harrovian's verses is considerably different depending on the venue. In the Speech Room performances, the guests, some of whom are Old Harrovians, number at an estimated 30 people who sit in the seats on the stage behind the table shown in figure 2. In Royal Albert Hall performances the number of Old Harrovians will be significantly greater, far outnumbering the current pupils (as may be clearly seen in Figure 36). The Royal Albert Hall has a seating capacity of just over 5000 and so this would suggest some 1500 singers perform the Old Harrovian verses, using the same ratio of Old Harrovians to other guests (30%) as observed in the Speech Room performance. It is likely however that the number of Old Harrovian performers would be higher than this, given the unique nature of the Royal Albert Hall event and its reduced rate of occurrence.

The Object, or physical manifestation of the Harrow songs is different for Churchill songs evenings, regardless of venue, to the regular song performances within the school. Harrow produces a printed booklet for the Churchill songs evening each year, making the *Object* one of *Exclusive Insecure Permanence,* as previously described in the Methodology Chapter (2.4.2). For the regular song performances held at the school,

the boys each have their own hard backed copy of the Harrow School songs Book which is therefore an *Object* of *Inclusive Secure Permanence*.[109]

The semiotic and syntactical influences of the use of a booklet for this event over the use of the Harrow songs Book are significant. A Harrovian's copy of the book is highly treasured often signed by the owner and passed down through families. The song book's significance was illustrated during the Headmaster's address at the start of the evening where he discussed bidding online for a particular copy that had been signed by Churchill. Mr Land expressed how he was determined to ensure it returned to and remained within the Harrow School community. The book, sold by Chiswick Auctions for £7500 on February 14th, 2023, belonged to Sir John Rupert Colville, Churchill's private secretary, as mentioned previously under his nickname of Jock Colville, and may be seen below (Figure 38).

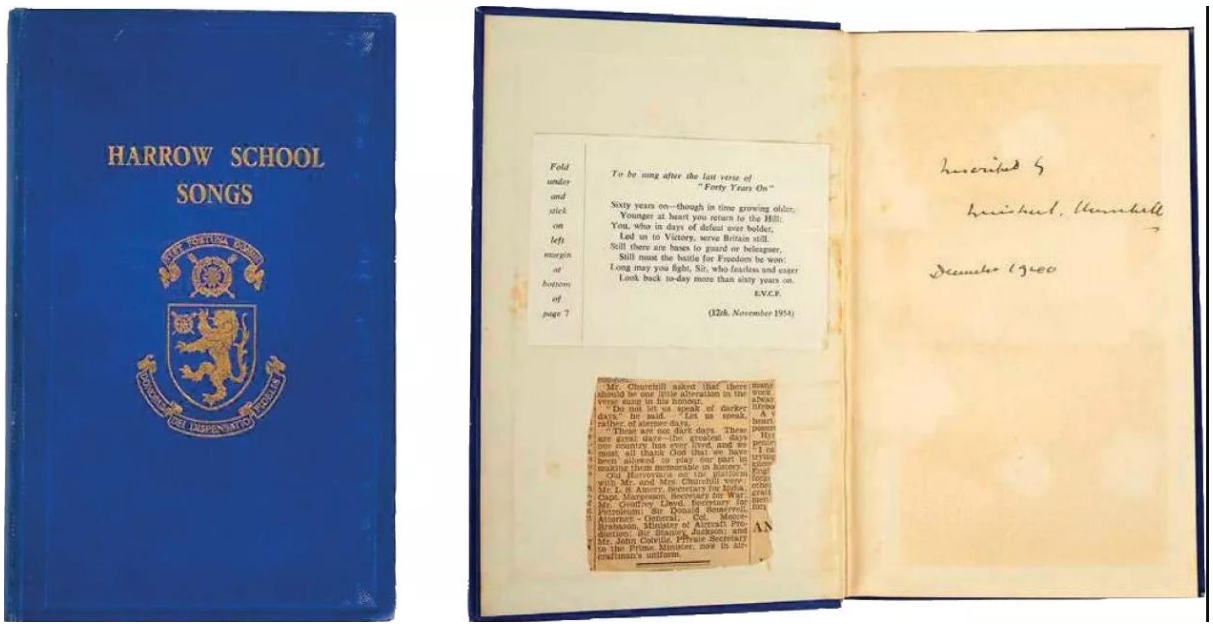


Figure 38. Harrow songs book signed by Churchill (Antiques Trade Gazette, 2023)

[109] This is discussed in more detail in the Aesthetic Foci section of this chapter.

Semiotically, the relationship between the *Sign* and the *Object* is distanced for observers of the Churchill songs through the use of a booklet in a way it is not when the songs are performed on other occasions using the songs Book. The use of a text only booklet for the evening presumes that those present know the songs' melodies. There is also an expectation for a person who does not know the melodies to wait until the melodies are learned before they can fully participate in the performance, and only then in the verses of the songs where they are permitted to sing. This sharing of the booklet, an *Object* of *exclusive insecure permanence* (2.4.7), therefore, gradually exposes the *non-expert participant* and observer to the etymophony of the Harrow songs. The advantages of the booklet are to be found in its nature as an *Object* of *exclusive insecure permanence*. Here, unlike the songs Book, which is an *Object* of *Inclusive Secure Permanence*, the booklet may also serve as a *Diachronic Inexact Icon*. It may be regarded as such through its ability to record the names of the songs performed at a particular event and those soloists, ensembles and musicians who performed them, in addition to the specific additional song verses performed on those nights.

4.2.2 Repertoire

Excerpt 3: *Stet Fortuna Domus*.

> *This song [Stet Fortuna Domus], and verse 5 in particular, did strike me as nationalistic and it was somewhat cringeworthy to witness those present singing 'In great and Greater Britain' at the very end of the song without any real sense of irony, including the international students who were present and seemed to take a lot of pride in singing that line.*
>
> *Regarding that line, I wondered if the performers were aware of the connotations of what they were singing. When the song was written by Faning in 1890, Britain was almost two thirds of the way through its Imperial Century. Equally when the Churchill verse was written by E V C Plumptre in 1940, the sense of a strong and resolute national identity found in both verses would have been further welcomed and embraced by those performing due to the Second World War. The text therefore denotes exactly that, the vision of a great and strong Britain where 'tonight we praise*

the former days in patriotic chorus' and the concept exists of leaving Harrow 'to rise and rule by heart and brain and sinew'.[110] *Today's international student body at Harrow would be able to, should they wish, consider the text diachronically. However, it is unlikely that this would be done by a* significant *portion of the pupils. It is more likely that boys would instead be aware of the obvious statements of the song which denote the honour of the school and being part of the Harrow community, such as 'The world outside is far and wide but here the world is narrow. One magic thrall unites us all, the name and fame of Harrow'*.

(Reflections on the Churchill songs Evening, Appendix 3)

The repertoire performed at the Churchill songs event, 2023, may be seen in Table 14 alongside those performed at the event in the Royal Albert Hall in 2022 to facilitate a comparison of both events. The Churchill songs evenings at the Royal Albert Hall are considerably larger events than those held in the Harrow Speech Room. As such they contain more songs and several standalone orchestral items. Those songs which were performed in 2022 but not 2023 are shown in light blue.

[110] This is discussed in detail later in this chapter.

Table 14. Repertoire of Churchill songs events in 2022 and 2023

Churchill songs - November 22nd, 2022	**Churchill songs – November 16th, 2023**
Royal Albert Hall	**Harrow Speech Rooms**
1. *Stet Fortuna Domus*	1. *Stet Fortuna Domus*
2. Giants	2. 'Here, Sir!'
3. Five Hundred Faces	3. Five Hundred Faces
4. Song of the Forwards	4. Byron Lay
5. 'Here, Sir!'	5. St Joles
6. Songs	6. Song of the Forwards
7. Three Yards	7. You?
8. St Joles	8. Left! Right!
9. Ducker	9. Home to the Hill
10. A Gentleman's a-bowling	10. Good Night
11. Queen Elizabeth Sat One Day	11. The Silver Arrow
12. Byron Lay	12. *Forty Years On*

13. October	13. Auld Lang Syne
14. John Lyon's Road	14. National Anthem
15. Home to the Hill	
16. When Raliegh Rose	
17. Left! Right!	
18. The Silver Arrow	
19. Good Night	
20. *Forty Years On*	
21. Auld Lang Syne	
22. National Anthem	

The decision to repeat repertoire across both events serves to highlight those songs which are held in high regard within the school. Moreso, it enables each concert programme to include solo songs, those songs sung by a select group of pupils called the XII, and other whole school songs. Additionally, regular performance of key repertoire facilitates an ongoing communal tradition, built on familiarity of the Harrow songs as discussed earlier by Churchill, David Woodcock endorsed this view:

For us to be able to say that the whole school takes part in songs, that the whole school sings these songs, it's amazing. So, [...], whether boys know it or not, they are doing something musical, so that is really important from my point of view. [...], there are obviously [...], much wider community aspects to the songs. [...], it's one of those activities or one of those things that makes Harrow, Harrow.

(Woodcock interview, Appendix 2, 1:10)

The songs performed in 2023 were composed by the following Directors of Music

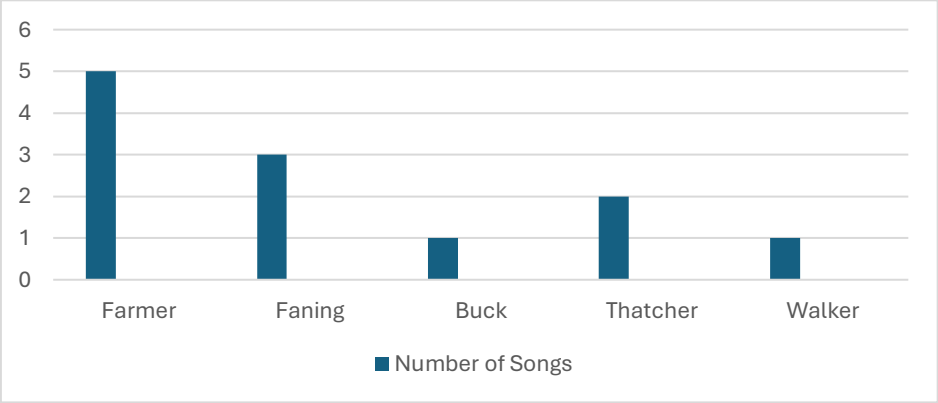


Figure 39. Featured composers of the Churchill songs event 2023

As seen in Figure 39, songs by John Farmer featured the most in the programme, whilst Buck and Walker had one song each included. When those figures are compared with the total number of songs by each director of music included in the Harrow song Book, the data are as follows.

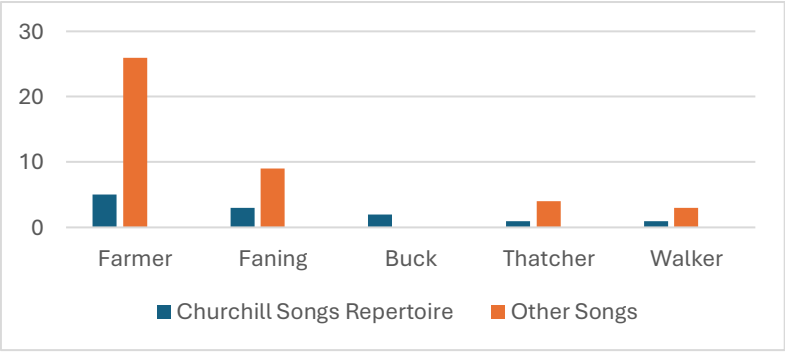


Figure 40. Harrow songs Book repertoire by Director of Music

Therefore, when considering the percentage of repertoire by each composer included in the Churchill songs evening, the directors of music were represented as follows:

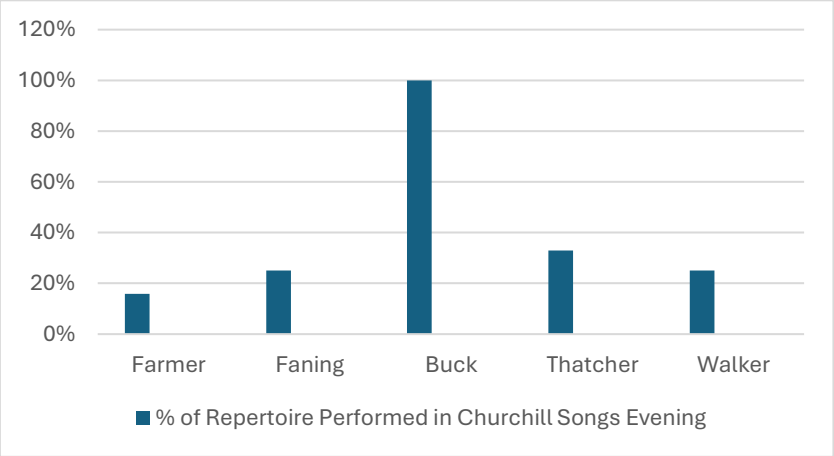


Figure 41. Percentage of repertoire included in Churchill songs evening 16/11/23 by composer

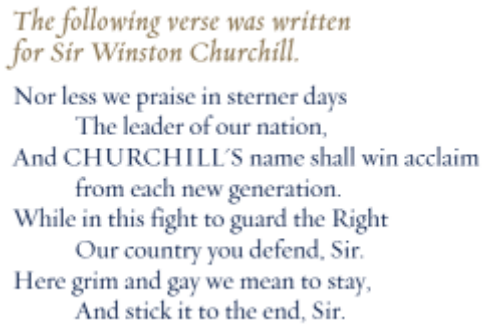
Figure 41 shows Buck's repertoire is the most represented during the 2023 Churchill songs as this song is performed every year. However, the body of works by Farmer holds a prominent place in the Harrow community through both his establishment of the singing culture of the school, and by his corpus of works being the largest. As such, whilst some songs by Farmer are included each year, others are performed infrequently. This choice of repertoire presents additional considerations relating to *interpretant intersubjectivity* such as the *ingressive exclusivity* of the singing culture at Harrow, addressed later in this chapter.

My own observations on the evening reflected Woodcock's thoughts on the musical and ethnographic nature of the songs. Regarding the opening song, *Stet Fortuna Domus*, I noted :

> It was a very rousing first song, the boys performed well, and David had clearly spent a lot of time rehearsing how they sing sections. There was very careful attention to details such as ends of lines which followed on and the different dynamics and performance directions contained within the song.

As I observed the audience during the concert it was evident that everybody was singing, although some were singing more fervently than others. When the song got to verse 4, a verse performed only at the Churchill Songs, the word Churchill is written in capital letters [Figure 42] and the boys really sang out that specific part.

(Reflections on the Churchill songs Evening, Appendix 3)


The following verse was written
for Sir Winston Churchill.

Nor less we praise in sterner days
The leader of our nation,
And CHURCHILL'S name shall win acclaim
from each new generation.
While in this fight to guard the Right
Our country you defend, Sir.
Here grim and gay we mean to stay,
And stick it to the end, Sir.

Figure 42. Churchill verse of Stet Fortuna Domus as shown in the 450th programme (Harrow Association 2022)

The composition dates of the Harrow song repertoire reveal a synchronic representational issue caused by periods of the school's history since 1870 which are lacking in school song compositions. This disruption in the continuity of Harrow song composition was identified by Woodcock, regarding which he said:

I do feel it's ridiculous in that you have to look at the songs Book and [...] there were songs written in the 1930s which we sing pretty regularly, [...], and there was then this big gap actually between 1910 and the 1930s. So, there's a gap there in the vast majority of the songs are written between 18, whatever it is, 1870... and then, [...], 1934, and then in [the] current [period] the next song is 2002.

(Woodcock interview, Appendix 2, 30:44)

The directors of music between 1937 and 1976 (Henry MacL. Havergal, Hector McCurrach and John Winstanley) did not contribute any school songs to the book. [111] In Havergal's case this may have been due to his tenure (1937-1945) being impacted by the Second World War. The reasons for McCurrach and Winstanley not having composed a song for the school are not clear at this historic distance, but it is clear that Woodcock feels a sense of expectation that he should contribute to this corpus.

Following the Churchill songs evening that I attended, the weekly newspaper of Harrow, 'The Harrovian', published an editorial by an anonymous pupil entitled 'Where is our new school song?'[112] which Woodcock discussed during his interview:

> *I mean, if I was of a slightly more nervous disposition, I would [have] read this and sort of gone [looks shocked] and gone [pretends to cry] whereas actually I just look at this, and I just sort of think "Oh, I'm concerned". I just love the fact that they care about this sort of thing, [...]?*
>
> *I don't think they're mean asking me that. Well, no, they [the Harrovians] do occasionally ask me direct questions so yeah, I know I've got to do it. I mean, my original aim was to try and do it for [the] 450 [school celebration Churchill Songs], which was last year, but it just, I just, I ran out of time. Yeah, because [...] actually, the Churchill songs was in November, and we've been going... [...], I should have foreseen how bad [busy because of the celebrations] it was going to be and, [...], tried to write it a year in advance and I just, I knew it wasn't going to do it justice, so yeah.*
>
> *I think it is the weight of expectation, I think. [...], I think the thing is, yeah, I'm quite happy to write something if I think it might only be heard once and then, [...], consigned to the to the rubbish heap.*
>
> *[...] you could write some chant or write a little Christmas Carol and [...] if someone likes it, they might do it again and if they don't, they will never see the light of day again, I mean and that's that, isn't it? The problem with this [writing a school song] is that you, you kind of [think], I'm going to have to start on teaching [it to the boys], so it's going to have to be something that I feel reasonably proud of and it, and it's something that you, [...], if it goes into the song book, you don't want people to sort of look at it and go [makes a disgusted face].*
>
> (Woodcock interview, 11.1)

[111] A list of the Harrow Directors of Music and their dates of employment may be found in 12.5
[112] This editorial may be found in 12.4

Woodcock's concern that a future contribution may not be well received is better understood when situated within other Directors of Music's negative experiences of teaching singing within the school. The introductory section of the *Harrow songs Book* recounts how, when first trying to introduce singing to the Grove Boarding House, Farmer was met 'with a shower of boots' (Harrow, 2018: v). Woodcock's predecessor, Walker, was booed by the boys when attempting to teach them one of his own songs and Woodcock spoke of a story that, on one occasion a previous Director of Music, had felt the pressure of the Churchill songs evening so strongly that one year he left school on the day of the concert and was later discovered on a train going to Oxford.

The songs may therefore generate opposing intersubjectivities depending on the interpretant's role and position within the school's ethnographic profile. As such it is necessary to recognise that the *interpretant intersubjectivity* as discussed in 2.4.6 may be in dissonance with the *ethnographic intersubjectivity* of the school Song, as will be discussed later in this chapter. This outcome is possible when using an *Etymophonological Framework* whilst other models of analysis, such as those of Tagg (2013) and Meyer (1961), would recognise a song or collection of songs being only of *triadic conformance* and suggest a *universal intersubjectivity*. It is for this reason that the *Etymophonological Framework* is utilised to generate further understanding of the intersubjectivities the songs generate.

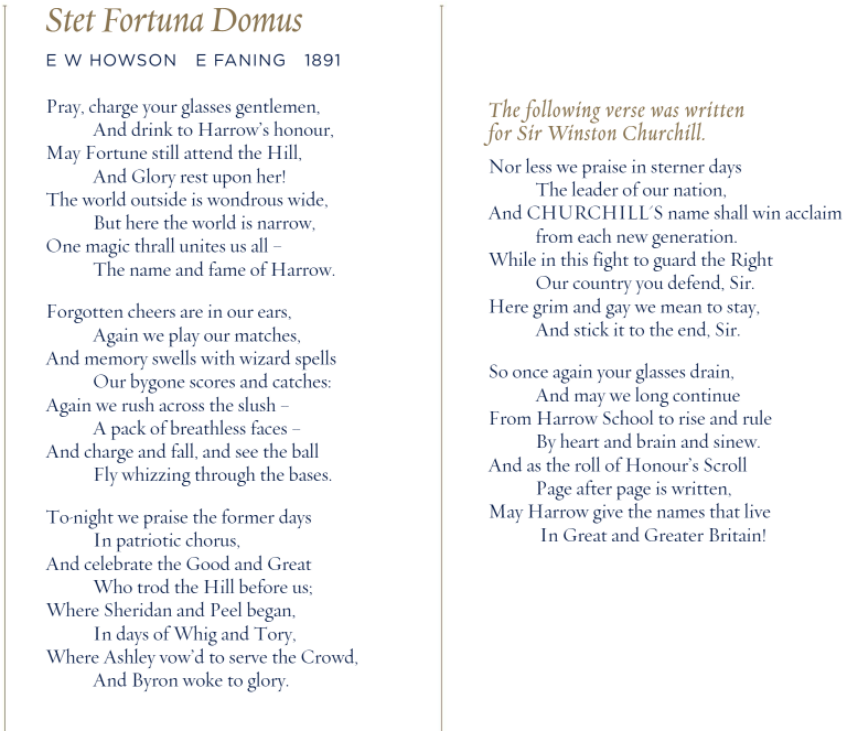
4.2.3 Synchronic and Diachronic Perspectives

The text of the Harrow songs provides perspectives on the views, morals and community identity at the time of composition. Most of the corpus was written between 1870 and 1930, a significant period in the independent school song tradition, discussed further in 6.2.1.1. As the songbook contains several songs from the 1970s onwards it is important to consider the *Object* from both a synchronic and a diachronic perspective to fully understand its relevance to the pupils today. As Woodcock commented:

> *It's not just that you[v'e] got to have a good text, you've got to have a good text that a bunch of teenage boys are gonna be having to sing and that's ultimately, [...], anything that's too twee or modern and a little bit naff, they're going to pick up on straight away... [...], with its text [Home to the Hill] that had fallen out of favour and it had fallen out of use before I arrived. It wasn't really sung very much and that was the one I wanted to reintroduce.*
>
> (Woodcock interview, Appendix 2, 26:56)

The first song of the Churchill songs evening was *Stet Fortuna Domus* (Harrow, 2018: 92) a song which, by merit of its importance to the school, had an additional verse written in 1940. Though younger than *40 Years On* (Harrow, 2018: 6), *Stet Fortuna Domus* makes use of historical persons, geographical references and elements of Harrow's unique vocabulary to evoke a feeling of an established tradition and pedigree.[113] It is therefore programmatically intentional that *Stet Fortuna Domus* is the first school song to be performed at the Churchill songs evening each year as illustrated in Table 14. the songs textual focus on the past, demonstrated through sentences such as 'and memory swells', 'Our bygone scores' and 'the former days' establishes a reflective start to the evening. *40 Years On* is placed as the final song of the evening each year, challenging those performing to look to the future and in combination with *Stet Fortuna Domus*, the two songs provide an overarching timeline of a pupil's relationship with Harrow School. The text for *Stet Fortuna Domus* is included below as it appears in the programme for the Harrow School 450th Anniversary Churchill songs event (Harrow Association, 2022: 24). The title, *Stet Fortuna Domus*, is the Harrow's motto and translates as 'May the Fortune of the House Stand'. This is referenced in line 3 of verse 1 (see Figure 43).

[113] Similar observations can be made regarding *Sto, Persto, Praesto!* the school song of Stowe and are discussed in 5.5.3. Additionally this was commented upon by Dr Wallersteiner in his interview 11.2



Stet Fortuna Domus

E W HOWSON E FANING 1891

Pray, charge your glasses gentlemen,
And drink to Harrow's honour,
May Fortune still attend the Hill,
And Glory rest upon her!
The world outside is wondrous wide,
But here the world is narrow,
One magic thrall unites us all –
The name and fame of Harrow.

Forgotten cheers are in our ears,
Again we play our matches,
And memory swells with wizard spells
Our bygone scores and catches:
Again we rush across the slush –
A pack of breathless faces –
And charge and fall, and see the ball
Fly whizzing through the bases.

To-night we praise the former days
In patriotic chorus,
And celebrate the Good and Great
Who trod the Hill before us;
Where Sheridan and Peel began,
In days of Whig and Tory,
Where Ashley vow'd to serve the Crowd,
And Byron woke to glory.

The following verse was written for Sir Winston Churchill.

Nor less we praise in sterner days
The leader of our nation,
And CHURCHILL'S name shall win acclaim
from each new generation.
While in this fight to guard the Right
Our country you defend, Sir.
Here grim and gay we mean to stay,
And stick it to the end, Sir.

So once again your glasses drain,
And may we long continue
From Harrow School to rise and rule
By heart and brain and sinew.
And as the roll of Honour's Scroll
Page after page is written,
May Harrow give the names that live
In Great and Greater Britain!

Figure 43. Stet Fortuna Domus lyrics (Harrow Association, 2022)

Five Old Harrovians of note are named within the song, and they are as follows

Table 15. Old Harrovians named in Stet Fortuna Domus

Old Harrovian	Dates	Achievements
Sheridan, Richard Brinsley	1751-1816	Politician, Playwright
Peel, Robert	1793-1865	Prime Minister (1834-1835; 1841 -1846)
Byron (Lord)	1788-1824	Poet
Churchill, Winston (Sir)	1874-1965)	Prime Minister (1940-1945; 1954-1955), Nobel Laureate

There is significant representation of politicians amongst those named in the text with Churchill having his own verse included, albeit included 50 years after the song's composition. However, the political references in verse 3 extend beyond individual persons, mentioning the two main political parties of the time of composition, the 'Whig and Tory' otherwise known as the Country Party and the Conservatives. The political nature of the lyrics is reminiscent of A. V. Butcher regarding school songs in general (Butcher, 1951) who said 'This song, once learnt, will be for him a sort of national anthem, the peculiar property of that society in which he is to live, move and have his being for the next few years'. Such political references act as *Indices*, contributing to the songs anthemic nature and which show it as belonging specifically to Harrow. A similar sentiment is presented in the 450th Harrow anniversary programme in an article regarding the Harrow songs by Vargas, a retired school master of Harrow, where he reflects.

> *It [Stet Fortuna Domus] has become Harrow's anthem, and we stand to sing it. Indeed, I recall an occasion when one of our number collapsed during the song but, like guardsmen on parade, we carried on singing to the end. Fortunately, his condition was not fatal.*
>
> (Harrow Association, 2022: 46-49)[114]

As established in the Methodology chapter, independent school songs fall within one or more of Ewart's thematic categories (2.2.2). However, many songs also intersect with one or more of the five types of anthems as defined by Boyd (1994). These intersections may be seen below.

[114] There is an interesting comparison to be drawn here between Vargas' opening sentence and that of Edward Graham discussed earlier who says the same of 40 Years On. Both quotes directly equate the song with being the 'anthem' of the school and how people stand to sing it as one would a national anthem.

Table 16.School song categories and anthemic categories as defined by Boyd (1994) and Ewart (1969)

Boyd	Ewart	Song and School
Hymns	Hymns Morals	Jerusalem, Used by multiple schools (Parry, 1916)
Marches	Games	Harrow Marches Onwards – Harrow, (Farmer, 2018: 54)
Operatic Anthems	Founders Nostalgia	Warwick School song – Warwick School (Farmer, 1892)[115]
Folk Anthems	Regional Pride Past Pupils	The School song – Roedean, (Unknown, 1953)
Fanfares	General Moral Uplift	Fanfare – Bryanston School, Vaughan Williams, 1953

Today textual aspects of *Stet Fortuna Domus* are recognised as representing nationalist sentiments however, at the time of composition, these would be considered sentiments of patriotism. When selecting which is best applied to a particular Object, the distinction between the two terms should be considered synchronically. verse four

[115] John Farmer of Harrow composed the music for this song in 1892. The text was written by William Wait who was an assistant master at Warwick having been an exhibitioner at Baliol College, Oxford where Farmer was Organist from 1885. This song has a Verse for each term and the score also credits "J. Bain Esq" of Marlborough College for "many valuable suggestions". Bain is listed in the database as having written the text for the school song of Kelvinside Academy, Glasgow in approximately 1895 but also having composed the lyrics for the Marlborough School song, "All Aboard" in 1912 with music by Sir John Dyson, who was heavily involved in the Music Masters Association. This song is a strong example of the musical relationships and associations which existed across schools and is discussed further in 5.2.1

begins with praising the former days ‘In patriotic chorus’. Here the ‘former days’ as suggested by the names then mentioned, may be considered to reflect the start of the 1800s. Here patriotism, when defined as a ‘love of and devotion to one’s country’ (Collins, 2025) is an appropriate term when considering the political importance of some of the Old Harrovians mentioned. verse five however contains language and imagery which may be considered nationalistic, if that term is understood as ‘a form of aggressive or excessive patriotism which aims to establish the superiority of that nation above others’ (Collins, 2025) . Of particular note to this interpretation are the lines ‘And may we long continue from Harrow School to *rise* and *rule* by heart and brain and sinew [emphasis added]’. To ‘rise and rule’ speaks to the colonisation of other countries by Britain at that time whilst ’heart and brain and sinew’ may be seen to represent the intended use of emotion, logic and physical strength to achieve this.

The Churchill verse may be seen to bridge the patriotism of verse four with the more nationalistic sentiments of verse five. In line one of the Churchill verse the text was changed, at the suggestion of Churchill, from ‘Nor less we praise in darker days’ to ‘Nor less we praise in *sterner* days [emphasis added].’ It should be noted that this word change happened during the period of World War II called ‘the darkest hour’ a phrase often attributed to Churchill, although there is no evidence it originated with him. The substitution of the *Index* ‘darker’ and its connotation of the bleakness of the war for the uncompromising nature of the word ‘stern’ represents a more positive inclusion, supporting the resolute nature of the final two lines of the verse and of the school motto itself.

When considering subquestion 3 ‘How does the alteration of a school song’s original composition impact the identity of the song, with specific focus on addressing colonialist and other sensitive content?’ it is noticeable that in *Stet Fortuna Domus,* the synchronically colonialist content was retained. In contrast, the indexical war references were amended to provide a diachronically nuanced and somewhat propagandist sentiment. When viewed synchronically, the line ‘And Churchill’s name shall win acclaim from each new generation’ is problematic but was discussed previously regarding the Headmaster’s introduction to the evening and the acknowledgment of Churchill’s problematic views on some topics.

Language specific to Harrow is included in the song through the use of the denotive terms '*Tique*' and '*Dominie*' in verse two. Within the Harrow community '*Tique*' was the slang term for maths, possibly a shortening of arithmetic, and '*Dominie*' is the word used for a houseparent. Here, both terms are *Denotive Synchronic Indices* which are transmuted into *Sign*s through ethnographic semiosis. verse 3 deals with football, specifically Harrow Football about which there are two other songs in the Harrow song Book. These are *Three Yards* composed by Farmer in 1885 (Harrow, 2018: 64) and *Plump a Lump* written by Faning in 1890 (Harrow, 2018: 90). Faning wrote *Plump a Lump* with the dedication of 'A Football Song' the year before writing *Stet Fortuna Domus*. In *Stet Fortuna Domus* we see references to 'Slush' and 'the ball' which, as *Synchronic Indices,* will evoke specific memories for Harrovians of not only the grounds on which the sport was played, but the unique shape of the Harrow football.

4.2.4 Orchestral Arrangements

The accompaniment used for a school song is to be considered as part of the *Index* field of the *Etymophonological Framework* (2.4). The use of an orchestra and organ to accompany the majority of the songs for the evening at Harrow not only added to the grandeur of the event but, for songs such as *Stet Fortuna Domus* and *Forty Years On* in particular, established a more anthemic quality through the instrumentation's paramusical associations.[116] In my reflections on the evening, I commented that:

> After the concert I discussed the orchestral arrangements which were performed with David and he said that several of them were in fact originals but some he had arranged himself. Some of the keys of the songs were fairly tricky, some had been lowered over time, but the orchestra had no issues and their performance was of a very high standard. From the booklet which accompanied the event I was able to see that the majority of orchestral performers were music scholars. There were a

[116] Paramusical associations here include the use of the organ to perform national anthems in churches and larger venues. 40 Years On was composed a year after the Royal Albert Hall was built (1871) whilst Stet Fortuna Domus was composed in 1891. Additionally, orchestras still hold associations with royalty and with royal patronage at the time of the song's composition.

> few visiting music teachers within the orchestra and I believe it was a member of staff played on the organ but the ability and skill of the orchestra to follow David's direction through the difficult tempi changes should not be underestimated.
>
> (Reflections on the Churchill songs Evening, Appendix 3)

The orchestral accompaniments with their challenging key signatures and use of performance directions denotes the standard and availability of musicians within the school. Additionally, it connotes privilege through

- Access to instrumental teaching and the instruments themselves,
- Social standing via the association of orchestras with the middle and upper classes,
- Religion through the use of the organ and its fundamental link to Anglican churches in the UK
- Pedagogical practices through the ability of musicians involved to perform within the Western Classical Tradition.

4.2.5 Paramusical Evidence and Aesthetic Focus

Excerpt 4: The Venue.

> *Several members of staff that I spoke to that evening explained how they felt that the Churchill songs that occur in the speech room offer a more authentic experience because they replicate the first Churchill songs where Churchill was not only in attendance but continued to attend for many years until his illness prevented him from doing so. I felt fortunate therefore to witness this event in that same room.*
>
> *What was interesting about the setup of the room, having not been in there before, was that it reminded me on first sight of the Sheldonian theatre in Oxford. The Speech Room has tiered seating, what they refer to as a 'Well' in the floor and then a stage with tiered seating behind it. The boys and the teachers sat in the tiered*

seating, the orchestra was very snuggly fit into the well and all the guests were sat in three rows of about 30 or so seats per row on the stage.

(Reflections on the Churchill songs Evening, Appendix 3)

There were several instances of *paramusical evidence* associated with the Churchill songs evening which would be understood both by the community and those outside of it, albeit from different subjectivities. Two such items are the locations in which the event is held.

4.2.5.1 Speech Room

The Speech Room at Harrow, as shown in Figure 37, was the location of the first Churchill songs event and, as evidenced by earlier quotes from staff members, the location brings a sense of 'I for those in attendance through this convention. The photograph below shows Churchill on the stage of the Speech Room in 1950 (Harrow Association, 2022) and, from the varied standing and sitting positions of those in the image, it is possible that this photograph may have been taken during the Old Harrovians verse of *40 Years On* (Harrow, 2018: 6) for which the Old Harrovians on the stage will not only stand but sing.



Figure 44. Churchill in the Harrow Speech Room *in 1950 (Harrow Association, 2022)*

In the same manner, the Sunday dress worn by the pupils for this event is another form of *paramusical evidence* which would be understood by those within the community. This dress code, the position of the soloist and the presence of booklets rather than song books serves to make an image such as Figure 45 recognisable to the Harrow community as being from the Churchill songs event.



Figure 45. 500 Faces soloist performance position (Harrow, 2023)

4.2.5.2 Royal Albert Hall

In his written address at the start of the 450th anniversary brochure for the Churchill songs event at the Royal Albert Hall in 2022, Headmaster Alistair Land says,

> *It is with great pride but also a sense of humility and honour that the school comes together every five years in the Royal Albert Hall: pride in our tradition and our identity, humility as we acknowledge that the school today is part of something much larger, and honour for Churchill and what his enduring legacy in service and leadership represents. As tightly woven into the essence of Harrow as the straw in our hats, songs in Houses, songs in Speech Room, songs in gatherings around the world, songs are in the warp and weft of the fabric and enduring success of Harrow – our fellowship. songs are the ties that bind and are part of the silver cord of continuity from new Shell boy[117] through distinguished Old Harrovian and on to Giants of Old beyond.*
>
> (Harrow Association, 2022: 7)[118]

This statement illustrates the importance of the songs to the culture of the school, the significance of the event being held in the Royal Albert Hall and its necessity to support an event which is 'much larger' that that of the Speech Room, as can be seen when comparing Figure 36 and Figure 37.

In Figure 46, taken during the 2017 Churchill songs at the Royal Albert Hall, two paramusical elements may be seen which are of importance.

[117] *Shell* is the term used at Harrow for year 9 pupils.

[118] There are several references to songs in the final sentence of this extract, namely the use of the term "silver cord" which recalls the song, "The Silver Arrow" (Harrow, 2018 :106) and "Giants of Old" being a direct reference from the song Giants (Harrow, 2018 :20)



Figure 46. Churchill songs at the Royal Albert Hall 2017 (Harrow Association, 2022)

The first is the school crest, displayed above the organ loft. In the same way that a nations' flag would designate that country to its citizens, a school's crest would be such a banner for its community, past and present. This crest may also be seen in Figure 44 on the front of the table. The second paramusical element is the bust of Churchill by the sculptor Clare Sheridan (Christies, 2011), which is displayed directly below the school crest. Harrow's identity is further endorsed through the singing of *The Silver Arrow* composed by Buck in 1910 (Harrow, 2018: 106) whilst the audience face the two silver arrows displayed on the school crest. The Silver Arrow is therefore of tripartite significance as an Object, an *Index* and an *Aesthetic Foci* for the concert.

The change of venue from the Speech Room to the Royal Albert Hall every fifth year has resulted in the establishment of additional performance praxis for a small number of the school Songs. Woodcock recounted this in his interview saying:

So, when the school sings Ducker the whole school sways and it's a waltz, Ducker is a waltz. […] you don't go there and the whole school does this… Alright, that had never happened until the Royal Albert Hall in 2007. The [moving] lighting did that and the school just started following along [with the lights] and so I'm standing there and all [of them are] watching this light, I'm watching 800 boys and everyone just sort of says how amazing it looked.

Yeah, the next time they're standing in the speech room it's like, oh, God, they're doing it here [Speech Room] now and it's like, it's one of those things, involved that they are, they [the boys] are very much in control.

So, there they are swaying in [Ducker] and then they try to do it in another couple of songs so I have to say 'No, we don't. The tradition is because you created this tradition here, you don't do it in any of the other songs.' Yeah, and so you stop it altogether.

(Woodcock interview, Appendix 2, 19:13)

This comment from Woodcock illustrates how performance practices can be influenced by the venue in which they are performed, becoming a tradition which may be continued after the event. Through restricting such performance practices to the specific song it originated from, and not allowing it to be transferred to others, it may be seen that the integrity of the practice is retained.

4.2.6 Icon

4.2.6.1 Aesthetic Foci

The aesthetic foci of the *Harrow songs Book* and the Churchill songs programme are, by necessity, very different. the songs Book is a navy blue hard backed book of approximately 160 pages. This particular blue is called 'Harrovian Blue' and, it is said, inspired the 'Oxford Blue' colour, seen first in the Oxford University boat race of 1829 when the colour was chosen by two Old Harrovians. The front cover features the school crest and mottos and then the words 'Harrow School Songs' in silver. The programme for the Churchill songs event in November 2023 was a paper booklet with a heavier weight cream cover sheet upon which the school crest appeared in gold on a navy-blue square with 'Harrow School' in white underneath. Under this were the words 'Churchill

Songs' in gold with the date and venue below. The inner cover pages showed colour photographs of pupil groups. Those at the front of the programme showed present pupils and those on the back were of past pupils. All song titles within the programme were printed in gold, as were the names of soloists or groups performing and those who were speaking. The programme was held together with two staples along the centre fold and was of high quality.

The aesthetic focus of the book is primarily concerned with permanence and quality. The navy colour of the book is a common feature of many school song books which I have viewed over the course of my research.[119] This colour may represent authority and power through its long association with uniforms of the police and naval officers. The programme, whilst an *Object* of *insecure permanence* attempts to maintain the quality of the songs Book's aesthetic focus. This is primarily achieved through the use of a cream cover page and the use of gold type. It is interesting to note that the arrows of the school crest on the front of the programme are in this instance also gold, unlike the crest seen in Figure 46 which causes a dissonance with the song *The Silver Arrow* (Harrow, 2018: 106) and the aforementioned use of the silver arrow as an instance of tripartite *paramusical evidence*.

4.2.6.2 Previous songs Book Editions

The colour used for the lettering on the front cover of the Harrow songs book has changed over the various editions. Whilst the most recent edition (Harrow, 2018) and the previous edition have silver text, the first edition as seen in Figure 38, has gold text, as does the re print of the first edition in 1949. The 1949, 2011 and 2018 editions may be seen in Figure 47.

[119] Such examples of school songbooks/hymnals with this colour cover include those of Llandovery College, Tonbridge School, Bedford School and the previous edition of Cantata Stoica from Stowe School.

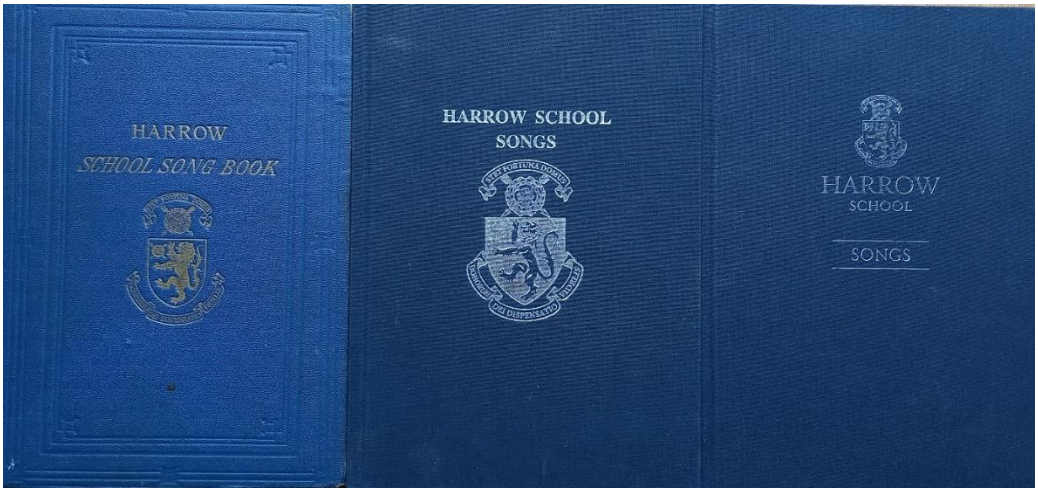


Figure 47. Editions of the Harrow School songbook from 1949, 2011 and 2018 (reading left to right)

It is possible therefore to consider the choice of colour for Churchill songs programme as linking it to the edition of the Harrow songs Book which Churchill himself signed. This choice of colour may have been a conscious decision following the school's purchase of the Churchill *Sign*ed copy earlier in the year as discussed previously.

4.2.7 Ethnographic Intersubjectivity

Excerpt 5. Signs, Objects And Ethnography.

> *One of the benefits of attending the concert, having studied the words and the music of these songs for the past few years, was that it raised my awareness of the difference between the songs on the page and the songs in performance. When playing through songs as a researcher to get an idea of their character, it is not possible to fully appreciate the nuances of the songs as Farmer and the boys would have experienced them. The Sign and the Object must be considered equally to gain a full understanding of the song, or as full an understanding as possible for someone outside of a school's community, even though I may be considered a privileged observer.*

> *500 Faces gained its title because when Farmer wrote the song there were 500 students at Harrow. This has now changed and with 800 pupils on the role it may be even more stressful for the modern soloists than those who sang it before. However, even with the* significant *changes to the school when considering pupil number and pupil profile, the room they sing in is the room where these songs were performed for the very first Churchill Songs, and where the songs will continue to be sung for the foreseeable future.*
>
> (Reflections on the Churchill songs Evening, Appendix 3)

A Harrovian's *ethnographic intersubjectivity* of the Harrow songs is defined by their position within the Harrow community. These positions are marked by the increasingly selective nature of several ethnographic community cohorts and one's admittance to or exclusion from those groups. Here, a person's *right of performance* is defined by their *ingressive positionality* within the groups outlined in Figure 48 and discussed below.

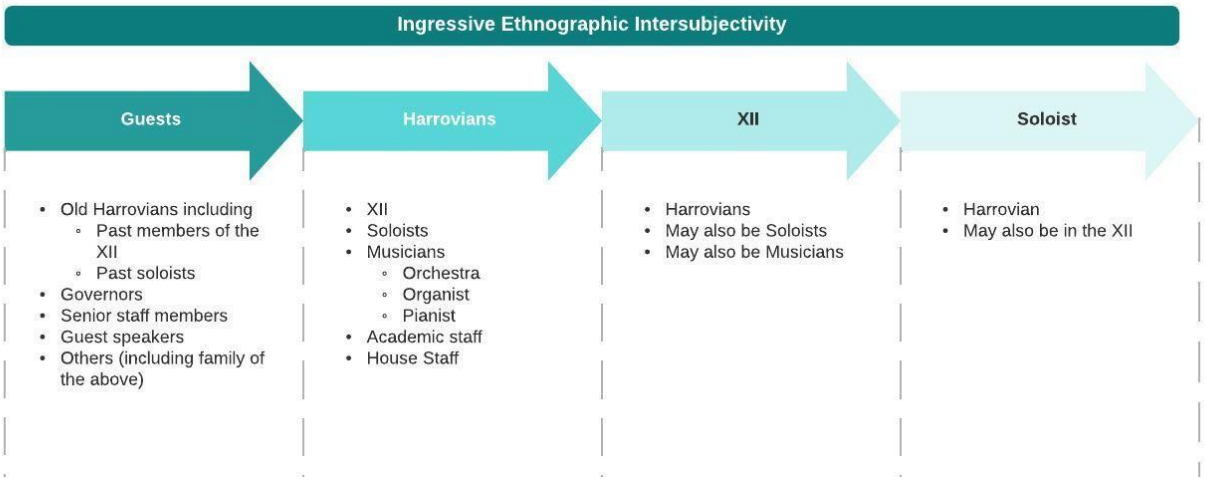


Figure 48. Ingressive positionality and intersubjectivity diagram

4.2.7.1 Boys – General Observations

Whilst I did not survey the Harrovians on their thoughts and feelings towards the Harrow Songs, it was evident from the performances observed during the evening, my interview with Woodcock and from the pupil editorial in *The Harrovian,* that the boys of Harrow see the songs as an integral part of their identity. Churchill's earlier description of the songs as being 'the most precious inheritance of all Harrovians' also supports this observation and speaks to its longevity within the community.

The Harrow songs evening provides Harrovians with a tangible link to their school's history. Additionally, it affords an opportunity to shape the performance practice of those songs during the Harrovian's time at the school, as illustrated by Woodcock's discussion of the swaying during *Ducker* (Harrow, 2018: 79) at the Royal Albert Hall in 2017. This shows a clear and positive community ownership of the songs and demonstrates how the songs are an integral part of the school experience for Harrovians and their identity development. The Harrow songs are performed not only at the Churchill songs evenings but at Speech Day and other important events during the school year, including in less formal situations within boarding houses and at sports fixtures. However, it is the almost reverential approach to the Churchill songs evening held in the speech room, at which the pupils are the largest body of the Harrow community present, which is the most apparent for the observer. Woodcock commented on this in our meeting prior to the Churchill songs evening which I recounted in my reflections:

> David spoke of how he needed to address singing when people came back to Harrow after Covid because there had been two years where communal singing did not happen. David explained that for the boys who attend Harrow, being part of a full boarding school where during the holidays pupils are spread out geographically, it was impossible to facilitate singing during Covid. David told me that the senior management team of Harrow had wanted to prepare for a singing event after Covid which would feature some of the school songs and they had wanted the boys to rehearse in the Speech Room in year groups. David said he had explained that this approach was not going to work because there were two years' worth of boys who

had no knowledge of or attachment to the songs. Whilst the older boys would be revising what they had previously learned so could manage in year groups, David felt this approach would not work for the two years of boys who had not physically attended Harrow.

Instead, David insisted on delivering the rehearsals on a boarding-house-by-boarding-house basis, so that the young boys had the singing of the older boys to support them in learning the songs and to also bring them into the community.[120] David recounted how the reception to this approach from the boarding houses was overwhelmingly positive. The younger boys, who had no previous experience of the singing culture at Harrow, were stunned that the older boys, 6th formers and 5th formers, were unashamedly belting out the Harrow songs which encouraged the younger ones to join in.

(Reflections on the Churchill songs Evening, Appendix 3)

4.2.7.2 XII

The XII, a select group of auditioned pupils, have privileged access to song repertoire and, as such, ingressive performance praxis experiences that the general school body does not. This exclusivity of access provides an additional layer which informs members' subjectivity, as previously illustrated in Figure 48. This exclusivity is evidenced in Woodcock's discussion of how the XII were chosen to be taken to New York in December 2023 to perform Harrow School songs to those involved in establishing a Harrow School subsidiary in America. Of this, Woodcock said:

> *And so they've [senior management] been talking to me about, […], we're sort of saying oh, […], music group coming out to do some stuff to help with [publicity]. And I said 'well, […] what do you want' and they were floating ideas around. Then I said 'Well, […], what's the point in taking Christmas carols to New York in December? There's plenty of people doing all that kind of stuff'. I said, '[…], if you want, if you want to fly the flag waving advertising, then, […], bring twelve of the best boys in the*

[120] This rehearsal approach had not been used before this point and, to my knowledge has been discontinued since Covid restrictions on gatherings and spacing were lifted

school who can talk eloquently about their experiences, can sing a few songs at the drop of a hat, which is no stress at all'.

And so that's why we're taking them and it's, I mean they're so lucky, these boys they've, basically they're going to New York for a week now.

(Woodcock interview, Appendix 2)

Whilst any Harrovian, or other person, can sing the song verses intended for the XII, they will not experience the same relationship with the song verses. Having never performed those specific songs and verses in the manner which they are performed by the XII, a person outside of that cohort will not experience the same performance practice or familial group bond with others. The XII may therefore be considered as a lens through which the wider Harrow community, both past and present, view those verses and as such shape and dictate ethnographic intersubjectivity and understanding of those verses of the songs. The XII are therefore an important aspect of identity construction as discussed in the Literature Review, especially through their performances of the XII specific repertoire which will shape their understanding of their musical identity as outlined by Welch et al., (2010).

4.2.7.3 Soloists

If the XII are to be considered as having privileged access to aspects of the Harrow songs repertoire and performance practice, then the soloists who perform *500 Faces,* composed in 1883 by Farmer (Harrow, 2018: 46) and *You?* composed by Buck in 1903 (Harrow, 2018: 104) have further privilege and exclusivity of access. The Chair of the Board of Governors at Harrow, David Eyton spoke to me at the reception after the Churchill songs evening regarding his own performance of *500 Faces* at the Royal Albert Hall. Eyton's son was also the *500 Faces* soloist for a later Churchill song event, and this is a unique occurrence which speaks to the experiential legacy of that song across generations, both Harrovian and familial as outlined below.

> After the concert, in the drink's reception, I was speaking to a gentleman named David Eyton who turned out to be Chair of the Board of Governors who told me that almost 50 years ago he sang the 500 Faces solo at the Royal Albert Hall, the last time that Winston Churchill's wife was in attendance. He said it was the most nerve-wracking experience of his life, but an amazing one because he's formed this deep emotional bond with the song. That bond was strengthened even more as his son sang the solo approximately ten years ago in the speech room. David now has a generational bond of this unique experience because it is only one boy a year who gets to sing this [at the Churchill Songs], one out of approximately 170. Mr Eyton said that when his son was performing the solo his wife, with the agreement of the director of music (which I believe was David at the time), allowed him to sit with his son whilst he was singing it. I think it is incredible that they share this experience and Mr Eyton was clearly quite moved by it, and it was clear to see how much that experience and bond meant to him. Within the Harrow community there are these individuals who have had to brave memorising five verses of a complex song and perform it in front of their peers, teachers and guests or in Mr Eyton's case, and an even smaller group of others, at the entire Royal Albert Hall and in front of Churchill 's wife.
>
> (Reflections on the Churchill songs Evening, Appendix 3)

Three soloists perform *500 Faces* each year at Harrow and as such the membership of this segment of the community is highly restricted, both subjectively and intentionally.

4.2.8 Staff

The Harrow songs are artefacts which shape and reflect specific aspects of the school's identity and how their composers and lyricists wished the school to be viewed. Headmaster E. E. Bowen, who provided the words for many of Farmer's songs, commented on the importance of singing in school at a time when singing and music

education were often viewed with suspicion and disdain saying, 'Throat's idle pastime? No, no no!' (Harrow Association, 2022: 49). Bowen's support of singing and his lyrical contributions to the songs was an essential component in their success and the continued support of such events by subsequent Headmasters enables the legacy to continue.

Academic and boarding staff at Harrow have a transitory access to the songs and performance practice which concludes when they leave the school but the songs are likely to manifest nostalgically within the emotions of the staff member.[121] This access crosses the gender boundary which existed when the songs of Farmer, Thatcher and Buck were composed, as I witnessed during the Churchill songs evening. Whilst staff do not have their own repertoire in the same way as the XII or the soloists, specific school subjects and the academic studies undertaken during a pupil's time at Harrow do feature in many of the songs. The academic staff assist in shaping the pupil's knowledge whilst house staff, who may also be academic staff, shape the pupils pastorally and as such are considered separately.

As compared to pupils, staff have a different experience and understanding of the school. Within the staff body there will be nuances of perception depending on the age of the teacher, any prior association with the school and also the staff members length of service. A staff member's seniority in the school will influence their subjectivity. For example, the experience of the songs for an Early Career Teacher (ECT) in a small department will be considerably different to that of the Headmaster. Here, the past experiences of and associations with school songs may also influence staff members attitudes towards the role of school songs. One significant example is that of the Headmaster Alistair Land whose considerable teaching experience at other leading independent schools includes Eton, Winchester College, a period of time as Deputy Head at Harrow and as Headmaster at Repton School. Each of these schools have made important contributions to the independent school song tradition and their repertoire will be familiar to Land. It is therefore highly probable that these experiences

[121] Two members of staff at Stowe previously worked at Harrow School and spoke to me of their fondness of the Harrow Songs, the occasions they were sung at and how they witnessed pupils positively engaging with the songs as part of everyday school life.

and his exposure to the song traditions and performance practices of those schools will have influenced his attitude towards the songs of Harrow.

4.2.8.1 Guests

The ethnographic profiles of the guests for the Churchill songs evening in 2023 was highly varied, consisting of Old Harrovians, their families, senior staff members and others who are linked to the school in some way. The role of the guest in this situation is primarily that of an observer, although some may participate in a few select songs. It did not feel to me however as though the songs were being performed *for* the guests but more that they were presented *to* them. This feeling, for myself at least, was created through the seating of the guests on the stage in the Speech Room where, in a typical concert the performers would be located, as discussed before. I commented on this in my reflection on the evening:

> Hearing these songs in the environment they were written for, sung by the community they were written for both current and past was very different to what I had imagined and I felt captivated by the performance that took place, even though it wasn't my community. To be a guest and to witness these songs and to have the boys sat all around you, was an incredible opportunity.
>
> (Reflections on the Churchill songs Evening, Appendix 3)

4.2.8.2 Old Harrovians

The community of Old Harrovians extends around the globe and this community may be seen as the school's legacy. The anthemic qualities of the songs, especially *Stet Fortuna Domus* (Harrow, 2018: 92) and *40 Years On* (Harrow, 2018: 6) will therefore serve to unify Old Harrovians wherever they happen to be. Evidence of this may be seen in written accounts of dinners, events and even arctic expeditions where Harrow songs were sung (Harrow, 2018: vii). Old Harrovians are the subject of *40 Years On* and as such their own verse is of particular importance as discussed previously. During the

Churchill songs in the Speech Room at Harrow this verse is only sung by a few Old Harrovians who are sat on the stage, but when performed in the Royal Albert Hall the Old Harrovian representation overshadows that of the current pupils. As discussed earlier (4.2.5) the seating of the Old Harrovians and the school pupils is reversed in the Royal Albert Hall evenings, with pupils sat on the stage and Old Harrovians in the main body of the venue, to those of the Speech Room. This *subjective indexical exchange* between the pupils and the Old Harrovians during the songs in both venues may be explained as an 'Aspiration and Nostalgia Cycle', as shown in Figure 49.[122]

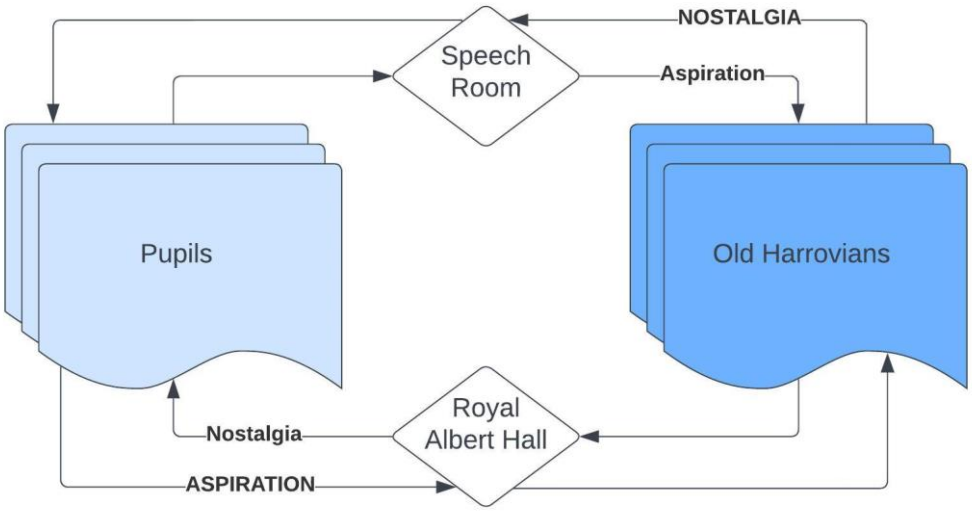


Figure 49. Aspiration and Nostalgia Cycle as evident at Harrow School

This cycle is an integral aspect of how independent school songs create and sustain identity. Pupils performing the song with past pupils engage in the aspiration part of the cycle. At Harrow this may be through several factors such as performing the songs around a speech given by a guest of honour, usually an Old Harrovian, who aims to inspire the pupils in some way through their own success. When performing songs with the pupils, the Old Harrovians engage in the nostalgia aspect of the cycle, reflecting upon their former school performances of the songs and their journey through life since

[122] Aspiration and Nostalgia are discussed in Chapter 6 as part of the song text analysis where Nostalgia, as a category of Ewart is discussed in depth and aspiration is discussed as part of *Nostalgia* and three additional categories, namely *Morals and Morale Boosting*, *Past Pupils* and *Founders*

leaving school. The change of venue every 5 years to the Royal Albert Hall arguably amplifies the *Aspiration* component for the present student as they find themselves surrounded by a vast body of Old Harrovians, whilst the evenings in the Speech Room amplify the *Nostalgia* component for Old Harrovians.[123]

4.2.9 Interpretant Intersubjectivity

When exploring the phenomena of the school song through the Etymophonological framework, and especially an established school song tradition such as the Churchill songs evening, the *individual interpretant* should always be considered as a consolidating and highly-nuanced lens through which to view the songs. Some interpretant roles such as those of the *complete participant* are found replicated across most independent schools and will share a universality of experience despite the individualistic nature of the performance praxis and history of their school and repertoire. Other *interpretant* roles such as the director of music who may be both an *observer* and *participant* and their unique subjectivity within a school shall now be discussed.

4.2.9.1 Director of Music

When asked to describe his relationship to the school songs of Harrow, Woodcock said the following:

> *My job is, I suppose I see my job as a custodian of the songs and of the tradition and […], it's my job to try to ensure that we keep the repertoire as wide as possible, […] whether it's wide enough? I don't know.*
>
> (Woodcock interview, Appendix 2, 8:43)

[123] The amplifications within the cycle are represented by the capitalisation of the component on the diagram.

Woodcock's choice of the word *custodian* in relation to both the songs and the tradition is of significant interest here and directly links to subquestion 4 of my research, 'What measures are employed by schools to store and preserve songs across multiple generations?' Woodcock's actions to preserve singing at Harrow post Covid were outlined earlier, but the requirement to retain the school community's familiarity with the repertoire is an ongoing and challenging task. Despite his efforts and evident success in doing this, there are still members within the Harrow community who feel he does not go far enough and who publicly ask for more to be done to keep the songs alive and in rotation. One such example may be found in the programme for the 450th Harrow Anniversary Churchill Songs programme where Vargas writes:

> *The modern Songbook contains over 50 songs, many more than can be sung on a regular basis. It is perhaps unfortunate that the old favourites, Ducker, Raleigh, The Silver Arrow, Queen Elizabeth, Stet Fortuna and Giants dominate. Add Willow the King and A Gentleman's a-Bowling for rugby, Three Yards and Plump a Lump for football and there isn't room for many more. The popularity of certain songs varies from generation to generation. I confess to being drawn to the best tunes (in my opinion) and so I just love singing Songs, Here Sir!, Grandpapa's Grandpapa and Faries. A few years ago, I arranged some evenings of 'forgotten songs'. Although some wag said he could understand why they had been forgotten, we found some hidden gems. I wonder how many of those present this evening know Lyon of Preston, Cats and Dogs and Boy?*
>
> (Harrow Association, 2022: 46-49)

For a director of music, additional considerations surrounding events such as Churchill songs include the planning, programming and rehearsals for the event. These are time consuming and, as such, decisions regarding what songs to rehearse and keep in rotation must be made to ensure others can continue to be performed. Thanks to the *Inclusive Secure Permanence* of the songs Book as discussed previously (4.2.1), those songs which are not included in a year's rehearsal schedule are not lost to the community and may be revived later. This does however mean the director of music has a markedly different interpretation of the Churchill songs event to all others in the community through their role as an *Active* and *Privileged Participant* with direct influence upon the event itself. It should also be remembered that Woodcock's

positionality and subjectivity is also considerably different to many of his predecessors. It is different to those who have contributed songs to the repertoire as it may be argued that those directors of music have perpetuated and expanded the tradition, whether their songs are performed regularly or not. At time of writing, Woodcock has, as yet, to write his song for the school and so his reflection on himself as a custodian is an accurate one, although in time it may change to *contributor* and custodian.

4.2.9.2 Privileged Observer

My positionality as a *Privileged Observer* has undoubtedly influenced my perception of the Churchill songs evening, especially in my empathy towards the role Woodcock has in ensuring the success of the performances and the event itself. My musical training and experience as a director of music in a variety of independent schools assisted me in appreciating the Churchill songs in a multifaceted way and recognising associations others may not have been aware of. One such association is the importance of the melody of *Stet Fortuna Domus* (Harrow, 2018: 92) and its significant link to the school song of Stowe, which will be discussed in the following chapter. My research in this field also defines my positionality as I view the songs of Harrow as one facet of the *Genesis Collection* from which the tradition itself emanated. [124] I am able to identify personally with Woodcock's relationship as a custodian of the songs but not only as a custodian of the Harrow songs in some part but of the broader independent school song tradition. As such, observing the Churchill songs evening assisted me in better understanding the living performance practice associated with this repertoire and the measures taken to preserve the songs across multiple generations.

[124] See previously discussion of this concept in 2.1.3

5 STOWE CASE STUDY

The Churchill songs evening enabled the application of the Etymophonological framework to a well-established and continuous musical tradition at Harrow School. This supported an examination of the songs and their performance practice along an historical timeline. At Harrow, the Churchill songs occupy a firmly embedded place in the school's calendar of events and contribute significantly to identity formation through shared musical experience. In contrast, this chapter examines the re-establishment and revival of the Stowe School Song, an artefact that has survived only in partial form and has not been performed for a considerable period. The rediscovery of the melody for this song was unexpected, however it provided an opportunity to explore and frame many of the vital issues raised in this research project and provide data relating to the principal research question and sub questions. The aim of this chapter is to explore how the Etymophonological framework can be used not merely to analyse an existing tradition, but to inform and shape the reconstruction, interpretation, and renewed performance of a school song whose sonic and performative identity must, in effect, be rediscovered.

5.1 A New Song For a New School

Whilst today Stowe School is known for its landscaped gardens, ducal mansion house and its partnerships with the National Trust, the estate was in an incredibly poor state of repair when the school was founded. Stowe was purchased by Harry Shaw in July of 1921 for £50,000, the purchase saving the mansion house from an intended demolition (Croom-Johnson, 1953). The school was opened on May 11, 1923, with an initial cohort of 99 pupils (Stowe, 2023).

The founding Headmaster, J.F. Roxburgh, sought to create an independent school with a liberal approach to education which valued the individual and aimed to ensure that every pupil would 'know beauty when he sees it all his life' (Stowe, 2023). Roxburgh had a deep understanding of independent school life having received his education at

Charterhouse School before gaining a first-class degree in the Classical Tripos from Trinity College, Cambridge in 1910. His first teaching position was at Lancing College, and he returned there in 1919 as Housemaster following his involvement in the First World War (Annan, 1965).

The school songs of both Charterhouse School, *Carmen Carthusianum* (Phillott, 1843) and Lancing College, *Triumphales O Sodales!* (Handford, 1933) would have been well known to Roxburgh, as would their cultural importance and performance practice within the school's. Alexander Brent-Smith was a housemaster and colleague of Roxburgh's at Lancing College, as well as the school's Director of Music. He said of choral music at Lancing College:

> *In the first place, a choir can add interest to a service by singing one or more verses of a hymn unaccompanied, or it can combine with the congregation in singing a verse with faux-bourdons, a form of hymn-singing valuable not only for the spiritual exaltation it produces, but also for the opportunity it provides to the unmusical for singing an independent part in a great chorus. The effect is stupendous; the whole building rings with praise and the echoes which dance among the masonry seem indeed to make the very stones cry out.*
>
> (Rainbow, 1990: 89)

Similarly Handford, an Old Lancing and later a 6th form Master at the school, states in his 1930s work on Lancing College, 'No cause or institution is complete, not can its spirit be fixed, until it has found its expression in some anthem or song' (Handford, 1986). Here again, as with previous commentary on the songs of Harrow (4), we see the importance of the anthemic qualities of the song in *completing* the community. That importance is found reflected upon by Sanderson, Lancing College's Headmaster, who worked with the Reverand William Russell to produce its school song *Triumphales* (Russel, 1867) which is an example of Sanderson's methods in making Lancing 'A public school with a tradition to hand on' (Handford, 1986). Having experienced school songs first hand and seen their importance and legacy, the establishment of a school song for Stowe at the request of Lord Gisborough, Chair of Governors, was an important

matter for Roxburgh. It was however one which met with obstacles and difficulties from the outset (Miller, 1923).

5.1.1 Initial Difficulties Faced by Roxburgh in Commissioning a School Song

My initial enquiries into whether Stowe had a school song were met with some hesitation as it was thought that the original school song had lyrics which may now be considered inappropriate. Instead, Stowe had instead used the hymn Jerusalem (Parry, 1916) at end of term assemblies for many years and it had become a firm favourite with the pupils and staff. For independent schools who are known by the general public, media reaction and public opinion must be carefully considered to ensure the reputation of the school is not called into question. The revival of a song with inappropriate lyrics to be sung by an entire school community would have the potential to cause reputational damage. As such, at the start of this research project my focus was to discover information regarding the composition of the song.

Dr Anthony Wallersteiner, Head of Stowe, provided me with copies of archived correspondence which showed that Roxburgh began to receive initial song text proposals in July 1923 (Miller, 1923). It would however take a further 18 months for the song text to be finalised, the music composed and the song to be completed. This delay was in part due to initial difficulties which Roxburgh describes in a letter to the Editor of The Times newspaper:

> *When Stowe was opened eighteen months ago, two well-known poets were asked to write us a School song. Neither, however, would consent to try. They said in effect (though they said it kindly) that as the school had no past, there could be 'nothing to make a song about'*
>
> (Roxburgh, 1923)

Whilst the school had indeed only been opened for eighteen months, the refusal to write a song on the grounds of a 'lack of a past' seems erroneous given the unique history of the mansion house and its owners, the Temple-Grenville family. Dr Wallersteiner states in his interview that he believes school songs support a sense of communal familiarity. Furthermore he believes songs enable families of the children attending independent schools at the turn of the twentieth century to buy into 'This patternation, that veneer of antiquity and conduct based on a code of conduct that had been established or could be noted as looking back to that mythical golden age of mythology'. It may well be that the poets refused to avoid discussing the financial difficulties of the Temple-Grenville family ensuring the 'Veneer of antiquity' of the school remained marketable for the public. It could therefore be considered that the poets' refusal was not on the grounds of the school having 'no history' but a history which included unsuitable material for a school song.

5.2 Three School song Lyricists

The Stowe archive held three sets of song text submitted to Roxburgh for consideration. These came from the following lyricists, Edgar Miller (Miller 1923), Buckingham Chandos (1923) and E. A. Burroughs (1923). The text of each song can be found in section 13.

Roxburgh responded to Miller the day after Miller's letter was written stating, 'Many other poets are engaged upon the task, and it is too early for us at present to make any decision between their compositions' (Roxburgh, 1923). Following this statement there is no further material relating to the song which was entitled *Deo Jurante*. Of particular interest to this research is the final line of Miller's submission, which attempts to establish 'A noble name, that may befit "A Gentleman of Stowe"'[125] (Miller, 1923). This text appears to reflect the opening portion of Miller's letter where he states that he is writing because of it 'Being the desire of Lord Gisborough, that the "Boys of Stowe" should have a song'. *Deo Jurante* then reflects upon the journey of the pupil going forth

[125] This is underlined in the text as may be seen in 13.1

in the world and growing from a 'boy' into a 'gentleman', similar to other school songs such as those of Harrow.

A song for Stowe School by Buckingham Chandos is considerably different in textual style, being a singular body of text with no clear structure or rhyming pattern. There is no accompanying correspondence between Roxburgh and the author other than the song text itself. What is evident is that the author clearly draws upon the associations of other well-known independent schools of the time, naming Eton, Harrow, Winchester, and Wellington within the first 8 lines of text. This may have been an attempt to firmly establish Stowe on a similar level to its competitors. However, it is documented that Roxburgh sought to establish a new approach to education which was markedly different to those other schools. This attempt at alignment with the other schools may therefore have been a reason this text was not taken forward.

E.A. Burroughs, the author of *Sto, Presto, Praesto!* was the Dean of Bristol and a Governor of Stowe. Prior to his appointment as Dean of Bristol, Burroughs was an Honorary Chaplain to the King, had been educated at Harrow and attended Balliol College, Oxford (Wellings, 2012). Burroughs' text and revisions to that text may be seen below.

Table 17. Alternative versions of Stowe School song *lyrics*

Sto, Persto, Præsto song Text			
Burroughs, 1924a	Burroughs 1924b	Printed version	Burroughs/Wallersteiner 2023
"Sto, presto, Præsto!" blame who will the boasts of youthful daring: 'Tis never late to wrest from fate The prize of forwards faring For all the pillared pomp and grace That crowned her first beginning The world shall know the greater Stowe In this, Her second innings Sto, presto, Præsto! Temples and Grenvilles - - - Bruce*	" The World's Great age begins anew A fresh spring-tide is flowing The morning breeze in all our trees Awakes "a sound of going". A symbol we of things to be, Of long decay arrested, Of time-worn truth once more in youth And beauty Manifested. Sto, presto, Præsto!	"Sto, presto, Præsto!" blame who will the boasts of youthful daring: 'Tis never late to wrest from fate The prize of forwards faring For all the pillared pomp and grace That crowned her first beginning The world shall know the greater Stowe In this, Her second innings Sto, presto, Præsto! Temples and Grenvilles, Lords of Stowe	"Sto, presto, Præsto!" blame who will the boasts of youthful daring: 'Tis never late to wrest from fate The prize of forwards faring For all the pillared pomp and grace That crowned her first beginning The world shall know the greater Stowe In this, Her second innings Sto, presto, Præsto! Temples and Grenvilles, Lords of Stowe

In spacious days of leisure	Temples and Grenvilles, Lords of Stowe	In spacious days of leisure	In spacious days of leisure
Built far and wide on this hillside,	In spacious days of leisure	Built far and wide on this hillside,	Built far and wide on this hillside,
A palace for their pleasure.	Built far and wide on this hillside,	A palace for their pleasure.	A palace for their pleasure.
Their dreams are dead, but we instead,	A palace for their pleasure.	Their dreams are dead, but we instead,	Their dreams are dead, but we instead,
The heirs of their endeavour	Their dreams are dead, but we instead,	The heirs of their endeavour	The heirs of their endeavour
Shall build into the years ahead	The heirs of their endeavour	Shall build into the years ahead	Shall build into the years ahead
The dream that lives for ever	Shall build into the years ahead	The dream that lives for ever	The dream that lives for ever
Sto, presto, Præsto!	The dream that lives for ever	Sto, presto, Præsto!	Sto, presto, Præsto!
	Sto, presto, Præsto!		
There catch we fragments of the rhythm		There catch we fragments of the strain	So standing firm for God and truth,
To which true manhood marches,	The old nobilities of birth	To which true manhood marches,	For gentleness and duty,
Blown by the breeze through ancient trees	May be from Stowe departed.	Blown by the breeze through ancient trees	For daring hopes and dreams of youth,
And flashed from classic arches	But every son of God on earth	And flashed from classic arches	For wisdom's sober beauty,
Things new and old alike unfold	Can still be noble-hearted.	Things new and old alike unfold	Each scion of Stowe, where're they go

A Stoics high vocation: One way of fame is still the same, To serve our generation Sto, presto, Præsto! By great traditions holding fast, We find out faith no fetter: We learn by love for all that's past To mould the new age better To new horizons fort we fare New battles we inherit And brace our sacred strength to bear New burdens of the spirit Sto, presto, Præsto!	New days and old alike unfold A Stoic's true vocation One way of fame is still the same, To serve our generation Sto, presto, Præsto! By great traditions holding fast, We find out faith no fetter: We learn by love for all that's past To mould the new age better To new horizons fort we fare New battles we inherit And brace our sacred strength to bear New burdens of the spirit	A Stoics high vocation: One way of fame is still the same, To serve our generation Sto, presto, Præsto! By great traditions holding fast, We find out faith no fetter: We learn by love for all that's past To mould the new age better To new horizons fort we fare New battles we inherit And brace our sacred strength to bear New burdens of the spirit Sto, presto, Præsto!	Shall wield her Sword of honour And all the passing ages show God's blessing still upon her. Sto, presto, Præsto!

	Sto, presto, Præsto!		
So standing firm for God and truth,	So standing firm for God and truth,	So standing firm for God and truth,	
For gentleness and duty,	For gentleness and duty,	For gentleness and duty,	
For daring hopes and dreams of youth,	For daring hopes and dreams of youth,	For daring hopes and dreams of youth,	
For wisdom's sober beauty,	For wisdom's sober beauty,	For wisdom's sober beauty,	
Each son of Stowe, where're he go	Each son of Stowe, where're he go	Each son of Stowe, where're he go	
Shall wield her Sword of honour	Shall wield her Sword of honour	Shall wield her Sword of honour	
And all the passing ages show	And all the passing ages show	And all the passing ages show	
God's blessing still upon her.	God's blessing still upon her.	God's blessing still upon her.	
Sto, presto, Præsto!	Sto, presto, Præsto!	Sto, presto, Præsto!	

The first correspondence from Burroughs to Roxburgh (Burroughs, 1923) shows that by December of 1923 Burroughs had already begun revisions on his initial submission as he states, 'I have used various opportunities, in trains and wakeful house at night, trying to remedy the more glaring defects in the school Song'. In this letter Burroughs outlines the revisions he has made which include

- The inclusion (described as 'lugging in' by Burroughs) of historical families (Temple's and Grenville's) linked to Stowe in the second stanza
- Removing what he described as the 'Moralising elements in Stanza three' and suggests that that verse may possibly be cut altogether although this does not appear to have happened.[126]
- Re writing lines five and six of stanza four, although Burroughs states he is still not fully happy with them
- Difficulties with ending the song whilst mentioning the 'Sword of Honor' which Burroughs states '...must be brought in'.

References to a sword also appear in Miller's rejected song text where he says 'As Patriots we need a sword, our sword of honour shall be "truth"'. The origin of the sword was discussed in my interview with Dr Wallersteiner (see 11.2) where he explained,

> *There was quite a debate about the representation of the cross on the altar [in the school Chapel]. Because we were set up by the Martyrs' Memorial Trust.[127] The chairman of Governors, Lord Gisborough, and the Reverend Percy Warrington felt the candles and crucifixes were higher church than they wanted. So, there was a debate between Roxburgh and Warrington about using a Crusaders sword behind the altar to represent the cross... there was something that was a Samurai Sword, which was presented to the school as a gift from the Japanese embassy and there was a debate whether that should be used to represent the cross.*

[126] The third Verse of *Sto, Persto Praesto!* is currently omitted from school performances although the text for the Verse is included on the sheet. The Headmaster and School Chaplain felt that the song was too long with it included and that Verse 3 was the least popular amongst the school.
[127] This trust was founded by Rev. Warrington in 1923 and established Stowe and Canford School. It now includes other member schools in the UK and Kenya under the name of The Allied Schools.

5.2.1 Melodic Suggestions and Composer Conflicts

The archival documents show that the melody for the song was composed after the text and that the melody was a source of intense disagreement between Roxburgh and Gisborough. The two unsuccessful song proposals have no existing melodies, although Miller does state in his latter to Roxburgh that 'A friend has kindly consented to set the words to suitable music' (Miller, 1923). The identity of this friend was not revealed, but the strophic construction of the text would not present too great a challenge for a composer.

Burroughs states in his letter to Roxburgh that, regarding *Sto, Persto Praesto!* (Brent-Smith, 1925),

> *If you want a temporary tune for it, one of the Harrow School songs will, I think fit, and the closing notes of the "symphony" at the end would fit the three Latin words. It is Stet Fortuna Domus by E.W.H. Music by Eaton Faning, Page 128 in my now elderly edition*[128]
>
> (Burroughs, 1923).

Burroughs includes a handwritten note at the bottom of the typed letter, outlining his idea for the end of the song which can be seen in Figure 50

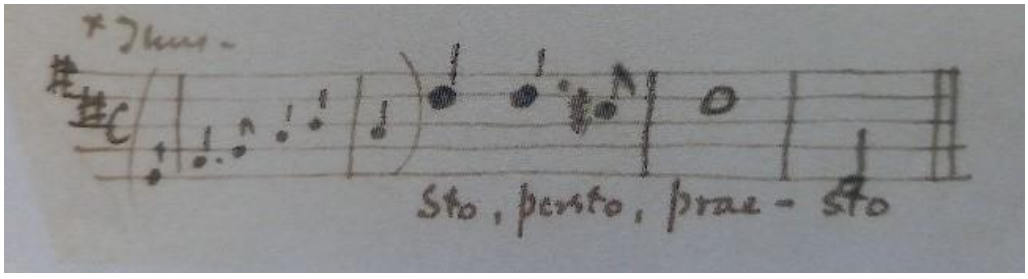


Figure 50. Sto, Persto, Praesto! (Brent-Smith, 1925)motif (Burroughs, 1923)

[128] The Harrow songs book was first published in 1884 and so the 'elderly edition' that Burroughs mentions is likely to be the 1896 printing, the first to come out after the writing of *Stet Fortuna Domus* (1891). The next edition of the songbook did not occur until 1922, a year before the letter was sent.

As an Old Harrovian, Burroughs would have been aware of the importance of the Harrow School songs and of *Stet Fortuna Domus* in particular. Burroughs' suggestion of using Faning's melody is likely to have been made as both Faning and the song would have been known to Burroughs; it having been written in 1891 and Faning being the director of music during Burroughs' time at Harrow.

There are links, both direct and indirect to other independent schools which were discovered during the systematic analysis of archival materials regarding the Stowe School Song, and these may be seen from the diagram below.

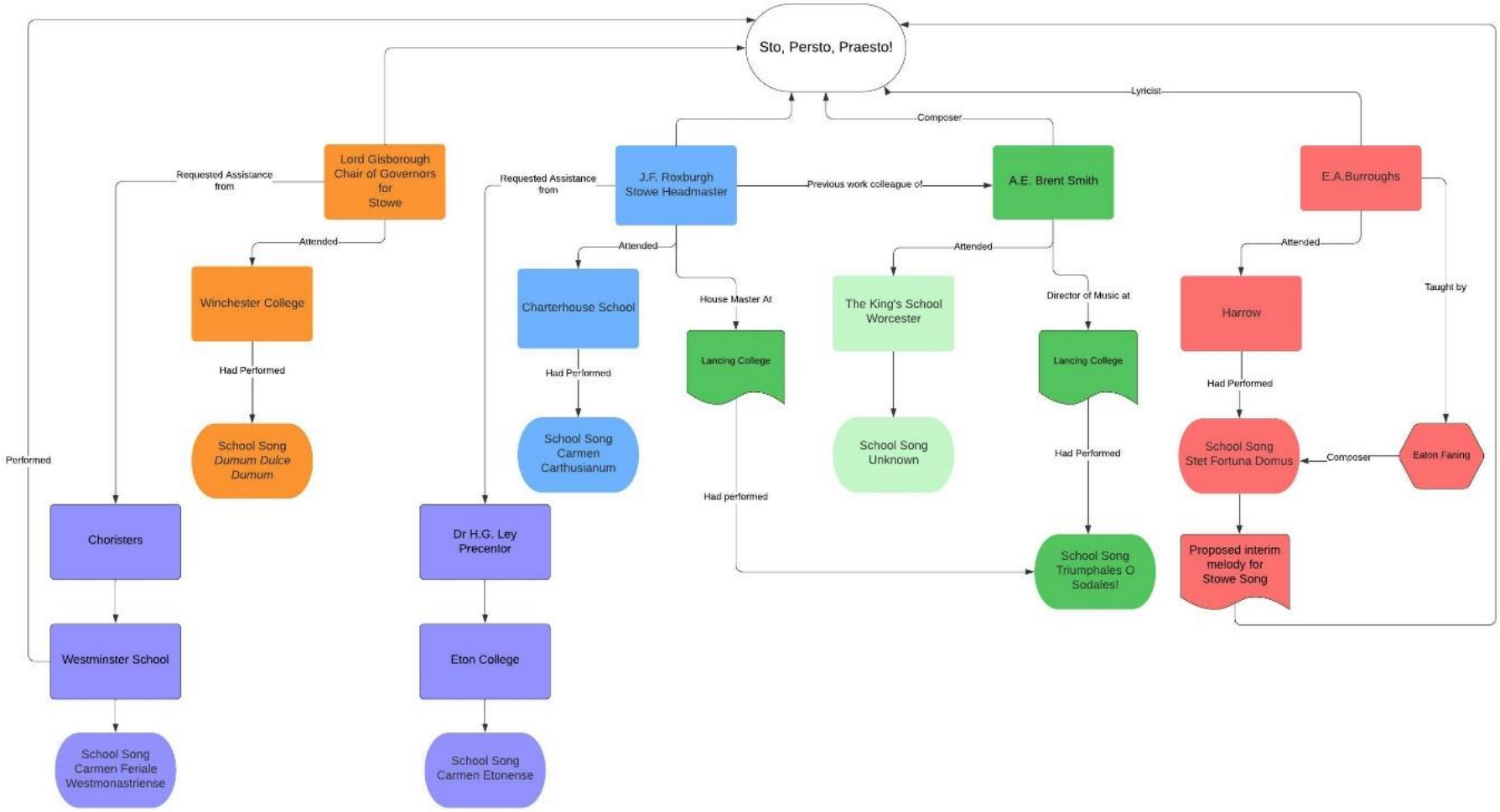


Figure 51. Relationships between the Stowe School Song, other independent schools and people

In his letter to Burroughs in May of 1924, Roxburgh alludes to a musician having been asked to write music for the song. He states, 'I will write to you about the song more fully when I have had an answer from the musician to whom it has been sent.' (Roxburgh, 1924). A letter dated 19 June 1924 shows that the musician was A. E. Brent-Smith, Director of Music at Lancing College, Sussex whom Roxburgh knew from his time working there (Roxburgh, 1924). The arrangement provided by Brent-Smith received high praise from Roxburgh who stated,

> *We are all perfectly clear that the music could not be improved upon by any ingenuity – even yours - and beyond expressing our gratitude (which is too great to be easily conveyed) nothing now remains for us but to ask your advice about the printing.*
>
> (Roxburgh, 1924)

As shown in Figure 51, the development of the Stowe School song emerged from a network of professional and educational relationships centred on J.F. Roxburgh, Stowe's first Headmaster. Roxburgh requested assistance from Lord Gisborough, Chair of Governors for Stowe, who maintained connections with Winchester College and its established musical traditions. Roxburgh also drew on his earlier working relationship with A.E. Brent-Smith, with whom he had served at Lancing College. In addition, E.A. Burroughs, himself a former pupil of Harrow, brought direct experience of Harrow's school song tradition, directly influencing the compositional process at Stowe through his suggestion of a Harrow song melody as an interim tune for the Stowe School song. Together, these four figures illustrate the administrative, musical, and inter-school influences that shaped both the conception and reconstruction of *Sto, Persto, Praesto!*.

5.3 The First Performance

5.3.1 Rehearsals

Correspondence between Roxburgh, Brent-Smith and Burroughs shows that rehearsals and revisions of the song text and music took place between June 1924 and the end of that year. The song appears to have been well received by the pupils, as described by Roxburgh who said, 'Last night the whole prefectorial batch and I tutored by P.A. Browne sang it [the school song] through lustily several times over' (Roxburgh, June 13th,1924). Similarly, Roxburgh assures Brent-Smith of the effectiveness of the song's opening:

> *The Dean [Burroughs] would have none [doubt] either if he had heard it sung as we have by a collection of raucous and unmusical prefects (aided and abetted by myself, by the way). The merit of the opening bars seems to me that they prepare one for the refrain and once the school has learned it, I think it should result in a really stirring bit of singing*
>
> (Roxburgh, October 7th, 1924)

The reason for the songs retirement for almost 100 years is then not because of it being a substandard song, but the result of an unfortunate first performance and personal conflicts between those involved in the compositional process.

5.3.2 Speech Day 1926

A letter from Roxburgh to Brent-Smith from July 1927 (Roxburgh, 1927) suggests that the song's first performance took place on Speech Day 1926, a year and a half after the melody and accompaniment were finalised and copies of the song and music were printed by Novello. The Speech Day ceremony took place in a marquee on the South Front of the Mansion House where Roxburgh recounts to Brent-Smith that the song *'was*

sung badly that day, because the boys were all mixed up with their relations in an incredibly thick and hot crowd.' (Roxburgh, 1927).[129]

It must be assumed that the rehearsals referred to in earlier correspondence had taken place in at least one of three significant locations within the Mansion House, namely the Marble Hall, the State Music Room or the Aurelian Room. No other spaces would have been available within the Mansion House at that time to rehearse larger groups of pupils with a piano, the school Chapel not being completed until 1929. Both the Marble Hall and State Music Room have generous acoustics which support vocal performances. The Marble Hall and State Music Room are seen below:

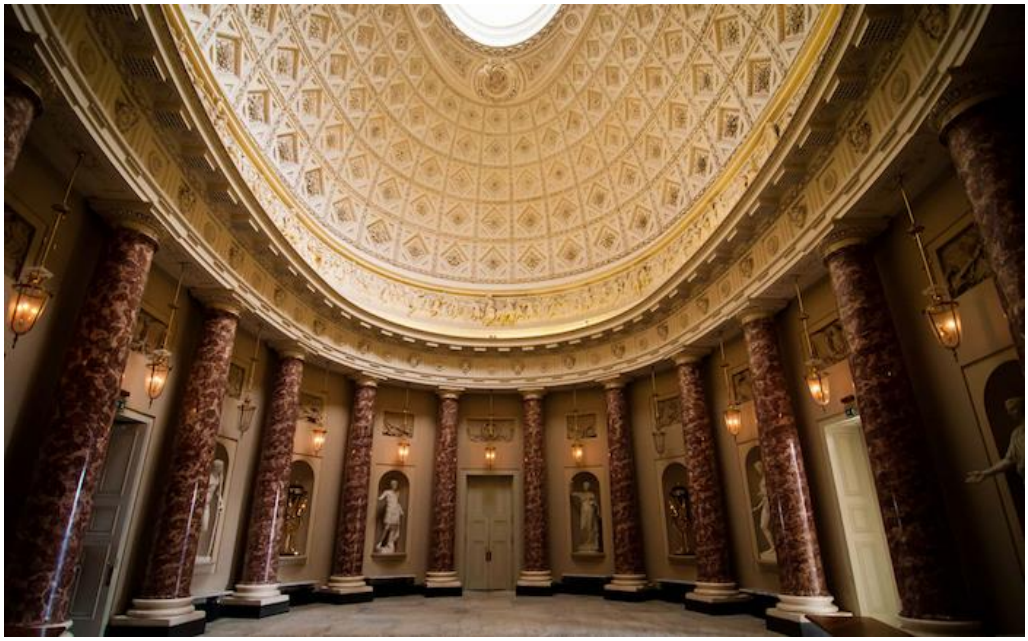


Figure 52. Marble Hall at Stowe School (BCSES, 2017)

[129] Speech Day is still held in a marquee on the south front and pupils continue to sit with their families. There is however no communal singing during the ceremony.



Figure 53. State Music Room at Stowe (Sue Bond Public Relations, 2011)

The fact that the original pupils performance on Speech Day was situated within a substantially different acoustic to any of the three rooms mentioned, and that they were sitting some distance away from their peers, very likely impacted the quality of the pupils' performance.

5.3.3 Misconceptions Built Over Time

The poor performance of *Sto, Persto, Praesto!* at Speech Day marked the beginning of the retirement of the song. As mentioned previously, it was Lord Gisborough, first Chairman of the Board of Governors, who initially requested a song be written for Stowe School and it is Gisborough's reaction to this first performance which introduced further complications. Roxburgh states in a letter to Brent-Smith:

> *The mystery of Gisborough's demand for copies of the school song is now solved. When he heard it sung a year ago at the Speech Day, he did not like it... The Governors have never heard the song under favourable conditions. In spite of that, however, Gisborough has asked a cousin of his called Reginald Benyon, to write an alternative tune, which he has done.*
>
> (Roxburgh, 29 July 1927)

It must be assumed that Gisborough had 'demanded' copies of the school song after July 1926 and approached Reginald Benyon who then wrote an alternative melody, of which no copies are currently to be found in the Stowe archives. Benyon was a published composer whose most notable work is a *'Flower Suite'* of three dances which was published in both an orchestral and a piano score (Benyon, 1902).

Roxburgh's letters outline the extraordinary efforts Gisborough took to have Benyon's melody used for *Sto, Persto, Praesto!* Roxburgh states 'Both tunes were tried over by 25 Westminster Choir boys the other day before two or three Governors who did not know anything about it, Phillip Browne and myself.' (Roxburgh, 1927). It is unknown what connection Gisborough had with Westminster School to facilitate such a rehearsal, but the intent was to ask those present to vote on which melody to use for future performances. Roxburgh, states to Brent-Smith 'I felt so sure that the verdict would go without question to your tune, that I did not tell you about the thing at all. However, as it happens, there was no verdict.' (Roxburgh, 1927). Gisborough was clearly dissatisfied with the outcome and then instructed Roxburgh to:

> *...consult one or two school Musicians and ask them not only which is the better tune for unison singing, but also whether the words are not in such a metre that an entirely satisfactory school tune cannot be written to them.*
>
> (Roxburgh, 1927)

A few days later, Roxburgh did indeed write to request such information from the Precentor of Eton College, Dr H.G. Ley (Roxburgh, 1927). Roxburgh reiterates his dislike of Beynon's melody which he initially expressed in the letter to Brent-Smith, *'None of us*

here can believe Benyon's tune has anything to be said for it at all' (Roxburgh 1927). This time Roxburgh stated to Ley, *'Unfortunately, however, none of us here like the new tune'* (Roxburgh 1927). Roxburgh's final paragraph to Ley begins *'I cannot send you Brent-Smith's accompaniment, but I am sending you Benyon's accompaniment and the vocal score for both songs.'* It is unclear why he was unable to send Brent-Smith's accompaniment, but it may be that having only printed a few copies of the accompaniment, or perhaps having decided to have handwritten copies made, as suggested in one of his earlier letters to Brent-Smith, that copies of the accompaniment had already been lost. Roxburgh's frustration at the situation is apparent in the closing of the letter to Ley:

> *If you would spend ten minutes in looking them over, and five minutes in writing me a line about them, the Governors and I would be exceedingly grateful to you – though we know very well that we have no right whatever to ask you any such favour. With all apologies.*
>
> (Roxburgh 1927)

There is no response from Roxburgh to Ley in the Stowe School archive and so, with the song having not been sung again, it may be concluded that no compromise could be found, and the song was retired.

5.3.4 Melodic Rediscovery

In March of 2023, Stowe School received items from the estate of one of the original cohort of 99 pupils. Amongst the photographs of past pupils, J.F. Roxburgh and other such memorabilia was an old copy of the school magazine, *The Stoic*, and within its pages was a sheet containing the melody and lyrics of the school song. I was called to the Headmaster's office to see the music which was subsequently scanned and emailed to me (see 13.4).

The initial reaction to the find from Dr Wallersteiner and his PA, Mrs Claudia Copithorne was one of great excitement. I sang the melody through to them both and we agreed it had promise and may prove to be popular. Dr Wallersteiner then read the text of the song to myself and Mrs Copithorne and we concluded that the text did not need extensive modification to be appropriate for a modern context given the absence of overtly colonialist or offensive language. It was briefly discussed that we could attempt to teach it to the school and see what the community response was, but that the melody would require an accompaniment, this having not survived required reconstruction.

I printed a copy of the vocal score and added suitable chord progressions, undertaking a similar process to re-imagining the school song accompaniment of Roedean in 3.5 whereby I created a harmonic outline using primary chords. I then asked Jonathan Kingston, Chapel Organist and Choral Director at Stowe if he were able to write an organ accompaniment for the song and he agreed. Reflecting on the process in his interview (11.3), Kingston said:

> *[…], so I was very conscious that, […], we weren't gonna get an authentic replica of what was possibly originally written, but you could nonetheless pay tribute to some of that with the detail that was, […], that was sketched out, and I for one, should it ever be found, would be fascinated to see, if ever a full version was un-earthed, just how close I got.*

A copy of the complete score of the song has yet to be located. However, should one be discovered in the future a comparative analysis of the accompaniments by Brent-Smith and Kingston may form an integral part of a further research project.

5.3.5 Centenary Revival

Sto, Persto, Praesto! was performed in the Stowe Centenary service on May 11, 2023. The service was livestreamed for Old Stoics, parents, and other members of the

community whilst over 900 people attended in person and performed the song. Reflecting on the performance during the service (11.2), Dr Wallersteiner said:

> *I was pleased because there are a few things that will stand out in the centenary, the kind of things that were unique to this year and, having a song that we didn't commission Jonathan Dove or get Howard Goodall, an old Stoic, to come along and compose something contemporary, but we went back to the foundation story [of the school] and it's created another foundation myth which is great... And I think, [...], institutions need strong narratives, and for everyone in that chapel and now, we've got it on audio and the video that I've heard it a few times is the fact everyone in that Chapel is quite is enjoying the performance.*

Kingston commented in his interview (11.3):

> *Most of the people in that building [chapel] seem to be doing quite a lot [of singing] most of the time, and I thought that spoke volumes really, whether they were, [...] in their last year here or whether they were in their third form [first] year here. They would get behind it and, [...], they didn't have to. Kids that I don't particularly know would stop me in the dining hall or they would see me round at about and just say we're really enjoying this [...], we didn't think we would.*

The day after the centenary service, the school song was recorded and videoed in Stowe School Chapel.[130] the song was performed three times, and the final video was an audio and visual compilation of all three takes. Following the recording it was felt that singing all four verses made the song too long and so the decision was taken to omit verse three for future performances. This served to maintain pupil and staff interest when singing and avoiding a noticeable lull in energy that occurred in verse three during performances and practices. This is also in keeping with Burroughs' own suggestion that the verse 'may be cut all together'.

After completing the recording, Rev. James Righetti, the Stowe School Chaplain asked those present in Chapel to give a show of hands as to if they wanted to keep the song and sing it again in the future, making it an ongoing part of the school identity. The response appeared to be equally spread between those who did and those who did not

[130] STOWE School song 12 May 2023 - YouTube

want to sing the song again and so I undertook a survey to gather data on the school's response to the song.

5.4 Stowe Survey of Staff and Pupils

The survey of Stowe pupils and staff was distributed shortly after the centenary service and provided an opportunity to compare pupil and staff responses to questions which were both specific to Stowe, but also those questions asked within the archivist and wider independent school surveys, which will be discussed later.

The survey generated 195 responses, of which 159 (82.8%) were pupils and 33 (17.2%) were staff. As the text of the song was revised to fit the current gender profile of Stowe, it was important to record the gender of respondents to later assess their responses to the song and identify any trends. The gender of the respondents may be seen below in Table 18.

Table 18. Cross tabulation of gender identity and position of Stowe survey participants

What is your gender identity?	Are you a pupil or a member of staff?		No answer	Totals
	Pupil	Staff		
Male	79	19	2	100
Female	75	14	1	90
Trans Male	1	0	0	1
Trans Female	0	0	0	0
Non Binary	2	0	0	2
Prefer not to say	1	0	0	1
No answer	1	0	0	1
Totals	**159**	**33**	**3**	**195**

5.4.1 Survey Results on Singing *Stowe, Persto, Praesto!*

When asked if they enjoyed singing the school song during the chapel service and the subsequent recording, the results were as follows

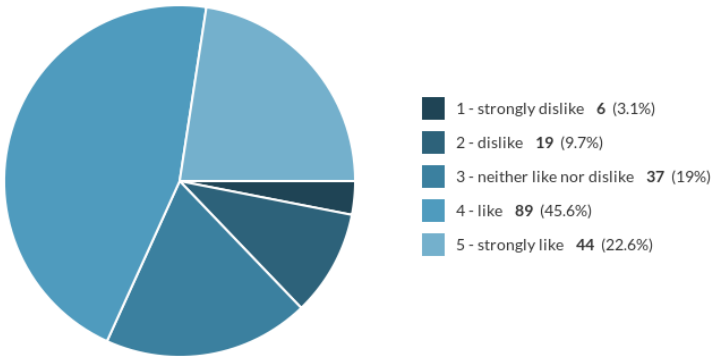


Figure 54. Stowe School survey responses to Question 8.1

133 responses (68%) liked or strongly liked performing the song showing a clear positive response. The breakdown of responses into staff and students showed the following

Table 19. Responses to Q8.1 by community group

Enjoyment in singing School Song	Are you a pupil or a member of staff?		No answer	Totals
	Pupil	Staff		
1 - strongly dislike	4	2	0	6
2 - dislike	16	2	1	19
3 - neither like nor dislike	30	6	1	37
4 - like	73	15	1	89
5 - strongly like	36	8	0	44
No answer	0	0	0	0
Totals	**159**	**33**	**3**	**195**

Question	Response count
5	192
8.1	195

A significant proportion of both groups of respondents (69% of staff and 51% of pupils) recorded that they either *liked* or *strongly liked* the song. 5 of thirty 6 pupils and 1 of 8 members of staff who recorded *strongly like* as an answer mentioned the song bringing pride. A 14-year-old male pupil commented that 'It gives me a sense of pride' whilst a male staff member said singing the song made them 'proud to be part of something special'. 3 out of 8 members of staff and 9 out of 33 students provided free text answers saying that the song had brought or built a sense of community. A 16-year-old male student commented that singing the song *'Brings a sense of community to the school'*.

A 15-year-old male student who recorded disliking the song said, ‘It is a difficult song to sing, I don’t mind the choir singing it as they are trained, but I really hated singing it’ whilst a 13-year-old female student who recorded a response of ‘neither like or dislike’ said ‘It is right in between my head and chest voice, which makes actually singing it difficult’.

Roxburgh's earlier remarks (5.3.1) regarding the opening refrain of the song are similar to responses provided in the Stowe School post-performance survey and semi-structured interview transcripts completed in 2023. The refrain of the song is something which current pupils and staff enjoyed singing, Dr Wallersteiner (see 11.2) said of the opening bars

> *We've got this song that requires you to belt out the word Stowe. Yeah, and you've got to count and remember [when to come in] because otherwise it's going to be very embarrassing.*

Jonathan Kingston, Head of Vocal Studies at Stowe comments further (see 11.3) saying

> *Sto Persto Praesto [the school motto] is the backbone of the song. Yeah. And […], I stand firm. I stand fast, […], it's a common theme throughout the song, almost like a battle cry was how I sort of related it to them [the pupils]. And I said [to the school], […], even if it takes you a while to get used to the verses, you could still really, really go for it in the refrain.*

The singing of the refrain was further commented upon by a female member of staff in a free text portion of the Stowe survey who said

> *The high notes being belted of the PRAESTO was pretty fun as a collective group! The learning process was entertaining; I like the feeling of collective action and how the song itself is fairly eccentric and odd. The story of it not being liked in the past and Dr Wallersteiner’s general feeling of dislike towards it (by his own admittance) adds humour. There is something “Stowe” about how irreverent we’re being about it.*

The evident enjoyment of singing the song by the original Stowe cohort and those involved in the 2023 centenary shows that the melody and text are viewed as successful by the school community.

5.4.2 Survey Results on the Regularity of Performance

The responses to question 8, 'Did you enjoy singing the school song for the recent chapel service and subsequent recording?' were very positive. 45.6% of respondents stated that they *liked* singing the school song and 22.6% stating they *strongly liked* singing the school song. Pupils and staff were then asked how often they would like to sing the school song. The results were as follows

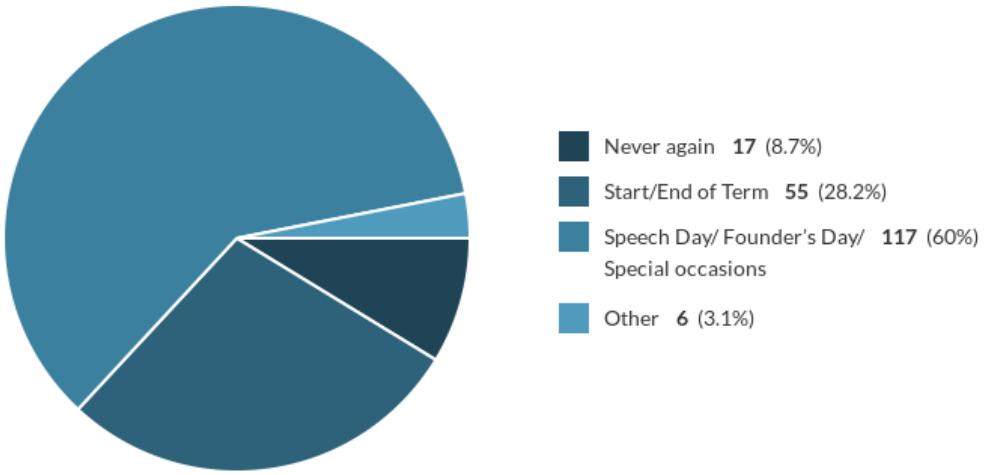


Figure 55. Stowe survey responses to future regularity of performance

60% of respondents expressed a wish to perform the song at Speech Day and on other special occasions and this information was provided to the Senior Management Team of the school. The decision was made that the song would be performed once a term to ensure pupils and staff remained familiar with it but to avoid any repetition of the original unsuccessful speech day performance. Having collated the survey responses

regarding regularity of performance and pupils attitudes towards singing the song, the choice of performing it once a term may be successful in achieving this aim.[131]

Following the songs revival and performance at the centenary and Leaver's chapel services, portions of the school Song, in particular the refrain, were apparent around the campus for the remainder of the term where pupils and staff would be noticed humming the melody. Staff reported to me that they had witnessed it sung at sports fixtures by Stoics and I personally witnessed 15-20 pupils burst into the refrain during the taking of the whole school photograph in June 2023.

The rediscovery and revival of the Stowe School song brought together many different facets of the school community, and it became something that felt it belonged to the community and not any one person. Several previously unresolved threads fell into place which enabled the performances to occur. As Dr Wallersteiner said in his interview:

> *There's another story about the serendipity of this [...]. If you believe in divine intervention that God made this happen, that, [...], why? Why would this thing just suddenly appear? Just because if it would have appeared three years ago, I'd have probably lost interest... The coincidence of all these things just coming together at the right time so that on the 11th of May we were able to perform, and I just go into that, [...], just those touch points where you connect with the with the past and make sense of where we've come from.*
>
> (Appendix 2, see 11.2)

In the week after the centenary service in 2023, the Upper 6th students requested for the school song to be included in the leavers' service, further supporting the favourable evidence shown in the previous responses. It was again sung well by the school, and the decision was made by the Headmaster that the song would become a fixture of end of term services, placed before Jerusalem (Parry, 1916) which the pupil body was also keen to keep. Indeed, it was included again in the Leaver's chapel service the following year (2024).

[131] Regularity of performance is discussed in detail in 6.2.4.2

Having collected data on the Stowe communities' attitude towards the song it was then possible to utilise these responses within an Etymophonological analysis of the song and gain insight into my primary research question.

5.5 Analysis of Stowe School song

Whilst it is possible to analyse the Stowe School song using the multimedia analysis approach of Tagg (2013) and Meyer (1961), that framework does not account for several important independent variables identified in the *Multiple Linear Regression Framework* (Figure 2 as outlined in Chapter 3). However, the outcomes of a multimedia analysis of the Stowe song shall first be presented before an Etymophonological analysis of *Sto, Persto, Praesto!* is undertaken, investigating those areas not supported within the multimedia analysis.

Perhaps the most widely known feature of Stowe School, as a National Trust attraction, is its mansion house and landscaped garden and so it is entirely relevant therefore that these are mentioned explicitly throughout the song text (Table 17). References appear of its 'Pillared pomp and grace', how the owners 'Built far and wide on this hillside a palace for their leisure' and 'A morning breeze in all our trees' which is then 'Blown by the breeze through ancient trees and flashed from classic arches'. When using a multimedia approach, the song is positively aligned to the location of the school. However, the last two examples are from previous textual manifestations of the song which could not be easily included in the multimedia framework model, but which form an important role within the Etymophonological analysis as will be discussed shortly. Furthermore, these references to the grandeur of the location, whilst accurate today, were not accurate at the time of writing but were more reminiscent of the Mansion House's past and an aspiration for the school's future. The ability of the *Etymophonological Framework* to consider songs from multiple points in time is therefore of great importance to establishing an understanding of the song's relevance to the community.

As shown in Table 21, the text for *Sto, Persto, Praesto!* (Brent-Smith, 1925) has undergone several revisions which impede the use of the multimedia framework (Cook,

2000). The original song text must be considered diachronically to understand the need for Dr Wallersteiner to alter the gendered lyrics so to encompass the school's current coeducational model. The original text and the edited current text are therefore both in conformance with the location and may be seen to have an enabling equivalence which promotes regional pride in both the surrounding landscape and the history of the school. The use of English text with a Latin refrain is common within the current collection of songs where 53 out of the 374 identified as *strophic with refrain*. This accounts for 14% of the corpus and is the third most common structure after Strophic (50%) and verse/Chorus (32%).

The music for *Sto, Persto Praesto!* with its melody by Brent-Smith and accompaniment by Kingston is conformant with the grandeur of the school location and the accompaniment having been written for the school's Draper and Draper Organ, the second largest school organ in the UK, if not Europe (Stowe, 2024). Although the original accompaniment of the song is lost, it may be assumed that it was similar to that written by Kingston, as Lancing College, where Brent-Smith worked, has the largest school chapel in the UK.

The music for *Sto, Persto, Praesto!* (Brent-Smith, 1925) has connotative qualities which speak to not only the school's' location and landscaped gardens but, from our current position in time, the large scale of the school Chapel, reflecting a performance environment with which Brent-Smith would have been familiar. Roxburgh, having also worked at Lancing College, would have been familiar with its chapel and it may be that this familiarity influenced the decision to build Stowe chapel to its present size.

The school chapel at Stowe would not be completed until 1929 (Critchley, 2019) however Roxburgh's vision for Stowe was such that within 5 years the pupil roll had grown from 99 pupils to just over 500. The current pupil roll of over 900 is no longer able to fit comfortably in the chapel. A video of the song's performance was made as part of the centenary celebrations and as the video shows (see footnote 130), when holding a full congregation and with the organ employed, the song is sung accurately and with a confident congregational sound. This reflects the positive engagement and participation of those present and so may be considered successful and conformant.

One pupil (female, 14) who undertook the Stowe School survey commented upon this in in a free text response saying, *'idk, when 1k ppl sing it, it sounds kinda powerful.'*

When using a multimedia approach in conjunction with the current text for *Sto, Persto, Praesto!* (Brent-Smith, 1925) *the song* may be described as having triadic conformance and the song is therefore *consistent*. However, when the earlier texts are examined this outcome changes and the song may be seen to have a dyadic conformance between the location and music; the gendered terms not fitting the current educational profile of the school. The earlier song texts are now contradictory to the identity of the school, and the song is in *contest*.[132] The music therefore takes autonomy over the creation and preservation of identity through it being in complementation with the location. However, this can only be seen as a partially accurate outcome as it is not possible to know to what extent Kingston's accompaniment accurately reflects that written by Brent-Smith. As such the song cannot be examined synchronically within this framework.

It is these difficulties in including and commenting on the combined textual and musical revisions of *Sto, Persto, Praesto!* which requires an analytical approach that supports several layers of ascription. The *Etymophonological Framework* analysis provides such an approach and shall now be used to further explore the Stowe School Song.

5.5.1 Etymophonological Analysis

Sto, Persto, Praesto! (Brent-Smith, 1925) may be seen to have two *Iconic* forms, that of the original printed melody with lyrics (Burroughs, 1926) and the full score of the realised accompaniment (Kingston, 2023). Both are necessary for a detailed Etymophonological analysis of the song as they reflect separate aspects of the *Sign*, the aural phenomena of the song, as described by Tagg (2013). The aspects of rehearsal and performance which both *Icons* facilitate and those aspects involved in performance are shown in Table 20

[132] As explained in Figure 8

Table 20. Sto, Persto, Praesto! (Brent-Smith, 1925) Icons

Melody and Text (Burroughs, 1925)	Full Accompaniment and Text (2023)
Rehearsal • Individual vocalist • Choir in unison Venue • Any, including an unaccompanied performance	Rehearsal • Director • Accompanist Venue • Primary Performance Venue • Secondary Venue

The 2023 score may be considered an *Icon* by Tagg's definition, as the conventions of synesthetic homology, in this instance in the Western Classical Tradition and in particular late Romantic harmonic conventions, are adhered to in the accompaniment (Tagg, 2013). In Cook's (Cook, 2000) *Multimedia Framework*, Kingston's accompaniment would be seen to be *consistent*. Within an *Etymophonological* analysis, the 1926 score is *Exact Icon* of the composer's intention for the melody whilst the 2023 score is an *inexact Icon* due to the accompaniment being that of another composer.

5.5.2 Object

Within this case study the *Object* or physical artefact which represents the song's text exists in several iterations. These occur throughout correspondence (Burroughs, 1923 and 1924) and musical scores (Brent-Smith, 1925 and Kingston, 2023) and therefore exist in the following formats as shown in Table 21

*Table 21. Manifestations of the Sto, Persto, Praesto! (Brent-Smith, 1925)*Object

Manifestation	Object
Handwritten text	Archival correspondence between Burroughs and Roxburgh showing several manifestations of the song text.
Handwritten text and partial score	Archival correspondence between Burroughs and Roxburgh
Published sheet music (an individual song, melody and text only)	Brent-Smith , 1925 Score
Published sheet music (an individual song, full score and text)	Mentioned in Archival correspondence between Brent-Smith and Roxburgh but no physical copy remains
Unpublished sheet music (an individual song, full score and text)	Kingston, 2023 Score
Unpublished sheet music (a collection such as a school hymnal/songbook, full score and text)	Centenary Service Booklet

Having access to such varied manifestations of the *Object* which all give a partial account, whilst not necessarily relevant to this portion of the analysis, assists in analysis of later semiotic and syntactical aspects of the song. It can be seen however,

that throughout all the Objects, the text language has remained constant with the words being in English with a Latin refrain which uses the Stowe School motto.

5.5.3 Paramusical Evidence

There is a limited *Paramusical Evidence* for *Sto, Persto, Praesto!* which may assist an 'uninitiated listener' (Tagg, 2013) in understanding the song. Burroughs' and Roxburgh's decision to retain the opening three Latin words, *Sto, Persto, Praesto,* despite initial concerns raised by others (Roxburgh, 1923) convey an immediate sense of historical nostalgia to the listener. This feeling is also alluded to in the interview with Dr Wallersteiner where he refers to an *invented history* being present in the song. Wallersteiner believes this history which attempted to *'Reinvent the traditions of the public school and go back to an age of chivalry and look back to the 15th century and revive the Arthurian mythology'*. Whilst Dr Wallersteiner is a *Complete Participant* (Gold, 1958) and may not be considered an uninitiated listener, this implication of an 'older and more academic' time as suggested by the use of Latin, would be recognised by someone outside of the Stowe Community. The remaining song text is in English and clearly situates the song within an English-speaking country. To an *Initiated Listener* this may hold further meaning through representing Roxburgh's founding of an academic institution which utilised those historically established aspects of independent schools, such as the study of Latin, whilst establishing new traditions and pedagogical approaches, represented by the use of English.

Paramusical indexing[133] occurs when the school song is performed in the Stowe School chapel, the *Sign* being performed on an organ which itself has paramusical associations. Further examples of *Paramusical Evidence* may be seen in the previous Harrow case study (4.2.6.1) and in responses from the independent school survey and

[133] Where the performance of a songs music on a particular instrument is itself a form of paramusical evidence and cultural discourse. This term may also be applied to Harrow songs performed on both the Speech Room Organ and the Organ of the Royal Albert Hall.

in particular from PSS4 and PSS5 in the next chapter. In both PSS4 and PSS5, the school Chapel and organ are of significant size, quality and historical interest.

5.5.4 Aesthetic Focus

Sto, Persto, Praesto! (Brent-Smith, 1925) does not exist within a school hymnal or school songbook as is commonplace with many independent school songs. Whilst Stowe does have a school hymnal named *Cantata Stoica*, (Dearsley, 2015) the current edition of which is a crimson colour with the school coat of arms on the front. There are currently no plans to re-print the hymnal to include the school song.

The song has existed in both single sheet form (Brent-Smith, 1925 and Kingston, 2023) and as the centre pages of the Stowe Centenary Service booklet. The aesthetical associations of the song have not therefore been created with an intention of *inclusive secure permanence* which would be generated through the song being part of a school songbook. The 2023 rehearsal copies, which were intended to be kept within the Chapel and distributed and collected by Chapel prefects, were printed on paper which cannot be torn or crumpled. These may be seen in the video of the school song (see footnote 130).[134] The original melody and text sheet did not display the school crest and so may be seen to have had a similar aesthetic focus for those performing the song as the current manifestation.

The inclusion of the song in the Centenary Chapel Service booklet provided an *Inclusive Insecure Permanence*[135] as this *Object* may be easily lost or damaged, unlike an *Object* of *Inclusive Secure Permanence* as discussed previously in 4.2.6.1.

[135] An *Object* which is available to members of the community and other in attendance which has been printed on paper for a specific event and not intended for multiple usages

5.5.5 Semiotics and Syntax

5.5.5.1 Denotation

When analysing the song text, the school motto is of considerable denotive importance. Sto, Persto, Praesto! translates as 'I stand, I persevere, I excel' and frames the song at its beginning and end. verse two begins with 'Temples and Grenvilles, Lords of Stowe' which are the families after whom two of the first boarding houses were named, establishing an historical narrative. Marginalia on the 1924 draft of the song text, displays an intention to include more of the family names linked to Stowe (Burroughs, 1923). A margin note from Burroughs says 'Names please! – Make your own selection so long as they scan' whilst the line 'Temple's and Grenville's, Chandos, Bruce' has Chandos and Bruce struck through and pencilled above are the words used for that line today. The denotive quality of the importance of these names is clarified for the *uninitiated listener* through the inclusion of the text 'Lords of Stowe'.

5.5.5.2 Connotation

The connotative aspects of the song text also begin with the school motto, of which Dr Wallersteiner says

> *And then you've got that awful, horrible double pump of forced pride [in the motto]. Yes, I think we've got the sense of Stowe being repeated. So, I do grimace every time I hear the repetition of Stowe, even though I know it's for effect.*

There is a discomfort in Dr Wallersteiner's response to the opening of the song as evidenced by the previous quote (see also 11.2). This is in part from the reinforcement of the word *Stowe,* which in the historical context of the song was a tool to connote the school's institutional standing and assert its invented history. As the school is now 100 years old and has a history both as an educational establishment and a figure of architectural importance within the UK, the purpose of the repetition is to maintain a school identity, rather than to create and establish it.

The first verse ends with the line 'In this, her second innings.' which is both a reference to the second manifestation of the Mansion House as a school and a cricketing reference. This sentence developed further connotations during the centenary revival which itself could be seen to be the songs 'second innings'. As discussed in previous case studies (3.5), the school is referred to in the feminine with instances occurring in verse 1 and also in verse 4 which ends 'God's blessing still upon her!' Kingston comments in his interview (11.3): 'I've found it fascinating that the school itself, rather like the great ocean liners, was always referred to as the feminine'. This may have been an attempt to draw upon the connotations of the school as a nurturing mother through the ascription of the female gender.[136]

Further connotations may be derived from the inclusion of *'Sword of honour'* in the final verse. As discussed previously in this chapter the intention for a sword, possibly a crusader style sword, to be used in the school Chapel in place of a crucifix is a connotation which would only have been understood by an *Initiated Listener.* However, when the last two lines of the final verse are read together *'Each Scion of Stowe, where e're they go shall wield the sword of honour, And all the passing ages show God's Blessing still upon her!'* there is clear chivalric imagery which would be understood by a large portion of people. This further supports the earlier comments regarding the use of invented chivalric histories in independent school songs made by Dr Wallersteiner.

5.5.6 Diachronic Perspective

A diachronic understanding of *Sto, Persto, Praesto!* (Brent-Smith, 1925) is important as the text has undergone changes over time with revisions by Burroughs and Wallersteiner as illustrated previously in Table 17. Question 12 of the Stowe Survey asked respondents to identify a theme for *Sto, Persto, Praesto! (Brent-Smith, 1925)* out of a list derived from Ewart's (1969) categories. The results were as follows:

[136] This is discussed further in 6.2.2.2.

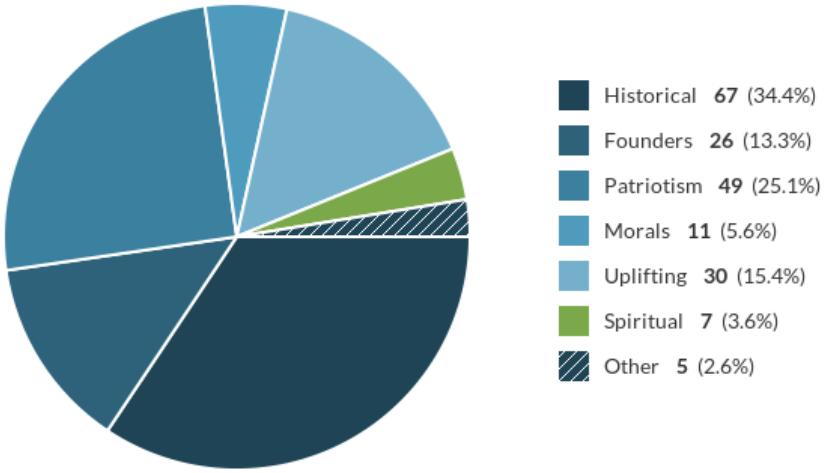


Figure 56. Stowe survey responses to Q12 and identification of main theme of the school Song

The most chosen theme across both pupils and staff was that of 'Historical' (34.3%). However, for pupils this result (at 32%) had only three more responses than their second highest theme which was 'Patriotism' (29.7). For staff, 45% chose 'Historical' and the second most common theme was 'Uplifting' at 27%.

It is possible that the use of the school's Latin motto facilitated a sense of the historical. The *Object* contains historical references which Dr Wallersteiner suggests were part of the school's attempt to invent a history for itself. Those historical references discussed earlier in this chapter may have influenced the respondent's selection of a theme which were split between pupils and staff as follows:

Table 22. Stowe survey cross tabulation of themes with pupil or staff identification

Which of the following words do you feel best describes the main theme of the Stowe school song?	Are you a pupil or a member of staff?		No answer	Totals
	Pupil	Staff		
Historical	51	15	1	67
Founders	21	3	2	26
Patriotism	47	2	0	49
Morals	9	2	0	11
Uplifting	21	9	0	30
Spiritual	7	0	0	7
Other	3	2	0	5
No answer	0	0	0	0
Totals	**159**	**33**	**3**	**195**

Question	Response count
5	192
12	195

5.5.7 Synchronic Perspective

When examining the printed text of *Sto, Presto, Praesto!!* (Brent-Smith, 1925) from a synchronic perspective and applying the language functions prescribed by Jakobson (1960) it is possible to better understand how the song text creates and supports identity. Table 23 shows Jakobson's ascriptions of language functions (Jakobson, 1960) in the context of the 1926 published text of the Stowe School song.

Table 23. Application of Jakobson's factors of communication and language functions to Stowe, Persto, Praesto! (Jakobson, 1960) to Stowe School song (Brent-Smith, 1925)

Function no.	Function	Target Factor	Source Factor
1	Referential	Physical Stowe	Song Text
2	Emotive	Burroughs	Song Text
3	Connotative	Performer	Song Text
4	Phatic	Performance	Song Text
5	Metalingual	Experiential Identity	Song Text
6	Poetic	Moralistic Identity	Song Text

When these functions are identified within the song text the following emerges.

Table 24. song text and language function of Sto, Persto, Praesto!

Song Text	Language Function
1. "Sto, Presto, Præsto!" blame who will The boasts of youthful daring:	1. Phatic, Metalingual
2. 'Tis never late to wrest from fate	2. Emotive
3. The prize of forwards faring	3. Emotive
4. For all the pillared pomp and grace	4. Referential, Poetic
5. That crowned her first beginning	5. Connotative, Poetic

6. The world shall know the greater Stowe	6.
7. In this, Her second innings	7. Connotative. Poetic
8. Sto, Presto, Præsto!	8. Phatic, Metalingual
9. Temples and Grenvilles, Lords of Stowe	9. Referential
10. In spacious days of leisure	10. Poetic
11. Built far and wide on this hillside,	11. Referential
12. A Palace for their pleasure.	12. Referential
13. Their dreams are dead, but we instead,	13. Emotive, Poetic
14. The heirs of their endeavour	14. Emotive, Poetic
15. Shall build into the years ahead	15. Emotive, Poetic
16. The dream that lives for ever	16. Emotive, Poetic
17. Sto, Presto, Præsto!	17. Phatic, Metalingual
18. There catch we fragments of the strain	18. Emotive, Phatic, Poetic
19. To which true manhood marches,	19. Emotive, Connotative, Phatic, Poetic
20. Blown by the breeze through ancient trees	20. Referential, Poetic
21. And flashed from classic arches	21. Referential, Poetic
22. Things new and old alike unfold	22. Emotive, Phatic, Metalingual

23. A Stoics high vocation:	23. Emotive, Phatic, Metalingual
24. One way of fame is still the same,	24. Emotive, Phatic, Metalingual
25. To serve our generation	25. Emotive, Phatic, Metalingual
26. Sto, Presto, Præsto!	26. Phatic
27. By great traditions holding fast,	27. Emotive, Phatic, Metalingual
28. We find out faith no fetter:	28. Emotive, Phatic, Metalingual
29. We learn by love for all that's past	29. Emotive, Poetic
30. To mould the new age better	30. Emotive, Poetic
31. To new horizons forth we fare	31. Phatic
32. New battles we inherit	32. Connotative
33. And brace our sacred strength to bear	33. Connotative, Poetic
34. New burdens of the spirit	34. Connotative, Poetic
35. Sto, Presto, Præsto!	35. Phatic
36. So standing firm for God and truth,	36. Emotive
37. For gentleness and duty,	37. Emotive, Poetic
38. For daring hopes and dreams of youth,	38. Connotative
39. For wisdom's sober beauty,	39. Connotative, Metalingual
40. Each son of Stowe, where're he go	40. Emotive, Phatic, Metalingual
41. Shall wield her Sword of honour	41. Emotive, Phatic, Metalingual

42. And all the passing ages show	42. Emotive, Poetic
43. God's blessing still upon her.	43. Emotive, Poetic
44. Sto, Presto, Præsto!	44. Phatic, Metalingual

5.5.7.1 Language functions

A referential use of language in the song text is of great importance. This positions the song and the performer within the physical buildings of the school, and its associated surrounding geographical location, the landscape gardens of Stowe. As Kingston commented in his interview (11.3)

> *They're [Burroughs] drawing quite a lot of Stowe's architectural facets into the whole visionary sort of way of putting the lyrics across there [in the song] and it's up to them, it's up to the singer or the reader of those lyrics to then make the links between what's been spoken about in literal building terms into sort of, [...], metaphors for life, isn't it.*

The emotive function of language in the song should be seen to reflect what Klinkenberg describes as 'The condition of its sender' (Klinkenberg, 1996: 53, in Hérbert, 2019). Burroughs, as a governor of the school, had a passion for and commitment to the newly founded school and a desire for it to become successful. This is reflected in the emotive portions of the song text. The establishment of the performer as a Stoic through lines 13-16, 22-25 and 27-30 supports and creates this positionality and identity through use of words such as *our, we* and *son/scion*.

The connotative content of *Sto, Persto, Praesto!* (Brent-Smith, 1925) having been discussed earlier will not be repeated here however Jakobson described Phatic text as serving the purpose to 'establish, prolong or discontinue communication' (Jakobson, 1960). Within the song, the repetition of the school motto at the end of each verse serves the function of prolonging the communication in verses 1-3 of the 1925 version and of concluding the communication in the final verse. The other areas of text

designated as having Phatic content may be seen to serve the purpose of *instructing* the performer. This is apparent in with sentences such as 'By great traditions holding fast we find our fate no fetter' and 'One way of fame is still the same, to serve our generation'.

The metalingual text of the song may also be called *Metasemiotic* as it establishes a code or meaning which is understood by the community of the time. Within lines such as 22-25 and 39-41, the school motto is of importance as it is contextualised for the performer by the content of the verse. Hereafter its code and meaning may then be agreed upon and better understood by the community.

Many of the poetic elements of the song are to be found in the descriptions of the buildings and surrounding gardens, for example descriptions of 'Pillared pomp and grace', 'Blown by the breeze through ancient trees and flashed from classic arches'. The metalingual purpose to the poetic sentences may have been to instruct those performing the song in the beauty of the buildings and landscape, following Roxburgh's previously stated intention.

Through reflecting upon a time when the Ducal Palace was in its prime and pointing to the re-establishment of this greatness again in the future, the song text provides a continuance of grandeur for the school. This aspect of the song may therefore contain aspects of Ewart's *Local Patriotism* and *Morals And Morale Boosting* categories (Ewart, 1969).

5.5.8 Sign

Until the discovery of the melody in 2023, *Sto, Persto, Praesto!* (Brent-Smith, 1025) existed only as an Object, an issue faced by 14% of songs in my collection. Without the song existing as an aural phenomenon (Tagg, 2013) an Etymophonological analysis is not possible. The discovery of the melodic line therefore enabled the song to exist in both rehearsal and performance as a Sign. Whilst some school songs may contain arbitrary signs within their melody, possibly due to their age and level of familiarity within their community, *Sto, Persto, Praesto!* (Brent-Smith, 1025) did not. The text itself

did contain some arbitrary signs[137] through the repeated use of the word Stowe. However, to an *uninitiated listener* this may not be enough to designate the song as belonging to Stowe School. the song therefore required its accompaniment to develop additional levels meaning which Pierce would describe as *secondness* (Pierce, 1867). The secondness in the music for *Sto, Persto, Praesto!* (Brent-Smith, 1025) exists in its intentional relationship to *Stet Fortuna Domus* (Harrow, 2018) through the use of the opening and closing organ interjections.

5.5.9 Etymophonic Connotation

Whilst the accompaniment and subsequent existence of arbitrary signs were written and developed after the discovery of the melody, for those involved in the musical reconstruction of the song, namely myself and Kingston, the accompaniment already partially existed. This was due to my own and Kingston's understanding of Western Classical harmony and our reactive process of Etymophonic connotation. Kingston reflects on this in his interview (11.3) saying

> *You're aware of the era that this [song] was written, and you're also aware of some of some of the compositional links that that song would have had to more famous, more established composers of the day, British composers of the day, that sort of Edwardian harmony that that would have been, that would have been utilised. I mean, you could look, you can look at some of the songs of Ivor Novello. You can look at some of the work of, of even go back to people like Elgar, Butterworth.*

This reflects not only the positionality of myself and Kingston as *Complete Member Observers* of the wider musical community, as explained in the introduction to this thesis, but also as *Privileged Observers* and *Participants* of the Stowe School community with experiences drawn from similar roles in other independent schools.

[137] Arbitrary signs and the idea of secondness are explained in 2.4.8

Kingston and I therefore undertook a role of *Mediator*[138] bridging the gap between Brent-Smith's melody and the expectation of the intended performer audience.

5.5.10 Interpretant Intersubjectivity

As discussed in 4.2.9, *Interpretant Intersubjectivity* is a complex aspect of school song analysis. The outcomes from the analysis of this field of the etymophonological framework give insight into the individual perspectives on the song and the identity it creates. As independent school communities in the 21st Century are more culturally, economically and spiritually diverse than those of the 19th century, the outcomes of analysis relating to *Interpretant Intersubjectivity* may differ to the that of the *Ethnographic Intersubjectivity* of a song. The data from this field therefore provide insight into the individuals that form a school community and may in turn offer insight into why a school song is accepted or rejected by the interpretant. The data used for the *Interpretant Intersubjectivity* aspect of the song analysis was drawn from the Stowe survey and the semi-structured interviews with Kingston and Wallersteiner. These data are presented fully in the next chapter. Amongst those who responded and were interviewed, each of the roles shown in the Intersubjectivity Relationship Diagram (Figure 20) was present.

5.5.11 Ethnographic Intersubjectivity

Sto, Persto, Praesto! (Brent-Smith, 1925) is a song unique to Stowe School with references to geographical landmarks and cultural associations which members of the community will be familiar with on varying levels. The language of the song does not however include any unique cultural terminology, and, to my knowledge, the school does not have any such terms in use. This may be in part due to Stowe's relatively

[138] In this context, the role of *Mediator* may best be described as a person who completes the unfinished compositional work of another in concordance with conventions of the time of the original material being written.

'young' age in comparison to schools such as Eton and Harrow as described by Kingston in his interview (11.3) who said,

> *I told [the pupils] or read out I think, the formation dates, the founding dates of several schools that they would know, [...], through grudge matches on the rugby and hockey pitch...I was very keen to present the information to them first, almost like a very brief history lessons before we went into it.*

This lack of unique terminology at Stowe may also be because of Roxburgh's intent to move away from the more traditional aspects of independent school education which would have generated such terms. Because of this, as well as the song being understood by members of the school community, the song can also be understood clearly by persons with a passing knowledge of the site, such as those who visit it through its partnership with the National Trust.

When asked if they felt the school song reflected Stowe's identity, 72.8% of respondents said yes as shown below

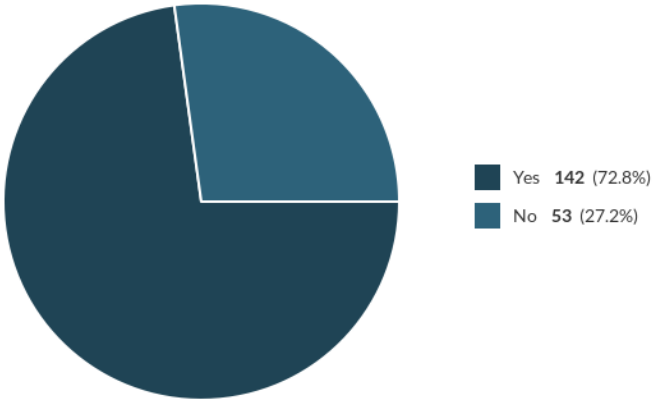


Figure 57. Stowe survey responses to question on school identity

When the answers to question 5 and question 9 were cross tabulated to show the opinions of staff and students separately, the results were as follows.

Table 25. Cross tabulation of Q5 and Q9

Do you feel the school song reflects the school's identity?	Are you a pupil or a member of staff?		No answer	Totals
	Pupil	Staff		
Yes	118	23	1	142
No	41	10	2	53
No answer	0	0	0	0
Totals	**159**	**33**	**3**	**195**

Question	Response count
5	192
9	195

Here it may be seen that 70% of staff respondents felt the song did reflect the school's identity and 74% of pupils also responded yes. The free text responses from those who felt it did reflect the school's identity commented upon aspects of community building. These answers included the song accurately representing of the school's history and the unique nature of the song, it being written especially for the school.

The free text responses to question 9 contained 113 coded references to identity. All respondents to question 9 were able to comment on the reason for their choice, should they wish. Those who felt that the song did reflect the school's identity commented on it accurately reflecting the community, the history of the school, and the school's ethos. A female staff member commented that *'I think that having a school song is unifying and gives one a sense of belonging'.* A 13-year-old male student said, *'The lyrics actually make sense and talk about the school'*, whilst a 17-year-old female student said *'No other school sings it. You are singing about your school with the school's community'.*

81% of free text responses provided reasons why the respondent did not feel the song reflected the school's identity and here 18 people reported that the song is in some way outdated. A 16-year-old female student described the song as *'patriotic nonsense'* whilst a female staff member commented *'The lyrics don't particularly align specifically with our modern identity and mission.'* Three respondents wrote that they felt the hymn Jerusalem (Parry, 1916) was more representative of the school, despite the hymn being

some 10 years older than the Stowe School song and older than the school itself. This preference of Jerusalem (Parry, 1916) may be due to it being more well known and it having been sung at the end of term assembly at Stowe in place of a school song for several decades.

Other respondents who felt the song did not reflect the school's identity provided reasons within their free text answers which focused upon their feeling the song was outdated, boring, and not relatable. Three responses explained this more fully. The first, a pupil (female aged 14) said *'Does not reflect changes of the school now and diversity. And everything it has achieved. I am not able to relate my life at school to the song in any way.'* This statement is of note because it does not acknowledge the small changes to the text which were undertaken to reflect the changes over time in pupil diversity and especially of gender, within the school. It is unlikely that the pupil would have been aware of these changes, and they did not expand further upon which particular aspects of the school were not represented fully, in their opinion. A response from a pupil (Male, 16) commented that *'The school is constantly evolving and adapting to the new generation so the school song should definitely be updated because when it was written the school [had] only started.'* This is in line with the previous comment. However, specific suggestions of what may be updated are not provided. The third comment from a pupil (male, 15) states

> *Not really, it does talk about Stowe but it's rather abstract and it does not connect with the Stoics. Apart from being forced to sing it on certain occasions, it has not been a song that has rallied hearts during matches. We Are The Champions is a better rally song for Stoics.*

This comment is interesting in that the respondent feels the mentions of Stowe are abstract. This is at odds with the explicit descriptions of the Stowe landscape and direct history which appear in the text. It is of note that the pupil links the act of singing as a group during sports matches as something which may be a favourable method of shared musical experience. Other than the reference to cricket within the text, the Stowe School song does not include sporting references and Stowe does not have a specific sports song such as those found within the Harrow and Eton collections.

This case study demonstrates that an Etymophonological analysis of a school song can provide a more granular understanding of how songs construct identity and how that identity is interpreted by its community, offering greater nuance than a purely multimedia analysis. Importantly, an Etymophonological analysis considers not only the identity created by the song's text and music but how this identity is received and negotiated by its community and potentially re-interpreted changed over time.

A school song may not align with all individuals for a variety of reasons connected to how its identity is communicated and received. For some, the historical or ideological elements contained in the lyrics may feel outdated or misaligned with contemporary values, while others may find the language or musical style inaccessible or unrepresentative of the school's current diversity. Additionally, the emotions the song seeks to evoke, such as pride or unity, may not resonate with everyone, particularly if personal experiences of the school differ from the idealised identity presented. As school cultures evolve, these tensions can lead communities to question whether a long-standing song continues to reflect who they are, highlighting the complex relationship between tradition, inclusivity, and institutional identity.

Such insight explains why some schools may choose to retire a song if it is felt the identity no longer aligns to the institutions values. Such decisions taken by schools are particularly relevant to subquestion 4, which considers the fragility of the corpus and the importance of preservation even when songs fall out of active use.

Following the detailed exploration of the Stowe School song in this chapter, the thesis now shifts to an examination of the empirical findings generated through the mixed-methods research design. In keeping with the structure established in the Methodology chapter, the next chapter begins by addressing the limitations inherent in the research process, providing essential context for interpreting the data that follow. It then progresses from an analysis of the quantitative results, drawn from surveys across the participating schools and from analysis of the collected song texts to a discussion of the qualitative findings arising from the case studies and the semi-structured interviews. This transition from focused analysis to a broader synthesis of quantitative and qualitative evidence enables a more comprehensive understanding of how school

songs function across different educational settings, and how individuals engage with the identities these songs seek to construct.

6 FINDINGS

Through using the methods outlined in the Methodology chapter (2.1) this research generated both quantitative and qualitative data for the purpose of answering my primary research question and subquestions. Several key findings emerged from this research. However, it is important to situate these within limitations of the research which were identified during its undertaking.

6.1 Research Process Limitations

There were several limitations, both intentionally and externally imposed upon this research which shall be acknowledged before the surveys, interviews and other gathered data findings are presented.

The songs collected during this research reflect only a portion of the full corpus as limitations were imposed upon the schools who would be contacted and the sample of schools included were self-selected.[139] It is likely that a complete collection of independent school songs will never exist due to several factors which have emerged during this research including:

- The lack of a centralised repository for independent school songs
- Independent school songs being largely unpublished and often only reproduced on a small scale within the specific school
- School closures due to various economic and global factors which have resulted in the loss of songs
- Unique school songs existing only within their school's community and so being at a greater risk of loss over time
- Song text revisions and the retirement of songs resulting in their loss of the artefact or its destruction

[139] These limitations are outlined in 2.2.3

The songs collected during this research were intentionally limited to those from senior independent UK day and boarding schools to enable the project to be completed within an appropriate timescale. However, even with this imposed limitation the database is considerably larger than initially expected.[140]

In addition to limitations of school type, there are limitations to representations of Welsh and Irish school songs within the research. This is illustrated in Figure 58 where it may be seen that I received no responses or songs from Irish schools whilst in contrast English schools account for 93% of all database entries. There is currently only one Welsh school entry which has Welsh text, that of Whitland Grammar School written by William Matthias.[141]

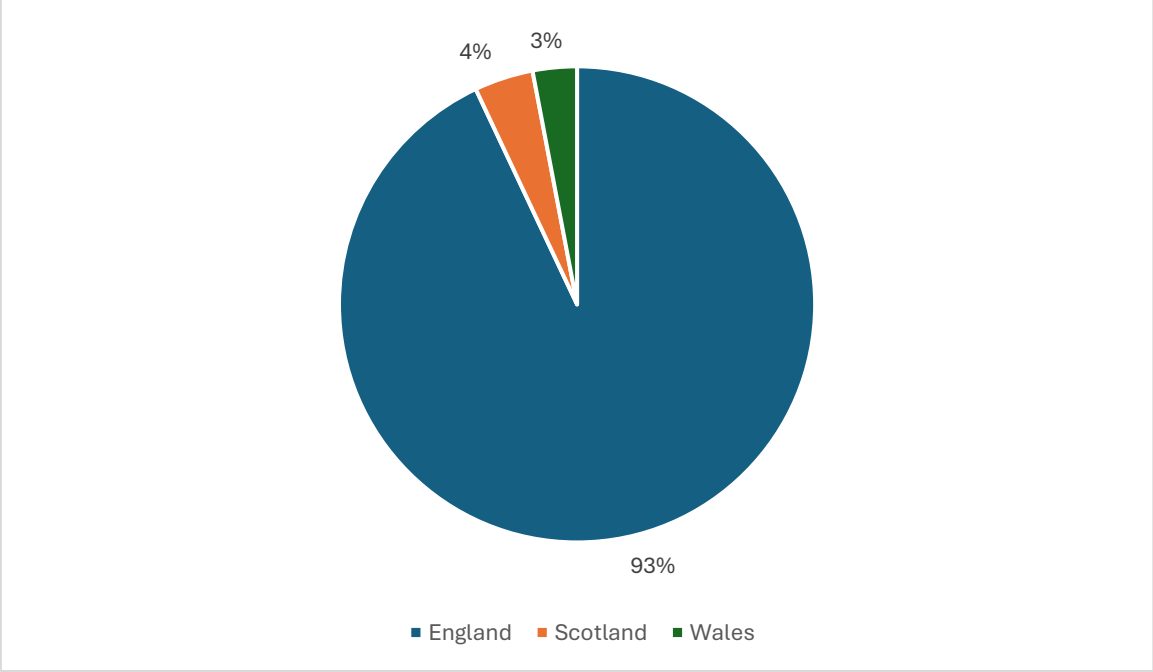


Figure 58. Percentage of database entries by country

There is a gender limitation found within this research project as few girls' schools responded to my enquiries. However, in contrast to the gender profile of the database

[140] The potential for further research opportunities in this field is a result of those limitations discussed in 7.1.4

[141] My exploration of existing literature on education in Wales in 1.2, whilst not exhaustive, draws attention to the political and sociological differences in modes of education, especially with relation to music, are such that this area is deserving of specific attention that was beyond the scope of this research project.

entries which may be seen in Figure 59, there is clear evidence that a larger girls' school corpus exists.[142]

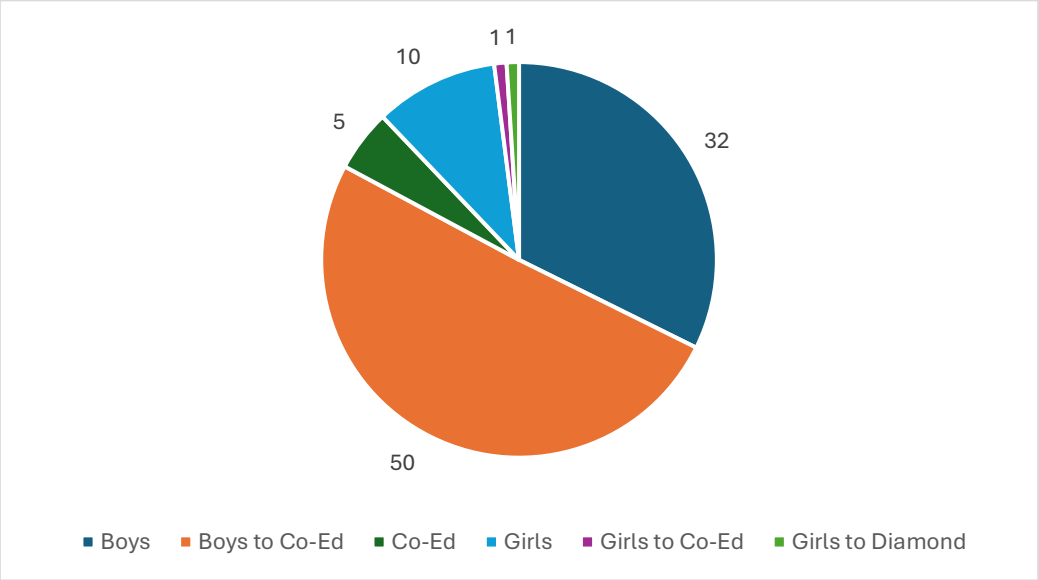


Figure 59. Percentage of database entries by school gender profile

6.1.1 Response

The response to requests for school songs was largely successful. 700 schools were initially contacted, from which I received or discovered songs for 201 schools. At the time of initial contact, there were approximately 2600 independent schools in the UK. the schools I contacted who had been selected in relation to the restrictions mentioned earlier, represented 27% of the total. 29% of the contacted schools responded, a representation of 8% of the total number of independent senior schools in the UK.

[142] As discussed previously in the methodology chapter and literature review

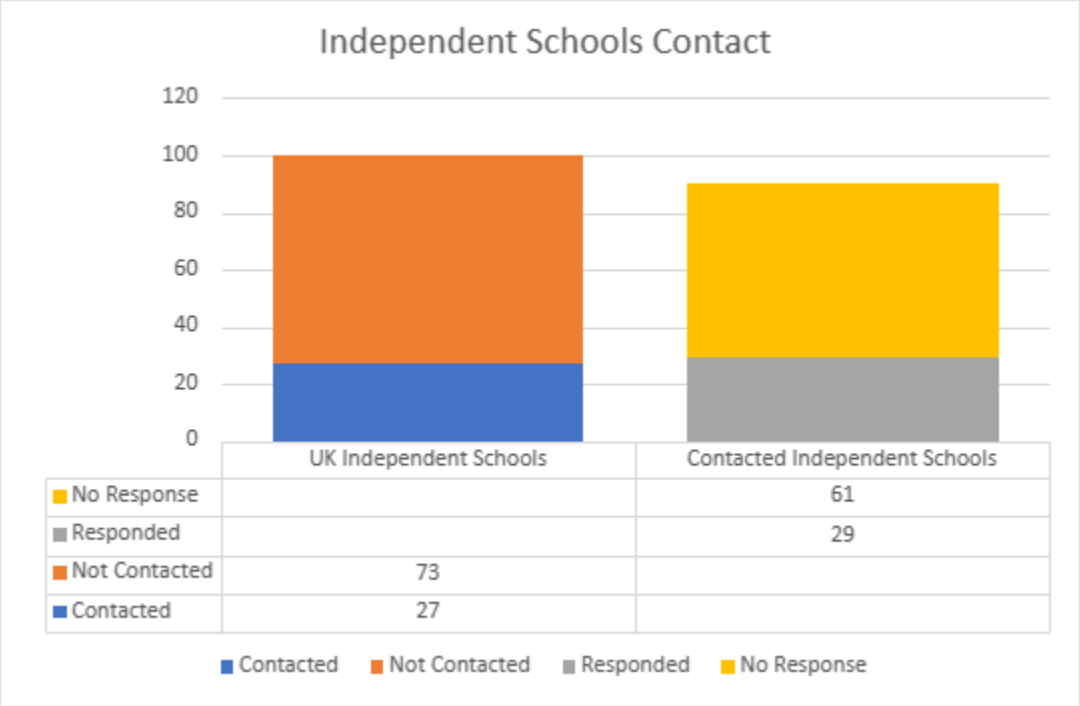


Figure 60. Contact responses from independent schools

6.1.2 Impacts of Covid

I had initially intended to visit several schools during my research and observe their songs being rehearsed and performed. However, the observation of school song rehearsals was not possible as planned during the initial data collection stage, due to COVID and the subsequent lockdown periods and performance restrictions which further impacted communal singing. [143]

6.1.3 Professional Identity

My professional positionality changed considerably whilst undertaking this research project and this must be considered when evaluating my understanding of and relationship with independent school songs. At the start of the research, my role at Stowe was that of Head of Academic Music. However, during the third year of my

[143] This limitation was identified and outlined in the ethics portion of the Methodology chapter (2.3.1).

doctoral research I became Faculty Chair for Arts and Culture and Director of Music at Stowe. That this should occur during the school's centenary year, for which I was responsible for the oversight of all musical events including the re-establishment of the school Song, will have undoubtedly biased the Stowe School case study. For this reason, I was mindful of my personal responses to the school song which were presented during the interviews with Dr Wallersteiner, Headmaster of Stowe and Jonathan Kingston, Head of Vocal Studies at Stowe and I did not undertake the Stowe survey.

My role as director of music provided me with opportunities of access to other directors of music which may not have otherwise occurred. One such example came through my delivering a paper on this research to a group of 30 HMC directors of music who had gathered at Stowe in June 2023 for a meeting and who subsequently engaged with my research. In particular, David Woodcock of Harrow School was incredibly generous with his time and resources following this presentation.

There are additional biases regarding my positionality which must also be considered, namely that of my gender and my heritage. When my research began there were no female identifying directors of music in the Rugby and Eton groups of schools.[144] To my knowledge there are now three, of which I am one and I am also the first female director of music in the history of Stowe. Throughout the research I have been highly aware of the lack of female composers and lyricists in the song collection and subsequently the lack of female representation within my research. For this reason, I took especial care to ensure a fair representative sample of songs were used in Chapter 3.

My Welsh heritage will also have biased my opinion of and reaction to both the historical educational changes which took place in Wales during the 1800s, and towards the school songs which belong to independent Welsh schools. Undertaking this research has developed my understanding of the complex pedagogical aspects of Welsh music making and its role in individual and cultural identity. I have attempted to approach and discuss this, where relevant, in as neutral a manner as possible.

[144] This is discussed in an online article, written for BCU which can be found here (Bryden, 2021)

6.2 School Responses

As part of the Rugby Group, Stowe School is involved in the annual subject meetings which take place and are hosted on a rotational basis between the schools within the group. As such, I was provided with the contact details of the directors of music within the Rugby Group of schools and was able to directly contact 15 directors of music, from whom I received a 73% response rate. I then contacted 11 schools from the Eton Group and received a similar response rate of 72%. A substantial portion of the songs (77%) in my collection are from schools within the Rugby and Eton groups, as shown below.

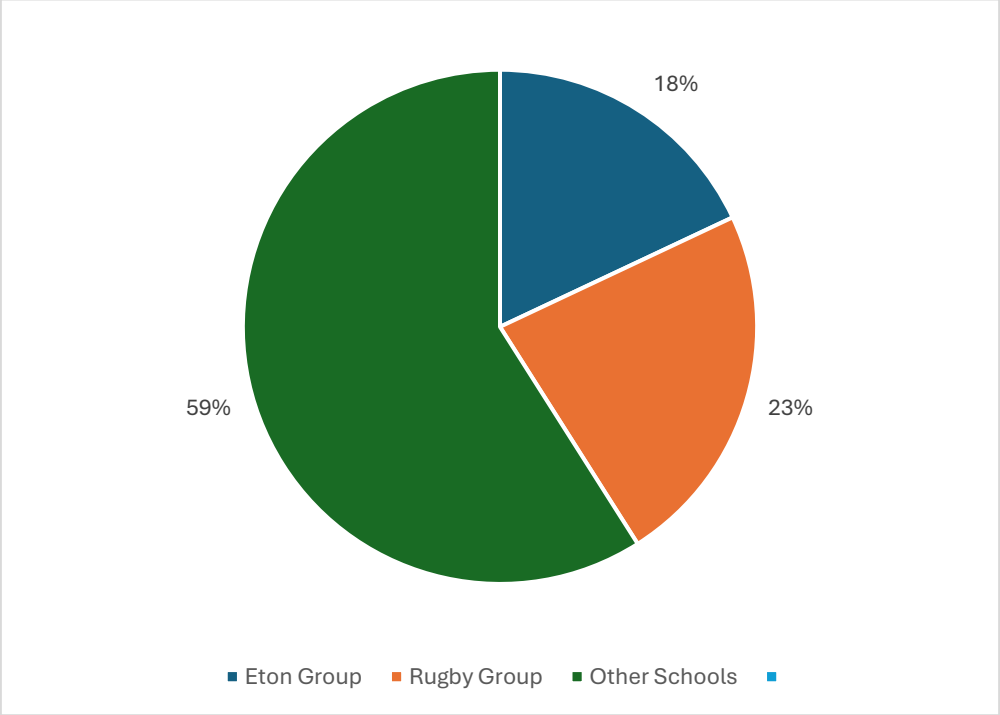


Figure 61. Percentage of school song collection from Eton and Rugby Group schools

Within the 207 songs currently ascribed to these school groups, three schools account for almost half of the total, namely Harrow, Uppingham and Sherbourne School as shown in Figure 62.

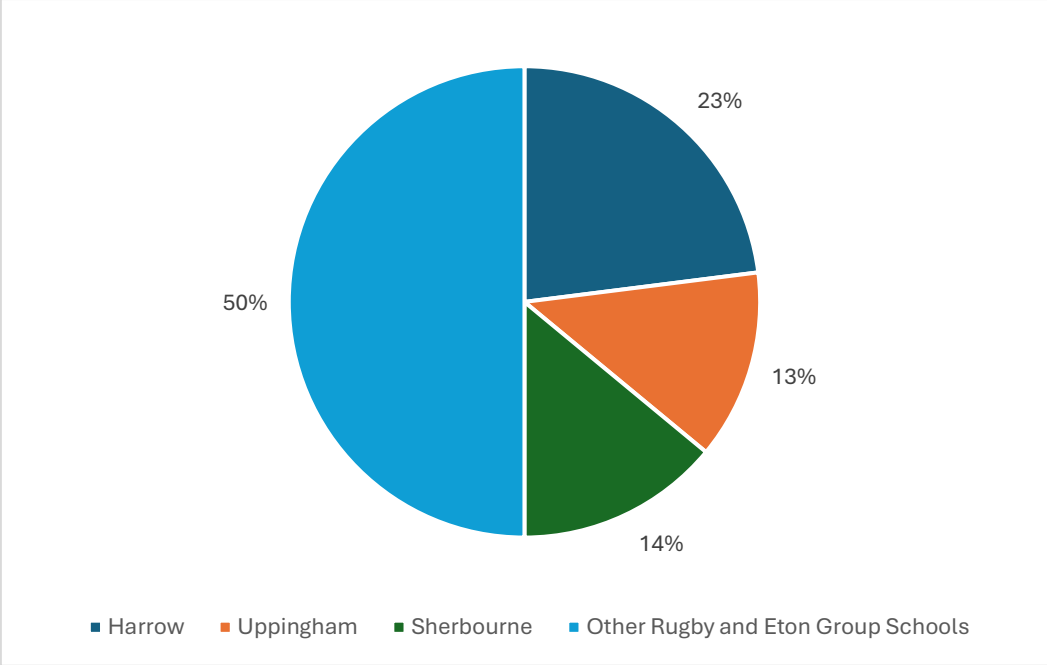


Figure 62. Eton and Rugby Group contributions to this school song collection

When examining the current collection, a substantial portion came from the Eton and Rugby group Schools but additionally from Sedbergh School and Bedford School. Schools with 10 or more songs in the current collection are shown below in Figure 63.

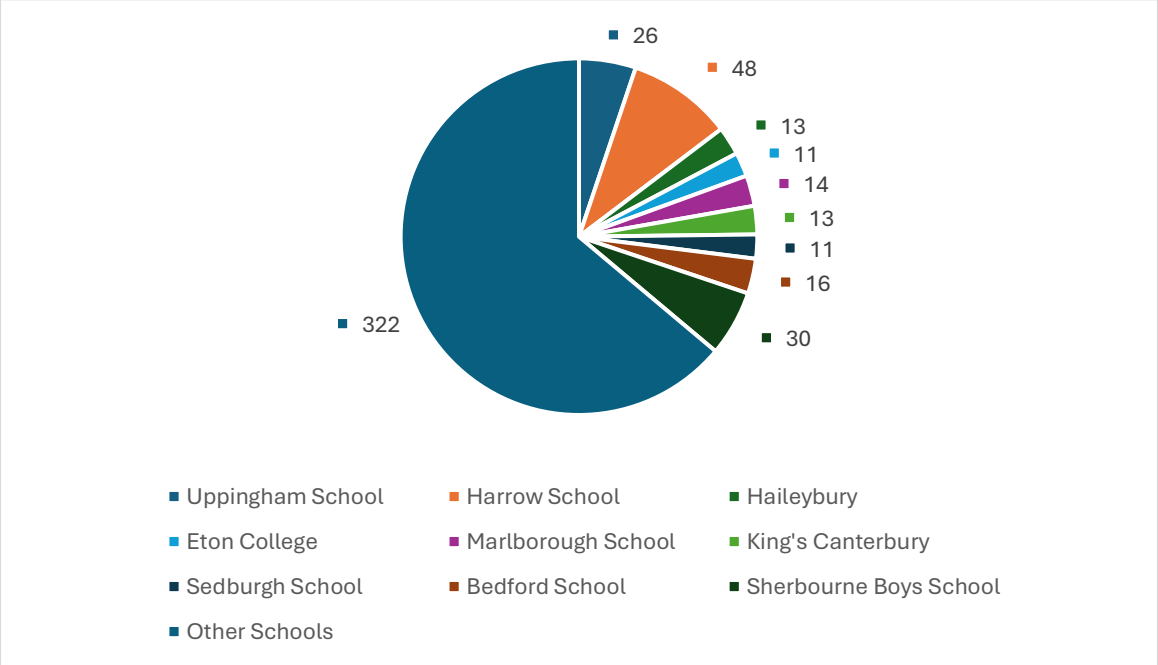


Figure 63. Contributions of 10 or more items to song collection

Despite being able to draw upon personal contacts to gain information on Welsh school songs, the response rate was 4 out of 18 schools. This was considerably lower than the response rate from the Eton and Rugby Groups of schools which were both comparative in size. There may be several reasons for this lower response rate, including factors such as a lack of interest in the research and the complex relationship with independent education and cultural identity in Wales as discussed in my literature review in 1.2. It was however possible to discover data relating to songs from 3 non-operational schools through other means which I will discuss later in this section.

The response rate from Scottish schools was 39% (11 of 28 schools). One school in particular, George Watson's Ladies' College, were incredibly helpful. the school song of George Watson's Ladies College, which is discussed in 3.4, was included thanks to the considerable information provided by the school archivist, Mr Tom Bennet, and the author of the portion of the school's illustrated history which related to the school Song, Elizabeth Smith.

6.2.1 Database Findings

The initial stages of my research focused upon the collection of independent school songs to facilitate not only an understanding of the size of the existing corpus of works but their content. The fields included in the database as shown in 2.2.2 will now be discussed in more detail.

6.2.1.1 Era of Performance

From the songs collected during this research, the composition of distinct independent school songs can be seen to begin in the 1840's with *Carmen Carthusianum* by Charterhouse School (Phillott, 1843). There then emerge several periods within the tradition's history which I have identified as follows:

Table 26. independent school song composition periods

Date	Inspector for Music/ Historical Event
1840-1870	John Hullah
1870-1890	John Stainer
1900-1920	Arthur Somervell / WW1
1925-1950	WW2
1950-1975	1944 Education Act
1975-2000	1976 Education Act
Post 2000	Curriculum 2000 and the Learning and Skills Act

Each period relates to an inspector for music or historical event which literature shows as having directly influenced the education system within the UK. Hullah, Stainer and Somervell have been discussed previously in the Literature Review (1.1.5) for their roles as government inspectors for music and their impact on independent school music. Compositional dates were available for 68% of the collected songs and the database categorises these within the aforementioned periods as shown below:

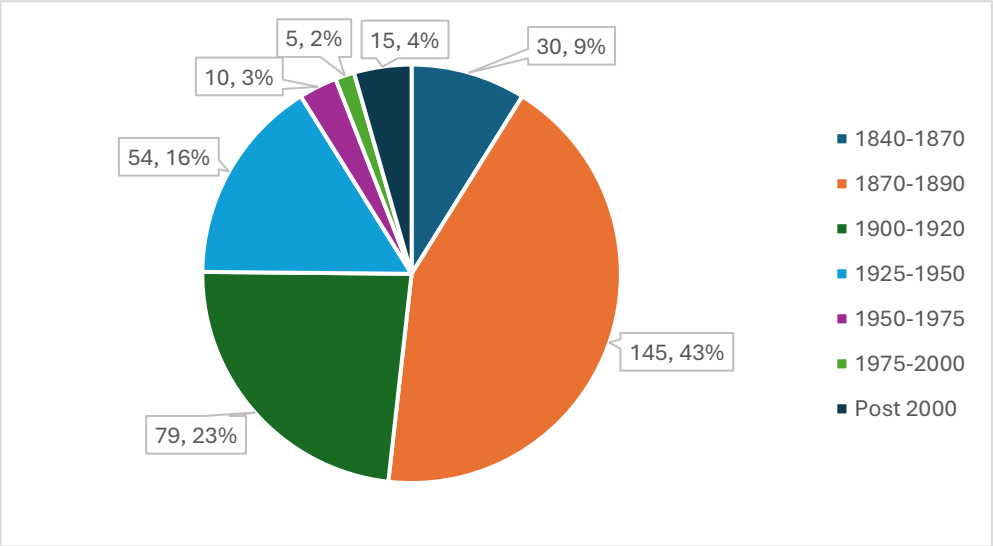


Figure 65. Number of school songs by period

The period of 1870-1890 is seen to have generated the largest body of work, corresponding with John Farmer's establishment of house singing competitions and their adoption amongst other independent schools. The second largest body of work occurred during the period surrounding the First World War. Independent schools are therefore shown to have produced a large quantity of songs at the time of the publication of such public-school song books as *The National Songbook* by Stanford (1905), this being a time when communal songs and singing were used as a means of focusing people's attention on national identity.

6.2.1.2 Category

When populating the database, each entry was assigned a category derived from on Ewart's suggestions wherever possible (Ewart 1969). These were as follows:

1. Founders/History
2. Past Pupils
3. Games
4. Regional Pride

5. Nostalgia
6. Morals
7. Morale Boosting
8. Hymn
9. Nationalism
10. Unknown
11. School Military
12. Other

As song texts often contain several themes and as such may be placed in multiple categories. The database category was ascribed on the primary textual theme of the song as outlined in the methodology. This categorisation assisted in reconstructing other attributes of the song, such as instrumentation and vocal range when the song existed solely as an *Etymophonological* Object. When a score was not available for a song, the assignment of attributes was achieved through examining the most common features of other songs in that category which existed as an Etymophonological *Icon*. These entries were colour coded in blue to show this was a predicted data entry. The number of songs in each category were as follows:

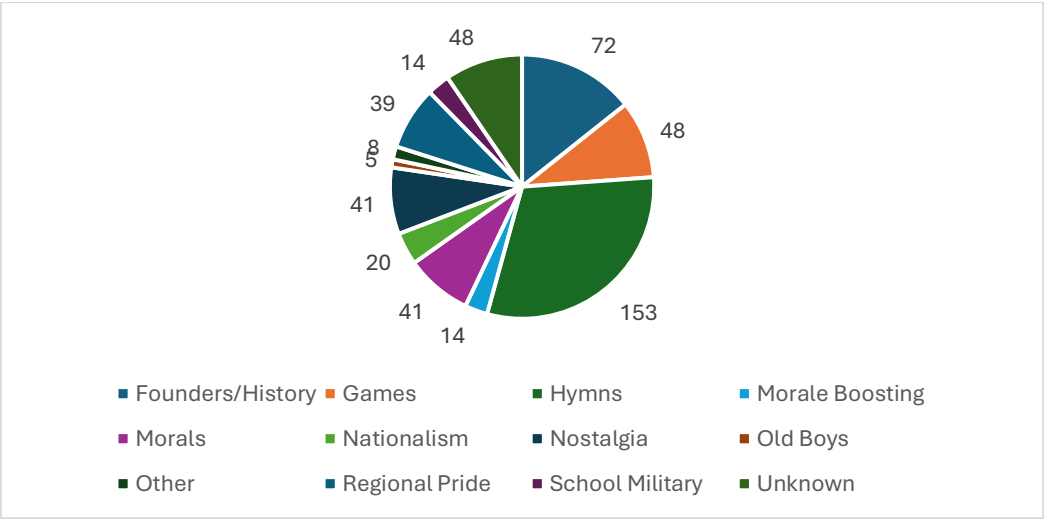


Figure 65. Number of songs within each database category

As can be seen in Figure 65, 153 songs (30% of the songs in the current collection) were categorised as hymns. It is however possible that this number may be higher as 28 of the 48 songs considered “unknown” were categorised this way due to the text being in Latin and attempts at translation proving unreliable. The second largest category was Founders/History (14% of total songs) with Games being the third largest. Only 5 songs in the current collection were categorised Past Pupils, although this category appears within other songs as a secondary focus of the text.

For those Latin texts where the theme was identifiable, the results were as follows

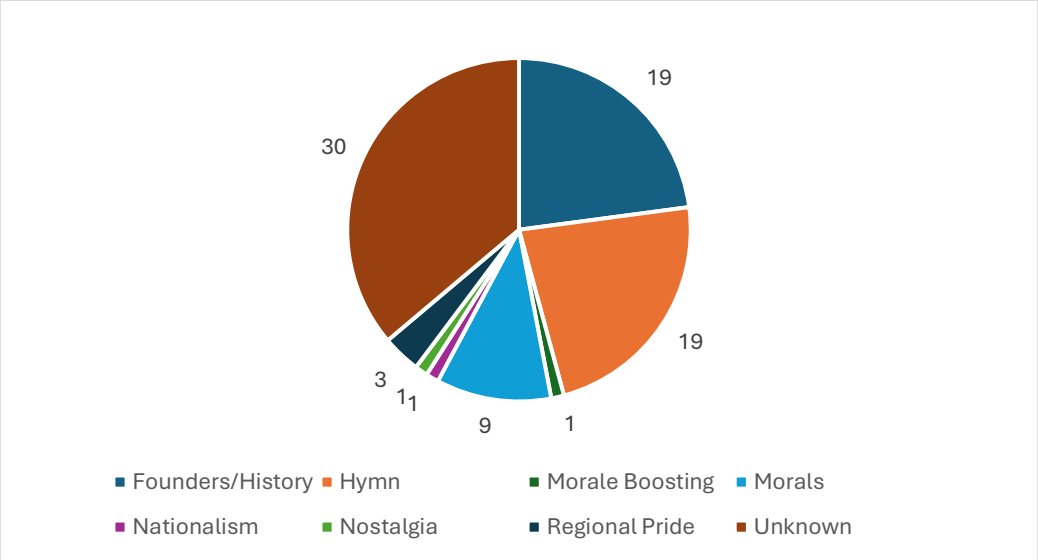


Figure 66. Latin school songs by category

Here, the two most common category of Latin song texts were Founders and Hymns. The use of Latin in school songs create a sense of history for both the school and a historical link to a school’s religious foundation. There is a sense of atemporality connoted through the use of Latin which benefits the creation of history for the school and supports an ‘invented tradition’. The idea of invented traditions and histories are discussed in detail in the interview with Dr Anthony Wallersteiner (11.2)

6.2.1.3 Language

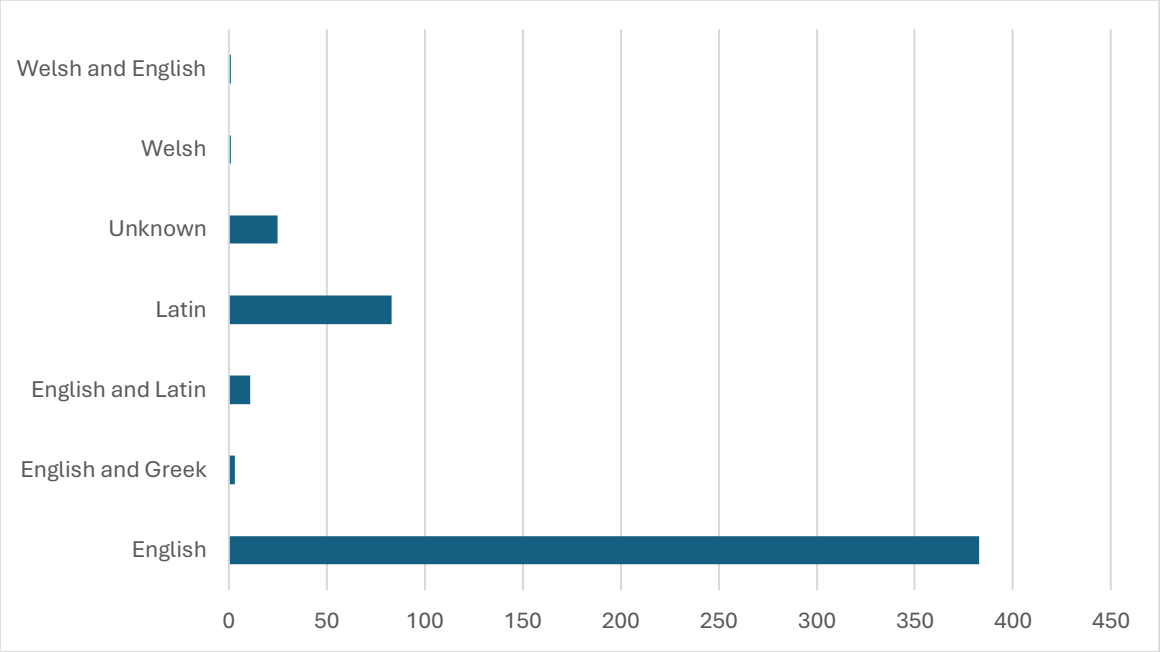


Figure 67. School songs by language

The most common language for independent school songs in this collection is English (383 songs or 75%). This result was to be expected as England has the highest percentage of independent schools in the UK and also accounted for largest contribution of works to this research. Latin is the second most common (83 songs or 16%). These data, when considered against the song's era of first performance, speak to the influence of the UK's imperialism on school songs. In Figure 68 it may be seen that for those songs where a composition date exists. or the date of earliest performance is known (71% of the corpus), 35% (181 songs) were written in the 19th century. When including those songs written and performed up to 1925, thus incorporating the end of imperialism, the figure becomes 51% (262 songs).

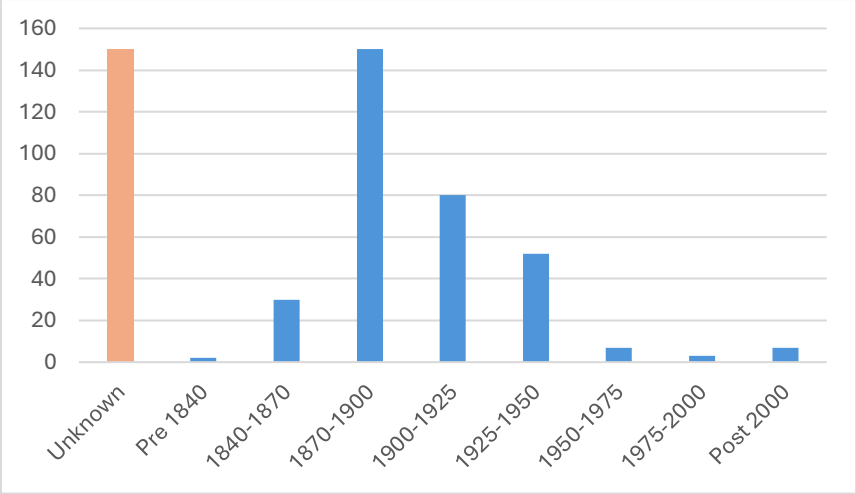


Figure 68. songs by date of composition or first performance

The songs composed during the later end of the 1800s show a distinct use of English and Latin as may be seen in Figure 69. This is also true for independent school songs across the UK at this time, illustrating the educational and political landscape of the UK regarding language and what languages were deemed to have educational merit during this period. This also shows the diversification and growth of independent schools beyond those associated with longstanding institutions or religious orders.

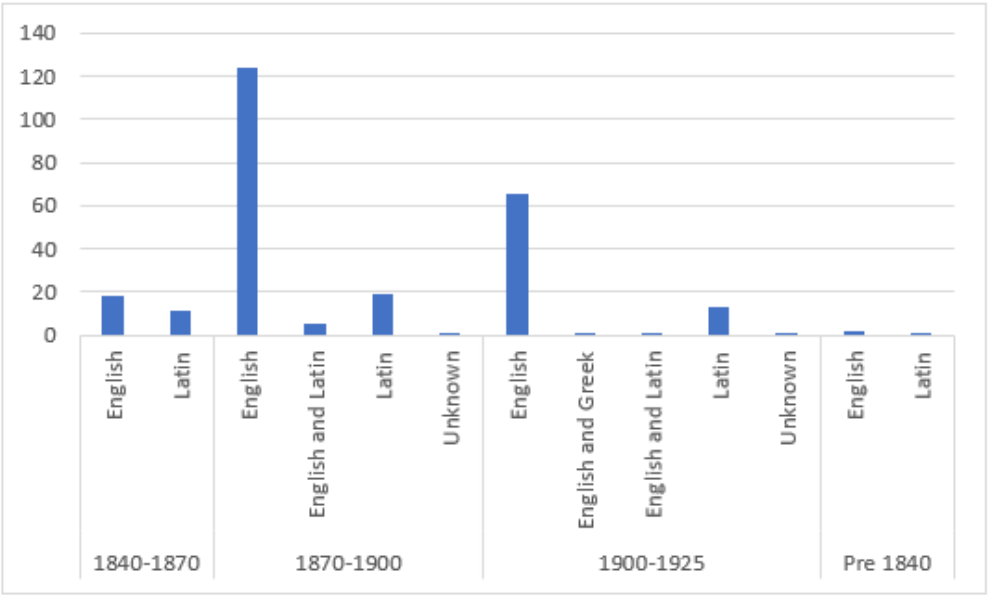


Figure 69. School songs by date and language

The use of Latin within school songs may be considered a tool for the generation of a specific pedagogical identity as suggested in Mockler's *Teacher Identity Model* Figure 13 (Mockler, 2011).

6.2.1.4 Instrumentation

286 songs (56% of the collection) are scored for voice and accompaniment. 111 of these songs have predicted instrumentation through assigning the most common instrumentation used for other songs of its category. In this research, pieces assigned voice and accompaniment are those with *keyboard* listed as the accompaniment instrument on the score. Those songs written for *voice and piano* have their own category which contains 36 songs. 173 songs were categorised as *Unknown,* representing songs where the category could not be defined, either because no *Etymophonological Icon* being available or insufficient compositional details existing (28 songs). Additionally, this *Unknown* category was selected when the entry was a piece of instrumental music written for the school, in particular for military items (10 songs) which account for 22% of the unknown instrumentation category.

6.2.1.5 Form

The most common school song form amongst the collection is Strophic, accounting for 48% of songs (244 songs) as may be seen in Figure 70 .

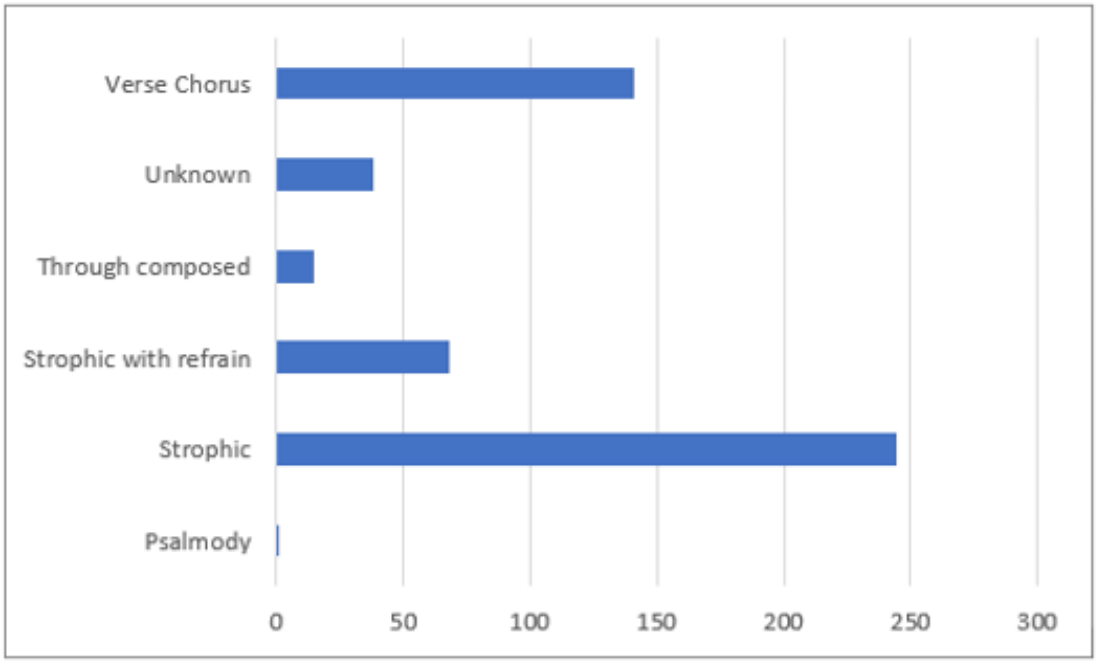


Figure 70. School songs by form

This reflects the high percentage of songs categorised as Hymns, as may be seen in Figure 71 where 88 (46%) of strophic songs in the collection are hymns.

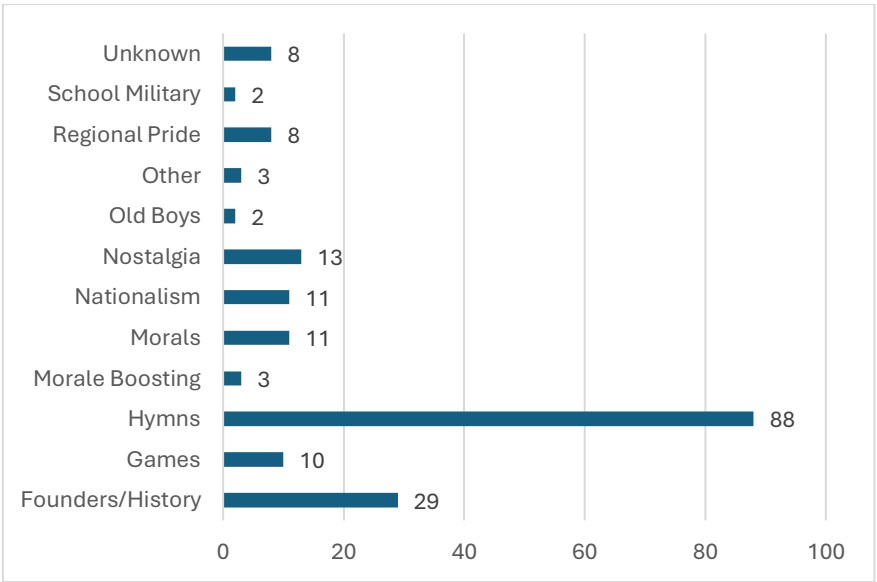


Figure 71. Strophic songs by song type

The second most frequent song type is verse-Chorus. Within this form the song types are more evenly distributed, however those songs categorised under Games are the most common. This is shown in Figure 72. It is possible that this structure is common amongst games songs because of the chorus acting as a unifying factor for those singing. Here it may be seen to represent the teamwork found in the sport featured in the song and the chorus being something which is remembered by those performing due to its short, repeated text, these factors enable performances by supporters at matches without the requirement of having the complete song text present.

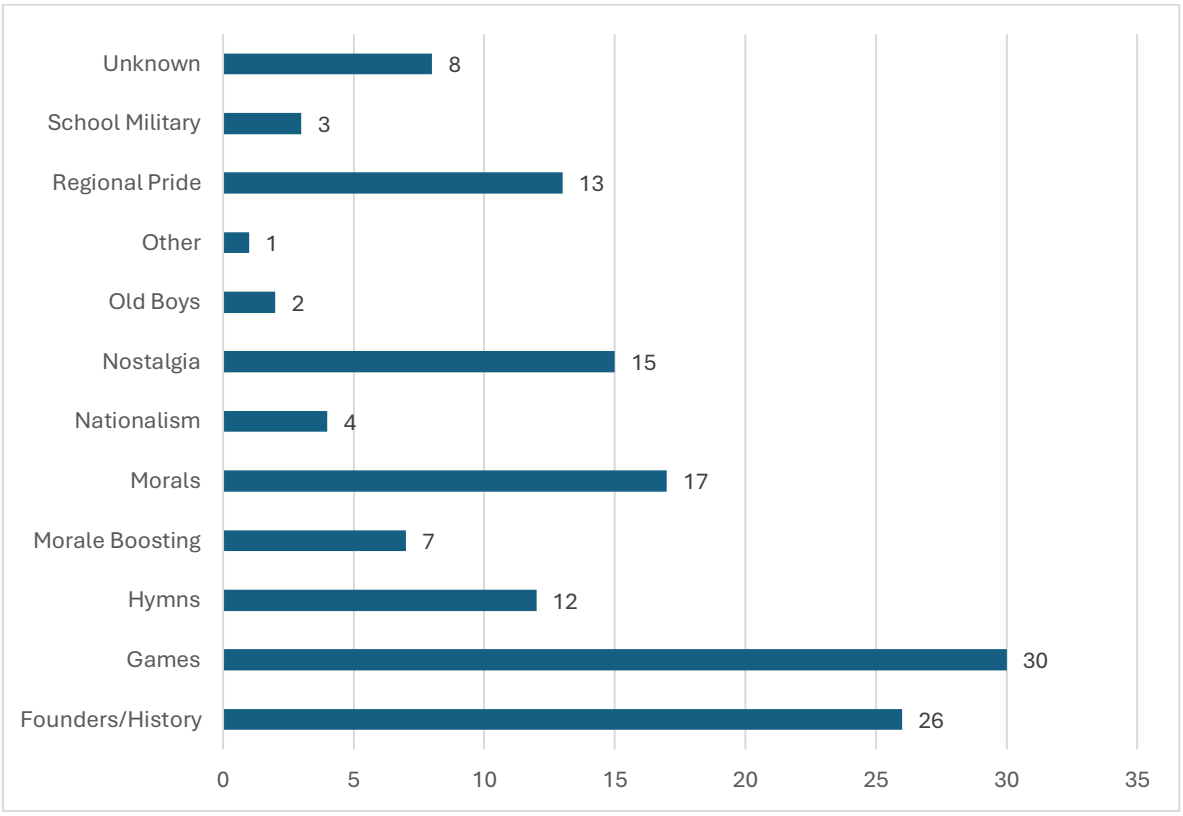


Figure 72. verse-Chorus songs by song type

6.2.1.6 Frequent Composers and Lyricists

As would be expected, schools with collections of songs have composers and lyricists who appear frequently in the database. John Farmer of Harrow, Dr Thomas Wood of Tonbridge, Joseph Barnby of Eton, F Cunningham Woods of Highgate School and Louis

Napoleon Parker of Sherbourne School have multiple database entries for their schools. Some composers however appear across the database as composing unique songs for multiple schools. One such example of this is Alexander Brent-Smith who wrote the music for *Sto, Persto, Praesto!* (Brent-Smith, 1925) the school song of Stowe, who also wrote the music for *Come My Way* (Brent-Smith, n.d.) for Cheltenham College. John Farmer of Harrow wrote the music for *Xiapete* for The Leys School (Farmer, n.d.). As such these examples give an insight into connections between different institutions at the early stages of a new tradition. We see that those individuals involved in the composition of an independent school song create further avenues of interaction between different independent schools as seen previously in the case of Stowe School (Figure 51).

6.2.2 Song Text Analysis

The text of the song, the *Etymophonological Sign*, is a significant contributary factor in the creation of identity and the establishment and transmission of morals and ethics. To fully explore these concepts, analysis of the collection's songs was undertaken in NVivo using Ewart's categories as in 1.1.6 (Ewart, 1969) as initial coding references. It will be shown in 6.2.4.4 that these categories are also subject to individual subjectivity. These categories may therefore not be the same as the category ascribed by the community and, as discussed in 6.2.1, it is possible for an individual song to contain aspects of multiple categories.

The song texts were coded with primary codes as per Ewart's categories and secondary codes, which are listed in Section 9. Each primary code will now be explored in detail to investigate the relationships between the text of the songs and the generation of identity.

6.2.2.1 Hymn

The word cloud shown below displays the 50 most frequent words from the songs coded within the Hymn category.

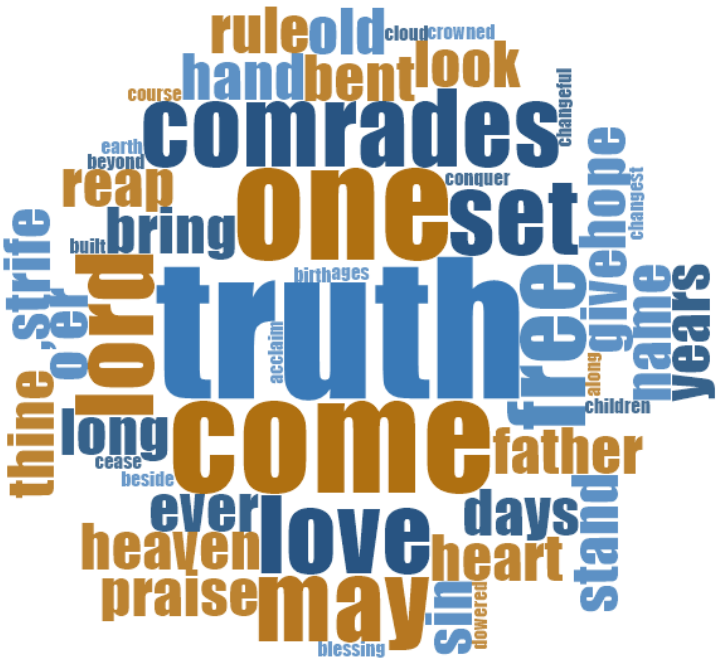


Figure 73. Word cloud from songs coded at Hymn

Religious words such as *heaven, sin, blessing* and *father* as well as words such as *thine* and *praise* occur regularly as would be expected in this category. *Truth* is the most frequent word with a count of 40. In the corpus as a whole, *Truth* occurs 40 times across 28 entries as a distinct search, and 42 times across 30 entries when *Truth* is searched as a stemmed word. There are words within the word cloud which are less obviously associated with hymns, such as the word *bent* where the context in which the word is used is of importance.[145] However, when viewed as part of a word tree shown in Figure 74, the religious inferences for most occurrences of this word are more apparent. The outlier to this is text from the Uppingham song *Shells* (Thring, 1887) which references *saucy waves* and *merry slaves* which are not to be understood as colonialist references within the context of the song.

[145] This word cloud was generated from the text of all songs categorised as Hymns. Common stop words (eg, *to, and, is, the)* were removed whilst stemmed words were retained. The 50 most frequent remaining words were included in the visualisation.

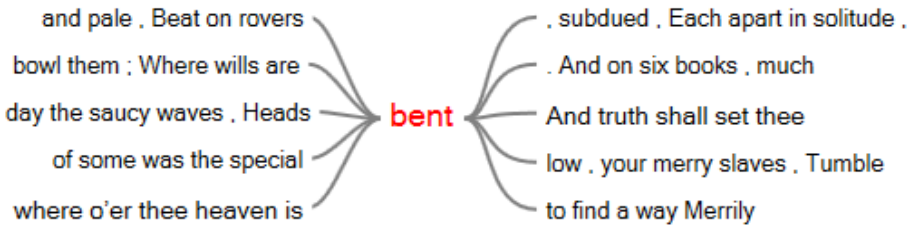


Figure 74. Word tree of 'bent' as contextualised in song text

There are 728 aggregated coding references within the song collection for the category of Hymn and an aggregate number of 180 items coded. Within the database, 32 of the 336 songs for which there are compositional dates were written post 1950. From those songs which are categorised as Hymn for which there is a compositional date, 23 of 72 were written post 1950. This may be seen to reflect the secularisation of Britain, and especially England, following World War 2 as discussed in the writings of Brewitt-Taylor (2021) and Jackson (2007).

The primary code of *Hymn* has 15 secondary codes and reflects the Christian foundation of many independent senior schools.[146] There are 21 specific references of the word *Church* throughout the corpus and 138 songs contain a reference to a religious figure. These figures include but are not limited to *God* (174 references), *Jesus* (39 references), *Mary* as mother of God (6 references) and specific saints (25 references).

One school song which focuses upon local saints is St Bees School in Cumbria. the school's original song by Rev. F. Lewis features in Ewart's (1969) anthology but had not been performed at the school since before the turn of this century.[147] This song, which talks about the local landscape, is both nationalistic and patriotic, containing text such as 'For Cumbrian hearts are true and tried and Cumbrian blades are keen. And still 'tis every Cumbrian's pride to serve his land and Queen' (Ewart, 1969). This song was officially retired when the school closed in 2015 due to low pupils numbers and

[146] These codes may be seen in section 9
[147] This information was provided by an ex work colleague from Llandovery College who went to work at St Bees.

subsequent financial issues and replaced when the school re-opened in 2018. The new song, *Soul of St Bees* (Sinnett, 2018), was written by the new Head of the school, Roger Sinnett, and includes references to not only St Bees as a geographical location but St Bega after whom the area and school were named. Additional religious figures found within the song are Edmund Grindal, Archbishop of Canterbury in the late 1500s who founded the school in this area where he had been born. *Soul of St Bees* is one of the newest school songs in the collection. Its religious text and devotional commentary on the local saint are typical of a hymn, however the instrumentation of voice and guitar is unlike the common hymn orchestration of voice and keyboard accompaniment found throughout the rest of the collection. The new song is more in line with modern day worship songs from non-conformist evangelical Christian denominations and it could be seen that this song creates a new chapter in the history of the school, marking its reopening.

Of the 153 entries classified as hymn in the database, there are frequent occurrences of non-school-specific hymns including *Jerusalem (Parry, 1916)*(14 entries), *I Vow to thee my Country* (Holst 1921) (5 entries), *Guide me O Thou Great Redeemer* (Hughes, 1905) and *He Who Would Valiant Be* (Vaughan Williams, 1906) (both with 4 entries).

The language of non-school-specific hymns lacks the location specific language of hymns such as *Soul of St Bees* (Sinnett. 2018). In Wales especially, the communal singing of Welsh language hymns and secular songs is an important tradition sustained through cultural singing events, as mentioned previously 1.2. However, within the database there are 12 entries for school songs in Wales but only one of these is written in Welsh which is the song by William Matthias (1945).

Whilst the collection contains only 1 Welsh language song, from my personal experience of working at Llandovery College I am aware that there are non-school-specific Welsh language hymns which are used frequently throughout the academic year during their weekly eucharist and other chapel services. These are included in the Llandovery College Service Book (Llandovery College, 2005) which also presents the Eucharist service of the Church in Wales in both English and Welsh. Welsh hymns such as *Glân Gerwbiad a Seraffiad*, *Calon Lân*, and *I Bob Un Sydd Ffyddlon*, were amongst

the most regularly used hymns at Llandovery College and other hymns are presented bilingually in the service book (Llandovery College, 2005). Amongst the hymnal are Welsh translations of hymns such as *Veni Emmanuel*, and also *Love Divine All Loves Excelling*, Here, the language of the hymn is directly linked to Wales and may be seen to strongly influence the *Ethnographic Intersubjectivity* of the school through the *Sign*.

Given the presentation of hymns bilingually, it is therefore significant that the hymn *Guide Me O Thou Great Jehovah* (Llandovery College 2005: 104), does not appear in its original Welsh language format from 1745, within the Llandovery service book. This is even more interesting when it is considered that its author, William Williams Pantycelyn, hailed from Llandovery and is a strong source of local pride having a school (now closed) and a chapel, named after him in the town. Equally, this hymn is one of those that appears as a school hymn for English schools in the database who use the now common tune of *Cwm Rhondda*. The singular difference between this hymn's performance in Wales and England is therefore the use of the word *Jehovah*, as translated from the Welsh word *Arglwydd* in accordance with conventions by Peter Williams in 1771, whilst in England it appears as *Redeemer*.

6.2.2.2 Local Patriotism

The word cloud for the code of Local Patriotism and its secondary codes may be seen in Figure 75. Here the most frequent word was *King,* with a count of 107 separate uses across 56 songs.



Figure 75. Word cloud of songs coded at Local Patriotism

Across the collection there are 23 songs coded with *Queen* however this word does not feature in the above word cloud. Of the 49 references to *Queen* throughout other songs in the collection, 10 appear in the Harrow song *Queen Elizabeth Sat One Day* (Harrow 2018). Several other songs mention the word within the context of 'For God, Queen and Country' or in the personification of the country as a parent such as in the now retired school song for Wells Cathedral school which says 'England, dear Motherland, Queen of the sea, Chief of 1000 states, Home of the free!' (Anon, pre-1963).[148]

To investigate if songs coded with *Monarchy* and its associated secondary codes were prevalent in specific types of school, the gender profile and boarding profile of schools were cross tabulated with the occurrences of these codes.

[148] This song has not been performed since 1963 due to its overtly colonialist nature. The text of the song was provided in a photograph taken from an unknown book and no further details were given.

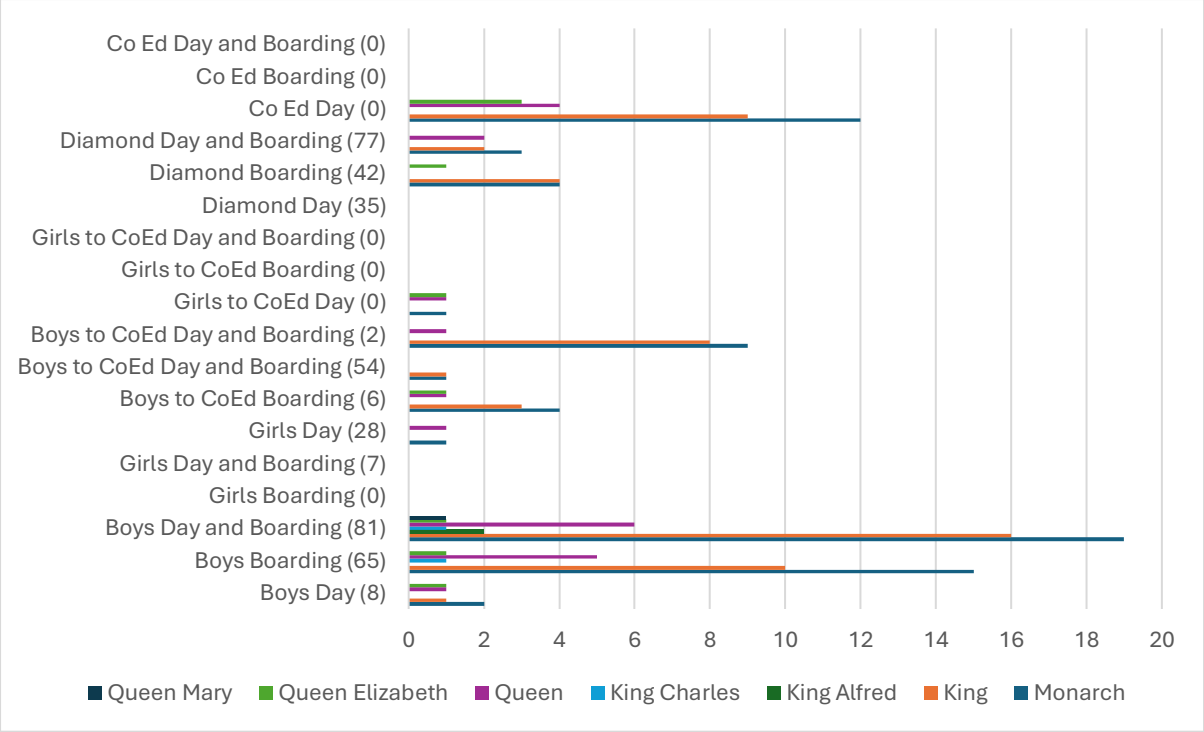


Figure 76. Cross tabulation of songs coded at Monarchy against gender and boarding profile

The figure above shows that, boys' day and boarding schools feature the most references to Monarchs, with 19 references across the 81 schools with this profile. Boys' boarding schools had the second highest occurrence with 15 references. As may be seen in Figure 77, the next most commonly occurring code is that of *King*.

Local Patriotism has the second highest aggregated coding references amongst Ewart's categories with 663 references across 262 aggregated items. songs with this primary code were those that expressed ideas of patriotism within the locale of the school and its immediate surrounding area such as *The Silver Arrow* (Harrow, 2018) from Harrow school, which is discussed in depth in 4.2.5. Here, the historical importance of archery to the school in particular, and to the nation in general, can be seen in the opening lines 'I sing the praise of the olden days, When young man and burghers new, ***In the arrows' flight was the nations might,*** our strength in the bended yew.' [emphasis added] Similarly, *Fair and Grey and Ancient* of Sherbourne School (Sherborne, 1906) evokes the surrounding landscape and its associated Arthurian legend in the lines of verse three which state 'Hero-memories haunt her; Hush 'tis hallowed ground! Yonder hill is

Camelot, Arthur's table round.'[149] The use of the word *hero* as well as *Camelot* and *Arthur* develop a sense of history, legend and patriotism, albeit invented patriotism and directly foreground a legend that is seen as the foundation myth of England. This is further developed in the final verse of the song which states 'Kingly her foundation, like a queen she stands, Costly stones to crown her hearts and brains and hands.' In these lines, the school is again referenced in the feminine but on this occasion, it is elevated to the persona of a queen and the pupils are her body.[150] the song contains repeated references of the phrase *Alma Mater* personifying the school as a nurturing mother figure. The word *Mater* appears 29 times throughout the song collection across 18 different school songs, 14 of which are fully in Latin, although some of these are references to Mary the mother of Jesus, not the feminine personification of the school.

The secondary code of *School as Parent Figure* was applied to 15 individual school songs. When these were cross tabulated against the gender and boarding status of the school the following results immerged.

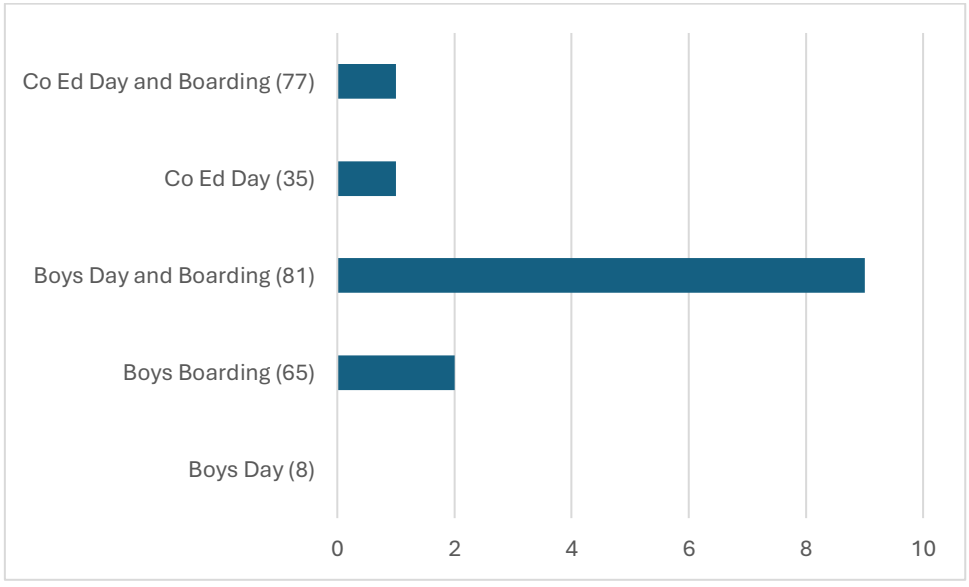


Figure 77. Cross tabulation of gender profile and boarding status of school songs coded at 'School as parent figure'

[149] A discussion of chivalric imagery and invented tradition in school songs may be found in 11.2
[150] A similar description was discussed previously in the pupils of Downside Abbey being described as 'Living Stones' in one translation of the Latin text (3.6).

There are currently no songs in the collection from girls' schools which contain this coding although two co-educational school songs do contain the code. The most common demographic to contain the code is boys' day and boarding schools. In this instance, the 9 songs come from 5 schools, two schools having one song each, two schools having two songs containing this code and one school with three songs where the school is personified as a parent figure. Only two songs may be found with this coding from boys' full boarding schools and none are currently found within the collection from boys' day schools. It must be acknowledged that there are more boys' day and boarding schools represented within the collection than boys' boarding schools. However, there are more than double the number of co-educational day and boarding schools than boys day and boarding schools but both demographics have the same number of songs with this coding.

When songs from schools whose gender profile is listed as 'unclassified', two further examples of the school as feminine appear. Both songs are from a school where the gender profile at the time of the song's composition is unknown, and therefore unassigned, but the boarding status was a full boarding school.

The role of *Mater* within the primary code of *Local Patriotism* may be seen to represent a use of the text to provide or establish a familial attachment to a location and institution. For pupils within a full boarding school, the sense of community is arguably more established because all the pupils live on site for the entirety of the term, save for exeat weekends.[151] For schools which have day and boarding pupils, the community may experience a sense of division between those who board and those who do not and so the performance of a song which personifies the school as a parent may serve the purpose of ethnographic unification. This sense of the school *as parent* may then be

[151] An Exeat weekend occurs typically halfway through a half term. There are no academic lessons on this weekend and all pupils and staff leave the site. It is common for staff at boarding schools to teach on Saturday mornings as this provides flexibility in the school's academic timetable to facilitate an afternoon of games fixtures during the week.

utilised to generate a sense of patriotism as may be seen illustrated in the final verse of the original Monkton Combe song[152] (Manners Herd, 1920) which says of the school

> *She remembers all and she prays for you, As you serve in every station, "O may they love with a spirit true Their God, their King and Nation! Bone of my bone they live or fall, My sons, for whom I gave my all, In the days that they spent at Monkton! Bone of my Bone" you hear the call, to live and serve, to stand or fall, In the might and the joy of Monkton!*

6.2.2.3 Morals and Morale Boosting

The category of *Morals and Morale Boosting* is expansive, though smaller than that of *Regional Pride*, containing 473 aggregated coding references over 260 aggregated items. The distinction between this category and that of *General Moral Uplift* may be seen in Ewart's definitions where *General Moral Uplift* is defined as 'Be Good' whilst *Morals and Morale Boosting* is defined as 'The school as preparation for Life or as a microcosm (the great world in miniature). Don't disgrace it.' (Ewart, 1969). This category therefore extends beyond the general and perhaps superficial implications of, as Ewart states, 'Be Good' but instead references specific morals and personal ethics which will, if internalised and achieved, enable the pupil or the community as a whole to become what may be considered 'better' people.

The word cloud for this category Figure 78, contains a larger proportion of Latin words than those of other categories. It may therefore be considered that the authors of these songs drew upon Latin to create an historical moralistic connotation for the school song. The words themselves represent the following values, *strength, continuation, flourishing* and *academic study*.

[152] Christopher Wheeler, who was the outgoing Head of Monkton Combe school when the research was conducted, informed me that they have adopted the worship song 'In Christ Alone' as their school hymn and this was chosen by the pupils. Mr Wheeler is now the Head of Canford School.

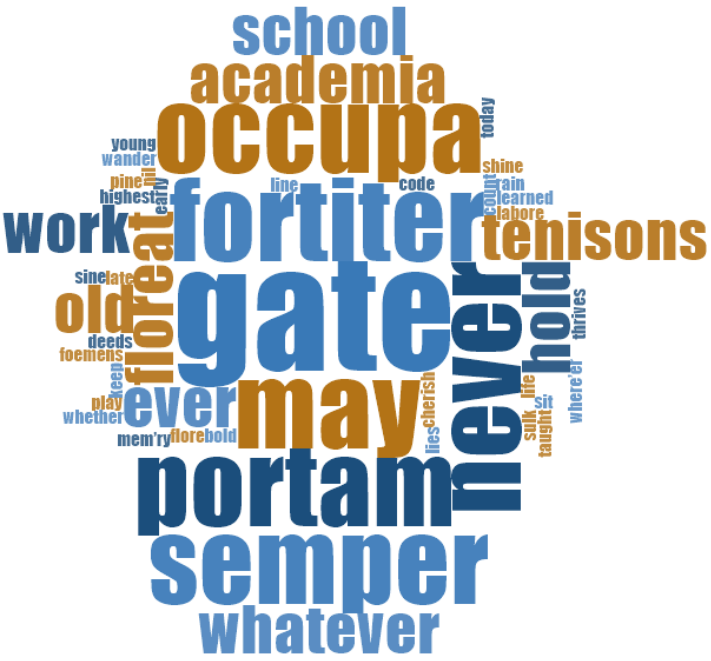


Figure 78. Word cloud for songs coded with Morals and Morale Boosting.

Several of the words in this category feature in the school song of Barnsley and District Holgate Grammar School, a boys' school in England which closed in 2012. the song, like that of Stowe begins with the Latin school motto and is a clear indication of the morals the school wished its pupils to emulate. the song begins 'Fortitier occupa portam. Pray, what is the English of that? Ever be bold, the gate to hold, there's the translation pat.' The gate referenced frequently throughout this song is symbolic and is described in verse two as being 'Tis the gate of the true, and of wisdom too, tis the gate of the pure and free. "Fortiter occupa portam." The gate of the world shall be.'

Codes such as *strong, brave, true, honour* and *truth* appear frequently across songs in this category and serve the purpose of promoting these morals and ideals within the community. One example may be seen in *Rank by Rank* from Uppingham (Thring, 1887) which states

> *Rank by rank again we stand, from the four winds gathered hither. Loud the hallowed walls demand when we come, and how, and wither. From their stillness breaking clear, echoes weak to warm or cheer; higher truth and holier good, call our mustered brotherhood.*

Here, the concepts of *truth* and *good* are specifically elevated by their religious prefixes to show these as religious and aspirational traits which should be pursued by those singing. This to some extent promotes traditionally chivalric concepts as did previously mentioned codes. The subtle use of the words *rank* and *mustered* also denote a sense of group unification whilst connoting those present will follow orders. This sentiment is found echoed in the opening of the song of Archbishop Tenison's (Bennett, n.d.) which says 'Tenison's! Tenison's! Wher'er we may wander, Keep we in mem'ry the deeds of today, Cherish the code that our school ever taught us, to do of our highest at work or at play'. Here, the concept of *highest* is used to denote high aspirational morality and the lofty visions of the moralising possibilities of education.

Where military references were found within songs coded to this category, each of those songs was from a school with an active Combined Cadet Force (CCF) group or other such military group. *Left! Right!* (Harrow 2018) from Harrow is one such example and is discussed in both the Harrow Case Study (4.2) and the reflections on the Churchill songs account (see 12). Further references to the military can be found in sport specific songs, this inclusion will be discussed more fully later in this chapter but this again highlights the commonality of songs sitting within more than one category.

6.2.2.4 Nostalgia

Of the 102 songs coded with *Nostalgia* in the collection, 40% of are from schools with collections of songs. These include schools such as Eton (3 songs coded with Nostalgia), Marlborough College (3 songs), Dulwich (4 songs) Uppingham (6 songs), Sherborne School (10 songs) and Harrow (14 songs). Through their song collections, these schools are able to dedicate a song or songs to this category which Ewart (1969) defines as 'We are growing old and it is pleasant to remember our youth'. Those schools with only one school song often utilise it to instil values into its current cohort, rather than evoke nostalgia for past generations. This use of single songs to instil specific

values may be seen in the analysis data of the *Hymn* coding where 728 aggregated references are found across 180 items (see 6.2.2.1).

The category of *Nostalgia* therefore includes songs where the focus of the text, or the portion of the text coded as nostalgia, is intended for the past students at the school. In this way, songs coded with *Nostalgia* are important in developing and sustaining emotional connections to the school across generations of past pupils and perpetuating the *aspiration and nostalgia cycle* identified earlier in the Harrow case study (4.2.9).[153] One such example of a song in the nostalgia category is *Sherborne an Ode* (Sherborne, 1890) which begins:

> Tis fifty years since last we met to keep our festal day,
>
> And many are gone, and some are here, though wrinkled now and grey,
>
> The long dim past grows clearer as we meet, and not in vain,
>
> Recall the fleeting days of youth and turn to boys again!
>
> Our years increase, our blood run slow, we hasten to grow old
>
> But never shall our souls forget, till heart and hand are cold:
>
> The old school, the dear school, where we were boys together,
>
> The old days, the dear days of life's young April weather.
>
> When the future, filled with gleams of gold, the musing boyish eye,
>
> And all the world seemed at our feet, and hopeful hearts beat high!

This song, written in approximately 1900, draws upon nostalgic concepts such as past aspirations, previous communal experiences and past friendships to reaffirm the connection of those singing with the school community. verse four of the song acknowledges the disconnect which past pupils may experience. It begins ‘We are strangers when we visit now the scenes we loved before’ and it then reflects upon the

[153] It is because of the roles that the categories of Nostalgia and Past Pupils both have within this cycle that they are discussed together in this chapter. It is however recognised that they each serve a distinct focus in the manner in which they act upon both present pupils, through the process of ingressive access as discussed earlier (4.2.9) and past pupils as discussed here.

new younger pupils who have taken their place. However, the final verse starts stoically with 'Let us band ourselves together, sons of Sherborne, young and old' to re-establish the cross-generational nature of the school community. Similar nostalgic songs may be found at Harrow, most notably 40 Years On (Harrow, 2018: 6) and the specific Old Harrovian verse.

6.2.2.5 Past Pupils



Figure 79. Word cloud for songs coded with Past Pupils

There are 43 references to *Past Pupils* in the current corpus with the secondary codes of *Bravery* and *Brother* occurring in 33 coded references and this reflects Ewart's (1969) definition of this category (named 'Old Boys' in his anthology) as 'People of achievement. We must also try to achieve something, however small'. One such song which references the bravery of a past pupil is *The Old Red Wall* of Brentwood School (Cockell, n.d.).[154] Here, the first verse recounts a story of martyrdom which resulted in the building of the school, saying 'They bound a lad by a green Elm tree and burned him

[154] Although there is no precise date of composition for the Brentwood school song, the handwritten score states that it is an arrangement undertaken by David Picletall in 1993. the song is believed to be far older than this date. the school was founded in 1557 and it is likely the song was composed in approximately 1900.

there for folks to see; And in shame for his brothers and playmates all they built them a school with a new red wall'.

This song is sung annually to this day and performances may be seen on YouTube.[155] Another song with similar sentiments is *Vale* of Eton whose last verse discusses the new students joining the school as the now past pupils leave, again, reinforcing the *aspiration and nostalgia cycle* discussed earlier. Here it says

> *What we are leaving, others receiving, New sons of Eton, when we are gone, Still forward, straining, fresh honour, gaining, Keep the torch burning- handed on! Brother with brother, thou our mother, In thee united thus sing we: Hearts growing older, love never colder, Never forgotten shalt thou be.*

This song references the school as a mother figure, a concept discussed previously (6.2.2.2) to reinforce the brotherly and generational bonds across and between the pupils of the school. The specific reference to singing as a tool for unification towards the end of the verse and the end of the song is of especial interest to this research. However, that portion of the song is marked to be performed as a solo with all others joining in to sing the final two lines. It may be that in performance practice, the soloist focuses the attention of the other participants on the text and this assists in the internalisation of the theme and sentiment.

Additionally, there are songs from Uppingham School which fall into this category, and this again highlights how collections of songs can ascribe specific aspects of identity to individual songs. This may account for schools adopting songs from other schools which speak to a facet of identity which their own school song does not or may suggest that they wish to layer this identity onto their own outlook. One such frequently adopted song is *40 Years On* from Harrow as discussed previously in 4.2.2 (Harrow, 2018).

[155] Brentwood School song 2004 (youtube.com)

6.2.2.6 Sport

There are 135 aggregated references to *Sport* in my collection which refer to cricket, football and boating amongst other sports. As with the category of *Past Pupils*, these specific songs are commonly from institutions where there is a collection of songs. Through the shared musical experience of communal singing, the song becomes a team bonding and building exercise as discussed previously (6.2.1.5). The underlying principles of sporting activities such as teamwork, fairness and perseverance often form part of a school's moral ethics and through these songs, as with songs with military themed codes, the school can instil these ethics into the pupils. The most common words from songs coded with sport may be seen in Figure 80



Figure 80. Word cloud for songs with the parent code of Sport

The songs coded with *Sport* appear mainly the collections of Bedford School, Harrow, Sedbergh, Sherborne and Uppingham where school songs are an important part of school sports fixtures both home and away. Harrow has the most songs with this code (13) whilst Sedbergh and Sherborne have 6 songs each. *Giants* (Harrow 2018) from Harrow School discussed previously mention several sports including rugby and cricket. A comparison of the song text and the modified version used by Roedean School may be found below in Table 27.

Table 27. Comparison of Harrow and Roedean 'Giants' lyrics

Giants	
Harrow	Roedean
There were wonderful giants of old, [...], There were wonderful giants of old ; They grew more mightily, all of a row, Than ever was heard or told ; All of them stood their six feet four, And they threw to a hundred yards or more, And never were lame, or stiff, or sore ; And we, compared with the days of yore, Are cast in a pigmy mould. For all of we, Whoever we be, Come short of the giants of old, you see.	They say, who were here long years ago, In those wonderful days of old; That life was loftier, time less slow, Than now can be seen or told All of them were Tall and slim, And fleeter of foot and stronger of limb, Glorious afield, and bold to swim! But we compared to those figures dim, Are cast in a pigmy mould. For all of we, Whoever we be, Come short of those heroines of old, you see!

In Ewart's anthology (1969), the lyrics of Roedean's second verse are less altered. verse three is omitted from the Roedean version and verse 4 has altered lyrics which again incorporate a reference to the intellectual abilities of the Roedean pupils where the author questions if they are 'Feebler in body and brain' than the aforementioned 'Heroines of Old'.[156]

[156] A similar reference to the intellectual capabilities of pupils is made in the school song of Roedean as discussed in 3.5 and both are considered in relation to subquestion 3 in the conclusions chapter 7.1.1.3.

Sport songs often include references to the local landscape through comments on where the sports are played and as such, it is common for them to contain the coding of *Regional Pride* as may be seen in the Figure 81 below.

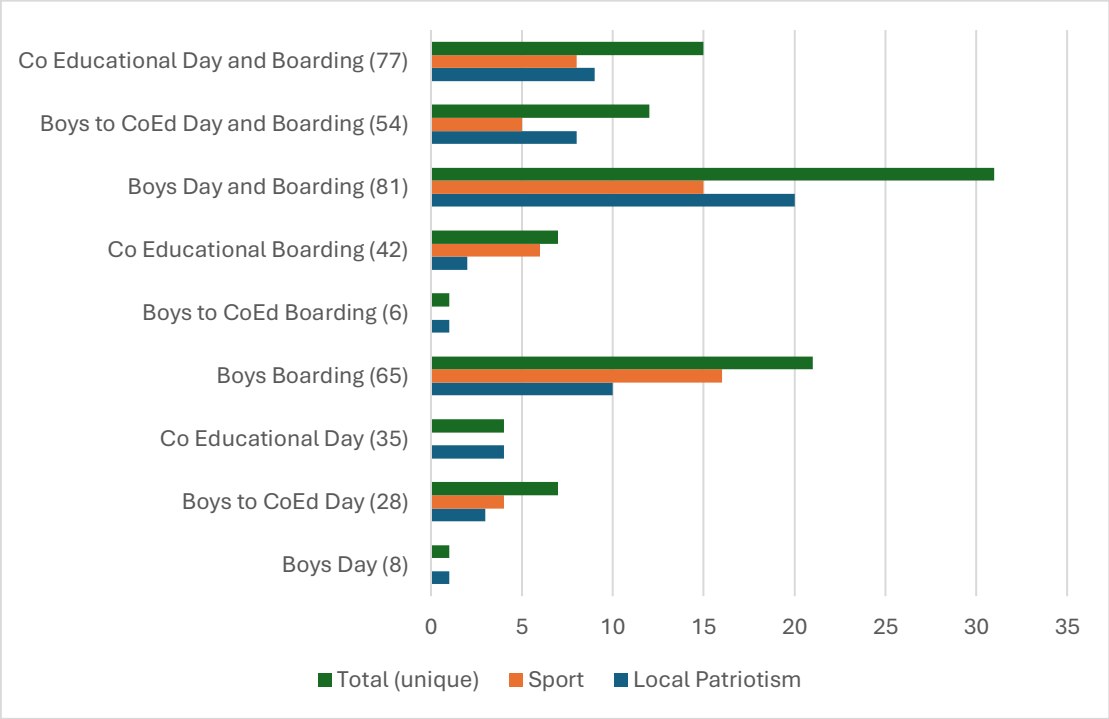


Figure 81. Cross tabulation of songs coded with Sport and Local Patriotism with school gender profile and boarding status

Here, boys' day and boarding schools have the most unique songs which include both *Sport* and *Regional Pride* coding and boys' boarding schools have the second highest number of unique songs with these categories. It is interesting to note that the boys' boarding has a slightly higher number of sporting references whilst the day and boarding has considerably more references to Local Patriotism. This may reflect the observation made in 6.2.2.2 where Day and Boarding schools use songs to create a cohesive sense of community between day and boarding pupils. This would be especially important to a successful sport team made of pupils from both demographics where the spaces for building social bonds may differ.

East is East (Harrow, 2018: 116) describes the hill on which Harrow School is located. It also describes the sports which take place on each side of the hill, illustrating the link

between sport and the local area. the song references each of the cardinal directions in relation to the seasons as may be seen in verse 2 which says 'West, as a side, lacks a bit in variety, Cricket, all cricket, from May to July: East never gives you the sense of safety: Change follows change as the months travel by. West, Tis said oft, Makes a boy soft: East makes him tough and courageous and spry.' The associated personal qualities of each sport at the time of composition are also clearly presented in this song with cricket seen as making pupils "soft" whilst east, where rugby is undertaken is attributed more positive attributes of courage and toughness.

6.2.2.7 Founders

Figure 82 shows the 50 most common words from those songs which were coded with *Founders*.



Figure 82. Word cloud from songs coded with Founders

Here, the word founder appears frequently, as would be expected, but of equal note are the words *sing, hearts, day* and *may*. The word is often used in an aspirational manner to positively support a community member who, over the course of the song, is

encouraged to work towards a core school value. There are a significant number of religious words within the word cloud, in both English and Latin. This reflects the Christian foundations of many of the English UK independent schools, as discussed in the *Hymn* category and again illustrates the multi thematic identity of independent school songs.

Within the corpus, there were 17 references explicitly mentioning school founders in songs. Eton has a specific *Hymn for Founder's Day* (Ainger, 1892) which begins 'Praise the Lord! Today we sing Birthday of our founder King!'. Similarly, *Floreat Dilecta Schola* (Barrow, 1886) of Portsmouth Grammar School likens their founder to a ship's captain and the school as a ship, an appropriate image for Portsmouth, saying 'To the mem'ry of our Founder, Who has launched, nor launched in vain, The ship in which we learn to sail O'er life's wide stretching main.' Subsequently, the song personifies the school as a ship using feminine pronouns, with phrases such as 'Floreat! Yea may she flourish as the years go rolling on, Floreat! And may her motto e'er be with us every one.'[157] the school motto is *Praemia Virtuis Honores* which translates as 'Honors are the rewards of virtue'. The text of the song may therefore be seen to foreground and reinforce the ideas of the founder, the school, its pupils being virtuous, and those virtues being rewarded.

A.W. Ogilvy, Director of Music at Sedbergh School took a different approach in the lyrics of *Winder* (Ainslie, 1886) by placing the founders of the school second to the importance of the landscape upon which the school stands. The song states:

> *For it isn't our ancient lineage - There are others as old as we; And it isn't our pious founders, Though we honour their memory; 'Tis the hills that have stood around us, Unchanged since our days began; It is Cautley, Calf and Winder, That make the Sedbergh man.*

Ogilvy's text attempts to extend the 'lineage', and arguably the validity of the academic identity of the school, back further than its 1525 foundation to predate competitor schools such as Eton (1440). Sedbergh is however older than Radley College (1847) and

[157] The attribution of feminine pronouns is also discussed in the interview with Mr Jonathan Kingston, Head of Vocal Studies at Stowe School 11.3.

Harrow (1575) and so this seems an unusual and arguably unnecessary direction for the lyricist to take. It does however illustrate the notions of lineage, tradition and connections to the past and how these are key facets of identity encoded within and developed through independent school songs. We see the school being described as 'Old as the hills', a sentence which, in conjunction with other references to the landscape, may also be ascribed to the category of *Regional Pride*.

As discussed previously (1.1.6), many independent senior schools were founded on Christian religious principles or by important religious figures such as Archbishops or, in some cases, Monarchs. It is therefore appropriate to find the frequent inclusion of religious words in the songs of such schools. Of those songs coded with the category of Founders, 4 had an unassigned composition date and an unassigned religous profile, 10 had an unasigned composition date but had a religious profile belonging to the Church of England. Two schools have an unassigned composition date and reported belonging to the Church of Scotland and 1 had an unassigned composition date with a religious profile of Christian.

The inability to accurately date these songs composition prevents the exploration through cross tabulation of any trends between compositional date and religious demographic. The songs coded within the *Founders* category and the religious demographic of the school do however show that the association of a schools founder to a particular religious foundation is maintained and promoted through the performance of the school song.

6.2.2.8 General Moral Uplift

Within the collection of songs, *General Moral Uplift* held the least number of coding references with 5 songs. The concept of general moral uplift is perhaps the most difficult to define and Ewart (1969) simply lists the definition as 'Be good.' Because of this somewhat limited description and the potential for it to encompass several other more clearly defined categories, *General Moral Uplift* should be considered as an *intersectional* category as will be shown. In Figure 83, those songs coded with *General*

Moral Uplift have been cross tabulated using the school location and operational status.

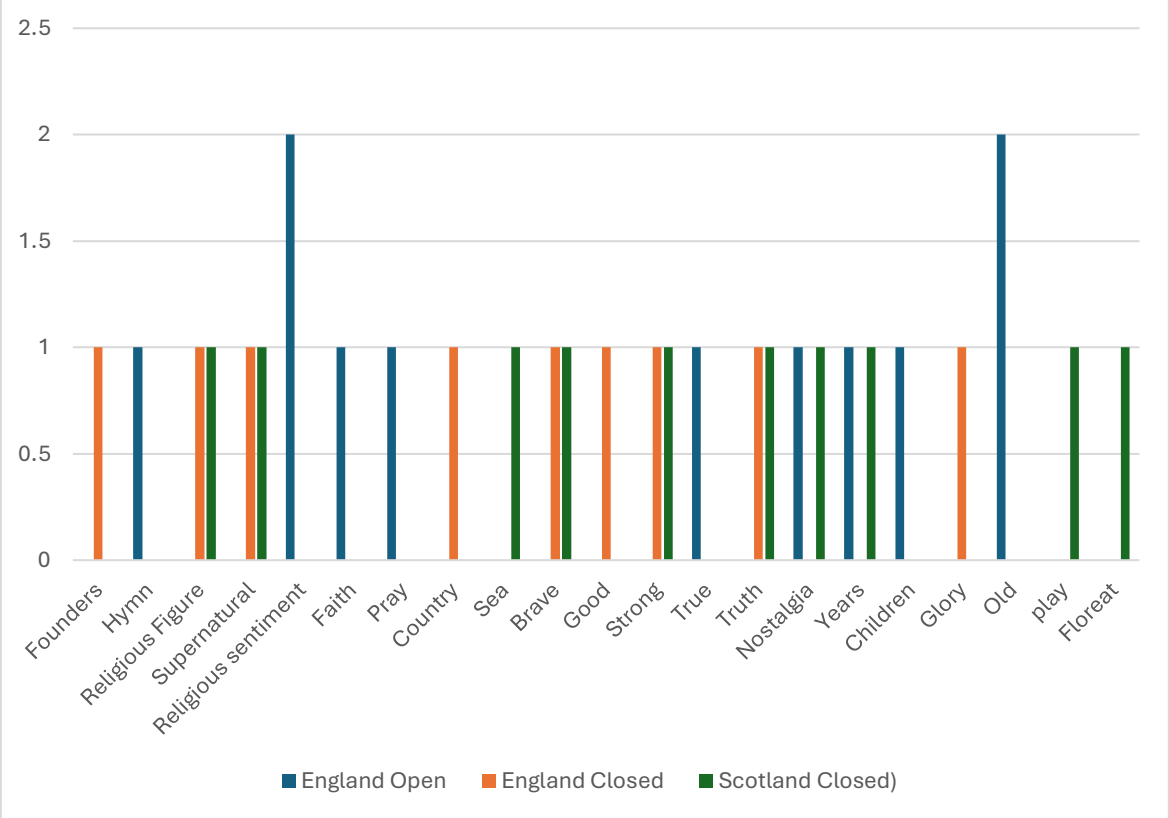


Figure 83. Cross tabulation of school operational status with songs coded with General Moral Uplift

In English Schools which are still operational, songs in the category of *General Moral Uplift* intersect with codes such as *Hymn* and its secondary codes, and *Nostalgia* and its secondary codes. *General Moral Uplift* coded songs from English schools which are closed contain additional codes to *Founders* and secondary codes of *Local Patriotism* such as *Country, Brave, Good, Strong* and *Glory.* Similar intersections occur in Scottish independent school songs from non-operational schools. It may therefore be seen that a demographic commonality amongst *General Moral Uplift* songs is that many are from schools which are no longer operational.

Those schools which are still operational have songs which contain codes relating to religion as well as that of *General Moral Uplift*. Drawing upon findings from earlier discussions in this chapter (6.2.2.1 and 6.2.2.7) this suggests that these may be well established schools with a historical reputation and financial security that enables them to maintain pupil numbers and remain operational. Schools such as Harrow, Sherbourne and Uppingham, who have well established historic singing traditions and collections of songs, can draw upon these songs and their performance practice as a key aspect of identity for their school as discussed previously (4.2.5).

As noted previously (1.1.6) Ewart (1969) did not provide detailed descriptors for his categories or which songs he placed in each category. It may therefore be appropriate for songs to receive a more distinct and definable categorisation. It should therefore be considered whether this specific category is suitable for inclusion in future research projects in this field, or whether it should be subsumed into another category such as *Morals and Morale Boosting* which contains 473 aggregated coding references (see section 9).

6.2.3 Survey Findings

6.2.3.1 The Importance of Surveys in Exploring SQ 1, 2 And 4

The Etymophonological nature of my research required the collection of quantitative and qualitative data as discussed in the methodology chapter 2.4. It was therefore necessary to create and distribute surveys and undertake interviews to explore and establish aspects of my primary research question and my subquestions. The qualitative data provided by these surveys and interviews enabled me to examine the meaning attributed to songs in my collection. It also supported an exploration on whether a song's meaning had changed over time and illustrated how school songs are currently preserved. Collecting responses from pupils and staff from a small group of independent schools regarding aspects of my sub questions, assisted in establishing a synchronic and ethnographically subjective understanding of the importance of these specific songs. The data showed that for these schools, pupils believed the song *was* an

important part of their school community and school identity. Detailed findings from these surveys will be presented fully within this chapter.

The use of surveys supported my ability to research outside of the historical and diachronic dialogue provided in the written accounts of directors of music as mentioned in my literature review 1.1.6. Those views and understandings may be considered biased due to the authors privileged positionalities and those historical accounts would not reflect the pedagogical and ethnographic changes which have occurred within independent school education over the last 150 years. The survey and interview data therefore enabled me to undertake a synchronic analysis of the school songs of participants.

6.2.3.2 Coding

Each of the three surveys was coded in NVivo to facilitate an exploration of themes which related to my research question and subquestions, in particular subquestions 1, 2 and 4; subquestion 3 being addressed within the context of the Stowe case study. The coding was then reduced to its primary coding areas which may be seen to reflect the three levels of National, Institutional and Personal interactions with the song as discussed previously and shown in Figure 84. The codes identified within these surveys and interviews may be seen in the coding chart in section 9 but are illustrated in Figure 84.

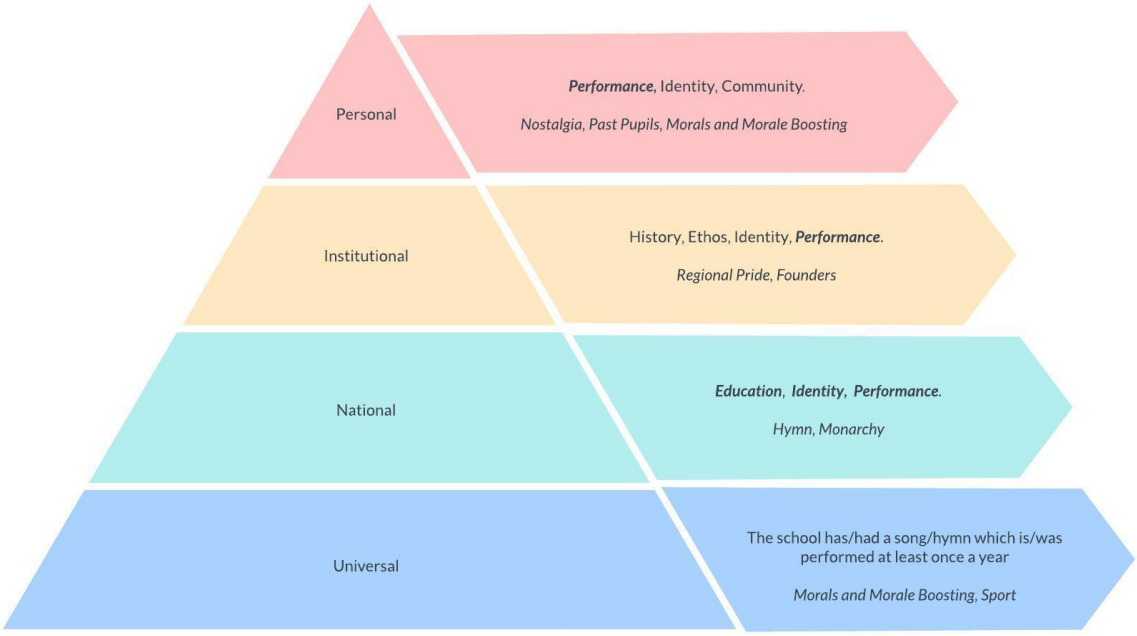


Figure 84. Axial Coding Pyramid diagram with primary coding areas

Here, the code in bold italics directly links to a sub question, and it is evident that ***performance*** is an essential aspect of all the levels displayed in the diagram. This speaks to the importance of the performance of the school song in facilitating the creation of identity through shared musical experience. [158] The categories of school song type are shown next to each of the levels, whilst the three areas of personal, institutional and national interaction with a song may be seen to be fully represented within the Etymophonological Framework. In that diagram the fields of *Ethnographic Intersubjectivity* explores the national and institutional aspects of the axial coding pyramid whilst the field of Interpretant Subjectivity relates to the Personal aspect. The *Etymophonological Framework* however supports the examination of the relationships between these fields through an historical and present-day lens and does not see them as distinct areas but layers of understanding.

[158] This will be presented later in this chapter and was previously shown in the Harrow Case study 4.2.7.1 and Stowe Case Study 5.4.2

The pupil responses to the independent school survey represent the following school profiles.

Table 28. Profile of schools represented in the pupil survey

School	Location	Boarding Status	Gender Profile	School Size	Responses
PSS1	Scotland	Boarding and Day	Co-Educational	500	2
PSS2	England	Boarding	Girls School	600	1
PSS3	England	Boarding and Day	Boys School (Mixed 6th)	800	3
PSS4	England	Boarding and Day	Co-Educational	700	22
PSS5	England	Day School	Co-Educational	1300	43

These responses, from a diverse range of schools, provide data which represent several of the typical independent school profiles found within the UK. These school types were previously identified as independent variables in the multiple linear regression framework diagram (Figure 19) and shall now be discussed.

6.2.4 Survey Of Pupils from Responding Schools

As may be seen in Table 28, pupil responses to this survey came from a broad profile of schools, including differences in size, gender profile and boarding profile. It is acknowledged that there is no response from pupils to represent a Welsh school within this sample. However, as discussed in 1.2, independent education in Wales is subject to several additional historical, political and linguistic factors that require that section of the corpus to be considered separately, which is beyond the remit of this research.

The percentage representation of each school in the total number of survey respondents is as follows.

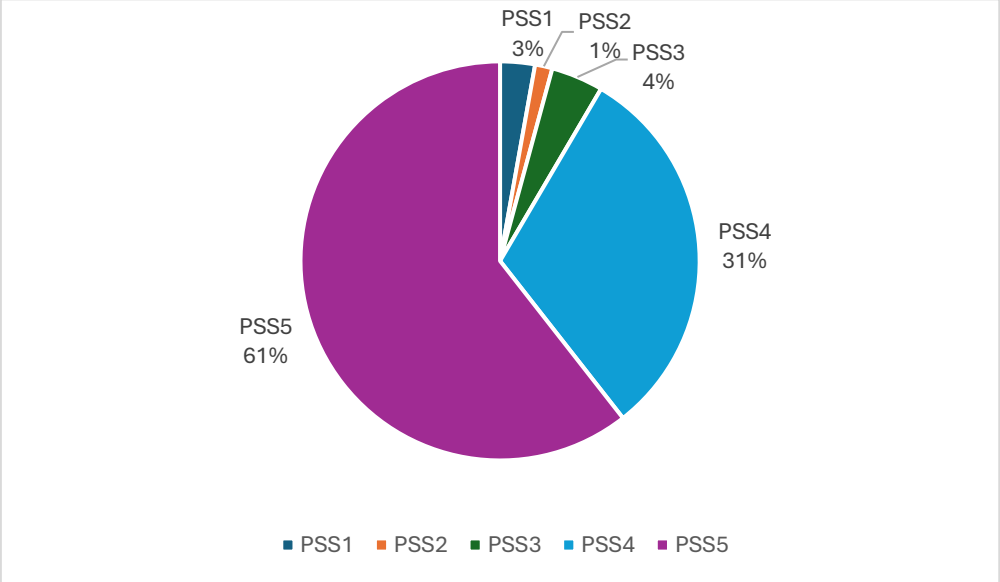


Figure 85. Percentage of pupil survey respondents from each school

PSS4 and PSS5 had significantly more representation within the survey, however, they were amongst the largest of the responding schools. When the number of respondents is considered against the full school cohort size, PSS1, PSS2 and PSS3 respondents represent <1% of the school whilst PSS4 and PSS5 represent 3% of the school cohort. The questions asked in the survey may be found in 10.1.

The gender profile of the respondents may be seen in Figure 86. This shows the survey had approximately 10% more female identifying respondents than male.

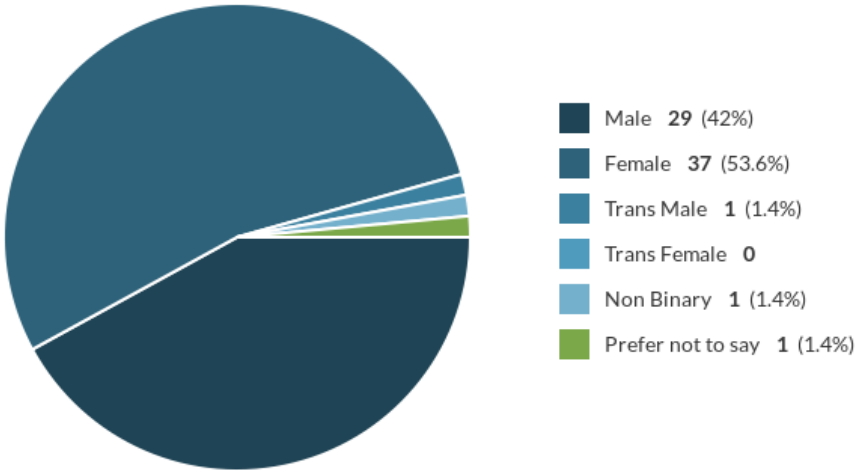


Figure 86. Gender profile of respondents to pupil survey

The following themes for discussion were chosen to represent fields within the Etymophonological framework to provide insight into those fields and provide a detailed analysis of the communal and individual responses to the song. Their correlation to the Etymophonological fields are shown in the table below.

Table 29 School survey question theme and related Etymophonological field

Survey Question Theme	Etymophonological Field
Enjoyment of song performance	• Interpretant/Intersubjectivity • Etymophony
Regularity of performance	• Object • Sign
Performance from memory	• Syntax [159] • Interpretant/Intersubjectivity
Perception of song theme	• Connotation • Denotation

[159] This should be considered as including the fields of Etymophony and both synchronic and diachronic perspectives as previously mentioned in 0.

	• Interpretant/Intersubjectivity
Knowledge of other school songs	Interpretant/Intersubjectivity
Performance venue	Paramusical Evidence
Importance to school identity	Ethnographic Intersubjectivity
Importance to school community	• Interpretant/Intersubjectivity • Ethnographic Intersubjectivity

6.2.4.1 Enjoyment of song

Q9.1, explored pupils' level of enjoyment in singing their school song and the reasons behind their enjoyment or lack thereof. The results were as follows

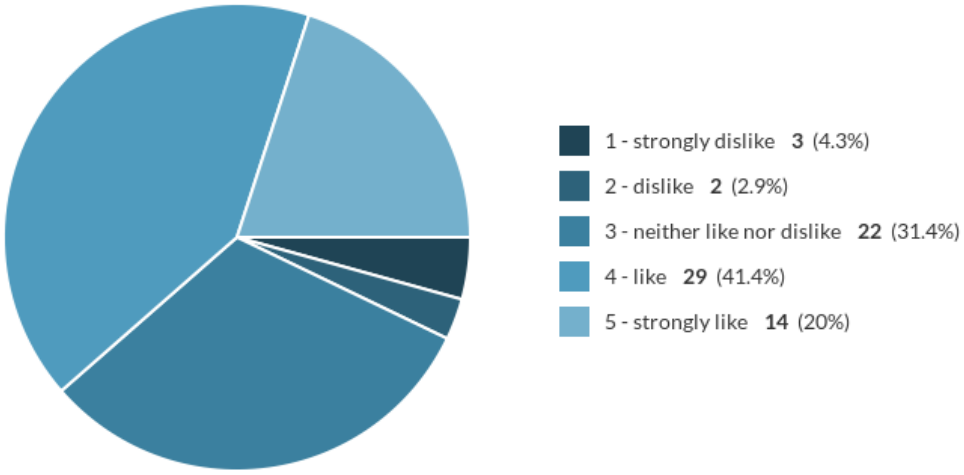


Figure 87. Pupil survey respondents' enjoyment of school song singing

61% of respondents recorded they either 'liked' or 'strongly liked' singing their school song. 7% 'disliked' or 'strongly disliked' singing the song and 31% neither liked nor disliked their school song. The gender profile of these responses is shown in Table 30.

Table 30. Pupil survey gender profile of responses to Q9.1

What is your gender identity?	Enjoyment in singing School Song					No answer	Totals
	1 - strongly dislike	2 - dislike	3 - neither like nor dislike	4 - like	5 - strongly like		
Male	2.82%	0.00%	9.86%	16.90%	11.27%	0.00%	40.85%
Female	1.41%	1.41%	18.31%	22.54%	8.45%	0.00%	52.11%
Trans Male	0.00%	0.00%	1.41%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.41%
Trans Female	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Non Binary	0.00%	0.00%	1.41%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.41%
Prefer not to say	0.00%	1.41%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.41%
No answer	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.41%	0.00%	1.41%	2.82%
Totals	**4.23%**	**2.82%**	**30.99%**	**40.85%**	**19.72%**	**1.41%**	**100.00%**

Twice the number of male respondents recorded strongly disliking singing their school song when compared to female respondents, despite there being 10% fewer male respondents across the survey. A female respondent (aged 16) from PSS5 recorded her reason for strongly disliking singing the song as *'It's in Latin and it's boring'* whilst two male respondents reported strongly disliking singing the song because *'I don't like singing'* and *'Don't like it'*. Both male respondents were 15 years old and from PSS5 where 40% of respondents were male.

There is a similar disparity between the gender of respondents reporting to 'neither like nor dislike' singing the school song although for this response there are twice as many females to males.

22 pupils in total provided this response (approximately 30%) consisting of 13 female pupils and 9 male pupils. These responses were provided by pupils from PSS3, PSS4 and PSS5. 3 pupils provided free text answers stating that they 'don't like singing' and a 13-year-old male pupil from PSS4 reported that *'It's annoying to have to sing a song at 8am every morning'*. Two pupils from PSS5 provided answers commenting on singing with others, the first said *'I have no strong feelings either way, it can be enjoyable when sung as a whole school, but I would not consider it hugely important to me'* whilst the second said *'I feel awkward singing it but it can be enjoyable to sing it with friends'*.

For those respondents who reported positively about singing the school Song, 12 male and 16 female pupils 'liked' singing it whilst 8 male and 6 female pupils 'strongly liked' singing it. One male pupil (17) from PSS4 commented that *'It provides a lift in the morning if I am feeling down'* whilst another male pupil (13) also from PSS4 said 'I really liked the atmosphere of the night' suggesting they had experienced the song being performed at different occasion to the previous pupil. The 'atmosphere' was also referenced by a male pupil (17) from PSS4 who also 'strongly liked' singing the school song.

PSS5, the largest school cohort represented in this survey, has a song which is in Latin with a verse/chorus structure. Of the 5 pupil respondents from PS55 (1 female and 4 male) who recorded they 'strongly liked' the song, the female pupil commented *'I think that at the end of an hour assembly, it's nice to sing a funky Latin song'* whilst one male pupil responded, *'It is quite patriotic in some ways'* and another wrote *'It is tradition'*. There are 10 free text responses which reference Latin from this school with some pointing to negative as well as positive perceptions of the choice of language.

One pupil commented that, *'We don't all study Latin'* whilst another states *'All the words are in Latin, so I don't even know what it means'*. This illustrates a barrier to pupils identifying with the song and, by extension, the identity created by the song but not necessarily a barrier to identity formation through the collective act. The two opposing views on the use of language, when examined against the recorded enjoyment of singing the song, shows that the ethnographic and *Interpretant Intersubjectivity* regarding syntax can be different within the same community. The observation from students regarding the study of Latin also highlights that the synchronic perspective of the syntax is different to the diachronic perspective, in part due to the change in curriculum from the song's composition date. Equally, it should be considered that the use of Latin provides a historicising element to the song which connotes academic excellence and privilege as discussed previously in 6.2.1.3.

One line in the song is mentioned 4 times in the free text response area, by 3 male respondents and 1 female respondent from PSS5. One pupil comment said *'There's a part of the song [redacted] which everyone shouts when we sing it and it brings a sense*

of humour and togetherness between students'. The significance of this line being shouted assists in providing a moment of unity and understanding of performance practice for the school community in a song which may not be understood fully by all. Six respondents mention the language of this particular line explicitly in their free text answer whilst eight pupils mention that the line is shouted as part of the song's performance practice. There is no marking on the score of the song to suggest this line was originally intended to be shouted and so it may be seen to be a community specific performance practice which has developed over time.[160] This should be recognised as a specific ethnographic aspect of both the *Sign* and the *Etymophony* of the song which has had a positive influence on some pupil's interaction with the song.

6.2.4.2 How often it is performed

When asked how often the school song was performed the survey responses to the school's survey were as follows

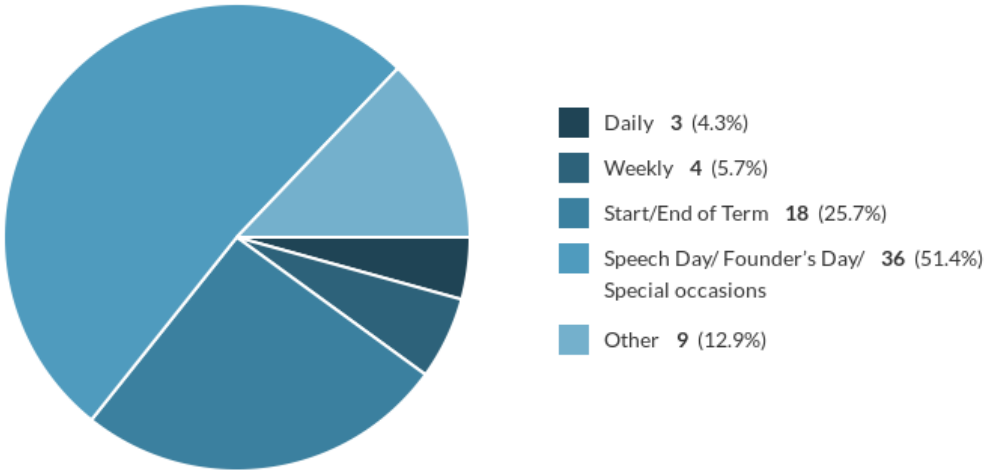


Figure 88. Pupil survey data on regularity of school song performance

From the data provided, it may be seen that school songs are commonly performed at the start or end of term, or on special occasions. This is in keeping with the independent

[160] A similar phenomenon is discussed further in the Harrow Case Study (4.2.5).

schools where I have worked. The pupils who responded that the song is performed daily were from PSS4 and one pupil's reason for liking singing the song was that *'I believe it is a vital part of the community as well as an opportunity to just sing'*. However, these responses may not be accurate as other responders from PSS4 recorded the song as being sung daily, weekly, start/end of term and on special occasions as well as 'other'. It is possible that the school song is sung at all these occasions but the perception by the pupils is different depending on age and knowledge of the school year.

When the data on enjoyment of singing the school song and the regularity with which the song is performed are cross tabulated, it appears that those songs performed less frequently are enjoyed more by the pupils. This may be seen in Table 31 where 76% of responses (54 pupils) recorded that their school song was performed at the start or end of term or on a special occasion. Of these responses, 48% either 'liked' or 'strongly liked' singing their school song. It is possible that the performance of the school song on less frequent occasions has a role within pupil's enjoyment of performing the song. One female (15) respondent from PSS5, recorded that *'It's fun because it shows a special occasion like the end of term for Christmas'*. Another 15-year-old female from PSS5 wrote *'Everyone knows it and we mainly only do it on the last day so it's sort of a celebration'* which is commentary on the collective performance of the song and its performance practice.

Table 31. Cross tabulation of performance enjoyment and frequency of performance responses from pupil survey

Enjoyment in singing School Song	How often do you sing your school song?					No answer	Totals
	Daily	Weekly	Start/End of Term	Speech Day/ Founder's Day/ Special occasions	Other		
1 - strongly dislike	0.00%	0.00%	1.41%	2.82%	0.00%	0.00%	4.23%
2 - dislike	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.41%	1.41%	0.00%	2.82%
3 - neither like nor dislike	2.82%	1.41%	5.63%	16.90%	4.23%	0.00%	30.99%
4 - like	1.41%	2.82%	16.90%	18.31%	1.41%	0.00%	40.85%
5 - strongly like	0.00%	1.41%	1.41%	11.27%	5.63%	0.00%	19.72%
No answer	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.41%	1.41%
Totals	**4.23%**	**5.63%**	**25.35%**	**50.70%**	**12.68%**	**1.41%**	**100.00%**

6.2.4.3 Performance from Memory

A person's ability to perform a song from memory demonstrates a significant relationship with the song. This may not necessarily signify a positive attitude towards the song but it does demonstrate a perception of the songs importance.[161] Understanding this importance is integral to exploring the Etymophonological field of *Individual Subjectivity* and to answering the primary research question. When asked if they were able to perform their school song from memory, 21% (15 pupils) said they were able to do so. Those who responded showed the following profiles as shown in Figure 89.

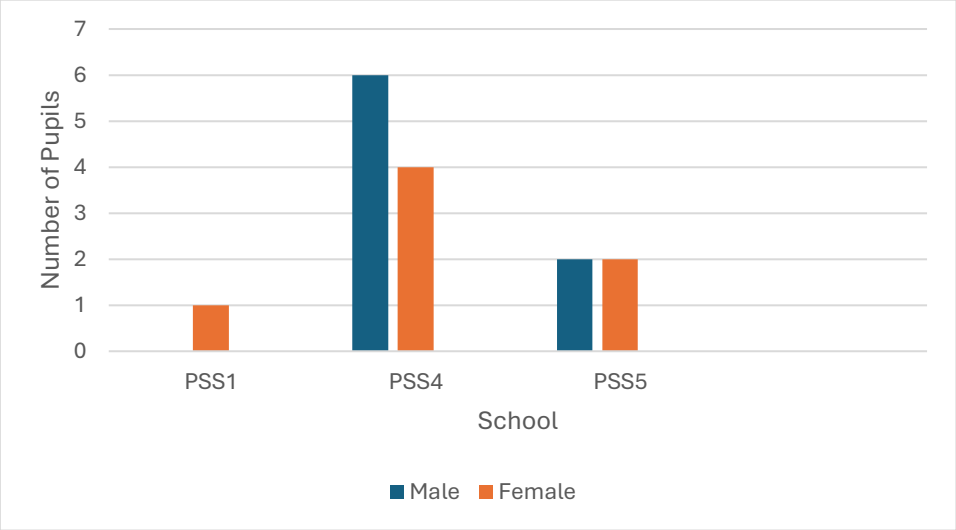


Figure 89. Pupil survey data on respondents ability to perform their school song from memory

The age of the respondents showed 7 pupils were aged 13-15 and 8 were aged 16-18 which may divide the pupils across KS3/4 and KS5. This suggests that the time spent in a school does not necessarily equate to a pupil being able to perform the song from memory. However, 35 of the respondents who recorded they were not able to perform the song from memory were 15 years old or younger and 20 pupils were over 16. It must be noted that the survey did not ask how long the respondent had been attending the school. It cannot therefore be known how many of the respondents aged 16+ joined the

[161] An example of this may be seen in the performance practice of 40 Years On at Harrow where all students present close their books loudly before singing. This is discussed in 4.2.7.1.

school for 6th and, as such, had experienced a more limited exposure to the song than their age may imply.

The cross tabulation of respondent's ability to perform the song from memory against how often the song is performed, shown in Table 32, does not suggest a relationship between the two components. This finding may however be unreliable as the length of time a pupil has been in the school is not known and the numbers are small.

Table 32. Pupil survey cross tabulation of Q12 and Q14

Are you able to sing your school song from memory?	How often do you sing your school song?					No answer	Totals
	Daily	Weekly	Start/End of Term	Speech Day/ Founder's Day/ Special occasions	Other		
Yes	2	1	2	6	4	0	15
No	1	3	16	30	5	0	55
No answer	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Totals	**3**	**4**	**18**	**36**	**9**	**1**	**71**

6.2.4.4 Pupil's Perception of the song Category

Respondents were presented with a list of song categories, using my revised categories and were asked to select which category they felt best described their school song. This was a multiple-choice answer, the results of which were

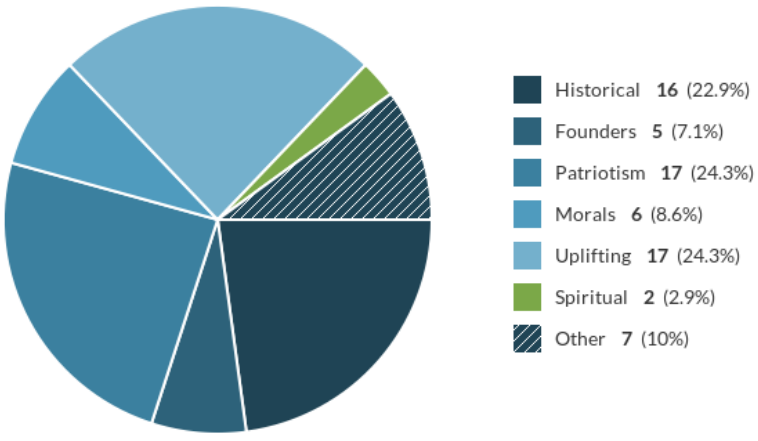


Figure 90. Pupil survey data on school song categories

Here, the most frequently chosen categories were 'Uplifting', 'Patriotism' and 'Historical'. Of the seven respondents who chose 'Other', 5 of the 6 who left a free text response were from PSS5 and stated they did not know what the song was about because it was in Latin. 14 of the 16 who selected 'Historical' were from PSS5 and it is possible that the song is not about a historical aspect of the school, only that it is in Latin which pupils perceive as being tied to the song having historical meaning. 10 pupils from PSS5 chose 'Patriotism' as their principal category as did 6 from PSS4 and 1 from PSS1.

Those who chose 'Uplifting' were predominantly from PSS4 (10 of 17) whilst five were from PSS5, one from PSS1 and one from PSS2. The choice of 'Uplifting' from pupils of PSS5 may be because of the frequently mentioned shouting performance practice which pupils clearly enjoy. Additionally this may be a reflection upon the sense of community which is constructed from this performance practice but without further commentary from individual free text responses it is not possible to know explicitly how the respondent interpreted the category. The two respondents who selected 'Spiritual' were older male pupils from PSS4 and the song from this school is a hymn. It is surprising that more respondents did not choose 'Spiritual' for their answer as the school songs of PSS1, PSS2, PSS3, and PSS4 are all hymns however it may be that they did not fully understand the term. It may be that respondents chose another category for reasons which have not been expanded upon, or that respondents do not equate the 'Spiritual' category with hymns.

These survey findings suggest that both the syntax and the semiotics of a school song are subject to change over time.[162] The connotation of textual semiosis should therefore be viewed synchronically. This approach is crucial because it recognises changes to both the academic curriculum and the variable features of the school such as gender profile and religious profile when considering if the role of the song has changed, as per subquestion 1. These results also suggest that paramusical indexical elements have a positive role in shaping an individual's enjoyment of singing the song but are less

[162] The term syntax here should be understood within an Etymophonological context, discussing the relationship aspects of the *Sign* (the music of the song) and the *Object* (the song's text) as discussed in 0.

evident in views regarding communal importance or a positive ethnographic intersubjective response

6.2.4.5 Knowledge of Other School songs

In the survey of independent school pupils, 97% of respondents did not know any songs from other independent schools and only 7% of respondents said they knew who wrote their current school song. The one respondent who was able to name a song, named that of a prep school which was presumably their previous school. This respondent, whilst not able to sing the song from memory or have knowledge of who wrote the song (presumably due to being in the lower years in the school) recorded that they liked singing their current school song and it made them proud to be a member of that school. They recorded that it was important to the school's identity because *'It puts it aside from other schools'* and that it was important to the school community because *'it unifies the pupils and staff'*. It may be seen therefore that regular performance of the school song normalises the practice and becomes a unifying element for the community through collective involvement in that practise.

Of the 19% (37 responders) of Stoics who answered yes to this question in the Stowe survey, thirty offered free text examples of the song they knew. Ten responses were submitted from staff members with the songs referenced being, in most cases, from schools they had previously worked at. Of the responses from pupils, six pupils named the song of a known feeder prep school to Stowe, four referenced *40 Years On* from Harrow (2018: 6) and the remaining respondents referenced different independent schools. These data suggest that prep school songs may also have an important role to play in creating identity through shared musical experience and shaping attitudes towards music. However this is not an area which has been researched through the field of school songs and so is beyond the scope of this thesis, as previously identified in the methodology chapter 2.2.1.

6.2.4.6 Where It Is performed

When asked where their school song was performed, the most common venue was that of the school Chapel. However, a similar percentage stated 'other on-site location' such as a marquee or Assembly Hall as shown in Figure 91.

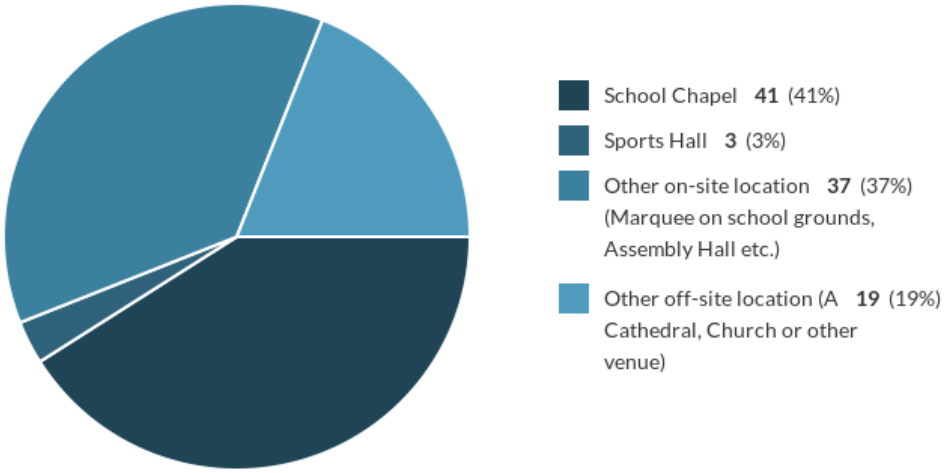


Figure 91. Pupil survey data on location of school song performances

The inclusion of such a significant percentage of responders stating an off-site location for the performance may be attributed to the school site not having a venue of sufficient size to house the entire school within health and safety boundaries. Indeed, as several larger independent schools have either moved to or are in the process of moving towards an integrated timetable model to maximise use of classroom space for growing year group sizes, this may become a more frequently common response over time.[163] This phenomenon may be seen in the Churchill songs evening at Harrow where the pupil numbers have grown from 500 in the 1870s to 800 pupils today. Whilst these pupils can still be accommodated in the Speech room at Harrow, for performances and

[163] An integrated timetable is one where co-curricular activities which usually occur after the academic day ends are instead integrated into the academic timetable. Through removing a year group at a time from the academic area this timetable format creates room availability which relieves some rooming requirements for core subjects.

occasions which include parents and other visitors a larger venue such as the Royal Albert Hall is used as discussed in 4.2.5.2.

Table 33. Cross tabulation of pupil survey data on venue and frequency of performance

Where is your school song performed? Please tick all that apply	How often do you sing your school song?					No answer	Totals
	Daily	Weekly	Start/End of Term	Speech Day/ Founder's Day/ Special occasions	Other		
School Chapel	3	4	10	15	9	0	41
Sports Hall	0	0	2	1	0	0	3
Other on-site location (Marquee on school grounds, Assembly Hall etc.)	0	0	11	25	1	0	37
Other off-site location (A Cathedral, Church or other venue)	0	0	3	16	0	0	19
No answer	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Totals	**3**	**4**	**26**	**57**	**10**	**1**	**101**

As may be seen in Table 33, those respondents who recorded performing the song daily or weekly stated the school song is performed in the school Chapel. It is expected that for a school to do this there would need to be a venue large enough to hold the regular performance as is shown in Table 33. Those performances which occur less frequently are also those within this survey that take place in other on-site locations or off-site locations, and this may be seen to add to the sense of occasion of the performance as shall now be discussed.

The results of the songs performance location, when cross tabulated with pupil's enjoyment in singing the school Song, are as follows.

Table 34. Pupil survey cross tabulation of Q9.1 and Q13

Where is your school song performed? Please tick all that apply	Enjoyment in singing School Song					No answer	Totals
	1 - strongly dislike	2 - dislike	3 - neither like nor dislike	4 - like	5 - strongly like		
School Chapel	2	2	10	16	11	0	41
Sports Hall	1	0	0	1	1	0	3
Other on-site location (Marquee on school grounds, Assembly Hall etc.)	1	1	15	17	3	0	37
Other off-site location (A Cathedral, Church or other venue)	0	1	7	6	5	0	19
No answer	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Totals	**4**	**4**	**32**	**40**	**20**	**1**	**101**

Question	Response count
9.1	70
13	70

Here, 66% of respondents who recorded a school chapel as a location either *liked* or *strongly liked* singing the school song. A similar percentage was recorded for those who performed in a Sports Hall. However, this answer was recorded for only three respondents and may therefore not be fully representative. For those who performed in another *on-site location*, 54% *liked* or *strongly liked* performing their song. However, 41% *neither liked nor disliked* singing their school song. 58% of pupils who sang their song in an off-site location liked or strongly liked singing their song, with 37% neither liking nor disliking singing the song. It is possible that the paramusical evidence provided by the school Chapel or other off-site location, combined with the frequency of performance, supports and facilitates the enjoyment of singing the song through the geographical connotation of the venue.

6.2.4.7 Importance to school identity

Question 10 asked respondents to comment on whether they felt the school song was an important part of the school's identity and the results were as follows.

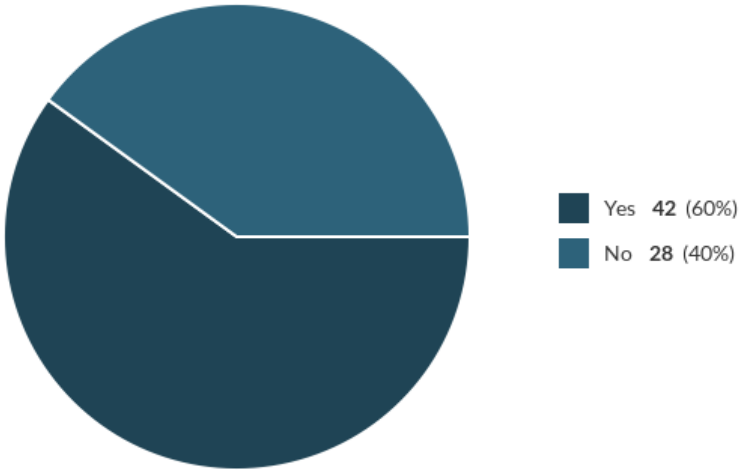


Figure 92. Pupil survey data on the song as an important part of the school's identity

Respondents largely responded that the song was an important part of their school's identity. The understanding of what *Identity* means will vary from pupil to pupil as discussed in 1.2.2. However, within an Etymophonological analysis, these results suggest that for the school's in this survey the *Ethnographic Intersubjectivity* regarding the school song is a positive one.

These positive results occurred over a gender profile which showed no significant division between those who attended a single-sex or coeducational school. The results were as follows

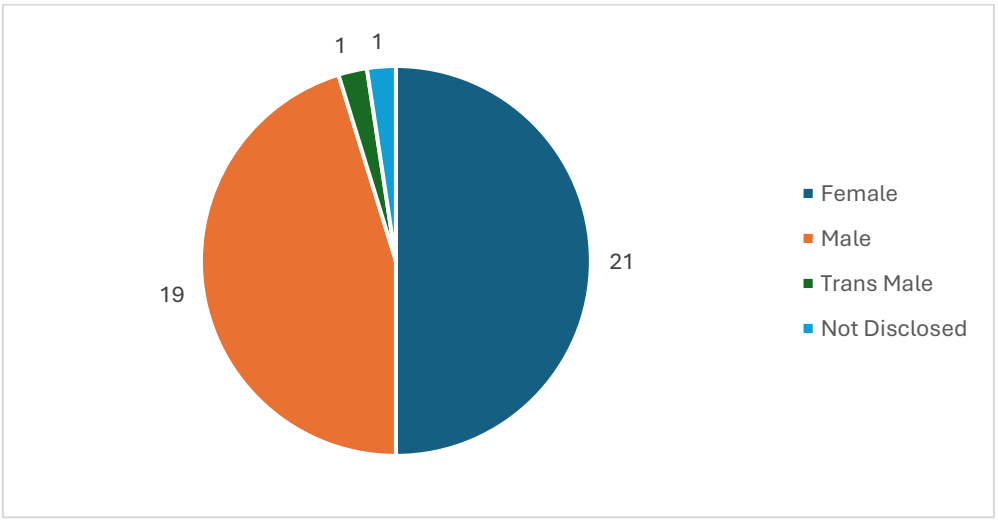


Figure 93. Pupil survey data on the gender profile of pupils who responded 'Yes' to Q10

In Figure 93 we see an almost even split of male and female respondents. Of those pupils who answered that the song was not important to the school's identity, 57% were female and 43% were male. When Q9.1 and Q10 are cross tabulated, the following data is shown.

Table 35. Cross tabulation of Q9.1 and Q10 in pupil survey

Do you feel the school song is an important part of your school's identity?	Enjoyment in singing School Song					No answer	Totals
	1 - strongly dislike	2 - dislike	3 - neither like nor dislike	4 - like	5 - strongly like		
Yes	1	0	8	21	12	0	42
No	2	2	14	8	2	0	28
No answer	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Totals	**3**	**2**	**22**	**29**	**14**	**1**	**71**

Those respondents who recorded *liking* or *strongly liking* singing their school song responded that they believed the song was important to the school's identity. Those who did not like to sing the school song did not believe it was important. One pupil from PSS4 who recorded disliking singing the school song commented that they did not believe it was important to the school's identity because *'The identity of the school is fabricated by the board [of governors]and propagated by staff to forward sales of the "public school" lifestyle and experience. So it is insignificant.'* This response raises the concept of an invented identity, similar to the concept of invented tradition/history discussed by Dr Wallersteiner, Headmaster of Stowe in his interview (11.2). Whilst this respondent's view is negative, it does illustrate the role of the school song in creating identity and positions that identity within the overall 'lifestyle and experience' of independent school pupils.

Other respondents commented that the song was not performed often enough to be an important part of the school's identity. One such response from a 15-year-old female pupil from PSS5 said *'It's very rarely sung, very few people understanding it, and whenever it is sung it usually follows a long, overly formal, usually quite religious*

ceremony that leaves it feeling outdated and no longer in touch with the school community'.

Of those respondents who had no particular view on singing the school Song, 36% (11% of the total responses) recorded that it was important to the school's identity whilst 64% (20% of the total responses) did not.

6.2.4.8 Importance to the school Community

When asked if they felt the song was an important part of their school community, 57% the survey respondents answered '*Yes*'. Of those who responded that the song was not an important part of the school community, several responses reflected on the choice of language for the song such as pupils from PSS5 whose responses were discussed previously. Other open text responses discussed the frequency of performance saying, 'It is not used often enough to be a part of the community in my opinion' whilst another said, *'Because I literally just heard about it 10 minutes ago, and have never heard about it prior so it must not be important'*.

Table 36. Cross tabulation of importance to community with frequency of performance in pupil survey

Do you feel the school song is an important part of your school community?	How often do you sing your school song?					No answer	Totals
	Daily	Weekly	Start/End of Term	Speech Day/ Founder's Day/ Special occasions	Other		
Yes	3	3	12	17	5	0	40
No	0	1	6	19	4	0	30
No answer	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Totals	**3**	**4**	**18**	**36**	**9**	**1**	**71**

Table 36 shows that those who responded '*Yes*' to the song being an important part of the community were more likely to sing their school song regularly whilst those who sing it once a year or on special or other occasions have no distinction between their responses on the song's importance to the community.

Table 37 shows that songs performed on-site are regarded as more important to the school community. 63% of respondents who perform their song in a school chapel believe the song is an important part of the community as do a similar percentage who perform in the school Sports Hall. Those who perform in a temporary on-site location such as a marquee or an off-site location have a larger percentage of respondents who believe the song is not an important part of the community (51% and 53% respectively). This closely reflects the overall results across all respondents regarding the importance of the song to the school community and furthermore suggests that the lack of paramusical evidence linked to a permanent venue of performance may produce a negative response towards the song.

Table 37. Cross tabulation of Q11 and Q13 in pupil survey

Where is your school song performed? Please tick all that apply	Do you feel the school song is an important part of your school community?		No answer	Totals
	Yes	No		
School Chapel	26	15	0	41
Sports Hall	2	1	0	3
Other on-site location (Marquee on school grounds, Assembly Hall etc.)	18	19	0	37
Other off-site location (A Cathedral, Church or other venue)	9	10	0	19
No answer	0	0	1	1
Totals	**55**	**45**	**1**	**101**

Question	Response count
11	70
13	70

To explore if there were trends amongst answers from those who responded that the song was important to both the community and identity of the school, responses to Q10 were cross tabulated with those of Q11, 'Do you feel the school song is an important part of your school community?' The results were as follows

Table 38. Cross tabulation of Q10 and Q11 in pupil survey

Do you feel the school song is an important part of your school community?	Do you feel the school song is an important part of your school's identity?		No answer	Totals
	Yes	No		
Yes	31	9	0	40
No	11	19	0	30
No answer	0	0	1	1
Totals	**42**	**28**	**1**	**71**

Here it is seen that the respondents who answered that the school song is an important part of the school community also feel it is an important part of the school's identity (43% of total respondents).

6.2.5 Archivist Responses

At the beginning of my research, I had not fully considered or appreciated the significance of the role of school archivists in the collection and preservation of school songs, having not worked in a school which had an archivist. However in September 2021 a school archivist who had responded to my request for information asked for permission to put my request on the SARA forum (School Archives and Records Association). This sharing of my post resulted in the addition of a further 50 songs to my collection. These additional songs included items from several schools where I had previously contacted the director of music and either received no response or been told the school song had been lost and. One example is of the school archivist at Sherbourne School who provided a substantial amount of information regarding the school's song collection which, amongst my collection, is second in size to that of Harrow.

Following the assistance of members of the SARA forum in providing songs, I created an additional survey for archivists, the questions of which may be found in 10.2. This survey was helpful in addressing subquestion 4.

6.2.5.1 Archivists Survey and SQ3 and SQ4

The responses to the archivist survey directly answered facets of subquestion 3 and as such formed an essential aspect of my research. The archivists who responded to the survey posted on the SARA forum represented the following school profiles.

Table 39. Profile of schools represented in archivists survey

School	Location	Boarding Status	Gender Profile	Size
AS1	England	Boarding and Day	Co-Educational	900
AS2	England	Boarding	Co-Educational	700
AS3	England	Boarding	Boys School	450
AS4	England	Day and Boarding	Co-Educational	900
AS5	England	Boarding	Boys School	750
AS6	England	Boarding and Day	Boys School	300
AS7	Wales	Boarding and Day	Girls School	450
AS8	England	Boarding and Day	Girls School	450

The responses from archivists are also of direct relevance to subquestion 4 and understanding the measures taken by schools to preserve songs. The data regarding what items relating to the school song existed within each school were as follows.

Table 40. School song items as recorded in the archivist survey

School Song	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes			
School Hymn			Yes			Yes	Yes	Yes
School Hymnal			Yes		Yes		Yes	Yes
School song Book			Yes			Yes	Yes	Yes
	AS1	AS2	AS3	AS4	AS5	AS6	AS7	AS8

As may be seen by Table 40, AS3 recorded the most amount of song related items whilst two schools had three items, two schools had two items and three schools had one item. From these responses there is no discernible relationship between the school size or gender profile and the number of school song items recorded. However it is acknowledged that the number of respondents to this survey is limited. It was not possible at the time of writing to ascertain how many independent senior school archivists there are currently across the UK or display what percentage of the whole is represented by this survey. However, when the initial request for school songs was posted on the SARA forum over 45 responses were made and so it may suggest the survey response to represent approximately 16% of the active archivists on the SARA forum.

6.2.5.2 *Thoughts on the song's Importance to the school Identity*

When asked if they felt the song was an important part of the school's identity almost 60% of the archivists responded that they felt it was.

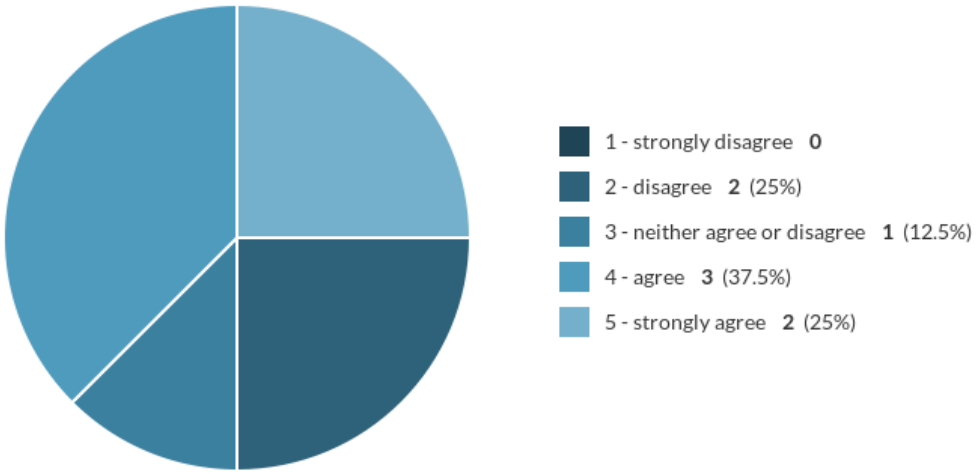


Figure 94. Responses to Q14.1 in archivist survey

AS2 explained 'It identifies the ethos of the school in clear language' whilst AS8 said *'It has been sung since founding of school and each time it is sung, members of the community feel strengthened'*. AS1, whose school song was no longer performed offered that *'"Modern" children forced into an unwanted merger in 1974 (Labour policy 10/65) had tradition squeezed out of them as part of forging a new identity.'*

The answer from AS1 illustrates that they believe the government of the time negatively impacted the traditional identity of their school and that the loss of the school Song, or its removal, was a significant part of this change in identity. AS6 explained that *'The [school] hymn is no longer sung in the school. It was discontinued by the then director of music in the 1980s. There is currently consideration to it being revived.'* This discontinuation occurred at a similar time to the response from AS1 regarding their school's merger and subsequent loss of the song. It may be therefore, that during the period of 1970-1975 (Department of Education and Science, 1974) when comprehensive school education was developed, some independent school directors of music phased out the use of school songs.

6.2.5.3 *Thoughts on the song as Part of School History*

The archivist's response to Q15, which asked if they felt the school song was an important part of the school's history, received a more favourable response than Q14.

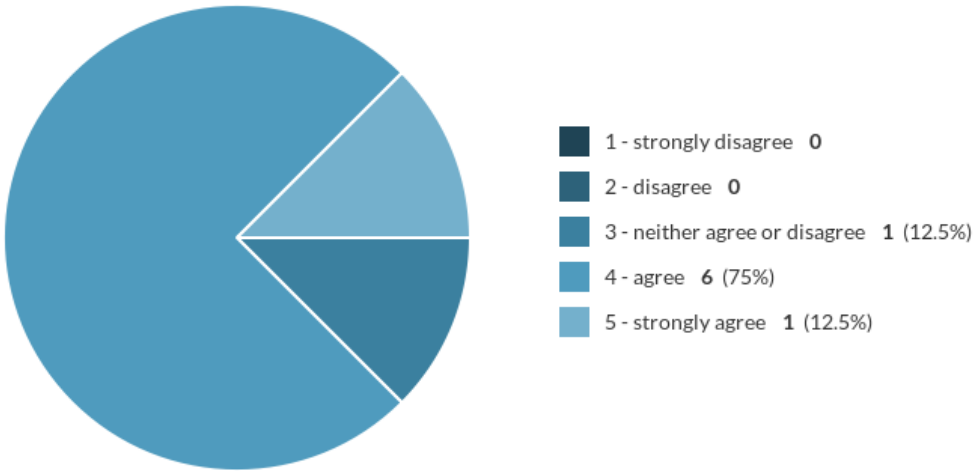


Figure 95. Free text responses to Q15 in archivist survey

AS2 responded that *'The words in the song have formed the ongoing vision for the school.'* Similarly, AS3 said *'It unites all generations of former pupils'* whilst AS1 commented *'For the pre-1974 schools this might have been true'* suggesting that it was not an important part of the school history for the current school. AS7 wrote the following response *'I have taught at the school for the past 20 years and the Saints Day Service used to be a very formal occasion. We seem to have lost sight of who we are as a school.'* The archivist for AS4 spoke of a personal connection to the song saying *'I'm the school Archivist and I've tried to keep its memory alive, especially in connection to the First World War'* which is similar to the response from David Woodcock where he described himself as being the 'custodian' of the Harrow songs (11.1).

The role of school archivists is an important one in preserving the school song for future generations and ensuring songs which have been retired are not lost. 87.5% of respondents to this survey recorded that the song was important to the history of the school whilst 62.5% responded it was an important part of the school's identity. It is to be expected that people in a role of preserving historical information would record the

song is important to their school's history and so these views may be considered biased. The question of the song's importance to the school community was not asked within the archivist survey and this may therefore be considered a limitation of this survey. It is noted however that the free text responses from the archivist of AS1 suggest that for their school, since the 1974 merger, the song is no longer important to the community. That the archivist from AS6 mentions a possible revival suggests that the importance of a song to its community may be recaptured after a period of non-performance and this was discussed in the results of the Stowe survey of staff and pupils.

6.2.6 Survey Findings

The three surveys provide an important insight into pupil and staff reactions to engagement with their school song and their understanding of that song. These data provided broad answers to my primary research question and my sub questions. A detailed examination of these data within the context of existing literature will be undertaken in 7.1.1

Whilst the specific details of how a school song may create identity through shared musical experience will be examined later, it is clear that the surveys and interviews discussed in this chapter show that a school song *does* create identity through the shared musical experience. Whether this identity is accepted as valid, important or necessary by the individual within that community depends on several variables. These include but are not limited to the frequency of performance, performance venue and language of the school song. As mentioned previously in this chapter, the ethnographic intersubjectivity of the school song will not always match that of the interpretant and so the identity created and sustained by the song should be understood from a diachronic and synchronic perspective as set out in Figure 19.

6.3 Case Study Findings

The three case studies which were undertaken during this researched provided substantial data for my first and third research aims.[164] The first case study, which examined songs from 5 schools of differing operational status, boarding status and gender profile and historical periods contributed primarily towards Research Aim 1 and demonstrated the necessity for the Etymophonological framework. This framework enabled a fuller analysis of the songs and addressed specific communal and locational influences of identity creation which existing models were unable to account for.

The Harrow and Stowe Case studies built upon these findings by illustrating both the historical significance and contemporary relevance of school songs to a community and to the individual members within them. The application of the Etymophonological framework to these school songs over time generated data directly related to the Primary research question and Research Aim 3. Together, all three case studies produced institutionally specific quantitative and qualitative data sets which could be examined alongside the wider field of survey and song findings. These case studies shall now be discussed in turn.

6.3.1.1 Case Study 1

The primary finding of case study 1 was that existing models of analysis, namely those of Cook (2000) did not support an analysis of independent school songs in a way which included individual and ethnographic subjectivity amongst the triad of the school and its communities, its geographical location and the language of the song. This case study therefore highlighted the need for the *Etymophonological Framework* to facilitate research within the field of independent school songs and examine their role in creating and sustaining identity.

[164] Research aim 1, Advance understanding of the historical emergence and subsequent development and utilisation of independent senior school songs. Research aim 3, Establish the ways in which independent school songs create and maintain identity through shared musical experience for individuals and communities.

Additionally, this case study found that a school's independent variables may contribute towards the fragility of a songs preservation. Those songs from girls' schools such as Dr Williams' school (3.3) or specific religious foundations such as Catholic schools like the Marist School (3.2)were found to be particularly susceptible to loss.

6.3.1.2 Case Study 2

Case study 2 arose from an opportunity to observe a unique school song tradition of especial importance to this research and in particular the primary research question and subquestions 1, 2 and 3.

The Churchill songs evening at Harrow evidenced a continued tradition of school song performance spanning nearly 80 years and which featured school songs from 1872 to 2002, a span of 130 years. My observation of the evenings performances provided data on several aspects of school songs which are of importance to the primary research question but are not found within a song score. These include

- Performance practices which have developed over time, including deviations from the written score.[165]
- Changes to instrumentation included on the score which may affect the individual and ethnographic subjective response to the performance.[166]
- The historical importance of the venue to the performance and its ability to provide additional paramusical evidence.

This case study and its accompanying interview with David Woodcock found that at Harrow there is considerable pressure upon the director of music to maintain and

[165] This is particularly noticeable in differences between the score to 40 Years On (Farmer, 1872) and its performance but may also be seen in the survey date relating to the school song of PSS5 (6.2.4.1)
[166] This was particularly noticeable during the Churchill songs evening with the accompaniment for the majority of songs being performed by an orchestra and not the piano part included in the songbook itself. David Woodcock confirmed in his interview that many of these arrangements were undertaken by the songs composers. A similar phenomenon may be seen to occur with the song of Downside School (3.6) where the score is for organ but a recording includes orchestra.

indeed develop the school's corpus of songs. How an individual responds to this pressure will vary, as evidenced in the interview with Woodcock, but is also dependent upon the position of the song or songs within the school community and the ethnographic and historical importance given to the song or songs.

Woodcock referred to himself as a 'custodian' of the songs and this may be seen to be true of all directors of music at independent schools which have a song or song collection. This feeling of ownership and custodianship towards the song directly relates to subquestion 4 through the positive relationship formed between the person and the song in these examples. This in turn positively influences the way in which the song is preserved and is an integral aspect of a songs survival. Indeed it was through developing an understanding my own role as custodian of the Stowe School song that case study 3 occurred.

6.3.1.3 Case Study 3

The Stowe Case Study provided data relevant to my primary research question and each subquestion. This unique opportunity, which Dr Wallersteiner accurately described as 'providence', highlighted the fragility of school songs and how easily they may become lost. Indeed, were it not for Dr Wallersteiner's awareness of the location of related correspondence which existed within the school's archives, much of the data relating to the complexity of the song's history would remain unknown. Whilst the response to the song was positive,[167] the free text responses to the Stowe survey show that the outcome of the songs reestablishment within the community may not have been so favourable had its potted history not been shared with the school during Kingston's rehearsals.

At the beginning of this research, the Stowe School song was in a more fragile position of preservation than the school song of Roedean, discussed in (3.5). At that point the Roedean song existed as an *Object* within Ewart's anthology (1969) and a *Sign*, albeit incomplete and melody only, whilst the Stowe song existed as an *Object* only within the

[167] 69% of staff and 51% of pupil responded that they either *liked* of *strongly liked* the song.

Stowe archives. Both songs underwent a harmonisation of the melody with the harmonic structure outlined by myself, but the Roedean song was not situated within an historical context supported by archival evidence and it remains unsung by its community.[168] This case study therefore found that the successful reestablishment of a school song within its community benefits from the ability to situate the song within the school's history and to share that history with the community.

Having presented the key findings of the surveys, interviews and case studies undertaken during this research, these data will next be utilised to answer the primary research question and subquestions.

[168] Archival correspondence on the Roedean song was not presented when the score was provided or discussed during correspondence with the then Director of music , however it may exist.

7 CONCLUSION

This research sought to examine how independent school songs create identity through shared musical experience and highlight the gap in existing literature relating to the field of independent school music. This aim was achieved through three objectives as outlined in the introduction which aimed to:

1. Advance understanding of the historical emergence and subsequent development and utilisation of independent senior school songs.
2. Compile a comprehensive collection of Independent senior school songs from a variety of independent school types, recording salient compositional details in an appropriate format.
3. Establish the ways in which independent school songs create and maintain identity through shared musical experience for individuals and communities.

Having presented the research findings in the previous chapter, it is now possible to answer the primary research question and subquestions presented in the introduction.

7.1.1 Overarching Findings

The primary intention of this research was to answer the question of "Do independent senior school songs create identity through shared musical experience?". This thesis has clearly illustrated that independent school songs do create identity through shared musical experience. Furthermore it has shown that identity formations are complex and straddle disparate communities over time. This is evidenced by the Harrow case study, where it has is shown that the identities created by independent school songs are complex, multifaceted and constantly negotiated. To fully understand the complex process of identity creation through the communal performance of a school song, it is necessary to study school songs, their communities and performance praxis individually. This thesis has shown that the independent variables of a school, the

regularity of performance and the presence of paramusical evidence significantly impact both the identity created through the songs performance and the perception of that identity by the school community and the individual community member. This research has found that there are key commonalities amongst schools where the song is an integral part of their institutional identity and is regarded positively by the community. These are as follows

- The song exists as an *Exact* or *Inexact Icon* in a format of *Secure Permanence* ensuring its *Object* and *Sign* are safely preserved (4.2.1).
- *Paramusical Evidence*, be it symbolic, historical or geographical, is visible at the songs performance which reinforces aspects of the school's identity (4.2.5 and 5.5.3)
- The song is performed regularly by the community throughout the academic year, usually at the end of each term or during key events where the song's performance holds an elevated status within the event (4.2.5.2 and 5.4.2)
- The song enables the community to engage with the *Aspiration And Nostalgia Cycle* and includes multiple generations of performers (4.2.8.2)

These points are clearly expressed in the diagram below.[169]

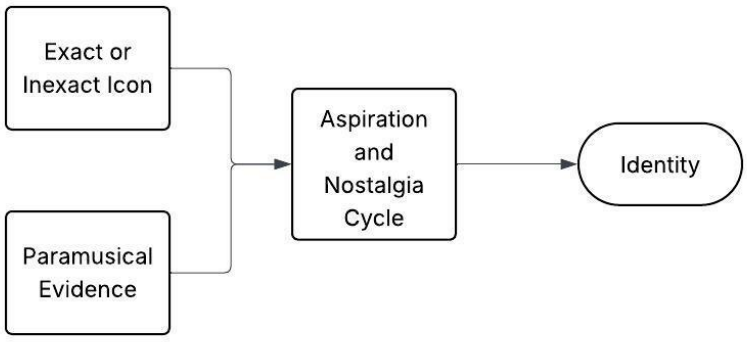


Figure 96. How independent school songs create identity

[169] The importance of the *Etymophonological Framework* and the positionality of the Aspiration and Nostalgia Cycle within that framework are discussed in (4.2.8.2)

Further insights into the primary research question were gained through answering the four subquestions, each of which interrogated specific aspects of independent school songs.

7.1.1.1 SQ1 - What is the general function of a school song within UK independent schools and has this changed over time?

The role of an independent school song is, primarily, to construct an ethnographic identity, as illustrated in the Harrow case study (4.2.7) and the Stowe case study (5.5.11). These identities are found to be positively strengthened from being composed by someone with a close relationship to the school, usually the director of music and the Headmaster (4.1) or persons with an understanding of the religious foundation of the school (3.6) or its location (5.2). The benefit arises from the personal experience of the school as a living entity and an emotional interaction and/or bond with the school's geographical location and that the song connects communities over time. These factors assist in the *Object and Sign* being perceived as accurate manifestations of the school by those who perform it. The *Icon* is then able to build community cohesion through the anthemic qualities of its *Object* and *Sign* (4.2.2) as seen in the school survey responses (6.2.4).

Data from the archivist survey and the specifics of the archival correspondence of the Stowe case study provide clear evidence of the ways in which a school song functions as a means of identity preservation. These data show there is a degree of fixity in the self-fashioned identity created at the time of composition. The extent to which a school maintains a continued connection to the original identity contained in the song are more complex, and the impact of changing attitudes towards previously expressed aspects of identity, are discussed further in subquestion three.

In addition to identity, independent school songs historically provided independent schools with a pedagogical freedom from government strategies for singing in schools (1.1.6). It is this pedagogical aspect of the song's role which has most changed over

time. At the start of the independent school song tradition (1840) music was not a curriculum subject or commonly viewed as a favourable academic pursuit by parents, as outlined in the literature review (1.1.1). This thesis has shown that attitudes towards academic music within independent schools have changed considerably over time. From the emergence of independent school songs at a time when academic lessons were not included in the timetable, as shown in the literature review, the change in attitudes towards the value of academic music were influenced by the work of figures such as John Farmer (4.1), Dr Charlotte Ainsley (3.4) and organisations such as the Music Masters Association (1.1.5). Today, both independent and state schools may access GCSE and A Level curricula and Pre University modules, delivering these courses in a way which suits the needs, skills and preferences of their pupils, alongside maintaining their school song traditions.

7.1.1.2 SQ2 - How, and to what extent do school songs contribute to UK independent senior school identity?

A contribution to communal and individual identity occurs when a community performs their school song. The research findings, in particular the Etymophonological analysis of the Churchill songs evening (4.2) and that of the Stowe School song (5.5.1) have shown that the extent to which a contribution to identity is made by the song is defined by the regularity of performance. Data from the surveys undertaken during this research showed that school songs performed at the beginning or end of term were viewed most favourably by those performing it (6.2.4.2) As such, the communal enjoyment of the song's performance supports the retention of a song within the fabric of the school and continuity of performance over time. The ceremonial aspect of the song's performance is of particular importance to identity contribution, as may be seen in the Harrow Case study (4.2.7.3). Here, the Churchill songs evening incorporates aspects of *Paramusical Evidence* such as displaying the bust of Churchill and school crest during their performances to reinforce the school identity contained within the songs. This assists in drawing upon the communal associations of both the *Icon* and the *Index* (4.2.5)

Survey and interview data collected during this research has shown that aspects of performance practice which are known to the community, but not to those outside the community, contribute to identity. This may be seen in the responses relating to the shouted Latin line of the song of PSS5 (6.2.4.1). Here, the data revealed that whilst pupils were divided in their feelings towards the use of a Latin text, the performance practice was seen as enjoyable and an important rite of passage for those students new to the school who were not aware of it.

School songs were found to contribute to a school's identity through the textual inclusion of important historical figures (6.2.2.7) and events (6.2.2.2). Additionally, songs were found to reinforce specific moral or spiritual values within the community, most notably those values upon which the school was founded (6.2.2.3) and which may also be found in the school motto.[170] Furthermore, school songs were found to preserve unique vocabulary which is often unknown to those outside of the community (4.2.3). A school song may also reference school specific sports (6.2.2.6) or geographical locations of importance to the school (6.2.2.2). Such aspects of the song and its performance serve to not only contribute to the identity of the community who perform it, but to create and promote an impression of the school community to those outside of it. This is illustrated through examples such as the guests at the Churchill songs evening at Harrow (4.2.8.1). Taken together, this means that a school song contributes to the formation of identity within its community and also establishes a perception of that identity for those outside of the community.

The ingressive access to school songs, as discussed in 4.2.7 and shown in the *Ingressive positionality and intersubjectivity diagram* (Figure 48) creates additional identities within the wider ethnographic identity created by school songs. As such, this research has found that the *Interpretant* and *Communal Intersubjectivity* of a specific song may be different, depending on an individual's level of access as shown through

[170] This may be seen particularly in the case of Stowe School whose motto '*Persto et Praesto"* which translates as 'I stand firm, I stand first' and forms the refrain of the school song and similarly in the school motto of Harrow School *'Stet fortuna Domus'* which is the title of their School song as discussed in the Harrow chapter (see 4).

the *Etymophonological Framework* (Figure 19). These levels of access also reinforce the *Aspiration and Nostalgia* cycle shown in Figure 49.

The extent to which a school song contributed to identity within schools was found to be highly varied. The data showed that this disparity was especially noticeable between schools where the song was positively received by the community in contrast to those schools which used a common hymn (6.2.4.1).

The extent to which an adopted *song* from one songs contributes to the identity of the adopted school was examined using only existing literature and not data from surveys or interviews. The inclusion of data gathered from community members of such schools would provide a more complete analysis of this aspect of the research. However, those adopted songs explored textually as part of this research clearly indicate that a song is chosen to instil specific facets of identity. In the case of Roedean's modified version of *Giants* (3.5), the facet of identity specifically chosen was that of sporting prowess and the song's performance practice would have occurred during sporting matches and other sporting related celebrations. In this particular case, these aspects of identity are formed from manipulation or alteration of the original text to suit the needs to the new school which is adopting the song.

The retirement, and in some cases destruction of songs was found to create a conflict of identity between the generation of the community who had experience of performing the song and those who do not. This can be seen in the holding of externally provided rehearsals at Harrow by an Old Harrovian to specifically sing and teach retired songs to students (4.2.8.2). At Stowe this disconnect was felt by Old Stoics who expressed feelings of jealousy that they did not know or have a relationship with the school song. This may be considered as an example of anemoia and this conflict speaks to a community members sense of ownership of the song and its associated identity. It also illustrates the belief that, in these cases, the song should be passed to the younger generations as an aspect of tradition. It is however recognised that this finding would benefit from the further investigation of a larger group of respondents.

7.1.1.3 SQ3 - How does the textual or musical alteration of a school song revise the identity of the song, with specific focus on addressing colonialist and other sensitive content?

Data from the textual analysis of songs collected during this research revealed that the most common textual alteration of a school song is to address a change of gender profile for the school, as required in the case of *Sto, Persto, Praesto!* (Brent-Smith, 1925). To not address the gender profile change of a school within its song would exclude those of the new profile. As such this small textual modification supports the continued use of the song whilst recognising the change to the independent variable. This illustrates how schools have an opportunity to write a new song , they may choose to modify their existing song instead. The most typical gender profile change was found to occur when a school moved from a single-sex boys' status to a co-educational status, as is found in 259 entries of the database of collected songs. However, when schools adopt a song and alter the lyrics, such as in the case of Roedean adopting and subsequently adapting *Giants* (Harrow, 2018) (3.5) the alteration can be of such an extent that it may be argued the initial identity created by the song is no longer evident.

A commonly found musical alteration amongst independent school songs is that of lowering the key to support the community in performing it comfortably. Often the lowering of the key by a semitone facilitates ease of singing and increases enjoyment of the song performance, positively impacting the identity creation process. This task was undertaken by Kingston when re orchestrating *Sto, Persto, Praesto! (Brent-Smith, 1925)*(Kingston, 2023). This was also done by directors of music at Harrow over time, as acknowledged in the Harrow songs Book (Harrow, 2018) and illustrates how songs are continually modified and re-made to align with different contexts. School songs are therefore functional artefacts which are designed to be re-made by the communities that engage with them through their adaptability.

This research has shown that the musical revision of a song, aside from the lowering of pitch to ease singing, may occur for several reasons. Where an accompaniment part has not been preserved and only the melody remains, as in the songs of Stowe and Roedean, it is possible to re-orchestrate an accompaniment using western classical

musical conventions and create an *Inexact Icon*. As the new harmonies will closely approximate those of the composer, the song will still function as intended by the composer. The changing of orchestration from a keyboard instrument to orchestra can serve to positively impact the performance of the song as evidenced in the song of Downside Abbey (3.6), George Watson's Ladies' College (3.4), and as illustrated in the Churchill songs Evening (4.2.4) Here, the visual presence of the orchestra within a specific venue, particularly a larger venue such as the Royal Albert Hall, acts as a form of *Paramusical Evidence* which further promotes the school identity during the performance and is an essential component of the *Aspiration and Nostalgia Cycle* as discussed previously (Figure 49).

Amongst the collected songs there are a portion which include depictions of colonialism, racism, misogyny, and child abuse. The database shows that such problematic songs were composed between 1860 and 1920 when societal norms were considerably different from today. It was found that the inappropriate text may be limited to a single reference, or that it may account for most of the song. Where problematic themes play such a central role that revision through textual alteration is not possible as in the case of *Larry* (Harrow, 2018), the retirement of such songs assists in preventing the community from accessing materials which may promote strands of identity which are no longer acceptable. There are potential risks to a school's reputation where such materials are preserved and later accessed by member of the community or one outside of the community. However, the retirement of a song puts it at risk of being lost should it not be stored and preserved in a suitable manner, as discussed in the next subquestion.

7.1.1.4 SQ4 - What measures are employed by schools and/or school archivists to store and preserve songs across multiple generations?

The collection stage of this research highlighted the significant disparities in approaches to the preservation of school song artefacts. Some songs, particularly those of schools who have collections which are contained in a hard backed book

format, are afforded a higher level of preservation, named *Secure Inclusive Permanence* in this thesis, through their printed format. It is highly likely that some songs remain preserved within school archives where the archives themselves have not been accessed and so the song artefacts remain unknown or unexplored. Other songs, such as that of Whitland High School (Matthias, 1948) and Llandovery College [Williams, 1845], have been preserved only through the chance act of a person retaining the score, providing it with an *Insecure Exclusive Permanence*.[171] Others have been preserved through continued performance and engagement and are sustained by their community.

The research, in particular the song collection process and the archivist survey, has shown that independent schools with archivists have the most stable methods of preservation. These methods include one or more of the following,

- Physical archival storage (0)
- Digitisation in the form of
    - PDFs of the score
    - Soundcloud recordings (3.6)
    - YouTube videos (2.3.4.1)
    - Past Pupil associations (3.3)

Archivists were able to comment in the free text area of their survey and record where song items were stored and how people may access physical copies of the song. AS4 offered the following comment which is illustrative of a schools willingness to provide copies of the song but, due to the song remaining unperformed, it is largely unknown by its community.

[171] In the case of the Llandovery College song, its score survived because when I left the school I took a copy as a souvenir. Two years later I was contacted by the librarian, at the request of an Old Llandovarian, as my successor had lost all existing copies of the song and without the music, it could not be performed at Speech Day. It was suspected, although not proven, that the teacher had destroyed all copies of the song, feeling that it was "Old Fashioned" and that the pupils should not be singing in Latin.

> We are happy to provide copies of the school song (also on You Tube), but alumni would have to be a good age to remember it. The hymn book is from the First World War era and has not been used for many decades and is dedicated to an alumni who died in the war.

AS6 commented that their school song was published in a book about the school. This also occurred with *Ex Corde Caritas* (Ross et al., 1928) in the book published about the history of George Watson's College (Howie, 2006).

Half of the schools represented in the archivist survey reported having virtual copies of the song items which could be accessed by people outside the school community. One school reported that these were available on the school website whilst four schools responded that they were in 'other' areas or that PDF copies could be made by the school and sent out to those who had enquired. This method of storage/preservation was especially beneficial during the initial stages of my research and was the most common method employed by schools to provide me with copies of their song or songs. AS4 reported having a special area for alumni to access, saying 'We have an Online Digital Archive which is available to alumni - if they searched for SCHOOL song they would find the music and other references we have in the system'.

When asked if their school had a song or hymn which was no longer sung, six schools (75%) answered yes. Question 13.a of the survey invited archivists to explain what happened to the manuscript or copies of the song/hymn when it was retired. AS1 explained that

> *The pre-1974 boys' school had a song, and I'm hoping that my colleague, [REDACTED], a former pupil, can remember it and even sing it to you. He might even know where the copies have resided for the last 48 years*.

Unfortunately, I did not receive any further contact from the archivist or their colleague so am currently unaware if the location of the song copies was ever discovered. This comment highlights how precarious song preservation can be when it is dependent on a

singular persons recall. AS4 commented that 'It [the song] just slowly fell out of use in the Seventies, I'm not sure whether there is any 'official' reason. Probably not.' This comment is similar to one made by David Woodcock during his interview when discussing the period of time where no Harrow songs were composed by the directors of music (11.1) Another response was recorded by AS7 on their school's song falling out of regular performance saying

> *The Latin chant used to be sung in our Saint's Day service and no longer is. We haven't been able to have the service for the past two school years so the hymn has not been sung either.*

No reason was given why the service was unable to be held although it may be that this was due to Covid and restrictions on larger public gatherings to address concerns surrounding singing as a means of transmission.

The Stowe School case study clearly illustrated that when songs are improperly archived and stored, they risk being lost completely or require a significant reconstruction to enable performance. This was also seen in such songs as The Marist School song (3.2) and others within the database where only a fragmented form of the *Icon* or *Sign* continues to exist. Following my initial contact with The Marist School, a former pupil of the Fulham convent school undertook asking if any past pupils of the school knew the melody to the song, whose words are to be found in Ewart's anthology (Ewart, 1969). Whilst past pupils on the website did not remember the melody, a retired nun, Sister Mary Magdalen Smyth S.M., agreed to be videoed singing the hymn by the former pupil. The melody was then transcribed and arranged as a SATB anthem by the school's former music teacher Jane Cullen with the overarching coordinating being undertaken by Sister Silvia Sanz de Diego S.M.

School closures were found to pose a significant threat to the school song corpus as schools themselves may not be aware of the significance of the artefacts which are held. Furthermore, there are limited archives who would consider taking such materials

which increases the risk to song preservation.[172] It was found that if a song had been retired previously and not performed for a generation or more then it will not be in the forefront of the school community priorities and subsequently may become lost from the institutional memory. As such, as past pupils age, an unperformed song's preservation becomes more precarious. Steps which can be taken to avoid this loss of repertoire are presented in the recommendation section of this chapter.

7.1.2 Contribution To Knowledge

As little research had been undertaken into the role of a school song within independent schools, specifically with regards to its contribution to identity, this project provided several opportunities to contribute to knowledge. The intended contribution to knowledge was to undertake the collection and preservation of independent school songs and form a coherent database, enabling future research into this area. However, as a direct result of the collection and subsequent analysis of the songs, two further contributions emerged, namely a novel analytical model, the *Etymophonological Framework*, and two significant case studies which demonstrate its application.

7.1.2.1 School song Collection

At the inception of this research, it became evident that independent school songs had not previously been collected in a way that supported their study as a corpus. Anthologies such as those of Ewart (1969) and Haddon (1977) were limited in scope and compositional detail and, in the case of Haddon, were fragmentary in the presentation of the text. Individual schools such as those I named the *Genesis Collection* (2.1.3) distributed and preserved their songs within means of *Secure Permanence* or *Semi-Secure Permanence* (2.4.7) but many were not easily accessible or readily available

[172] the songs collected by Haddon and included in her book in fragmentary form (Haddon, 1977) were given to The Museum of Childhood. The museum has been contacted to request access to these archives for future research but has not yet responded.

outside of their communities. Additionally the tools for examining school songs as a distinct corpus needed to be established.

The song collection which has resulted from this research, more specifically the establishment of prosopographical details relating to the song's composers and lyricists, reveals a complex network of musical connections across independent schools. This network shows a hitherto unexplored facet of independent school music where directors of music and headteachers are connected to not only their current educational establishment but are shaped by the musical traditions, albeit invented traditions in some cases, of their prior educational establishments. One such example of this may be seen in the relationships between Roxburgh, Brent-Smith, Lord Gisborough and others as discussed in the Stowe case study (Figure 51).

This collection of the song material and its subsequent recording in a searchable database offers a significant contribution to knowledge. The current corpus revises, refines and expands upon Ewart's (1969) suggested themes by providing distinct examples of songs attributed to those themes and listing their individual features. The revision of Ewart's themes, and the resultant generation of an independent school song typology, enabled both unique and commonly held school songs from the full range of school types and independent variables to be included in the textual analysis. This in turn provided information on the school song's role in identity creation. The results of surveys and the semi-structured interviews provide further insight into these themes and exposed the multi-thematic nature of many of the songs.

7.1.2.2 Etymophonological Analysis Framework

This research exposed a gap in the field for an analytical framework capable of considering simultaneously the individual, communal and ethnographic dimensions of school song performance. The school's geographical location, history and institutional legacy are frequently embedded within school songs and may influence the extent to which communities are able to interpret, renegotiate and sustain the meanings associated with them. Furthermore, this research demonstrated the need to consider

the independent variables of a school within the analysis of its songs whilst also accounting for text, music, location and paramusical evidence. The *Etymophonological Framework* addresses this gap by providing a multilayered analytical approach through which the song and its performance practice may be examined from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives.

Whilst developed through the study of independent school songs, the framework has applications far beyond this specific context. Its emphasis on the interaction between text, sound, interpretation, performance context and community meaning-making enables it to be applied to a wide range of musical and educational settings. The framework may therefore provide a useful means of analysing how collective musical practices contribute to identity formation in state schools, higher education institutions, youth organisations, religious communities, military organisations and other settings in which communal singing forms part of community culture and tradition.

Beyond music education, the framework may also contribute to wider discussions concerning the role of the arts in the construction and preservation of social identity. This research has demonstrated that songs do not simply reflect existing identities but may actively participate in their formation, transmission and renegotiation across generations. As such, the framework offers a means of investigating how artistic practices contribute to the creation of belonging, the preservation of cultural memory and the communication of collective values. In doing so, it provides a mechanism through which researchers may explore the relationship between artistic expression, community formation and cultural continuity across a broad range of social, cultural and political contexts.

The *Etymophonological Framework* therefore has potential to support future research not only into independent school songs but also into the wider processes through which music and communal artistic activity shape individual and collective identity. By bringing together textual, musical, contextual and interpretative dimensions within a single analytical model, the framework provides a means of examining the complex

ways in which communities create, sustain and transform identity through shared cultural experience across time.

7.1.2.3 Case Studies Findings

Two of the three case studies which arose from this research offer contributions to knowledge through their applications of the *Etymophonological Framework*. The framework therefore offers a way to look at those case studies and demonstrates it power in examining the unique ways in which identity if created, sustained and perceived by that specific community. The Harrow case study drew upon my performance observation, interview with David Woodcock and song materials from the Churchill songs event which I attended. Through applying the *Etymophonological Framework*, I was able to explore the unique performance practice of the Harrow songs and their role in the formation of identity for the school community. The Stowe School case study drew upon the *Etymophonological Framework* to assist in both the reconstruction of the school song and in returning it to the fabric of the school's identity. These case studies and their contribution to knowledge shall now be discussed.

7.1.2.3.1 Harrow

This research has placed the Harrow School songs at the forefront of what I have named the *Genisis Collection* because of John Farmer's establishment of the unique song tradition found in independent schools. Whilst there has been some scholarly attention given to the song *Forty Years On* (Harrow, 2018) in both this research and by other academics. The Harrow corpus has not been considered synchronically to include the works of Harrow's other directors of music. Neither have the Harrow songs and their performance practise been examined to establish *how* they have established and maintained identity for the community of Harrow School.

The Harrow case study clearly established the role of the director of music as *custodian* of the songs, as described by Woodcock (see 11.1). Furthermore it illustrated the

necessity for the person in that role to balance complex and often conflicting attitudes towards the songs which occur across the school community, both past and present. This case study further evidenced the ownership that the community displays towards these songs in such aspects as past pupils wishing to maintain performances of retired songs (Harrow Association, 2022) and the dichotomy of the initial rejection of new songs such as *Home to the Hill* (Harrow, 2018: 134) whilst also demanding new repertoire.

7.1.2.3.2 Stowe

The Stowe case study was not part of the initial intentions for this research but was a result of what Dr Wallersteiner, Head of Stowe, rightly identified as *providence* (11.2). Additionally it offered an opportunity to test the robustness of the *Etymophonological Framework* as part of a reconstructive process, demonstrating the value in situating an individual school song within this theoretical framework and against an assembled corpus of repertoire. The revival of *Sto, Persto, Praesto!* (Brent-Smith, 1925) occurred through a culmination of events including the school centenary celebrations, retrieval of archival materials of correspondence between Roxburgh and others relating to the school Song, the discovery of the song melody in the estate of the Old Stoic and my undertaking of this research. This case study therefore serves to not only demonstrate the fragility of school songs but to illustrate the contribution of others in the composition, performance and establishment of the song and the often-complex reasons behind a song's retirement. The rediscovery and subsequent revival of *Sto, Persto, Praesto!* (Brent-Smith, 1925) through the implementation of the *Etymophonological Framework* is therefore a contribution to knowledge.

7.1.3 Recommendations

This research, and the Harrow and Stowe case studies in particular, has shown that school songs perform an integral role in not only capturing the history of an individual

school and, in some cases education within the UK, but in creating and sustaining the identity of that community. The variety of roles that these songs can play within the life of a school across time is an asset to the school. The importance of this body of works, as valuable artefacts which represent the history of education in the independent sector, and its fragility as revealed in the findings, therefore prompts several recommendations to assist in the preservation of such songs.

7.1.3.1 Recommendations for independent schools

This research has illustrated that there is no singular or unified approach to school song preservation or performance across the independent schools who participated. This is unsurprising given the unique nature of not only the songs but the school's within which they exist. However, it does create difficulties in the preservation of the corpus and therefore the continuance of research in this field.

It is therefore recommended that national bodies associated with independent schools such as the HMC, ISC, GDST and other such entities actively encourage their member schools to preserve their songs. It is further recommended that such bodies ask their member schools and the alumni communities of those schools to provide them with a copy of their song which may then be held securely by that body and shared with researchers.

7.1.3.2 Recommendations for Directors of Music

This research has shown the role of the director of music is essential in preserving school songs and their performance practices amongst their communities. There is however the tacit assumption that the next director of music at the school will continue these traditions and this is not always the case. Some directors of music have been found to discard a school song due to reasons of personal taste or, in the most extreme cases, destroy copies of their school song (2.2.1).

The recommendation to directors of music is therefore to retire and preserve songs which no longer accurately promote the values and beliefs of a school. It should however first be considered by the director of music whether the intended retirement is an outcome formed of their own opinions of the song, or a more widely observed problem with the songs text or music. Musical tastes do change and what was once rejected may later be embraced by the community, as was seen with Woodcock's decision to rest *Home to the Hill* (Harrow, 2018) for a period before re-introducing it to the Harrow community. This act carefully balanced the tensions which exist between the desire for preservation whilst supporting and enabling innovation. This phenomenon may also be seen in the re-introduction of *Sto, Persto, Praesto!* (Brent-Smith, 1925) at Stowe School (5.3.5). It is further recommended that the director of music , or other member of the music department, engages the whole school community in the preservation of the song through performance. The rehearsal of the song should ensure that the community is well prepared for the performance and those who are new to the community may fully and confidently participate.

For schools with a singular song, the preservation of any retired song, both the text and music, is of great importance, especially in avoiding the loss of one or both facets of the song. directors of music should therefore support independent school bodies and engage a wider range of stakeholders in the undertaking the recommendation of preservation mentioned previously. It is however important that all those involved acknowledge the often-sensitive issues which may have necessitated a songs retirement and use the opportunity to reflect upon the change in attitudes over time which demanded this course of action.

7.1.3.3 Recommendations for Archivists

This research clearly illustrates the vital role that archivists hold in the preservation of the school song and other related materials. However, the research also highlighted that improvements should be made to the communication between archivists and

directors of music in relation to which materials exist and are available to researchers and others outside of the community.

Archivists should therefore aim to discuss these materials with directors of music when there is a new appointment to the post. This will assist in ensuring that any music is preserved in a suitable manner, especially where the score may be handwritten such as that of Roedean School (3.5) and would benefit from being written in notation software. Iterations of song lyric amendments should also be stored carefully for future reference.

7.1.3.3.1 Recommendations in the Event Of School Closures

School closures pose a particular threat to the survival of independent school songs and so it is recommended that the director of music , archivist or other person within a school should provide copies of the song and other related materials to a body such as the HMC (The Heads' Conference) or an established library or researcher/research body working within this field for preservation.

It is also recommended, where possible, that a recording of the song being performed by its community is also made, such as that of Dr Williams' School for Girls (3.3). Where a school has already closed and copies are lost but members of the community wish to preserve the song, a recording of a community member who is able to recall the lyrics and melody should be taken and the melody notated and harmonised, as was undertaken by The Marist School during this research (3.2).

7.1.4 Recommendations For Further Research

The roles and purposes of independent school songs is a vast and complex field of study which would benefit from further academic exploration. During this research, several strands warranting further investigation have emerged and it is hoped that I will be able to pursue one or more of these through post-doctoral projects.

7.1.4.1 Independent Prep School Songs

This research was limited to independent senior school songs, but the initial stages of song collection established that there is a body of independent preparatory school songs which is equally deserving of collection, preservation and study. Further research in the field of independent prep school songs would contribute towards a more complete understanding of the way in which independent school song performance shapes community. Additionally, it would provide insight into if and how the preparatory school identity may influence the senior school musical identity of the pupil.

7.1.4.2 Haddon And Girls' School Songs

Haddon's book (1977) contains a wealth of girls' school songs, but their fragmentary nature placed their reconstruction and collection outside of the remit of this research. Having corresponded briefly with Haddon in the later stages of this research, she made me aware that the songs which she collected for the book now reside in the Museum of Childhood, London, UK. A future project could therefore gather and explore these songs further, building upon the findings of this research.

Whilst it is acknowledged that the Girls' Day School Trust were incredibly helpful in encouraging their member schools to provide copies of their songs, a limitation of this research is the small proportion of songs from independent girls' schools. There is scope therefore to work with bodies such as the GDST and other single-sex educational organisations who support and manage girls' schools. Such a partnership with appropriate stakeholders would assist in developing items related to this facet of the independent school song corpus. The results of this research will facilitate such future collaborations, having established a clear foundation of repertoire and analytical approaches upon which to build.

7.1.4.3 Independent School songs In Wales

There is clear evidence of independent school songs being used in schools in Wales. However, their usage and occurrence are subject to different political and cultural forces than those songs found in England and Scotland. This is due in part to the political, educational and language tensions between Wales and England in the late 19th century. Future research into this area would be of benefit to not only those researching Welsh musical identity within education but those with a specific interest in the early works of William Matthias.

7.1.4.4 Hymnal Publications and Their Impact Upon the Pedagogy of The Sunday School Movement

This area of research warrants further investigation within the context of independent school song development being antithetical to governmentally imposed pedagogical praxis. An expanded understanding of the ethnographic impact of the differing approaches of Hullah and Curwen upon the communities they worked with would benefit the field of music in education. Furthermore, such a project would provide insight into the cultural and religious tensions between those hymnal collections produced by Monk (1875) and Gwyllt/Roberts (Roberts, 1876).

Exploring the role and influence of religious bodies in education during the 1800s would further the understanding of musical identity within Welsh non-conformist independent schools. In particular, non-conformist schools such as Dr Williams' School for Girls could be situated amongst schools such as Christ College Brecon, which was founded upon protestant values. Similarly, a line may be traced from the role of such texts as the Eton Choir book to independent school hymnals and collections such as Hymns Ancient and Modern (Monk, 1875). This field would benefit from the use of the *Etymophonological Framework* to interrogate the hymnal's role in creating ethnographic identity though an exploration of the importance of *Paramusical Evidence* to identity creation in religious environments.

7.1.4.5 UK independent school songs In Other Cultures

During this research, it emerged that some UK independent school songs have been adopted by schools in other countries and this may reflect how the British independent school model is seen as a cultural status indicator in some cultures. The motivations for these adoptions are as yet unknown and the way in which they create identity, and how this identity compares to the identity of the original school, is deserving of further exploration.

There are two distinct streams within this type of song use. Firstly, there are international branches of existing UK independent schools, such as Harrow International, New York or Sherborne Qatar School and the second being an unrelated independent school adopting the song of a UK school such as the case of Praetoria Boys High School in New Zealand and their use of *Forty Years On* (Harrow, 2018: 6). This recommendation for future research would provide opportunities to explore unique independent school songs from other countries. Within his anthology, Ewart (1969) includes songs from such schools as Nyakasura School in Uganda and Taree High School, New South Wales, and Cranbrook School in Sydney. These songs did not meet the criteria for inclusion in this research but do evidence the existence of the phenomena in other countries. Additionally, Paarl Boys' High School in South Africa has their own school song suggesting other unique international school songs exist and should be located and studied as part of a wider project.

7.1.5 Reflections On Independent Senior School songs As Identity

As I reach the end of this research project and reflect upon the journey, I find that the curiosity and interest I had at the start has grown into fascination at this highly complex field. I have not only uncovered considerably more songs that I had expected, but I am aware that there are so many more which exist and deserve to be preserved and studied.

The case studies written on Harrow and Stowe show the role those songs have within the identity of their schools and the thesis comments further on the perceptions of identity constructed and held by the songs of other schools and those who perform them. It seems therefore unnecessary to repeat those points here but what has not been included or commented on is how this research and the songs have impacted *my* identity.

David Woodcock's description of himself as custodian of the Harrow School songs resonated with me during the course of this research. I have become progressively more protective of the songs I have gathered, but perhaps even more so of the stories associated with them. The humanity of the composers and lyricists who wrote these songs and those who maintain their performance today has challenged many of the preconceptions I had when starting this research. As such this has been helpful in offering a more nuanced perspective on independent education which is often problematised in terms of class and privilege.

My role at Stowe has changed considerably since the start of this research and I have progressed from being Head of Academic Music to director of music and Faculty Chair for Arts and Culture. A necessary part of my current role is dealing with complex situations where there may be multiple perspectives one an issue. However, perhaps the most challenging perspective to navigate has been that of my own identity. Identity is multifaceted and shaped by individual and communal experiences and my identity as a director of music both conforms to and is yet divergent from those perceived characteristics mentioned previously. Like many directors of music at independent schools, I have received academic qualifications from several UK conservatoires. However, I am a female 'cellist and not a male keyboard or organ specialist as is currently found in this role, neither did I attend an independent school as a pupil. These facets of my identity have, in previous schools, created an inner conflict for me as to my suitability for the position I held, especially when they were highlighted in a negative manner by others, but this has not been the case at Stowe.

When founding Stowe, Roxburgh said that he wanted the school to provide something different to the rigid conformity of independent school education commonly found in

the 1920s and to cultivate pupils who were 'acceptable at a dance and invaluable in a shipwreck' (Annan, 1965). So perhaps it is the dichotomies within my own identity which have enabled me to feel welcomed and well suited to working at Stowe.

The initial emailing of those directors of music from the Rugby Group and the Eton Group schools was an incredibly daunting prospect to me. I felt very much an outsider because I am a woman, because of my state school education and lack of keyboard skills. In my mind, successful directors of music had the exact opposite traits to my own. However, from the beginning of the research I have been surprised by the genuine interest and positive interactions I had with directors of music from these groups of schools and across the independent schools in the UK.

I reflected upon the custodian aspect of the director of music role at the end of my presentation "School Songs; Positionality, Power and Preservation" to the HMC Directors of Music Group at Stowe in June 2023. During this presentation I said the following:

> *In a moment, I will close this presentation by showing you the video which was made of the school [Stowe] singing the song [Sto, Persto Praesto!] but before I do, I wanted to touch upon the dreaded question asked of every researcher, regarding their specialism.*
> *So What?*
>
> *Does this song mean anything to anyone outside of the Stowe Community? Probably not, it was after all unknown to the community until a few short months ago. So, this therefore is my provocation to you, do any of our school songs and school hymns matter to those outside of our communities? Again, probably not, but does that matter? These songs are our anthems, they are unique to us, and they capture our traditions, histories and values. They bring us together, they generate and sustain an identity through shared musical experience which, I believe, has the ability to positively influence student's attitudes towards music, both practical and academic. This may be why the decline in students taking GCSE and A level music is slower in independent schools than in state schools across England and Scotland, Wales needing to be considered differently for reasons beyond the scope of this presentation.*
>
> *The decline is however happening and affects us all, so I hope that, through understanding and utilising the power each of us has through our privileged positions at our schools, we may preserve and perform our songs, continuing this unique tradition for our pupils, communities and future generations of musicians and non-musicians alike.*

This research has taught me that directors of music are an essential part of a school song's success through their custodianship and maintenance of the relationship between the school Song, the identity of the school and its community. A school song which no longer reflects the values or *spirit* of a school is not successful as it is both a vehicle for identity and a mirror through which a school can reflect on its heritage, the evolution of its values, and its future direction of travel. Similarly, I now believe that a director of music whose personality or approach to music education is at odds with the spirit of the school will also face additional barriers to success within that specific environment.

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9 CODING TABLE

Table 41. song text and interview codes by research sub question

Name	Files	References	Created By	Created On	Modified By	Modified On
RQ1 General Function of song	3	12	EEB	27/01/2024 10:34	EEB	21/02/2024 10:27
Importance to school history	2	4	EEB	27/01/2024 10:59	EEB	29/01/2024 13:39
Individuality of the school	1	1	EEB	29/01/2024 13:42	EEB	29/01/2024 13:42
RQ2 Contribution to Identity	3	338	EEB	27/01/2024 10:35	EEB	21/02/2024 10:26
Community	3	118	EEB	21/02/2024 11:01	EEB	23/02/2024 11:18
Individuality	2	27	EEB	29/01/2024 13:43	EEB	23/02/2024 11:16

Unity	2	14	EEB	29/01/2024 13:36	EEB	23/02/2024 11:17
Importance to past pupils	3	10	EEB	27/01/2024 10:56	EEB	21/02/2024 10:38
Sense of pride	1	9	EEB	01/02/2024 20:31	EEB	21/02/2024 10:41
Enjoyable Performance Experience	2	45	EEB	01/02/2024 20:27	EEB	23/02/2024 11:18
Performance Venue	2	5	EEB	29/01/2024 13:42	EEB	21/02/2024 11:01
Performance at special events	1	4	EEB	29/01/2024 13:38	EEB	21/02/2024 10:37
Ethos	3	29	EEB	27/01/2024 10:55	EEB	23/02/2024 11:19
Religious Foundation	2	2	EEB	29/01/2024 13:41	EEB	31/01/2024 20:09
Not religious	1	1	EEB	01/02/2024 20:26	EEB	01/02/2024 20:26

Historical	3	70	EEB	29/01/2024 13:39	EEB	23/02/2024 11:21
Tradition	3	31	EEB	29/01/2024 13:40	EEB	23/02/2024 11:20
Performance Practice	2	13	EEB	29/01/2024 13:54	EEB	21/02/2024 10:52
Patriotism	2	7	EEB	29/01/2024 13:41	EEB	22/02/2024 17:24
Tradition - new	2	4	EEB	27/01/2024 10:55	EEB	21/02/2024 10:52
Negative FT answers	2	111	EEB	29/01/2024 14:00	EEB	22/02/2024 17:39
Attachment	2	35	EEB	22/02/2024 17:49	EEB	22/02/2024 17:50
Language is restrictive	2	16	EEB	29/01/2024 14:05	EEB	22/02/2024 17:37
Irregularity of performance	2	13	EEB	29/01/2024 14:03	EEB	22/02/2024 17:35

Unaware of song existing	1	4	EEB	29/01/2024 14:01	EEB	29/01/2024 14:13
Unfamiliar	1	3	EEB	31/01/2024 20:18	EEB	01/02/2024 20:35
Community	2	6	EEB	22/02/2024 17:43	EEB	22/02/2024 17:51
Doesn’t bond the community	2	4	EEB	29/01/2024 14:05	EEB	22/02/2024 17:23
Only known by school community	1	1	EEB	29/01/2024 14:10	EEB	22/02/2024 17:36
Written by non-community member	1	1	EEB	31/01/2024 20:16	EEB	31/01/2024 20:17
Identity	2	26	EEB	22/02/2024 17:44	EEB	22/02/2024 17:52
Not unique	2	8	EEB	29/01/2024 14:03	EEB	22/02/2024 17:36
Irrelevant for today	1	5	EEB	29/01/2024 14:06	EEB	22/02/2024 17:26

Evolution	1	4	EEB	22/02/2024 17:37	EEB	22/02/2024 17:38
Fabricated identity by the school	2	4	EEB	29/01/2024 14:11	EEB	22/02/2024 17:24
Singing does not shape identity	2	4	EEB	29/01/2024 14:12	EEB	31/01/2024 20:20
Other aspects of school more important	2	2	EEB	29/01/2024 14:02	EEB	31/01/2024 20:19
Negative perceptions	2	51	EEB	22/02/2024 17:47	EEB	22/02/2024 17:53
Outdated	2	22	EEB	31/01/2024 20:15	EEB	22/02/2024 17:27
Not enjoyable	1	20	EEB	31/01/2024 20:21	EEB	01/02/2024 20:50
Boring	2	8	EEB	31/01/2024 20:16	EEB	22/02/2024 17:35
Waste of time	1	1	EEB	29/01/2024 14:04	EEB	29/01/2024 14:04

song Characteristics	2	16	EEB	22/02/2024 17:49	EEB	22/02/2024 17:54
Too long	2	6	EEB	22/02/2024 17:30	EEB	22/02/2024 17:32
Not Jersusalem (Parry, 1916)	1	5	EEB	31/01/2024 20:18	EEB	01/02/2024 20:45
Repetitive	1	3	EEB	22/02/2024 17:32	EEB	22/02/2024 17:33
Stereotype	1	2	EEB	31/01/2024 20:02	EEB	31/01/2024 20:06
Too religious	1	1	EEB	31/01/2024 20:19	EEB	31/01/2024 20:19
RQ3 Text or Melodic alteration	0	0	EEB	27/01/2024 10:35	EEB	27/01/2024 10:35
RQ4 Preservation and Storage	1	1	EEB	27/01/2024 10:36	EEB	21/02/2024 09:49
Archive	1	9	EEB	27/01/2024 10:41	EEB	27/01/2024 10:52

Online public access	1	3	EEB	27/01/2024 10:47	EEB	27/01/2024 10:47
Public Access	1	3	EEB	27/01/2024 10:45	EEB	27/01/2024 10:46
Public copies available	1	2	EEB	27/01/2024 10:46	EEB	27/01/2024 10:47
Book other	1	3	EEB	27/01/2024 10:45	EEB	27/01/2024 10:52
Lost	1	3	EEB	27/01/2024 10:42	EEB	27/01/2024 10:51
Possible revival	1	1	EEB	27/01/2024 10:57	EEB	27/01/2024 10:57
Retired song	1	7	EEB	27/01/2024 10:49	EEB	27/01/2024 10:56
Songbook	1	3	EEB	27/01/2024 10:40	EEB	27/01/2024 10:44

10 APPENDIX 1: SURVEY QUESTIONS

10.1 Independent School Pupil Survey

1. I understand the purpose of the research.

2. I understand my right to anonymity and confidentiality.

3. I understand that I may withdraw from the research at any time.

4. I agree to take part in this online survey.

5. How old are you?

6. What is your gender identity?

7. What is the name of your school?

8. What town/city is your school located in?

9. Do you enjoy singing your School Song? Please rate your enjoyment below on a scale of 1 to 5 with 1 representing "I strongly dislike singing the school Song", 3 representing "I neither like nor dislike singing the school Song" and 5 being "I really enjoy singing the school Song"

    9.1. Enjoyment in singing School Song

    9.a. Please provide one reason why you do or do not enjoy singing your school song.

10. Do you feel the school song is an important part of your school's identity?

    10.a. Why do you feel it is an important part of your school's identity?

10.b. Why do you feel it is not an important part of your school's identity?

11. Do you feel the school song is an important part of your school community?

11.a. Why do you feel it is an important part of your school community?

11.b. Why do you feel it is not an important part of your school community?

12. How often do you sing your school song?

13. Where is your school song performed? Please tick all that apply

13.a. Please tell us a bit more about the location where your school song is performed.

14. Are you able to sing your school song from memory?

15. Do [...] who wrote your school song?

16. Do [...] any school songs from other independent schools?

16.a. If you answered yes to the previous question, please tell me the name of that school and the title of the song.

17. Which of the following words do you feel best describes the main theme of your school song?

17.a. If you selected Other, please specify:

18. Please confirm that you do not wish to take part in this survey.

Survey Completion

10.2 Archivist Survey

1. I confirm I have read this information about the study.

2. I understand the purpose of the research.

3. I understand my right to anonymity and confidentiality.

4. I understand that I may withdraw from the research at any time.

5. I agree to take part in this online survey.

6. In which country is your school located?

    6.a. Please provide the name of your county in the box below

7. What is the current gender profile of your school?

8. Approximately how many pupils attend your school?

9. Which of the following items exist within your school? Please select all that apply.

10. Please describe below how the original manuscripts and/or past editions of these are stored at your school.

11. Are physical copies of these items available to people outside of your school community?

    11.a. If "yes" please provide details below.

12. Are virtual copies of these items accessible to people outside your school community?

    12.a. If "yes", where are they located?

    12.a.i. If "other" please provide further information

    12.b. If "yes", in which formats are they available?

13. Does your school have a school song/hymn which is no longer sung?

13.a. If you answered yes to the previous question, please explain what happened to the manuscript/copies of the song/s which were retired.

14. Do you agree with the following statement? "The school song is an important part of my school's identity." Please rate your response below on a scale of 1 to 5 with 1 representing "I strongly disagree", 3 representing "I neither agree nor disagree" and 5 being "I strongly agree"

14.1. Agreement with statement.

14.a. Please provide one reason why you do or do not agree with the statement.

15. Do you agree with the following statement? "The school song is an important part of my school's history." Please rate your response below on a scale of 1 to 5 with 1 representing "I strongly disagree", 3 representing "I neither agree nor disagree" and 5 being "I strongly agree

15.1. Agreement with statement.

15.a. Please provide one reason why you do or do not agree with the statement.

16. Please confirm that you do not wish to take part in this survey.

Survey Completion

10.3 Stowe School Survey

1. I understand the purpose of the research.

2. I understand my right to anonymity and confidentiality.

3. I understand that I may withdraw from the research at any time.

4. I agree to take part in this online survey.

5. Are you a pupil or a member of staff?

6. How old are you? (PUPILS ONLY)

7. What is your gender identity?

8. Did you enjoy singing the school song for the recent chapel service and subsequent recording? Please rate your enjoyment below on a scale of 1 to 5 with 1 representing "I strongly disliked singing the school Song", 3 representing "I neither like nor disliked singing the school Song" and 5 being "I really enjoyed singing the school Song"

    8.1. Enjoyment in singing School Song

    8.a. Please provide one reason why you do or do not enjoy singing your school song.

9. Do you feel the school song reflects the school's identity?

    9.a. Why do you feel it reflects the school's identity?

    9.b. Why do you feel it does not reflect the school's identity?

10. Following the recent performances, how often would you like to sing the school Song?

11. Do [...] any school songs from other independent schools?

11.a. If you answered yes to the previous question, please tell me the name of that school and the title of the song.

12. Which of the following words do you feel best describes the main theme of the Stowe School Song?

12.a. If you selected Other, please specify:

Survey Completion

11 APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS

11.1 Transcription of semi-structured interview with David Woodcock, Director of Music at Harrow School

00:00:00	EEB	Thank you so much for inviting me to the Churchill songs evening last week. It was so helpful to hear the songs being sung in the speech room and to be a guest at the event. It was, yeah, it was wonderful. So, could you express what you feel the value of the songs are to the school. What do you think is the inherent value of the songs?
00:00:48	DW	Wow. Well, that's an enormous question. Yeah. I mean, I think the thing is that there are various things, of course, which between the some of the very valuable aspects from my point of view as director of music , it does mean that, [...] at least four times a year music is at the forefront.
00:01:10	DW	For us to be able to say that the whole school takes part in songs, that the whole school sings these songs, it's amazing. So [...] whether boys know it or not, they are doing something musical, so that is really important from my point of view. [...], there are obviously [...], much wider community aspects to the songs. [...], it's one of those activities or one of those things that makes Harrow, Harrow.
00:01:48	DW	[...], along with our own language, along with our own, [...], uniform, along with the strange things like hats and things like that. [...], the fact that Harrow is not throwing away its tradition of singing songs is quite surprising really. I mean, it would have been terribly easy to get rid of songs in the 1960s when everyone was being trendy and wanted to get

		rid of, [...], things that seemed a little bit outdated. So, [...] I feel very lucky that they've not got rid of it and that we still have it.
00:02:30	DW	[...], I think the boys would say that they have a love-hate relationship with some things. I think if you try them and say, well, let's get rid of hats, I think, [...], the community probably would say, well, we can't because it's part of our identity.
00:02:48	DW	I don't think there's any, [...], hate to it [the songs] at all. I think it's a love-love relationship. I think the youngest boys arrive and probably think what on Earth is this and then by the time they get to the fifth form, [...], they're probably making a difference in terms of the sound that's coming out. And by the time they get to the 6th form, they think they know them all and they're belting them out.
00:03:12	DW	So, I think [...] the cultural side, the musical side is really important to me. Particularly because in the first term of the year we have two big songs, concerts and that allied with the initial singing in the first half of term means that [...] to the boys just it's singing. It's just normal.
00:03:38	DW	So new boys arrive as trebles a, [...], you can be a superstar if you're a treble. And [...], that's obviously that's not the same if you go to a Co. Educational school. No. Yeah, so that's really important. And then the whole part of what we are. I mean I wrote an article a few years ago for one of the Royal Albert Hall things and I sort of said [that] the songs are tribally and all strange. Tribal, but tribal in the good sense of, [...], that sense of belonging and looking after one another and having something that, [...], keeps everything together. So, does that, does that make sense?

00:04:18	EEB	Yeah, absolutely. I think it's really interesting what you said about not letting the songs go when they could have in the 60s, but also when I came the other Thursday, you were discussing how you approached reviving the songs for those new pupils after COVID. Could you just touch on that briefly, as I thought your approach was really clever.
00:04:40	DW	Yeah, I mean, I was genuinely worried because, [...], we've been doing quite a lot of singing because speaking is big and we were able to, [...], once we came back to well, we started again so I mean, one of the things we didn't do very much of at all, was we really didn't engage with the idea of trying to do online activity music making at all. And obviously we embraced online individual music lessons, that was brilliant.
00:05:07	DW	But from the very outset, we felt that, [...], we'd much rather the boys were enjoying their experiences and were, [...], going away and practicing after their lessons and not spending more and more time on the screens. So [musical] activities just didn't happen. We had one or two really tough experiences with trying to teach a group of boys to try and sing a song that you think you're frustrated with it.
00:05:19	EEB	Right.
00:05:32	DW	OK, so when we came back, we tried as much as possible to do lots and lots of work sensibly spaced. When we got back together again with slightly reduced numbers, we were rehearsing 50 boys in the speech room. Everyone was massively spaced out, but songs just hadn't been happening.

00:05:51	DW	We were really nervous doing that. I would need to look back at when it was that I did this, but it was when, [...], I suppose off for the second time and we got back to singing.
00:05:59	DW	I had this discussion with the senior management [team], so [...] we've effectively got two year groups in the school now that don't really know them [the songs] because [...] the shells [first years] and then [...] and, sorry the removes [second years] and then the shells just haven't seen them [the songs].
00:06:35	DW	[...], we need to do something to ensure that they [the songs] don't lie because it would be very easy for this reason, just to give up. So, there were some interesting suggestions from some colleagues who thought it would be a good idea to get all the youngest boys in the speech room and for me to spend an hour teaching them all these songs.
00:06:51	DW	I said, well, that's not how they learn the songs. They don't learn the songs because we teach them the songs. They, [...], yes, we rehearse them, but they learn the songs in their houses. And the approach was, [...], well a lot of work for me, but I had each of the 12 boarding houses in the speech room for 40 minutes or so and they we just sang a verse or two of their favourite 20 songs and it's amazing. I mean, [...], these boys who have not really done any singing or certainly not done any of the songs, [...] came in and sort of occupied a central space and featuring just one house at a time.
00:07:34	DW	But because they were in a bubble, they could stand together and I think the littlest boy, the littlest boys, just sort of thought more about what was going on because they just turned up and experienced it. And

		so it was, yeah, that that was. That was good. I'm very glad that we did that.
00:07:53	EEB	Yeah, I just thought it was really special.
00:07:56	DW	Particularly because we had the Albert Hall looming as well and [...] we could have had a situation where we had half the school that [...], really weren't in the position to sing the songs very well, so it was important.
00:08:06	EEB	Yeah, yeah. I just thought it was such a clever approach to keep them in the houses and have that sense of community supporting that.
00:08:18		Could you perhaps touch on your relationship with the songs? I know you've done that briefly, but speaking as director of music from when you first came to post compared to where you are now, how has your relationship changed or is it different to how you expect?
00:08:38	DW	OK. Well, I mean, I think the thing is that.
00:08:43	DW	Yeah, I mean, my job is, I suppose I see my job as a custodian of the songs and of the tradition and [...], it's my job to try to ensure that we keep the repertoire as wide as possible, [...] whether it's wide enough? I don't know. I mean, I mean, I'll mention something to you later, which is quite amusing, which has just happened in the last few days, but yeah, I mean, making sure that we hear as many of them as possible during the course of the year or sing them. Yes, I know that I've got to write one and [...] and it's coming and I've just gotta find the right the right moment of inspiration, the right text. So yes, I do want to add to the Harrow songs, but I am mindful of the fact that 830 boys very much see

		it as their tradition. the songs of theirs, they're not mine, [...], I am. I am really a cog that keeps it ticking over and so, [...], trying to introduce new songs is not easy.
00:10:12	EEB	No, you explained about the previous person not having an awful lot of success.
00:10:17	DW	[REDACTED]
00:10:29	EEB	[REDACTED]
00:10:33	DW	[REDACTED] The very process of having to face up to 835 boys which is not easy and [...], and I don't mind saying that, [...], when I first arrived, those first song practices... I mean, [...], looking into a room where [...] that everyone apart from the Shells, every other person in the room knows better than you do how these things go, and they're not gonna, [...], put up with you if you can't do them so [...]... I mean, I would say certainly, probably for the first two or three years I'm probably more nervous walking into a songs rehearsal than I ever have been walking off the stage. [...], you feel like a you feel like a lion tamer, [...] so. I'm lucky in that I have had a good relationship with the school. [...], I think they understand how I work. [...], I don't let them get away with things I will try and get them to sing better, and [...], and be firm with them if they're not but [...] you can't try and take 835 boys on head on unless you've got a smile on your face. So, I mean, that's part that's part of the dynamic.
00:12:13	DW	[REDACTED]

		[...], and then there's a wonderful there's, there's this apocryphal story was a wonderful man called [REDACTED], who was director of music here [REDACTED] and he wrote a solo song, [REDACTED], but there's a story that says that, [...] that one occasion of a Harrow songs concert he just couldn't face the thought of it so he was found literally on the train going to Oxford, [...] just...
00:12:53	EEB	Oh, bless him.
00:12:54	DW	So, I know, I know, I know. As I say, I don't. I don't know. I don't know whether that's a true story or not, but yeah, go back. Yeah.
00:13:00	EEB	It's believable!
00:13:05	DW	And you go back, and [...], I mean you can read about this in the preface to the songs. By coming [...] on this whole premise of getting boys to sing, [...] him [Farmer] being pelted with football boots! I mean it's, partly there's the relationship with the songs themselves, partly the relationship with the school, this part, this part it's more the same thing I suppose, [...], do I still feel nervous now? No, I don't really, I mean I've got used to that and I know how to deal with that.
00:13:38	EEB	And has your relationship with the songs changed?
00:13:41	DW	Only in as much as I know them [the pupils]. I feel confident enough now to, [...]... they always say to me, I don't like this song, or I like that song. So, what's your favourite song? I'm very happy to be fairly open and honest, whereas I think when I first arrived, I think I was probably,

		[...], quite daunted because I wanted to know, [...], what the school feels about.
00:14:11	EEB	Yeah.
00:14:13	DW	The amazing thing is that [...] Harrovians and then Old Harrovians themselves they're only in the school for five years, but they immediately assume that they are actually the world's greatest authority on the songs. So, so yeah, I mean I think beyond that, I'm not sure. I mean, I just know that I've got to write one.
00:14:40	EEB	Yeah, and that must be quite daunting. That was a question for later on, but that must be daunting. One of the things I found from being in the concert and reflecting on it was just the difference between looking at the songs on the page, as I have been for a while, and then hearing them sung. I was really struck by how difficult a lot of them are in terms of the performance practice and just the way you have to watch all the different tempo changes, the pauses and I mean, hats off to you it was just incredible. But to see the difficulty of those songs, I don't think I'd particularly appreciated before some of them are incredibly difficult to sing. It's not just a simple oh here's a song. There are so many opportunities for songs to go wrong, to fall apart and I haven't really been aware of that before. So, are there any performance, practice things that took you by surprise with the songs over the years?

00:15:38	DW	No, I mean, I think. The thing is that [...] you. You realise fairly quickly that [...], for example, 40 years on, they don't sing the rhythm, they don't sing the rhythm of the score.
00:15:46	EEB	No. Yeah.
00:15:49	DW	So, [...] that's not something [...] that's probably, [...], 100 and something years of doing it wrong, so you're not gonna try and unpick that. [...], there are other little bits and pieces where [...] because it is it's basically an oral tradition and so I mean, they're the other things that take me by surprise. We did song of the forwards [in the concert] didn't we?
00:16:25	EEB	Yes, yeah, yeah.
00:16:27	DW	So, who wrote that is that... It's not Fanning, is it? Or is it? Can't remember which one is which but let me just check. Yeah, it's not Fanning, so it must be... it has to be Thatcher because Thatcher Liked playing a trick or two on the school.
00:16:56	DW	So [...], like song *of the forwards*, that extra line 8 bar, where it's very, very easy for the whole school to sort of come in early with a “shove” and the school doesn't do that anymore because they kind of, they've had it rehearsed out to them. And then which is the other song of his You almost have a sense that he deliberately tries to trip them up.
00:17:34	EEB	[...], trip up the whole school select.

00:17:36	DW	But [...], generally speaking, [...], you pick up on the traditions fairly quickly. [...], my predecessor left me a marked book with how things go. There are some things that we don't like. We've allowed [those songs] to disappear. I mean, there used to be one of the verses of *October* where there's a verse about girls, and the boys also used to sing it with a lisp. That's died. The thing is that, [...], if you have something that looks like it might become tradition that you don't want, you just retire the song for a quick bit and then they forget. No one knows.
00:18:11	EEB	Good. Yeah.
00:18:31	DW	I've had to have had to retire a few of his from a couple of speech days, which was a pity because we just had a couple of senior boys who just messed up certain instructions and the performance practice of it has evolved. So, [...] things... It's really funny, I, so that's something that we wouldn't have done before Says the comedian who chooses the song [referring to himself]. Why would you want to do that? So, I need to...
00:18:43	DW	So, but no, I mean I think...
00:19:09	EEB	OK.
00:19:13	DW	It must have been because the Headmaster requested something else out of the ordinary, and so we lost out there. So, when the school sings *Ducker* the whole school sways and it's a waltz, *Ducke*r is a waltz.

		[…] you don't go there and the whole school does this… Alright, that had never happened until the Royal Albert Hall in 2007. The lighting did that [moving] and the school just started following along [with the lights] and so I'm standing there and all watching this light, I'm watching 800 boys, and everyone just sort of says how amazing it looked. Yeah the next time they're standing in the speech room it's like, oh, God, they're doing it here now and it's like, it's one of those things, involved that they are, they [the boys] are very much in control. So there's they are swaying in [Ducker] and then they try to do it in another couple of songs so I have to say no, we don't. The tradition is because you created this tradition here, you don't do it in any of the other songs. Yeah, and so you stop it altogether.
00:20:30	DW	And they are constantly evolving and changing and. Always doing things.
00:20:35	EEB	And do you think that helps to keep them relevant to the pupils now, because obviously some of them [the songs] are very old so I think it gives the pupils now some kind of ownership over these songs which go way back.
00:20:48	DW	Yeah, I think I think they like they like […] just little things. I mean there's a little of whooping that goes on in *Left! Right!* that didn't used to happen. But […], again we just we just decided that it's, […], if it means they're having fun, you just gotta let it go
00:21:07	EEB	Yeah. Yeah. So what are your thoughts on contributing a song eventually? Sorry, [laughs] I have to go there and ask.

00:21:18		Yeah, well, I mean it's so I don't think I've got a copy [of the song book] Let me just let me just see if I can find something for you that I got. Harrow still have the school newspaper, comes out every week. OK, so last week... [sarcastic] oh look what come up.
00:21:56	EEB	The front page.
00:21:57	EEB	Churchill. So yeah.
00:21:58	DW	Songs to the board. So there's a little write up of all songs. There's what's been going on and the number [...] and then, and then there's an answer. So apart from talking about the songs concert itself, then there's an article about *500 Faces* and when it was written and talks about all the boys who are in school, who have actually done it and.
00:22:22	EEB	Which is really sweet, yeah.
00:22:30	DW	And then. There's a there's a letter...
00:22:32	DW	There's a letter from one boy about a song from the past. There's another one about songs saying how awful they think my predecessor's song, which I had retired is, but, [...], I let a whole generation go before I brought that one back and the boy.
00:22:51	EEB	Yeah, I thought they sang that really well.
00:22:58	DW	Yeah, so underneath this letter there is an anonymous little bit of editorial...You see what that says? [holds the paper up to the camera]

00:23:09	EEB	Sorry which one?
00:23:09	DW	The headliner there [points] “Where is our new song?”
00:23:12	EEB	Oh, sorry, I totally missed that... Really! Somebody's...
00:23:17	DW	“Where is our new song?” Oh yeah.
00:23:22	EEB	[laughs] Because you clearly have nothing else to do with your time than to sit here in a relaxed mode and write a song. Wow... Because if that didn't add to any pressure you felt, what would?
00:23:33	DW	I know! So, we, so yeah...
00:23:36	DW	We thank them for this, but [...], it's about time we wrote some, isn't it? So, we're coming out [to print] and so and it just goes on every page. Wow. Just like all this...
00:23:48	EEB	It's slightly short, yeah. So yes, so no pressure.
00:23:55	DW	No, and the and the weird thing is, the weird thing is I had literally sort of 48 hours before this came out...
00:24:00	DW	I pulled because I've got various texts lying around on my desk and I pulled them all out and I was looking at and thinking that this is the one that I need to set. Unfortunately, the author of the text is still a master in the school, so I've been. But yeah, so it's. But [...] it, it's just quite funny. I mean, [...], again, I mean I think [...], if I was a slightly more nervous disposition, I would

		read this and sort of gone [looks shocked] and gone [pretends to cry] whereas actually I just look at this, and I just sort of think “Oh, I'm concerned”. I just love the fact that they care about this sort of thing, [...]? Well, we get, [...], we have this massive write up of Churchill songs, and then there's another couple of things in there about songs and letters and then [...], one of the boys has written that [and] because it's editorial, I don't know which boy it is. That's yeah... But yeah, so I've gotta get on with it!
00:24:55	EEB	But that is a really positive take to have from that actually, yeah, they care enough to wonder where's the next one.
00:25:04	DW	Yeah, I don't they're mean asking me that. Well, no, they do occasionally ask me direct questions so yeah, I know I've got to do it. I mean, my original aim was to try and do it for [the] 450 [school celebration Churchill songs], which was last year, but it just, I just, I ran out of, time. Yeah, because [...] actually, the Churchill songs was in November, and we've been going... [...], I should have foreseen how bad [busy because of the celebrations] it was going to be and, [...], tried to write it a year in advance and I just, I knew it wasn't going to do it justice, so yeah. I think it is the weight of expectation, I think. [...], I think the thing is, yeah, I'm quite happy to write something if I think it might only be heard once and then, [...], consigned to the to the rubbish heap
00:26:01	DW	[...] you could write some chant or write a little Christmas Carol and [...] if someone likes it, they might do it again and if they don't, they will never see the light of day.

00:26:03	EEB	Yeah, yeah.
00:26:09	DW	Again, I mean and that's that, isn't it? The problem with this is that you kind of, I'm going to have to start on teaching [it to the boys], so it's going to have to be something that I feel reasonably proud of and it, and it's something that you, [...], if it goes into the song book. You don't want people to sort of look at it and go [makes a disgusted face]
00:26:35	EEB	[laughs] Yeah, yeah.
00:26:36	DW	And [...] I mean with the best will in the world, [...] similarly just before this, this [editorial] all came out. I mean, I could literally be sitting at my piano sort of thinking, [...], should I revisit some of the other songs by my immediate predecessor?
00:26:56	DW	[...], I think and it's not, [...], I think this is the problem, isn't it. It's not just that you got to have a good text, you've got to have a good text that a bunch of teenage boys are gonna be having to sing and that's ultimately, [...], anything that's too twee or modern and a little bit naff, they're going to pick up on straight away and...
00:27:25	EEB	Yeah.
00:27:26	DW	And it's an interesting thing that I think I mentioned, I mean something like Lyons Rd. Which is a. That's. That's that true, isn't it?
00:27:35	EEB	Yes, I think so.

00:27:37	DW	[...], with its Bechmanesque [...] text that had fallen out of favour, and it had fallen out of use before I arrived. It wasn't really sung very much and that was the one I wanted to reintroduce.
00:27:48	DW	And of course [...] now that language is lovely and twee and [...], it's nearly 100 years old but [...], I can imagine that, [...] in the 1930s the boys would have thought how awful it was to be singing about trams and cars and planes and, OK, all right it would be interesting to know how that song was received when it was written, but it was for the song book. Yeah, I mean it needs, it needs to have a good topic. Yeah, but...
00:28:33	DW	The 450 [celebrations] would have been a good one. I mean, I think the current thinking in the conversations I'm having with the person that's gonna write, hopefully write me a text Is that something based around the [school] values, or war and that sort of [educational] outreach might be the way forward so.
00:28:59	EEB	Watch this space.
00:29:01	DW	We'll see. Yeah, it's... I've got sort of half discarded choruses on manuscript paper things like that. So, it's...
00:29:15	EEB	Yeah, well, I don't envy the task at all but I'm sure whatever you write will be fantastic.
00:29:24	DW	I mean, my predecessor...if you, if you look at his dates, it's quite funny, I think. I think he must have sort of got to a stage where he sort of

		thought “I gotta do five more five more years in this job, I can write a song every year in the hope that one I write one might fit.”
00:29:41	EEB	One doesn't get you booed. Yeah.
00:29:43	DW	And because what were they... I don't even have the most up to date version of the songbook on my desk. It's terrible [to not have the latest copy to hand]. But certainly, but yes, I mean. So his last one, I think was *The Vaughan,* which I mean, [...]... no one wants to be singing about emails.
00:30:05	EEB	No... no.
00:30:06	DW	[...] that's not gonna not be a winner. And is it all right, I think, but worked a little bit we and *Churchill's Path* is just... Who wants to be singing in five, four, [...] and keep going off in different directions? And *Home to the Hill* is the better [one] so.
00:30:36	EEB	And I thought they sang it really well.
00:30:39	DW	Yeah, the school likes it. Other than this one boy that's written [in the paper] so...
00:30:44	DW	Then, but yeah, I do feel it's ridiculous in that you have to look at the songbook and [...] there were songs written in the 1930s which we sing pretty regularly, [...], and there was then this big gap actually between 1910 and the 1930s. So there's a gap there in the vast majority of the songs are written between 18, whatever it is, 1870... and then, [...], 1934, and then in current for the next song is 2002.

00:31:22	EEB	Yeah, it's big.
00:31:23	DW	70 years between... 2000 Yeah, 2001, 2002, 2002... yeah. Yes, I know there needs to be another song.
00:31:35	EEB	Yeah, well, I look forward to hearing it.
00:31:39	EEB	Thank you so much...I won't ask you what your favourite song is [laughs]
00:31:44	DW	[laughing] Oh, it's easy. It's easy. That's.
00:31:45	EEB	Oh?
00:31:46	DW	That's an easy one I'm very, very happy to answer. I'll say it's The Silver Arrow.
00:31:50	EEB	Really. Oh and why? Because I think that's probably, for me, in the concert, that's probably the one that stuck with me the least. So that's quite interesting. What you like about it.
00:32:01	DW	Really? What didn't you like about it?
00:32:02	EEB	It's not that I didn't like... the others just kind of grabbed me more, I think.
00:32:08	DW	Yeah, I mean, I just, I just think that I think the tune is great. I think the boys love the tune as well. I think they also love that dramatic change

		halfway through the last verse and yeah, I mean it's, yeah and it's and it's box only town in the phone book. There are others that he wrote, but that have fallen out [of use] or are just solo songs. So it's, [...], it's the only one, the whole school thing. So yeah, that's. Mine and I think also boys would say that it's their favourite as well.
00:32:41	EEB	Interesting. OK.
00:32:43	DW	We should have to got them to do it. I'm surprised. I mean, normally they're very good at doing this sort of thing. [...], they make it an edition [newspaper] about something. [...], I'm surprised they haven't got a survey.
00:32:53	DW	[...], I should suggest that they do a survey. See how many boys actually respond and [...], say which is their favourite.
00:33:06	EEB	That could be interesting. If you do, can I please use the result?
00:33:12	DW	So maybe we can arrange for that happen. Yeah. Is that everything you needed? Anything else you've really thought about?
00:33:19	EEB	No, I mean that's fantastic. No, I don't think so. I mean this is, [...] you've given me so much of your time with the concert and everything. Anyway, this is just so helpful to help me kind of triangulate things about the songs and look at them from different perspectives. And yeah, thank you so much. It was anything I could do to return the favour please just let me know. Always happy to help.

00:33:41	DW	Think nothing of it and [...], and if you do suddenly think of something then [...]. do come back to me.
00:33:49	EEB	Thank you
00:33:51	DW	I think it [the songs] is one of our craziest traditions, I mean, of all of all the traditions that we have it's still, I still, it's still not to me, strange. And there's a very interesting quote. I mean, I don't know if you've read this quote by Christopher Tyerman, who's a former history Don, and he has written A History of Harrow School. And time and Celts TYERMAN.
00:34:22	DW	Don't misquote me if I've got this wrong here, but he says something like Harrow's songs. *Harrow school songs represent the vice like grip of the old school tie at its tightest*, which is a very interesting quote. The Harrow songs represent the highest mark, or the old school tie at its tightest. and I've used that quote with groups of sort of year nine boys. And I've said, when I've been talking about the songs, and I've said to them, What do we think about that quote? Is what he's saying a nice thing or is, [...], is he saying is this is good? Is it bad? Is it what? What's he saying? Yeah, because it's a very clever sentence, because you can, read it and understand it how you like.
00:35:22	DW	And [...], you get some of them sort of go, "Well, [...], you don't, you don't want your tie tight" so you could be saying that [...] with the old school. But I said I think quite simply [its] good, all it's saying is that [...] a bit like when you're a little child growing up and you start to learn nursery rhymes and they get into your blood? That is, [...]..., like the

		smell of your parents, I mean that it's the kind of thing that you can never escape. It will always be there; it will always be there... And I think that's the thing [...] that the boys, when they arrive here..., and of course, they don't realise when they're a Shell or Remove that that these things are getting into their lives in a way that means that they will never forget. That's why [...], all together all over the world...I mean, [...] what you haven't experienced? Is that you have hundreds of Old Harrovian dinners, and it gets the end of the dinner and they all sing the songs.
00:36:24	EEB	Yeah, yeah.
00:36:27	DW	At the end of the day, you've got grown men sitting there, crying or, [...], someone who did *500 Faces* sixty years ago, deciding that he's gonna do it again for the hell of it. At the age of 80. And of course, that sort of emotional response can be very useful to... or whether you want to get people to write checks.
00:36:56	EEB	Yes, and to invest in the future of the school, yeah.
00:37:00	DW	[...], it's amazing really to just to think that, [...], in the whole, it's certainly the Harrow, the Harrow tradition, [...], it just came from Farmer arriving and thinking.
00:37:13	DW	Let's just get a bit of singing going on in the House. Yeah, it's great. If that's where you want it, you just [...], you just wanted that. And that still goes on so, [...], at the moment all the houses in the next sort of week or so have got song performances in their houses. Which

		is, [...], it's s crazy. They invite people for dinner and then the whole house is dragged out of their rooms and then sing, [...], several songs for their invited guests. Yeah. And again, the other thing that you want to experience, I don't know whether other schools do this because they don't have the left or in the households, Old Harrovian dinner songs.
00:38:00	DW	They have things called add ons, so they'll sing the first verse and the second verse will be something like if the song is about cricket, which you didn't hear any crickets on the other day, but [...] the songs about cricket we like. So, [...] anyone who's played, [...], “Anyone who's batted higher than five in the Harrow cricket teams this term” and seeing this person on the night so you end up, with boys and 4 old Harrovians who probably may not have radio voices, try standing up and basically singing with two or three other people. So it's, [...], it's it's extraordinary to think about how this [tradition has] entirely its own life, yeah.
00:38:39	EEB	That's fantastic. Yeah. Yeah, absolutely.
00:38:39	DW	So, I think yeah, that probably as much as I can tell you.
00:38:47	EEB	No, that's absolutely fantastic. Thank you so much for your time and I hope the rest of the term goes well for you and that New York goes really smoothly.
00:38:58	DW	Well, again, that's, that's all that's all based around songs. So the group I'm taking at school XII which was previously decided, yeah, they're not part of this one but they [the leadership team] decided or we have a school lately in New York may or may not be opening.
00:39:03	EEB	OK. Yeah, they were fantastic.

00:39:15	DW	You may not know this so...
00:39:15	EEB	I wasn't aware, but I do know!
00:39:18	DW	Yeah, next September. Yeah, on Long Island.
00:39:22	EEB	Oh, amazing.
00:39:25	DW	And so they've been talking to me about, [...], we're sort of saying oh, [...], music group coming out to do some stuff to help with [publicity]. And I said “Well, [...] what do you want and they were floating ideas around. Then I said “Well, [...], what's the point in taking Christmas carols to New York in December? There's plenty of people doing all that kind of stuff”. I said, “[...], if you want, if you want to fly the flag waving advertising, then, [...], bring twelve of the best boys in the school who can talk eloquently about their experiences, can sing a few songs at the drop for hat, which is no stress at all” And so that's why we're taking them and it's, I mean they're so lucky, these boys they've basically they're going to New York for a week now.
00:40:26	EEB	Nice! Yeah.
00:40:28	DW	And the and the partner Amity, I think they're called.
00:40:33	EEB	Oh yeah, yeah.
00:40:35	DW	Amity Education group are paying the rest

00:40:40	EEB	Wow, that's amazing.
00:40:43	DW	And so all we've got to do is two or three kind of quite high-profile events, one songs concert and the rest is when sightseeing and shopping. Again, it's, it's just it's because, [...], the songs.
00:41:01	EEB	Yeah, because of what they represent, yeah.
00:41:04	EEB	Thank you for your time.

11.2 Transcription of semi-structured interview with Dr Anthony Wallersteiner, Head of Stowe School

00:00:01	EEB	Thank you for agreeing to this interview today relating to the Stowe School song. So, to begin, could you possibly comment on your understanding of the school song before the revival process began?
00:00:15	EEB	What were you aware of and what were your thoughts on it prior to what we've gone through in the last month or so?
00:00:22	AW	I knew there was a song that had been commissioned by Roxburgh. I had a file in the school song folder [in the archives] which had various iterations of the lyrics from correspondence from Roxburgh.
00:00:45	AW	So, I had an awareness. I knew that the final version had been approved and that it had been performed and we had the, in fact we had the, the lyrics. So, we did have the words, but we didn't have the music.
00:01:04	AW	So, I knew we were sitting on some really interesting information. And, [...], oddly enough, that it was one of the bits of the archive that I brought in here [the Gothic Library].
00:01:14	AW	I'm thinking this is quite interesting for our centenary and it was. I had a mental note that I was going to try and find out more about it for the Centenary because five years ago, when Harry Gregson Williams was... seven years ago, when Harry Gregson Williams was our

		musician in residence or composer in residence, I had asked him to think about composing a centenary anthem. And so, I wanted to give him [Harry Gregson Williams] some sense of [...] the provenance of this, that, that there was an anthem. It hadn't been successful, so we were revisiting something that goes back to 1923, very much the same sort of thing that we did with Brenda Calvin's Garden that we had a, a piece of grass [outside the Gothic Library] that had been turned over, but there had been a garden there.
00:02:07	AW	So, it's a kind of palimpsest of going under the layer to see if we could get to the bedrock of what was the intention of this? Who was commissioned? Why it was commissioned more than the sentiment, and at some point, I would have gone into the archive to see if I could find the music.
00:02:24	AW	Until lo and behold the letter arrives.
00:02:28	AW	And it's, it's that It's that bundled behind this, this sort of just a random collection and it fell out from a bundle of other papers related to the early years of the school. So, it was complete serendipity that we could put together pretty much a complete archival folder around this song.
00:02:53	EEB	So, had any of your predecessors spoken to you or been aware of the school song and tried to revive it to your knowledge?
00:03:02	AW	I don't know. I don't think so.
00:03:07	AW	No one had talked to me about a school song, no one had mentioned it. I think I was probably the first person to get that file out of the

		archive because it seems to be quite interesting. So, I think it really was lost for all those years. Yeah.
00:03:27	EEB	You undertook some of the text revisions of the song, what were your aims in reviving the text and do you feel that those aims were achieved?
00:03:38	AW	Yeah. So, the song was written at a very particular time 1920 -23 and after World War One. Britain was at the height of the Empires. In fact, we acquired quite a lot of protectorates in the Middle East [at that time].
00:04:00	AW	So, if you look at the maps of the empire, it actually reaches its zenith in the 1920s and 30s because of the collapse of Germany, Austria, Hungary, Russia and the Ottoman Empire. So, in Britain and France were the beneficiaries of the collapse of particularly the Ottoman empires. So, we got these protectorates in the Middle East and places like Iraq, we maintain control over by using Iraqi villages for RAF practice. So it was written at a time when Empire was still intact when the school was entirely male and It's a chauvinist, pretty young top down approach class structure as well and truly intact. So there's quite a lot of the, some of the words needed to be changed and made more appropriate for or suitable for a modern audience, but not a huge amount because in the text you talked about Stowe in the *second innings* and so it's it, it it's there, it's deliberately archaic, but the one or two things that has needed to be changed.
00:05:25	EEB	I found that in the song, the school is referred to in the feminine as well, *God's blessings still upon her*, which I thought was quite

		interesting and quite nice. So, do feel that the song connects with the ethos of the school now?
00:05:35	AW	They're in her second. You're right, in *her* second innings. Yeah. I've not thought about the gender of the school.
00:05:42	EEB	And do you think that fits with the ethos of the school now because the song and one of the things Jonathan discussed in his interview was how the song features elements of architecture Obviously that doesn't change over time, whereas values and [...] the makeup of the pupil body has.
00:06:01	AW	It's interesting that half the song it is about the Temple Grenville [family] and columns, a strong sense of identity from the past. And then there's that tentative sense of we have inherited a legacy from the past and temples and landscape and the legacy.
00:06:29	AW	So, there's a very the positive side of the 18th century, so the negative is empire, but the positive is in enlightenment and using reason to overcome superstition and fear
00:06:48	AW	The other positive is that from 1714 from George the First onwards, that we have constitutional monarchies, so monarchy under the law of under the rule of Parliament and that takes us away from the English Civil War, away from the Stuarts away from The Glorious Revolution into the 18th century, which was an age of remarkable stability of the 18th century.
00:07:17	AW	There is the agricultural revolution and then it's the beginnings of the industrial revolution. So, it is this explosion and I think the song

		actually captures that kind of optimism of the 18th century. And here in the 21st, 20th century, after World War One, we have an opportunity to recreate those ideals from a couple of 100 years earlier and it's interesting that that the beginnings of the school ethos are set out.
00:07:55	EEB	And it's quite interesting for me because when you mentioned about when it was written being at the, [...] at this point with the peak of the of the empire, what I've found so far is the main period of writing for school songs has been from between 1850, which is one of the earliest ones, up to 1930 seems to be when most of these school songs were written. Which ties in with a lot of National anthems being written as well, and this kind of latching on to identity. But obviously at the time, as [...] from what you sent me in the notes, people refused to write the song for the school saying "*there's nothing to write about"*. So, do you feel that perhaps we're putting an identity into the song now that wasn't there at the start and we're seeing perhaps in some ways, seeing something in it that wasn't necessarily there to begin with?
00:08:44	AW	I don't know... so a lot of traditions, even in the late 19th century are invented traditions. So, the fact that most of the independent schools, most of the public schools in the late Victorian period are torn down and rebuilt. So mostly structures which were 16th century are completely rebuilt, repurposed, and given [...] castellations and Gothic architecture. So, there was a deliberate attempt to reinvent the traditions of the public school and go back to an age of chivalry and look back to the 15th century and revive the Arthurian mythology, and so on and the monarchy goes through exactly the same thing, so [...] the Georgians, the monarchy was a very small private court.

00:09:34	AW	The language was German, [...], George the First spoke Latin with Robert Walpole because he didn't speak any English. Queen Victoria's first language was German. So, something like a coronation, was a private affair for the royal family and a small number of Dukes and Earls, and by chance, so this idea wasn't a national event as such. So, the first moment where monarchy is democratised and opened up is the Golden Jubilee, so it's 1887, is the first, [...], the Queen Victoria's coronation 1887, her marriage to Prince Albert, all private affairs. Quite chaotic and pretty, [...], amateur. Events and not widely reported. No journalists, no photographs.
00:10:40	AW	So these private affairs are the first attempt to re relaunch monarchy and after a period where Queen Victoria had been really quite unpopular after the death of Albert she goes into she goes up to Scotland and hides away and there are signs outside Buckingham Palace saying, [...], "*vacant property to let, our present owners whereabouts are unknown"*, so there's a quite a strong feeling of republicanism coming through and Disraeli first of all comes up with this idea of the Empress of India. [...], let's identify the monarchy with empire and so completely creates this mythology of monarchy empire and it gets an Indian servant to come and serve the Queen. She learns some foreign languages she tries to find out more about the Hindu religion.
00:11:35	AW	So that's the first thing. The second thing is the Golden Jubilee. And then, then they do it all over again in the Diamond Jubilee in 1897 and they're absolutely staggered that so many people come out to see the queen and the Royal Family.

00:11:54	AW	And this little old lady wearing widow's weeds draws hundreds of thousands of people, and even the word Jubilee is an invented word. It hasn't really been used before the 1887 Golden Jubilee.
00:12:09	AW	So, it's all very experimental and then alongside of that you get the, you get Parry, you get Elgar, you get these wonderful anthems which everyone can identify with and [are] instantly memorable. So, we're at the end of that period of creating a narrative identity rooted in the chivalric past based on, [...], the codes of arms based on [...] Temple Grenville family, which has got the longest non repeated surnames, an 18 barreled surname and the [boarding] houses the 1st house is Bruce and Temple and you go down the list [...] all the [...] it's not until.
00:12:52	EEB	It's amazing.
00:13:04	AW	2008, no 2007, that we move away from [boarding] houses named after the families.
00:13:11	AW	[...], the first one is Queen's and I had some opposition to that. And I said, well, Her Majesty the Queen is visiting, and I think Queens trump Dukes! So, I think I think we can now move away and then we won't stand. There was actually a family name and then we went to Cheshire and Winton, so we finally escaped that pull of the past. So I think what they were doing in 1923 was exactly what many of the public schools were doing, which was.
00:13:43	AW	Going back into the antique and finding a narrative story that disguises the fact that these schools are very different from the school's that have been set up, when [...] in the old days house masters would

		actually buy the house, they would actually run the house as a commercial business, fees would be paid to the house master.
00:14:12	AW	Eton went down to a couple of 100 boys in the in the 19th century there were frequent riots.
00:14:19	AW	Children died in school because of poor hygiene, bad food. There was corporal punishment and almost no, no kind of inspection.
00:14:31	AW	So, what was happening in the 19th century as school reform came in? If the Education Act that independent schools had to improve, they had to find a new purpose and just as you see in the pre-Raphaelite with their attempt to go back into the, [...], Arthurian parts and go, [...], painting a style that's deliberately archaic and choosing, [...], themes of, [...], Druids and Romans and Arthurian mythology and [...], and tennis and writing The Lady of Shallot. This is another attempt to pretend that the industrial Revolution, the growth of Manchester and Birmingham, and the great Industrial Cities is not really happening and the wealth that is driving the success of these schools is not new money but old money.
00:15:31	AW	So you send your child to a school like Stowe or Tonbridge or Harrow, Winchester and you're buying into this patternation that veneer of antiquity and conduct based on a code of conduct that had been established or could be noted is that looking back to that mythical golden age of marrying, which never really existed and is brought into focus in the 19th century.
00:16:02	AW	To create a, and they thought it's, [...], it's not unlike today, [...] people are buying a product which is in a stately home where we have amazing opportunities. But you've got a chance to go clay pigeon

		shooting. You can go fishing, you can go Beagling, [...], riding, you can pretend to be a 17th or 18th century member of the landed aristocracy, but the money that's financing this is from a hedge Fund.
00:16:31	EEB	It's interesting you should mention Arthurian legend, because I think Sto, Persto, Praesto, and one of the other school songs which was in contention both mentioned a sword and there's references in the letters between Roxborough and Brent-Smith and other people relating to swords and it's quite, that's quite interesting.
00:16:51	AW	There was quite a debate about the representation of the Cross on the altar [in the school Chapel]. Because we were set up by the Martyrs Memorial Trust, the chairman of Governors and the Reverend Percy Warrington felt the candles and crucifixes were higher church than they wanted. So, there was a debate between Roxburgh and Warrington about using a Crusaders sword behind the altar to represent the cross.
00:17:31	EEB	Oh wow.
00:17:35	EEB	OK.
00:17:37	AW	And in in the End Roxburgh won the debate, but it wasn't until about 1930, so three years after Chapel opened, and actually one year after open is open, 1929 that they were able to have a crucifix.
00:17:52	AW	So, there's [...], I think there was a there was the sort of, there was something that was a Samurai Sword, which was presented to the school as a gift from the Japanese embassy and there was a debate

		whether that should be used to represent the cross, but it's, yeah, it's an interesting demand.
00:18:12	EEB	That's really interesting, and one of the other things when you mentioned about Jersusalem (Parry, 1916) is that in some of the initial letters before they had written a melody, I think there's a quote from Roxburgh saying something like *Jersusalem (Parry, 1916) would be good*, but obviously at that point, even though Jerusalem (Parry, 1916) had been around for a little while as [...], Elgar and Parry's music was quite new and this new grand version that we are used to today would have only just come through. It is interesting that the school uses Jerusalem (Parry, 1916) as well, almost to replace a school song.
00:18:49	AW	And that is isn't it because obviously Jerusalem (Parry, 1916) is based on a series of rhetorical questions of which all have the answer "No". No. Did these be in ancient time, walk upon England's green and pleasant passes? The answer is no. It's Joseph of Arimathea in another Arthurian myth.
00:19:13	AW	But that line about the dark satanic mills, [...], there was the industrial revolution. That's what England is really like in the 19th century when Blake was writing those lines. So, I find it, it's very interesting. The deliberate attempt to pretend that we're not [in] 1923, you're quarter of the way through the 20th century. So the telephone, the radio, there were eight light bulbs in the pictures of this room being handed over when it was sold in 1922.
00:19:55	AW	The cinema has been invented; you get silent cinema. But the world in 1923 is not a million miles away from where we are today. 1823, which is a very different world where everything is horse and carriage, it is, [...] you are in a pre, the pre-industrial Revolution and the pre

		communication revolution. So, I do find it really interesting that 1923 years is within touch and if we were transported back we could navigate our way around 1923 and so that song is deliberately pretending that it's set in 1823
00:20:44	EEB	Yeah. Could you reflect on your response to the performances of the school Song? So, in the centenary service that we had, and again when the students requested [the song] to be sung at the leavers [chapel service]?
00:20:57	EEB	First, could you just reflect on how you how you felt about hearing that with the whole school community singing it?
00:21:08	AW	I was, I was very... I was surprised, I think that's probably the biggest emotion. Because I have to admit, I thought this would not work. I didn't think that today's school would get behind an anthem, which is deliberately, quite difficult to sing, and that requires a huge commitment from the congregation, from the moment you, start there Jerusalem (Parry, 1916) is and [...] Jerusalem.
00:21:45	EEB	There's a build, yeah.
00:21:46	AW	Has a lot, a lot of a lot of complications there. [...] that the hymn [Jerusalem] started even on Sunday [chapel service] and we sang it. We were three lines in before the congregation had worked out, we'd started. We've got this song that requires you to belt out the word Stowe.
00:22:00	EEB	Yeah, you have one bar and that's it.

00:22:02	AW	Yeah, and you've got to count and remember [when to come in] because otherwise it's going to be very embarrassing. You can come in and no one has done that yet.
00:22:08	EEB	Yes, yes, yes.
00:22:11	AW	No one, yet.
00:22:13	AW	And then you've got the...
00:22:14	AW	That awful, horrible double pump of forced pride. Yes, I think we've got the sense of Stowe being repeated.
00:22:23	AW	So, I do grimace every time I hear the repetition of Stowe, even though I know it's for effect. So huge surprise, because I didn't think it would catch on.
00:22:40	AW	Secondly, I was interested to see whether the school could cope with the melody that is challenging and some time signatures that change and the middle part doesn't carry a huge amount of flair, and then it [the refrain] comes back right at the end. And I was pleased because there are a few things that will stand out in the centenary, the kind of things that were unique to this year and having a song that we didn't commission Jonathan Dove or get Howard Goodall, an old Stoic, to come along and compose something contemporary, but we went back to the foundation story and it's created another foundation myth which is great because there's another story about the serendipity of this [...]. If you believe in divine intervention that God made this happen, that, [...], why? Why would this thing just suddenly appear? Just because if it would have appeared three years ago, I'd have

		probably lost interest, but just at the point where I'm thinking we need something to encapsulate the story in the same way as that of the garden.
00:24:15	AW	[...], I can tell a story about the Garden of Eden and then Arcadia, and then the Renaissance gardens and then the capability Brown and the idea of creating a landscape that evokes all of these ideas and then bringing it into Brenda Coleman. So just as we were looking for a narrative to take us into and through the gardeners, trying to find something that goes right back to the words and the music that were being heard at the time. It's a bit... and in the same month that we got the tape of The Beatles playing their first 20 live songs ever recorded in the UK. Before that, we've only had snippets of them in Hamburg and the cavern but two fragments, but here, here we've now got 20 songs. It is just extraordinary. The coincidence of all these things just coming together at the right time so that on the 11th of May we were able to perform, and I just go into that.
00:25:23	AW	[...], just those touching points where you connect with the with the past and make sense of where we've come from.
00:25:32	AW	And I think, [...], institutions and institutions need strong narratives, and for everyone in that Chapel and now, we've got it on audio and the video that I've heard it a few times is the fact everyone in that Chapel is quite, is enjoying the performance. I think there's this sense of slight absurdity that this is.
00:25:57	EEB	I agree.
00:26:05	AW	All that is odd, but it's important and we are respecting what those who've gone before did by bringing this back. So, I think now, it does

		have its place now I think, I think it's earned its right to be performed alongside Jerusalem (Parry, 1916) which is obviously better known. I think we need to keep it in the cannon, otherwise it will slip from memory.
00:26:37	EEB	I agree.
00:26:38	AW	And it will go very quickly because it is quite difficult [to sing].
00:26:45	EEB	What do you feel the value of the song is to the school? Do you feel there is a value to us having a song?
00:26:52	AW	Identity. I mean everything about these Milestones around creating things that have a meaning gives it, gives you a hook, something to say "This was what we thought in 1923." This is what the school's founders was wanted us to be. They wanted us to take forward this, this legacy and to start a new chapter and to build on these incredible foundations.
00:27:30	AW	So it's a because we're still a relatively young school 100, a hundred years is just nothing really compared to Eton founded in 1445 or Winchester, founded in the late 14th century, or Kings Canterbury, which pretends that it was founded by Saint Augustine, but in the 6th century, which is highly unlikely, it was probably a small monastic school...
00:27:59	AW	It is important to create that framework so that we've now got we can now celebrate the identity of the school in through the song of Stowe.

00:28:16	AW	Through the buildings, through the gardens, through the ethos, the Liberal, the liberalism, the, the modernising, the humanising.
00:28:25	AW	And now we've got the music and the song that goes with that. So, it it's all part of that sense of bringing this together so that if anyone wants to find out what the story of Stowe is, they can do so and it's it, it's, [...], I'm a historian, so it's easy for me to put that into words.
00:28:46	AW	But actually, encapsulating it visually and putting it into music adds another dimension in the same way that the last night of the Proms, [...] people singing Rule Britannia in an ironic way, but it's also a cracking tune and it just reminds us of, [...], why these things are there. None of us believe that the British Navy is supreme anymore, but you can still sing that without being embarrassed.
00:29:15	EEB	Yeah. Thank you so much for your time.
00:29:18	AW	But it [reviving the song] was fun as well, [...].
00:29:19	EEB	It was. It was really good fun and just seeing the students get behind it.
00:29:22	AW	Yeah. I mean, I think every project has to have, [...], the success criteria of *did we did we achieve what we set out to achieve*? Yes. Does it have purpose and value? Yes. Is it enjoyable? Yes. So, [...], so you get three out of three and I think you don't get these... yeah, these things don't happen very often where we get something completely new and I know that if we'd asked Howard Goodall or any other modern composer or yeah, I mean, [...] it wouldn't have been as good,

		we wouldn't have got, we wouldn't have got something that was so extraordinary. We'd have got something, OK.
00:30:10	EEB	I really like it. Out of the songs I've collected, and I've listened to a lot over the last few years, It's one of the best. The tune is absolutely one of the best and it feels right for school, I think.
00:30:23	AW	It does do that... it has like kind of it goes, it makes you have to really make an effort.
00:30:37	EEB	Oh yeah, it certainly takes some effort to get to the top notes. Yeah, the octave leaps. It's not an easy thing, but I thought they did really well.
00:30:45	AW	But well done for getting behind it and.
00:30:49	EEB	No, my pleasure. Thank you.
00:30:50	AW	Good luck with this defining part of the PhD.
00:30:54	EEB	Thank you very much.

11.3 Transcription of semi-structured interview with Jonathan Kingston, Head of Vocal Studies at Stowe School

00:00:0	EEB	So, thank you very much for agreeing to this interview.
00:00:05	JK	It's absolutely marvelous.
00:00:07	EEB	Yeah. So, it's the 23rd of June 2023, and this is the semi-structured interview with Jonathan Kingston in relation to the school song for Stowe. So, Jonathan, how long have you been involved musically with Stowe School?
00:00:25	JK	Off and on a fair few, yes.
00:00:27	JK	I was six years here as a full timer at the start of my teaching career, and I think this is probably my third time [here] possibly.
00:00:36	JK	Yeah, I think it's the end of my third year as a part time member of staff some years Later.
00:00:41	EEB	OK. And what different roles have you undertaken over the course of your time at Stowe?
00:00:45	JK	Yeah. So, I was originally the main teacher of composition and assisted with the teaching of the listening papers for GCSE, third form as well as A Level and school organist in my original role here. Then becoming Assistant Director of Music for two years before I moved on to my own first Head of Department position and then came back to

		Stowe as a sort of a relief-part-time Director of Music in conjunction with another colleague to look after the department while they were in an interim period, and was persuaded to stay on in a part-time capacity to look after the choral side of, of music, which is a great, a great pleasure to do and assist with some A level teachings. So yeah, a few different hats, but all of them, all of them linked over the years, which is, which is very nice.
00:01:43	EEB	And were you aware of there being a school song before this year?
00:01:47	JK	I was. It was actually a conversation I had with my then Director of Music , so one of your predecessors, John Cooper Green, who I worked very closely with 20 odd years ago.
00:01:58	JK	He was very dismissive of it actually, I don't think he was in any way negative against it, but he simply said "Yes, Stowe does have a school song". I, from coming from the background where two of the school's that I attended had them, albeit they weren't sung very often, but probably once a year, I made the inquiry and was told that that there was one, but that it wasn't in circulation. He wasn't particularly keen on it and didn't really see its relevance. So, I was aware that one existed.
00:02:29	JK	But I wasn't at all aware of the surrounding situations around, why the song, [...], or how the song came to be and what the various situations were of the time that meant that it wasn't the roaring success it should have been.
00:02:46	EEB	And are you aware of the pupils knowing there was a school song or what their perception was?

00:02:53	JK	No, I don't think they had any idea. If some of them had asked, asked the question directly and I don't believe any of them would have done, then I don't think it would have been on their radar at all.
00:03:02	EEB	Yeah, because the ones I spoke to when I first joined [Stowe], because when I was asking about school songs said "Ohh. Yeah, it's Jerusalem". And they just didn't seem to be aware [of Sto Persto Praesto] at all.
00:03:11	JK	Exactly. Exactly. That's right. That's right. And there are one or two end of term hymns in that old version of Cantata Stoica that we've got up there that we're also done at the end of term, but really exactly, Emma, it would have been, it would have been Jersusalem (Parry, 1916) all the way, I think, well, probably since the 1920s right up to where we are [...], 100 years later. That's what they would have believed, anyway.
00:03:34	EEB	Great. Thank you. So, you very kindly wrote an accompaniment for the school song because we had the student copy, which was the melody and the lyrics only. So, could you talk about how you undertook that process and some of the decisions that you made with regards to voicing.
00:03:55	JK	Yeah, sure. Yeah, I mean you, [...], you're aware of the era that this was written, and you're also aware of some of some of the compositional links that that song would have had to more famous, more established composers of the day, British composers of the day, that sort of Edwardian harmony that that would have been, that would have been utilised. I mean, you could look, you can look at some of the songs of Ivor Novello. You can look at some of the work of, of even go back to

		people like Elgar, Butterworth. [...], some of the Gilbert and Sullivan stuff that's been done as well.
00:04:32	JK	[...] those composers knew how to write a good tune, [...], versus something quite noble? We sketched out the harmonies together.
00:04:42	EEB	I know, yeah.
00:04:42	JK	And remember, when you very excitedly came with a copy of that manuscript and said, look, it's all we've got, there's a melody line here. There's a few small sort of instrumental interjections, of which I've only got [...] or, but otherwise, [...] these are the words. Here's the melody, here's a few chords to just sort of get it off the ground, over to you! It was really through just some knowledge of the songs of those [...] composers already mentioned.
00:05:13	JK	Plus, of course, taking some of the inspiration to do something with what you could see in the cues [on the score].
00:05:19	JK	[...], so I was very conscious that, [...], we weren't gonna get an authentic replica of what was possibly originally written, but you could nonetheless pay tribute to some of that with the detail that was, [...], that was sketched out, and I for one, should it ever be found, would be fascinated to see, if ever a full version was un-earthed, just how close I got.
00:05:45	EEB	Yeah, I think that'd be really interesting. Yeah. It's also interesting that you mentioned, Novello, because Novello published it at the time and there are some letters going back and forth between Roxburgh and Novello, where basically he said, "We don't care what Eton and

		Harrow have done in terms of publishing through you with all the students having full copies, we can't afford to do that."
00:06:06	JK	Yes, they're just gonna get the student copies.
00:06:08	EEB	We just need…
00:06:08	JK	This I mean, yeah.
00:06:09	EEB	And we need a few full scores that that was it.
00:06:11	JK	Yeah, for the instrumentalists of the day, obviously to play. Yeah. Yeah. Yeah, very interesting conversation they were having.
00:06:14	EEB	Yeah. So, did your knowledge of the Stowe Chapel organ influence your accompaniment writing?
00:06:22	JK	No, that's a very good question. Actually, I'm not one I've considered. No not, not hugely.
00:06:29	JK	[…], it's a big instrument, it's a grand sound and any similar space, hopefully, will have an instrument that can do a song like that justice. So not really. I mean one assumed that if the Chapel was going to be full with upwards of 850 people in there and that they were all getting behind this and singing it with fairly full voice really, you would need the instrument going with 90% of its capacity most of the time, reserving, reserving, perhaps just a little something for either the final verse or the final part of the chorus and just to give an extra splash of colour.

00:07:08	JK	But no, not principally with the Stowe Organ in mind, though it is an excellent sort of musical vehicle for music like that, because obviously it was, its tonal design was conceived at a very similar time, the song was written.
00:07:21	EEB	Because it's the organ centenary in a few years' time, isn't it?
00:07:23	JK	That's right. Yeah. It'll be 2028/2029 around that time. Well, when the Chapel was built. Yeah. Yeah, absolutely.
00:07:31	EEB	Were you influenced in your writing of the accompaniment by any previous school songs that you have experienced?
00:07:37	JK	Well, that's also very interesting. My 2 school songs, Liverpool College and Leeds Grammar School... the Liverpool College song is probably a better piece of music.
00:07:49	EEB	OK.
00:07:49	JK	I think the Leeds Grammar School song was rather easier for students to get behind, actually in terms of liberal culture it was a little bit more difficult, but yeah, I do remember some of the harmonic progressions that were in there. A lot of the compositions of that time, say, well, they're unbelievably dull. And when you look at the melody line alone, it can be the case that because they've just been harmonised with very simple primary chords, that that is the case. If you slightly think a little bit more inventively with what else can be done with, we know with a with a couple of sevenths and several different inversions now

		and again, and a few sort of passing notes to elevate some of what's been there then it does, I think, take it up to a new level.
00:08:28	JK	So I think really it's a roundabout way of me saying I was aware that that my school songs were harmonised in a very four square way, and whilst you or I had to apply some of that to the Stowe School song because the melody dictated it at the same time, I tried to introduce a few interesting progressions just to give it a bit, a bit of extra depth, yeah.
00:09:09	EEB	Brilliant. Thank you. So, you mentioned about having the Chapel space in mind with regards to thinking, well, if we're gonna have 850 people there, then it needs to [...], fill the space. Were there any considerations about the performance venue that you had in mind when you were thinking about the accompaniment?
00:09:29	JK	It depends where the song wants to go, doesn't it? If [...] if it's going to be a speech day thing now and again then perhaps one, I do think [...] music like that works very well orchestrally, and of course [...] you could then of course flesh those parts out so that a 30 or 40 strong orchestra, complete with wind and brass decoration, would really do it very, very good justice.
00:09:54	JK	And of course, get some countermelodies there as well, which would then further support as well as embellish the sound the school would make on the top of it. Singing in something like a marquee though is a is a very difficult experience, isn't it? Yeah, and similarly, if not more so, if you were to take it out in the open air very, very, very hard because of course, there's no reflected sound for you to get any sort of sense of confidence over, very much feel as if you're on your own.

00:10:22	JK	So principally, I think as far as singing it at Stowe goes, the Chapel was really my only thought of where it could be, where it were too big to fit into the Marble Saloon. That would of course do it great justice, but you only get about, well, probably less than 2/3 of the school up there now. And really apart from that, there isn't anywhere else it could go, is there?
00:10:47	EEB	No, and it's quite interesting going back to what you said about the organ centenary being a few years in the future for us, but obviously when this song was written and it's not something necessarily considered, we didn't have the Chapel at school so. Where do you imagine this song would have been sung?
00:11:07	JK	Well, I would imagine that it would have been at that time probably grand piano accompaniments. [...] where, wherever the best in the in the school was, Roxburgh Hall wasn't built.
00:11:17	EEB	No, of course.
00:11:18	JK	The Headmaster at that time was holding his school assemblies in the Marble Hall and I think the Marble Hall was still used as the main assembly point up until the 1970s.
00:11:28	JK	I think from there on it began to get or the school began to get too big for the space, so perhaps Marble Hall. Then yeah, they would have gone into the state rooms.

00:11:38	JK	Because that would have been the, there wouldn't have been the space there. So really, me thinking about it, I think it had to be it had to be a marble hall.
00:11:49	JK	Am I right in thinking perhaps that that at the time speech days were held in the Chapel court area?
00:11:55	EEB	I assume so and obviously that's where it went wrong and then got shelved.
00:11:58	JK	Exactly. So perhaps it was practiced in the Marble Hall, which of course is a very flattering acoustic.
00:12:05	JK	[...], voices travel very well there, even if you're not trying terribly hard, it still sounds very good in that space.
00:12:12	EEB	Which potentially could have made the Speech Day performance even worse.
00:12:15	JK	Absolutely, yeah, absolutely. Cause it would have been one heck of a shock to get out there after that and just found how poor the sound actually would be.
00:12:22	EEB	Especially when the pupils just sat next to their families and did not sing in any way.
00:12:24	JK	Exactly, exactly.
00:12:26	EEB	That must be quite soul destroying

00:12:27	JK	Yeah, yeah.
00:12:30	EEB	Not nice at all.
00:12:32	EEB	So, thinking of the song in a Stowe context, you've got a very long relationship with the school. So did you have the community in mind in a non-musical way when you were writing the accompaniment or starting to work with the pupils, we'll talk about rehearsal things in a moment but...
00:12:53	JK	Yeah, I was very pleased when this came together because I, [...], irrespective of the subjective nature as to whether or not an individual thinks a school song is a good piece of music or not I largely by the by I felt that this was really something that was going to enhance the identity and therefore to bring it back into the fold 100 years on for something like this was just the right time to do it. I don't perceive it as being a song that would be sung anywhere outside of the sort of the school community unless of course, it went down to London or somewhere similar purposefully for, [...], an old boys and girls presentation. Yeah. An old Stoics presentation. So principally I considered it a piece of music. For the place and therefore, nothing, nothing terribly wider in terms of circulation.
00:13:54	EEB	Because it's interesting that you mentioned the identity of the school because as you are aware when Roxburgh was first trying to find people to write a school song, they said, well, there's nothing to write about, the school's too new.
00:14:06	EEB	And so there was no history then, but now we've got this song, which we claim as part of our history, even though it wasn't part of the

		history they got sold. So have we, I guess in some ways, do you feel we might have imposed an identity on the song.
00:14:20	JK	I think it's quite clever actually.
00:14:22	JK	Well, we'll perhaps say more about this later.
00:14:25	JK	But I mean, the lyrics are of course very of their time, aren't they?
00:14:29	EEB	Yes, the original ones, yeah.
00:14:30	JK	That's right. And, [...], there's obviously there's an extra verse there that we chose not to do.
00:14:34	JK	For, only, for no other reason other than the fact he just made the song rather long.
00:14:38	JK	Yeah, I think what, what was clever about it is they're drawing quite a lot of Stowe's Architectural facets into the whole visionary sort of way of putting the lyrics across there, and it's up to them, it's up to the singer or the reader of those lyrics to then make the links between what's been spoken about in literal building terms Into sort of, [...], metaphors for life, isn't it.
00:15:12	JK	Essentially the only thing that it's saying, which I think any school would be hopeful of, is that when you come into the school as a citizen and leave the school as a citizen, hopefully you will leave as a better, more rounded, more tolerant citizen than when you came in.
00:15:31	EEB	Which was Roxburgh's educational vision.

00:15:32	JK	Exactly. Yeah, exactly. And really, I think [...] that's irrespective of whether a school stays true to those original values or not, any school leader would hope that that is still the case, whether we're looking back through rose tinted spectacles, [...], at a very different time or whether we're looking at the at the here and now.
00:15:55	JK	Yeah, but I think actually it's a very it's a very clever song because the only history it mentions is a very loose history of its now chapter closed with the old family. Yeah, and these walls and these pillars.
00:16:02	JK	Now it's up to the second generation of the second innings, as they say [in the song], [...] the generation that is now and all future new Stoic generations, because you will all be *second innings*, generations to then deliver yet further and yet more.
00:16:26	EEB	So, as you were, when Anthony [Wallersteiner] revised the lyrics, you didn't have to change an awful lot.
00:16:34	EEB	Do you think that part of the, as you said, the beauty of this song is that in some ways it's ageless, because what it talks about is the architecture, and that's not going to change.
00:16:46	JK	Yeah, absolutely. And I think the school realised that, [...], in the same way that if you read a classic novel, [...], sometimes there's things in there that that, for very good reasons wouldn't necessarily be expressed in the same print that you would find at the time of writing. Really the thing that's timeless about the song is the fact that I think it's just trying to unify and unite the campus for being Stoics. Yeah, but the changes that happened, I mean, there was one very small one

		because of course all the pupil body would have been male at that time.
00:17:23	JK	"Each son of Stowe" became "Each scion of Stowe", which is rather nice, but I've found it fascinating that the school itself, rather like the great ocean liners, was always referred to as the feminine.
00:17:33	EEB	Yes. Yeah, "God's blessing still upon her". Yeah, the last one [verse].
00:17:33	JK	[...] still upon *her*.
00:17:37	JK	Exactly, exactly. Rather nice, [...]. So, there was very little tweaking that had to be done.
00:17:44	JK	And as, as I say, [...], I think I think it's the, it's the holistic view, isn't it of those words that one takes forward because they are very of their time and it was good that there wasn't a lot of alteration that had to happen in order to make it sort of safe for today, yeah.
00:18:03	JK	Because well, because there was no, no real necessity for that to be the case.
00:18:08	EEB	Which is quite good. So, do you think the song could have or should have been revived sooner? Or, as you mentioned earlier, do you think this was actually the perfect time to pick it back up?
00:18:20	JK	Absolutely I do, [...].
00:18:23	JK	I went to the 90th [anniversary of Stowe] dinner, which was held down in London, though I had nothing formal to do with the school at the

		time, but I had still a few pals who worked here, so we thought it would be a nice thing do.
00:18:35	JK	I don't think that would have been enough of a special occasion, actually, and certainly not a lot of it seemed to happen School side. I think part of the success was certainly the Stoics, getting behind it, was them knowing that rather interesting sort of, [...], soap opera like scene of the turn of events as to why this the song failed, knowing that they as the second generation it was up to them to make it a roaring success. The fact that a lot of this was happening on school soil, [...], within the buildings and the fact that it's just something magical about the number one hundred [...].
00:19:13	JK	I think the only other time they could. Have gone for it would be for what would be a be a silver jubilee in 75 years. [...], that would have been, that would have been another time if it didn't happen now, probably 125.
00:19:27	JK	Yeah, [...], would have been the moment to get together. That's not to say that it would have been another flop, I just don't think that they would have the same wherewithal to get behind it without something like a like a centenary. Yeah, to get them there.
00:19:43	EEB	Well, we're looking at the school and ownership of the school identity, yeah.
00:19:46	JK	Precisely. And the last, [...], 100 years for a school is not long, is it? It's still a very, very new school.

00:19:52	JK	And we know that I'm not sure that they do all know that, they didn't until I pointed that out to them.
00:19:58	JK	[...], it's a very, very new school, 100 years. But yeah, twinkling of an eye, isn't it? And therefore, you cannot obviously say well, one can take stock of the previous 100 years and then look forward to the next 100 years and therefore use the song as a renaissance for that.
00:20:15	EEB	Yeah, yeah, I think that worked really well.
00:20:18	JK	Yeah, and it wouldn't be, [...] for me to suggest. But wouldn't it be lovely if after we've all gone, [...], 50 years' time, it's still in some sort of circulation. I think that would be marvelous, really, really super.
00:20:29	EEB	I think it'd be great, yeah.
00:20:34	JK	Not for them remembering us particularly as the people who put it back on the map, but simply from a school historical point of view that they recognise that it is still their school song.
00:20:44	EEB	Yeah, I think I think would be lovely.
00:20:45	EEB	So, can you reflect then on the process of teaching it to the school community and comment on any difficulties you had or the Community response to the song from your perspective?
00:20:54	JK	Yeah, I was very keen that I didn't go straight in there and actually just say right, here's a school song, [...], all beautifully printed out "Now,

		please, off we go!" I felt that because I knew I had the luxury of a few [congregational practice] sessions with them.
00:21:10	JK	5 minutes was all it took. But just 5 minutes of introduction to make the link to actually engage with them about what it was that we were seeing, what the document was that they were holding, why it was important…?
00:21:23	JK	On face value, they would have found these lyrics terribly old-fashioned, but at the same time the sentiments expressed within should hopefully be timeless.
00:21:31	JK	This was a really important start, so before we actually launched into it physically, I did that and that's what I told them or read out, I think the formation dates, the founding dates of several schools that they would know […], through grudge matches on the rugby and hockey pitch.
00:21:51	JK	Just [to highlight] how new this foundation was, and then I sort of very briefly drew on the motto because of course, Sto Persto Praesto is the backbone of the song. Yeah. And, […], *I stand firm. I stand fast*, […], it's a common theme throughout the song, almost like a battle cry was how I sort of related it to them.
00:22:16	JK	And I said, […], even if it takes you a while to get used to the verses, you could still really, really go for it in the refrain.
00:22:27	EEB	And they do in a recording, don't they?
00:22:30	JK	The first thing, the first thing that we learned.

00:22:33	JK	So yeah, I mean to cut a long story short, I was very keen to present the information to them first, almost like a very brief history.
00:22:42	JK	Some very brief history lessons before we went into it and then quite simply, Emma, I took that battle cry of Sto Persto Praesto and taught them that in its various incarnations, through the song before then just going through verse one.
00:22:58	EEB	Yes, because verse one is slightly different to the other verses, which is quite unique and a bit different.
00:23:00	JK	Yes, that's right, you have almost like a reverse coda, don't you because you've got this you've got this link into verse one. The timing is slightly different, the notation of the pitches are very similar but slightly different, and then of course once the first verse is out of the way two, three and four, if you're going to do it as is the original five [verses] run strophic form like a like a hymn and it's very straightforward, isn't it? But yeah. First, one is slightly different cause you do have that introduction.
00:23:30	EEB	So, you taught it to some members of the Sixth Form Chamber choir first. Do you find that helped to kind of spread the word because we almost kind of unveiled It to the pupils like that.
00:23:41	JK	We did, yeah. I don't know quite how much that way around actually. So, I mean the purpose of that was to make the old Stoics aware of the song originally, wasn't it?

00:23:51	JK	Because we knew that they had a key meeting prior to the school's representational recording of the song.
00:24:00	JK	So, we needed to get it out there. I'm not sure that it did much to spread the word within the current Stoic campus. I think actually the way that got round was just from hitting the ground running and going for it.
00:24:16	JK	I'm not sure that that that the Chamber choirs recording of it did much for raising the profile of it per se here, but certainly it would have made the Old Stoics aware yeah because they would have… […], the greatest of respect and they probably like to think they know most of the school's history but most of them have not got a clue
00:24:36	JK	But most people wouldn't have it.
00:24:37	EEB	Yeah. And I know from the feedback I got after Southwark Cathedral [Old Stoic Centenary Service], some of them made a point of saying that they'd seen the live stream of the Centenary service in school, and they thought the school song was fantastic, but they felt a little bit kind of oh, that's our song, but they don't know it
00:24:48	JK	Right. Yeah, yeah.
00:24:56	JK	Yeah, it's a great song. Absolutely great, shame that they didn't get to experience it as current members of the school.
00:25:02	JK	But as […], […] the Old Stoic Network is a very close one here and I think there will be that sense of unifying pride that even though they,

		[...], they missed the bus the first time, they can still feel very much part of it for subsequent visits should it [the song] be done.
00:25:18	EEB	Yeah. So, were there any other difficulties? Obviously, we've discussed the first verse being sent different. Were there any other difficulties you've found with teaching the song?
00:25:27	JK	The only the only thing we did if you remember early, on, it's a bit, it's a bit like looking at an older copy of Hymns Ancient and Modern. They're all in rather high keys, aren't they? And I don't know whether that's because, as somebody once suggested that the population was less than tall. Yeah. and therefore, for some reason, the physical differences of the bodies then, have meant that the population could sing higher.
00:25:53	JK	I don't know whether that was because it gave people the option to actually then sing it an octave lower than printed, as well as well as at pitch, but either way we found I think originally F major, or E major was it E or was it a?
00:26:08	EEB	Think I'm trying to think because you've dropped it to E flat, didn't you?
00:26:11	JK	Yeah. So, it was certainly dropped a semitone, which I felt would be more comfortable without them growling their way through it.
00:26:12	EEB	So, it maybe it was in E.
00:26:22	JK	I was very keen that I wanted the majority of the sound to be representational of what was on the page rather than an octave lower

		and because of course it's a song that has quite a range. There is an octave range in there, [...], so it's more than most hymns. I didn't want them to feel as if they then had to compensate by dropping an octave midway through so to drop it to E flat was really one of the major, probably the only considerations that I had other than that and knowing that E flat major is a warm noble key.
00:26:58	JK	I figured that that would be fine. I also thought that should we at a later date want to sketch parts out Brass concert E Flat Major is a good key for them.
00:27:15	EEB	It's interesting that you mentioned the octave leap, because in the original score where the octave leap is written is another lower pitch that Brent-Smith cued in so you have the option.
00:27:25	JK	Yeah, yeah, yeah. That's right, you have another note there, didn't you? That's right. Yeah. Interesting. Yeah.
00:27:25	EEB	And I was really pleased we went no, we're gonna do it so [the octave leap] clearly, he'd considered that the octave leap might not be possible for some.
00:27:32	JK	Like things might be a bit much of some of them. Yeah. So, it's a bit of artistic license really do that, so which makes, which makes me wonder why they just didn't put it into either D or E flat to begin with and get everybody up there.
00:27:37	EEB	They love it, though they really go for it.
00:27:44	JK	I suppose because it does start Low. [...] there is a low note

00:27:50	EEB	I also wonder whether the fact that Brent-Smith was Director of Music at Lancing College might have influenced that.
00:27:54	JK	Yes, it could be and who's to know, I mean. One could probably write a thesis on this alone. [...], all boys' voices at the time, boys, voices breaking or going through voice change at a rather later stage than they do now. Who's to know, [...]? So, with that very low start perhaps they just thought, well, the majority of the Stoics at the time would perhaps find the beginning too low. If it was in a key lower than E major it might have been, [...], might have been the issue for keeping it there.
00:28:29	EEB	It's also changing the key. One of the things I notice I know we've discussed previously to this interview is in the recording, there's a really nice balance between the male and female voices, which obviously wasn't a consideration at the time.
00:28:42	EEB	So do you think the key that you've set it at helps with that?
00:28:46	JK	Hopefully, hopefully. Yeah, absolutely. I mean, [...], accessibility was definitely at the forefront of my mind. And yeah, I was just conscious that School voices, they're it. It's sometimes difficult for those kids, isn't it, to get a real handle on a melody?
00:29:08	JK	They'll be trying to emulate several sounds that they hear, [...], out there in the contemporary world of music, which of course are a world away from music like this.

00:29:17	JK	And I just wanted something that would lie in the voice so that everybody had the chance to sort of to get behind it with as much vigor and accessibility as they could.
00:29:27	EEB	Plus, also we have the staff body in it, which is another element to consider again, perhaps less important than the students with the initial consideration, yeah.
00:29:30	JK	Yes, that's right.
00:29:37	JK	I mean, but they certainly should be comfortable for them as well and I think [...] whether they are, [...], young members of staff or more senior members of staff, they would hopefully find that key again accessible and fairly user friendly.
00:29:51	EEB	I think that I mean I, I mean I've got a fairly lowish voice and I really enjoy singing.
00:29:57	EEB	So could you just to finish briefly reflect on your personal response to the song throughout the process of rewriting and reviving it?
00:30:08	JK	Almost unashamedly positive, really. [...], personally, I found it a really enjoyable little project to do because I've got a great affection for the place. [...], if I didn't, I wouldn't have come back.
00:30:23	JK	And [...], it is a very special place in so many areas, both aesthetically and from the people within it.
00:30:31	JK	And it's also been very interesting for me to see, [...], how the school has changed and evolved over 20 years of knowing it well and then

		taking a break and coming back so from a sort of a sentimental, unashamedly sentimental point of view, [...], because I'm very fond of the place.
00:30:49	JK	I found it a thoroughly worthwhile project personally to be involved with as far as how it was received on campus.
00:30:57	JK	Again, I mean, I know it won't be everybody's cup of tea. It will be naive to think that, but certainly most of the people in that building [chapel] seem to be doing quite a lot most of the time, and I thought that spoke volumes really, whether they were, [...] in their last year here or whether they were in their third form [first] year here.
00:31:20	JK	They would get behind it and, [...], they didn't have to. Kids that I don't particularly know would stop me in the dining hall or they would see me round at about and just say we're really enjoying this [...], we didn't think we would.
00:31:31	JK	Yeah, but what a fantastic thing for the school and we think it's brilliant how it brings everybody together and we can make a great big loud noise and we think that's [...] we think that's rather we think that's rather good. And of course, your 6th form musicians particularly, [...], who I see more of the time will perhaps elaborate a bit more about that, but yeah, I would say that that those who haven't been keen haven't voiced their disapproval but actually overwhelmingly so the ones who have been greatly in favour of it have been the ones to say so.
00:32:07	EEB	Because the 6th formers asked for it in their leavers service, which we weren't intending to do.

00:32:12	JK	No, which is a lovely gesture. And I mean, why not, [...]?
00:32:14	EEB	As long as we could keep Jerusalem.
00:32:16	JK	Quite, and that's more than fair enough, it's more than fair enough. [...] if they feel that there is a link there at the end of the day, [...] one of the things that I said to them as a bit of propaganda, but I didn't.
00:32:26	JK	And it's, [...], it's not a school for any individual. It's a school for the family unit that we are.
00:32:34	JK	And that we were and that we will be and therefore it's all about school spirit, [...], it unites the houses. So, although they'll be [...], ferociously independent over their various different sort of house allegiances, this is a school song, [...], not sort of house song and I think they I think they realised that. So, I would say the effect that it had on the Community was one of great positivity and [...] if that wasn't the case then they wouldn't have requested it because that was a request from the pupil body.
00:33:09	EEB	It's quite interesting, just before you finish, that you mentioned that it's a school, song not a house song because I don't think any of the current students will be aware that in the old version of the school hymn book there are hymn tunes for some of the boarding houses.
00:33:21	JK	That's right, that's right. Whether they were... yes, indeed, they're certainly named after the boarding houses those were penned by Leslie Huggins again, one of your illustrious predecessors who had a very, very long stint here.

00:33:37	JK	The words, of course, are not necessarily attributed to anything Stowe based, but he has chosen for whatever reason, to have the three included. I actually beg your pardon, Grafton Regis is the name of a town. OK, so, but there is one that's called Chatham and there is one that's called Queen's Temple as well that, we used to sing in the [school hymn] book and at that time part of the music department was housed there [Queen's Temple]. So, I suppose, I don't know... was he a tutor in Chatham or did he spend some of his working life up at the Queen's Temple?
00:34:10	JK	The answer to that would bound to be yes to both. [...], they won't be aware you see that those hymns are out there that of course mention various smaller facets within the school and the school community.
00:34:23	EEB	That's a project for another time.
00:34:25	JK	It certainly is. It certainly is.
00:34:26	EEB	Thank you very much for all of your views.
00:34:30	JK	A pleasure. Thank you for inviting me to do this.

12 APPENDIX 3: REFLECTIONS ON THE HARROW songs EVENING

12.1 Arrival and pre-concert talk with David Woodcock, Director of Music .

I arrived at the music school at Harrow at approximately 4:00 PM on Thursday, November the 16th 2023 and David Woodcock, the Director of Music showed me around the Music School. The building was smaller than I had imagined but the rooms inside had been carefully organised to facilitate the wealth of musical experiences they offer to students at Harrow. I was impressed with the small concert hall they had in the Music School which David informed me can just about house the orchestra for a rehearsal. Above the entrance to this hall is a small gallery area where portraits of three former directors of music are displayed. From left to right there are shown John Farmer, Eaton Faning and Percy Buck and it was interesting to see in person the portrait of John Farmer that I have used in several presentations. David talked briefly about each of the directors of music before we went to his office to discuss the forthcoming concert and the format the evening would take.

David spoke of how he needed to address singing when people came back to Harrow after Covid because there had been two years where communal singing did not happen. David explained that for the boys who attend Harrow, being part of a full boarding school where during the holidays pupils are spread out geographically, it was impossible to facilitate singing during covid. David told me that the senior management team of Harrow had wanted to prepare for a singing event after Covid which would feature some of the school songs and they had wanted the boys to rehearse in the Speech Room in year groups. David said he had explained that this approach was not going to work because there were two years' worth of boys who had no knowledge of or attachment to the songs. Whilst the older boys would be revising what they had previously learned so could manage in year groups, David felt this approach would not work for the two years of boys who had not physically attended Harrow.

Instead, David insisted on delivering the rehearsals on a boarding-house-by-boarding-house basis, so that the young boys had the singing of the older boys to support them in learning the songs and to also bring them into the community. David recounted how the reception to this approach from the boarding houses was overwhelmingly positive. The younger boys, who had no previous experience of the singing culture at Harrow, were stunned that the older boys, 6th formers and 5th formers, were unashamedly belting out the Harrow songs which encouraged the younger ones to join in.

The Churchill songs take place every year in the Speech Room at Harrow and every fifth year the event is held in the Royal Albert Hall. On these occasions the school sits in the choir stalls behind the main stage of the Royal Albert Hall, the school orchestra is seated on the stage and the rest of the hall is filled with Old Harrovians, their families and other esteemed guests. Although it is considerably longer in length and features more songs, presumably to make the most of being at such a grand venue, the Royal Albert Hall Churchill songs evening follows the same format as the Churchill songs held in the Speech Room since its inception in 1940.

The first Churchill songs was organised by Jack Colville, Churchills' secretary, who had heard Churchill singing some of his old school songs in the bath at a point when he was known to be depressed because of the pressures of war. Colville suggested to Harrow that it might be a good idea to put on a concert of school songs that Churchill, as an old Harrovian, used to sing to help lift his spirits and so, the first concert took place in the Speech Room in Harrow.

Several members of staff that I spoke to that evening explained how they felt that the Churchill songs that occur in the Speech Room offer a more 'authentic experience' for those present because they replicate the first Churchill songs where Churchill was not only in attendance but which he then continued to attend for many years until illness prevented him from doing so. I felt fortunate therefore to witness this event in that same room.

What was interesting about the setup of the room, having not been in there before, was that it reminded me on first sight of the Sheldonian theatre in Oxford. The Speech Room

has tiered seating, what they refer to as a ‘well’ in the floor and then a stage with tiered seating behind it. The boys and the teachers sat in the tiered seating, the orchestra was very snuggly fit into the well and all the guests were sat in three rows of about 30 or so seats per row on the stage as can be seen in Figure 37

Everyone in attendance had been provided with copies of a booklet containing all of the songs to be performed that evening. During the concert the Headmaster would speak a little to introduce each song and the school would then be raised to sing by David with the orchestra playing and the organ accompanying whilst the guests remained seated. David sat me next to a pillar on the stage which would provide me with a clear view of all of the boys and the staff singing, and I was able to observe them entering the room with ease without being disturbed by other guests arriving. The guests on stage consisted of School Governors, the guest speaker who was and Old Harrovian and is now a Ranger in America, the Headmaster and his family, and finally prominent Old Harrovian's who had returned for the evening.

The boys wear their ‘Sunday dress’ for this event which consists of tailcoats with striped trousers. This is very different their day-to-day uniform and reserved for Sundays or special occasions. They were impeccably behaved on entering the room, during the concert and when leaving the room afterwards. It was unusual for me to be in an environment such as an all-boys school, having not worked in or had any significant contact with a single-sex school during my teaching career. It was noticeably a male dominated environment with approximately 800 boys of all ages and all nationalities. Most of the teaching staff appeared to be male and the majority of the guests on stage were male; those who were not, appeared to be the partners of an Old Harrovians. I felt somewhat on display, being one of the first to arrive and to be sat on the stage clearly a guest but with no male companion. The feeling lessened after an older couple sat next to me. It was a similar feeling to the one I had when delivered my talk to the HMC directors of music in June 2023 when I was one of only two females in the room. At least on that occasion (which was where I first met David) I was delivering my paper on school songs and so there was no question as to who I was or why I was there.

My understanding is that the Headmaster chooses songs for the evening each year, alongside a number although there are some which are always performed. Some songs are cycled in and out, whilst some songs such as *Larry* (Harrow, 2018: 44) have been quietly retired due to their inappropriate content.[173] David explained that he ensures that there about 30 songs from the Harrow songbook in circulation over the course of the year to keep them fresh in the minds of the pupils.

After processing into the room, the Headmaster, Alistair Land, spoke to everyone present and discussed Winston Churchill. What was notable was that he discussed Churchill's character and openly acknowledged Churchill's less palatable views. He freely admitted that Churchill was a 'complicated character' and that some of the views which he held (presumably those which would today be deemed racist) were not in keeping with the views of the school today but reiterated that the point of the Churchill songs was to look at the good values that Churchill promoted whilst acknowledging the others. Alistair discussed how undertaking this yearly tradition did not mean that the school was agreeing with everything that Churchill stood for, and I thought this was a well-crafted approach to a difficult and sensitive topic, especially considering how more diverse the student body is today when compared to how it would have been in 1940.

12.1.1 Stet Fortuna Domus

Following the Headmaster's reflection on Churchill, the first song was announced which was *Stet Fortuna Domus* (Harrow, 2018: 92). I realised that this was the melody, which was suggested by Burroughs, author of the Stowe School song, to be used for *Sto, Persto, Praesto*! (Brent-Smith, 1925).[174] As the song was performed, the large octave leap at the end of each verse was reminiscent of the refrain for Stowe's song. The line

[173] *Larry* is a particularly complex song which recounts the school life experiences of a boy who is subjected to fagging, a now banned practice where a younger school pupil is made to undertake menial tasks for older students. In extreme cases this resulted in the physical and sexual abuse of younger pupils and has also been noted as the amongst the causes of pupil suicides in some cases as recent as 1993.
[174] Having reconsidered Burroughs letter following attending this concert I have come to realise that the book which Burroughs recounts as having the music to *Stet Fortuna Domus* within it could not have been the Harrow songbook as we have it today as this was not compiled until 1938 but it may have been an earlier version compiled in 1897, some 6 years after the song was written.

“The name and fame of Harrow” which Burroughs suggested to Roxburgh in his letter does indeed have the same triumphant quality to it that the final refrain of *Sto, Persto, Praesto*! (Brent-Smith 1925). It is interesting to reflect on how the Stowe School song could have been sung to this melody had Roxburgh not insisted that *Sto, Persto, Praesto*! had its own melody.

It was a very rousing first song, the boys sing performed well and David had clearly spent a lot of time rehearsing how they sing sections. There was very careful attention to details such as ends of lines which followed on and the different dynamics and performance directions contained within the song.

As I observed the audience during the concert it was evident that everybody was singing, although some were singing more fervently than others. When the song got to verse 4, a verse performed only at the Churchill Songs, the word Churchill is written in capital letters in the text and the boys really sang out that specific part.

This song, and verse 5, did strike me as nationalistic and it was somewhat cringeworthy to witness those present singing ‘In great and Greater Britain’ at the very end of the song without any real sense of irony, including the international students who were present and seemed to take a lot of pride in singing that line.

I wondered during the performance of that line if the performers were aware of the connotations of what they were singing. When the song was written by Faning in 1890, Britain was almost two thirds of the way through its Imperial Century, equally when the Churchill verse was written by E. V. C. Plumptre in 1940 the sense of a strong and resolute national identity found in both verses would have been further welcomed and embraced by those performing due to the second world war. The text therefore denotes exactly that, the vision of a great and strong Britain where ‘Tonight we praise the former days in patriotic chorus’ and the concept exists of leaving Harrow ‘To rise and rule by heart and brain and sinew’. Today’s international student body at Harrow would be able to, should they wish, consider the text diachronically however it is unlikely that this would be done by a significant portion of the pupils. It is more likely that boys would instead be aware of the obvious statements of the song which denote the honour of the

school and being part of the Harrow community including lines such as ‘The world outside is far and wide but here the world is narrow. One magic thrall unites us all, the name and fame of Harrow’.

12.1.2 Here Sir!

The second song was *Here, Sir!* (Harrow, 2018: 86). This was a fun and engaging song to observe because of the performance practice during the chorus. the school sings each of the verses but during the chorus where *Here Sir!* is repeated several times, it was performed by individual boys, one for each *Here Sir!* I am not sure if these were performed by the XII, who I will discuss later, or other selected pupils but each boy got a chance to say *Here Sir!* in a very refined accent to mimic how, several times a day, that is how boys respond to the register being called in class. Everybody was silent whilst the boys spoke and then everyone rejoined the singing. Again, it was the sincerity with which the song was performed which made it successful. When the soloists performed their *Here, Sir!* lines individually, there was not a snigger or a smirk from those present that I noticed and I was struck by how, had this been performed at the secondary school I attended, the song would have received an entirely different and far less positive reception. the song therefore was a commentary on the Harrow School day which the pupils, staff and Old Harrovians would have experienced and so found familiar. To those outside the community such as myself who had no personal relationship to or experience of this phenomenon through which to view the song, it is likely to be interpreted differently.

Here Sir! (Harrow, 2018: 86) was composed by Eaton Faning and was challenging in its demands of the performers. I could imagine that if people did not know it, there were several opportunities for the performance to fall apart and for people to sing in the wrong place. However, because everybody clearly did know it, it was quite moving. the song describes a pupil’s journey through childhood and to adulthood where they are

called first as school children, then as soldiers, then as older adults and to which the response to the call is always *Here, Sir!*[175]

12.1.3 Five Hundred Faces

The next song to be performed was *Five Hundred Faces* (Harrow, 2018: 46), which is performed each year by a new student to the school. As is tradition, the young student David chooses must be a treble. *Five Hundred Faces* is a five-verse song and is always performed by the soloist from memory. It is viewed as an honour to be chosen as the soloist for this song who then stands to perform in the stairs which run down the middle of the tiered seating as may be seen in **Error! Reference source not found.** taken on the night during one of the songs refrains.

There is no safety net for the soloist if they have a memory slip, there is nobody near them with the words to offer help. If they get it wrong, it will go horribly and very publicly wrong. Pupils have to audition to be the soloist and, as David explained, it is stressful when the pupils he really hoped would audition do not audition.

Reflecting on the ethnographic intersubjectivity of the song, the profile of the pupil performing the solo has changed significantly since the song's composition in 1883 when the pupils would have been English. I wondered then how much more poignant the opening solo must be for pupils today, especially international students, who sing 'Five hundred faces and all so strange! Life in front of me home behind. I felt like a waif before the wind, tossed on an ocean of shock and change.' It is unlikely that Farmer would have imagined a Harrovian from Hong Kong singing these words surrounded by fellow Harrovians from many different countries and cultures. Perhaps the success of this song, if success is the appropriate word, is the familiarity of the educational experiences of Harrow or the ethnographic intersubjectivity for all who attend. For those

[175] Having reconsidered Burroughs letter following attending this concert I have come to realise that the book which Burroughs recounts as having the music to *Stet Fortuna Domus* within it could not have been the Harrow songbook as we have it today as this was not compiled until 1938 but it may have been an earlier version compiled in 1897, some 6 years after the song was written.

outside of the school, the universality of the experience of finding yourself in a strange place with people you don't know is relatable to all.

David explained that over the time he has been there, and David has been in position for over 20 years, almost every nation represented in the school has had had a soloist perform *Five Hundred Faces*. This year the new boy was from Hong Kong which David believed was a first. The pupil had reportedly found it quite difficult to focus during the rehearsals but gave an excellent performance on the night, much to David's relief. It is an ambitious solo for a pupil to undertake due to the slow tempo of the song and the theatricality required of the soloist to bring out the poignant nature of the words. The absence of any amplification created a very introspective and intimate performance. The soloist received a hearty round of applause from everyone after he finished from which it was obvious that all the boys in the school were clearly appreciative and supportive of this young boy singing the solo.[176]

12.1.4 Saint Joles

I was struck immediately by what a deceptively difficult song *St Joles* is. Because of this, my reflections on this song will focus more on the Sign, the musical phenomenon and the associated performance practices of the song, rather than the *Object* or the words and their physical manifestation. the song is written in 6/8 and sung at a quick tempo. It

[176] After the concert, in the drink's reception, I was speaking to a gentleman named David Eyton who turned out to be Chair of the Board of Governors who told me that almost 50 years ago he sang the Five Hundred Faces solo at the Royal Albert Hall, the last time that Winston Churchill's wife was in attendance. He said it was the most nerve-wracking experience of his life, but an amazing one because he's formed this deep emotional bond with the song. That bond was strengthened even more when 10 years ago as his son sang the solo approximately ten years ago in the speech room. David now has a generational bond of this very unique experience because it is only one boy a year who gets to sing this, one out of approximately 170. Mr Eyton said that when his son was performing the solo his wife, with the agreement of the Director of music which I believe was David at the time, allowed him to sit with his son whilst he was singing it. I think it is incredible that they share this experience and Mr Eyton was clearly quite moved by it, and it was clear to see how much that experience and bond meant to him. Within the Harrow community there are these individuals who have had to brave memorising five Verses of a complex song and perform it in front of their peers, teachers and guests or in Mr Eyton's case, and an even smaller group of others, at the entire Royal Albert Hall and in front of Churchill 's wife.
This is an experience that has forged identity for them, the soloists, which I hadn't really considered before, especially not as a generational bond.

is a jolly, fun, and comical song where the chorus is highly memorable due to the repeated octave leaps and syllabic word setting. It is perhaps for these reasons that this was the song which Coleville heard Churchill singing in the bath when depressed from the pressures of World War II. The boys worked hard on ensuring every word was clear, and even when there were lines with upbeat semiquavers, nobody got behind and there was no tripping over words, some of which are quite difficult. the song plays on words a lot as a key part of its humorous nature. In verse four for example, instead of Bishop everyone overpronounces the *shop* part, something not immediately obvious from the text alone but a clear indication of a performance practice which is familiar to the school community. It was evident that David had rehearsed the pupils thoroughly to ensure that pronunciations of words were correct and the attention to detail in across all the song performances was excellent. Before the chorus, there is a pause which could cause performance difficulties for those unfamiliar with the song and which relies on David to navigate all those present through this portion of each verse. David is an unobtrusive conductor, but everybody watched him for where to come in on the upbeat after the pause, following which those who are singing are required to perform several octave leaps. I noticed that quite a lot of the people sat on stage sang along with this song as well. It was a fun performance to observe and a very good choice to lighten the atmosphere in the speech room after *500 Faces*.

12.1.5 Byron Lay

Byron Lay (Harrow, 2018: 58) is another song by John Farmer, and this was the first of the songs that evening to be sung by the school XII. Before the concert I had assumed the school XII would be a sports team, but it is a group of 12 boys who have auditioned and been selected to form the group. Being part of this group is seen as a privilege and an achievement. The XII are not all in the Chapel choir, Harrow's most advanced choral group, but they are formed of mostly sixth- formers and all boys who are interested in and skilled at singing. As David explained, this is not the Chapel choir singing high church music for Christmas, that is another level up in standard (which must be outstanding given the high quality of the XII) but instead these are good, accomplished,

hardworking singers who want to give a good performance of the select songs written for the XII. Some of the XII wish to go on to undertake a choral scholarship in Cambridge or Oxford whilst others just like to sing.

Byron Lay again is an intricate song which, on paper, appears as a merry, simple and straightforward song in 6/8 which tells the story between Byron and Peel, one being a dreamer, one with a hard worker. the song recounts how both turned out to be successful in the end and concludes with the message that one way of life isn't necessarily better than the other. What is sophisticated about this song are the constant tempo changes. *Byron Lay* begins Allegretto, but quietly, then after few lines increases in tempo and also becomes forte. There is then a pause, but the pause is on the first word of the last line of the verse, removing the chance to breathe as it held and then moves onto a semiquaver. To have this performed successfully each time was incredibly impressive, especially as David could have held the pause for as long as he wanted. The line 'Poets shouldn't have, shouldn't have, shouldn't have, shouldn't have, poets shouldn't have work to do' is deceptively difficult because of the descending nature of the melody which has the potential to accelerate and snowball but it did not. It was very well performed each time with thought and attention paid to the dynamics, the words, breathing and relaying the story behind the song.

I found myself wondering what Farmer was trying to achieve with these songs and what purpose the songs were intended to serve. *Byron Lay*, being written in 1884, came 2 years after John Stainer took post as Government Inspector for Music and sought to establish folk song in schools. The metre and melody of *Byron Lay* does suggest folk influences however the additional performance directions elevate the song beyond the concept of a simplistic folk song. This may suggest that there was a pedagogical reasoning behind the composition of this song which in today's understanding could be considered a differentiated task for the more advanced pupils in a cohort.

12.1.6 Song of the Forwards

Song of the Forwards (Harrow, 2018: 114), written for the Rugby First XV in 1933 by Thatcher, is a joyful and fun song where the time signature continually fluctuates between 6/8 and 9/8 and there is plenty of opportunity for people to sing out. As with the other songs of the evening, the whole school got behind this and sang it well. It is not as difficult in terms of performance directions as some of the previous songs such as *Byron Lay* (Harrow, 2018: 58) but the time signature changes, especially without access to the sheet music, make it very challenging for those who do not know the song. There are not as many rests between phrases as are found in other songs, especially *Home to the Hill* (Harrow, 2018: 134), and if you are not familiar with the song the rests which occur in bars of 3/8 which follow bars of 6/8 present the risk of singers coming in at the wrong time. There is much use of text repetition in the refrain, perhaps to build enthusiasm and team spirit through singing in unison in a chant like manner as these words are sung to the same pitch. One phrase from the song which stood out to me was 'Play Up!' which I have found in several independent school songs relating to sports from this era.

12.1.7 You?

This song proved to be one of the more memorable and more haunting songs of the concert.[5] Written in 1903 by Percy Buck, *You?* (Harrow, 2018: 104) was intended to be sung as a solo. The text is very poignant and to perform it well requires the soloist to have the confidence to fully embrace the rubato required to shape each verse. I am not convinced the song would work as well or be as impactful if sung by the whole school. Much like *40 Years On* (Harrow, 2018: 6), the narrative of *You?* addresses the current student, the 'You of the title, and how the individual pupil is accepted into the halls of not only the physical school but the communal halls of those who went before.

The song is structured in 3 verses and the melody features a lot of chromaticism. the song has a slow tempo which, when combined with the chromaticism of the melody and harmony, establishes a feeling of slowly moving through time and space. Unlike

some of the other songs, there are only a few large leaps such as sevenths which occur only periodically to assist with word painting. The phrasing and the performance directions towards the end of each verse, where the conversation with the spirit who's been spoken to or the spirit of those people who've gone before, is especially challenging because the soloist has to portray the present pupil character and also the past pupil's characters as being two different voices.

I found myself thinking about how this is situated within the question of 'Whose voice are we listening to?', as there are three or four voices to be considered and found within this song. Firstly, there is the composer who wrote this song, then the physical voice of the soloist, the voice of the narrator which is timeless and the voice or communal voices of the past students welcoming the new student. There is therefore a feeling of continuation and legacy building, not only through lines such as 'You who are memory's heir' but through the conformance of the words, music and environment in which it is performed. These transhistorical aspects of the song enable it to be as relevant and relatable to pupils in 2023 as it was in 1903. The soloist who performed it on the evening, Fergus McKie, was very talented and there was absolute silence afterwards before he was rewarded with loud applause and quite rightly so.[177]

In some ways, *You?* is a somewhat unnerving song. It discusses the history of the school through a continuous line of dialogue between the new student and the old ones who it must be assumed have either left school or died. There are references to coming into the new school year as a new face and 'New Harrow name', crowds of strangers and also 'phantom sentries' and in the second verse there are references to 'Standing where your brothers prayed' and 'Who fought with death as brave men.' I could see why it was preceded by song *of the Forwards* (Harrow, 2018: 114) and was followed by *Left! Right!* (Harrow, 2018: 98) as it is quite emotionally demanding on the singer and the audience. When considering the programme planning for this concert, I believe this was an appropriate place to put *You?* This again speaks to the overall understanding and

[177] Fergus also performed the *500 Faces* solo a few years prior.

awareness of David of the emotional impact of each song included in the evening on those who are listening and those who are involved.

12.1.8 Left! Right!

This song was very enjoyable to listen to and clearly lifted the spirits after *You?* The whole school sang the majority of it other than the starred lines in verses two and three which were performed by the school XII. Again, this song displayed the understanding of the school body not only how to sing well together, but when not to sing, which is clearly assisted by David's training over the past twenty years and the historical tradition of singing the songs within the school. *Left! Right!* (Harrow, 2018: 98) was incredibly lively, and another song where I had not fully appreciated the complexity of it when reviewing the score. When I heard it performed, as with many of the other songs, I became aware of the potential performance pit falls. There are several chromatic moments which occur during the song as the melody modulates very briefly, but everyone performed the correct pitches and did so convincingly. Again, there are octave leaps on the singing of 'Left, right, left, right, left.'

The diction was excellent. The words were printed in the booklet for the guests, although the majority of guests who were Harrovians appeared to know the words anyway, but for somebody like me who was an outsider, it was useful to have the words to follow. During the performance of this song, members of the CCF (Combined Cadet Force) processed onto the stage and ceremonially presented the Head with two flags which he placed in a stand at the back of the stage. Everybody joined in on the chorus for this song and again it was clever programming to place *Left! Right!* before the guest of honour Colonel Chris Brawley an Old Harrovian who is now a US Ranger as it linked the idea of military found in this song.

12.1.9 Home to the Hill

Home to the Hill (Harrow, 2018: 134) was written by David Woodcock's predecessor, Richard Walker and has an interesting history. David discussed Richard in our pre-concert meeting and shared that Richard had quite a complicated relationship with the Harrow boys during his tenure as director of music . David was not quite sure why, but Richard did not form a positive relationship with the pupils and the boys did not respond well to him. David explained that he felt perhaps it was because Richard was trying to direct the boys in how to sing the songs whilst the boys felt they had enough ownership of the songs as Harrovians that they did not need to be told by an outsider how to perform them. Because of this, Richard had an uneasy relationship with the boys to the point that when Richard wrote new songs for the school and first put his them to the boys for rehearsal, they were booed. David explained that the boys did not see why they needed new songs when the ones they had were steeped in tradition and had been sung by several generations of Old Harrovians so what therefore was the need to add to that?[178] For whatever reason, the Harrow boys at the time did not like *Home to the Hill*.

The song was included in the book, but it was not performed regularly during Walker's time at Harrow so David wanted to get the boys to sing it when he took up post. There was some resistance to it as when David took over, there were boys in the school who still remembered Richard and whatever their dislike of him was, they put onto the song. David recounted that after Covid, and once the generation of boys that did not like Richard had left the school, he was able to gently reintroduce the song. David recounted that, interestingly, the boys then really latched onto it because there was something about it that they felt was close enough to them in age to feel relatable, even though *Home to the Hill* was written in 2002 but that it is different in feel to those songs

[178] When I conducted the interview with David, a few days after the Churchill Songs, he showed me an editorial which had been included in the previous week's Churchill songs edition of The Harrovian. The editorial was entitled 'Where is our new song' in which the student writes 'When reading Mr Soong's Letter to the Editors about the lack of new Harrow songs, I realised that the school has not received a new song to sing for many years. Now is the right time to produce a new song for Harrow; perhaps it has been waiting patiently for the right day for the last 18 years. Maybe DNW [David Woodcock] might, one day, release a masterpiece, a magnum opus, a great and glorious new Harrow song.' This illustrates that whilst the boys are proud and protective of the Harrow songs they are not averse to them being expanded but perhaps only by the contributions of those Directors of Music they have a positive relationship with or understanding of.

by Farmer, Faning or Buck. *Home to the Hill* is now liked to such a degree that it is included in the Churchill songs events. I found this quite interesting, that there *is* room for development and expansion of the song repertoire. David is keen to keep about 30 songs in rotation from the book, varying different songs over the years to ensure there is a good selection to choose from for events and occasions.

Home to the Hill has some complex rhythmic moments. Its note values are far easier than *Left! Right!* (Harrow, 2018: 98) *b*ut the counting demands attention and focus during the performance because of the ties and the bars rest throughout the piece. *Home to the Hill* is a song where it is not enough to know the melody alone as a person would expect it to start on the downbeat, but it does not. Most of the phrases begin on the second beat of the bar and pupils must understand the accompaniment on some level. There are also some very chromatic harmonies as the repetitions of "Home to the hill, home to the hill" occur, especially where the second repetition reaches a Cb as, unexpectedly, this is not the highest note in the song. The range of the song is a 10th which, when considered with its key of E flat, is a common combination found across my collection. It is however written in 2/2 to help create movement in the song but which is a far less common metre amongst the collection. It was good to hear the boys singing something that was reflective without being overly nostalgic. I suppose only the future will tell whether *Home to the Hill* will sit amongst the great songs of Harrow and whether it sits on a par with the songs by Farmer, Faning and Buck.[179]

[179] This is one of the reasons why I think David has been quite reticent to write his own song. He said that it's partly because the tradition is that the Director of music creates the music but somebody else writes the words, and he hasn't found somebody yet who wants to put words forward. I wonder whether it's partially that he is concerned that his song might have the same response from the students that Richards song did, and I'm hoping to discuss this with him in the interview to find out. He has now been at the school for 20 years, which is on a par with some of the other Directors of Music, so at some point you would imagine he will be looking to retire and this is quite an important thing to do and an important legacy to leave. There are only two or three directors of music who haven't contributed to the school Songbook and they are Reginald Michael Havergal, Hector McCarrick and John Winstanley.

12.1.10 Good Night

Good Night (Harrow, 2018: 42) was the final song performed by the school XII and it was a beautiful and moving performance. It was a very emotive performance and again, like some of the other earlier songs, there were a lot of performance directions such as several different tempo markings that were required of the performers. It is a challenging song to perform and further illustrates the high standard of the XII, why they are clearly respected within the school, and why it is a privilege for pupils to be chosen to be in this group.

The song also speaks to the ability of the pupils that Farmer had in the school at the time of composition. Whilst the school now has 800 pupils, in 1880 it had between 400 and 500. Whilst Farmer is now associated with the songs and the positive and iconic position they hold within the school; John Farmer was at this time fighting against the stigma of pupil singing and music's validity as a subject in school. Farmer's house singing event began some 10 years prior to this song being written and so shows that during that time Farmer had been able to build positive relationships with the pupils and that the pupils of the time were of a high standard and ability. As with previous songs which were performed, *Good Night* would have made an excellent teaching tool as from the phrasing and breath control and timbre to the necessary ensemble skills, there is a lot that Farmer requires of the singers.

I wonder what the standard of those first performances would have been like compared to what we have today. It would be interesting to see if there are early recordings of these in a similar way there are recordings of *40 Years On* from *1923*, with which to compare.

12.1.11 The Silver Arrow

I found *The Silver Arrow* (Harrow, 2018: 106) the least memorable of the songs from the evening. Although as a song it is perfectly palatable, it did not stay in my mind the way others did. To me at least, it felt a bit like a filler, however this may have been due in part

to knowing that *40 years On* (Harrow, 2018: 6) would be the next song. One of the reasons why *The Silver Arrow* by Percy Buck is so favoured at Harrow is because it talks about the school's history of archery. One of the compulsory items that boys had to bring to school in the early days were bow strings and arrows and I suppose therefore that this song relates back to the history of the school, which unlike Stowe is not an invented history. Everybody sang it, but there was nothing particularly memorable about it, not in the same way that *You?* (Harrow, 2018: 104) or *Home to the Hill* (Harrow, 2018: 134) were able to touch me as a listener.[180] I wonder, looking at the music for the song, if perhaps the more disjunct nature of the melody in comparison to the other songs from the evening is one of the reasons why I did not feel any connection to the song. In addition, there is very little in the form of performance directions included in the score for *The Silver Arrow*, unlike many of the other songs performed that evening, and it may be that this is why it felt quite flat and emotionless to me, a distinct contrast to my reaction to *You?* (Harrow, 2018: 104). It may also be that this lack of performance directions was a deliberate decision by Buck given that *You?* is a solo song and *The Silver Arrow* is a whole school song.

12.1.12 40 Years On

40 Years On (Harrow, 2018: 6) was the highlight of the concert. It is the song that Harrow is most well-known for which has spread to schools across the globe, both directly related to and those which are entirely unrelated to Harrow as an educational establishment. It may be argued that *40 Years On* is an educational anthem for any establishment that wants to claim or suggest a form of pedagogical validity through association with Harrow through its most famous school song.

There were some interesting performance practices with accompanied *40 Years On* that I had not been aware of and which is not written down that David explained to me before the concert. One of the things about the Churchill songs that is slightly irritating for the boys is that for Churchill songs they have booklets containing the lyrics of the songs for

[180] During the interview, David disclosed that *The Silver Arrow* was his favourite song.

that year and that they are paper booklets. When the boys sing during the school term, every boy has a copy of the Harrow songbook which is a well-made hard back copy. The tradition is that when the boys stand to sing *40 Years On,* they slam the book closed to make a universal clap sound, signifying that everybody knows the song from memory. So, David said that the boys find it frustrating that on the Churchill songs Evening, when they are coming together to sing this song, and it is and important moment because it comes at the end of the concert just before *Old Lang Syne* and the national anthem, that when they close the booklet, it is not as satisfying a thud as when they close the books.

As expected, the performance of *40 Years On* was electrifying and for this song the Old Harrovians on stage were also invited to stand as they have their own verse which is verse three. On this occasion, there were 800 boys plus the staff who were singing and when it reached verse 3 the numbers performing dropped to approximately 40 people. It must be noted however that this was by no means a weak sounding verse, the Old Harrovians really give it their all because it is *their* verse. Returning to the idea of the continuation of a tradition, one of the positive things about having that verse in the song is pupils can *graduate* from being in the school and not permitted to sing it, to being one of those people, potentially 40 years on, who then gets to sing that special verse when the rest of the school is not allowed. There are other interesting rites of passage that can be found within the song for example one of the 'follow-ups' in the chorus is sung by the XII and in the chorus of the verse of the Old Harrovians they sing the first 'follow up' section and then everybody sings the final 'follow up' of that verse which had a large emotional impact upon the listener.

It was interesting to just be sitting on the stage during this song and to feel that I could not sing. I had two guests to my right-hand side; one was a lady and one was a gentleman and the gentleman was clearly an Old Harrovian. I do not know who they were but myself and the lady remained seated. She did not sing and I did not sing but I did have a moment of thinking that if I were a staff member, I could sing this but I am not in the community, so I can't. I felt almost a sense of regret that the song is not for me, and I wonder then how other schools that use *40 Years On* feel about the song and their ownership of it? Despite the fact they sing the song there must be some level of

dissonance between their relationship with the song and a Harrovians relationship with the song. I did not feel like I could sing along to any of the verses because it was not my community, it would have been wrong. There was an awareness that you were almost an intruder who did not have the right to sing it even though female members of staff were, but I was invited to guest.

I *know* that *40 Years On* is the national anthem of Harrow, as the quote states, 'Wherefore we stand to sing it' and there *was* a very anthemic feel about this. Even though, in my opinion, it is not the best song out of the ones that were performed on that evening, it has got an inherently militaristic feel to it and because it has the verses that the Old Harrovians sing and that the XII sing it is clearly a full community anthem.

I would imagine that *40 Years On* for Harrovians brings the same pride and sense of belonging to perform as the Welsh national anthem does for me. Wherever I am, I feel a connection to that anthem which connects me to Wales. Harrow must feel the same about *40 Years On*. There will be other countries such as Patagonia, where people can and do and sing the Welsh national anthem, or in the case of Patagonia a textually edited version, but as a Welsh person that is *my* national anthem.

I feel fortunate to have been there for the Churchill songs and to have seen them in the place where it started, in that room and on the stage where Churchill stood and gave those talks. Even as an outsider, to have that connection to the performance practice tradition of those songs as part of the whole event and to see the culmination of the rehearsals and indeed the tradition to that point in time was a fascinating and rewarding experience.

12.2 Orchestral Arrangements

After the concerts I discussed the orchestral arrangements performed during the evening with David. He informed me that several of them were originals made by the composers but some he had arranged himself. Some of the keys of the songs performed were challenging as they had been lowered over time to better fit within the range of the

pupil's voices, however the orchestra had no issues and their performance was of a very high standard. From the booklet which accompanied the event I was able to see that most orchestral performers were music scholars. There were a few visiting music teachers within the orchestra and I believe it was a member of staff played on the organ but the ability and skill of the orchestra in following David's direction through the difficult tempi changes over the course of the evening should not be underestimated. Their performance was equally as impressive as the singing of the whole school.

12.3 Afterthoughts

One of the benefits of attending the concert, having studied the words and the music of these songs for the past few years, was it raised my awareness of the difference between the songs on the page and the songs in performance. When playing through songs as a researcher to get an idea of their character, it is not possible to fully appreciate the nuances of the songs as Farmer and the boys would have experienced them. The *Sign* and the *Object* must be considered equally to gain a full understanding of the song, or as full an understanding as possible for someone outside of a school's community, even though I may be considered a privileged observer.

500 Faces (Harrow, 2018: 46) gained its title because when Farmer wrote the song there were 500 students at Harrow, but this has now changed and with 800 pupils on the role it may be even more stressful for the modern soloists than those who sang it before. However, even with the significant changes to the school when considering pupil number and pupil profile, the room they sing in *is* the room where these songs were performed for the very first Churchill Songs, and where the songs will continue to be sung for the foreseeable future. Hearing these songs in the environment they were written for, sung by the community they were written for, both current and past, was very different to what I had imagined, and I felt captivated by the performances that took place, even though it wasn't my community. To be a guest, to witness these songs and to have the boys sat all around you, was an incredible opportunity.

12.4 The Harrovian Letter

CORRESPONDENCE
Letters to the Editors

DEAR SIRS,
Last week, I had the joy of attending Churhill Songs, singing to my heart's content our classics songs, such as the *Silver Arrow* and *40 Years On*. However, one song just doesn't fit in well, that being *Home to The Hill*. Most Harrow songs tell of the glory of the School, whether it be through our distinguished alumni, or perhaps practices engrained in our School's history such as Bill, but *Home to The Hill* has none of this. This song has attracted, somehow, an almost cult-like following, with some people I have asked referring to the song as 'strangely captivating' or even 'a decent song' – although a hint of reluctance and pain was on the face of the boy whom I asked.

WHERE IS OUR NEW SONG

For many glorious years, DNW has been Director of Music at Harrow School. He has done an excellent job leading our 450 Churchill Songs event in the Royal Albert Hall, commanding us in harmony for St Paul's and Westminster Cathedral, and planning our wonderful Glees and XIIs event every year. He has worked tirelessly throughout the year, every year, for nearly 20 years to keep Harrow School's Music Department afloat. We thank him for his efforts in this regard.

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Yet, when reading Mr Soong's Letter to the Editors about the lack of new Harrow songs, I realised that the School has not received a new song to sing for many years. Now is the right time to produce a new song for Harrow; perhaps it has been waiting patiently for the right day for the last 18 years. Maybe DNW might, one day, release a masterpiece, a magnum opus, a great and glorious new Harrow song.

However, I must ask during this "Songs Edition" – why do we sing only a few songs? Throughout the year, at all the events, we sing but a select few songs on slight rotation. For example, *St Joles* features only at Churchill Songs, but the Songs Book is large (and hopefully only getting larger), so I must sit and ponder with a Songs Book in hand as to why we never sing all the songs in the book. Have they been deemed too inappropriate for schoolboys to sing (I have heard rumours of a forgotten *October* verse)? Have we collectively decided that they are not up to the high standards that our Songs events meet year after year?

I, of course, understand the difficulty in teaching hundreds of boys, all at once on a Monday morning after Speech Room, how to sing a brand-new song – but I feel that an attempt ought to be made. After all, what better way is there to celebrate our past and refound our future than singing a song from the forgotten depths of the Songs Book in a new age?

SWIMMING
ESSA, Birmingham, 18 November

On Saturday 18th of November, during exeat, our twelve fastest Harrovians travelled to the Birmingham Commonwealth Games pool for the nationals medley and freestyle relays.

The Seniors: Nick Finch, *Newlands*, Captain Kiefer Yeo, The Headmaster's, Adam Wong, *The Park*, Kevin Cao, *The Grove*, Tom Pearce, *Newlands* and Alex Moore, *Lyon's*.

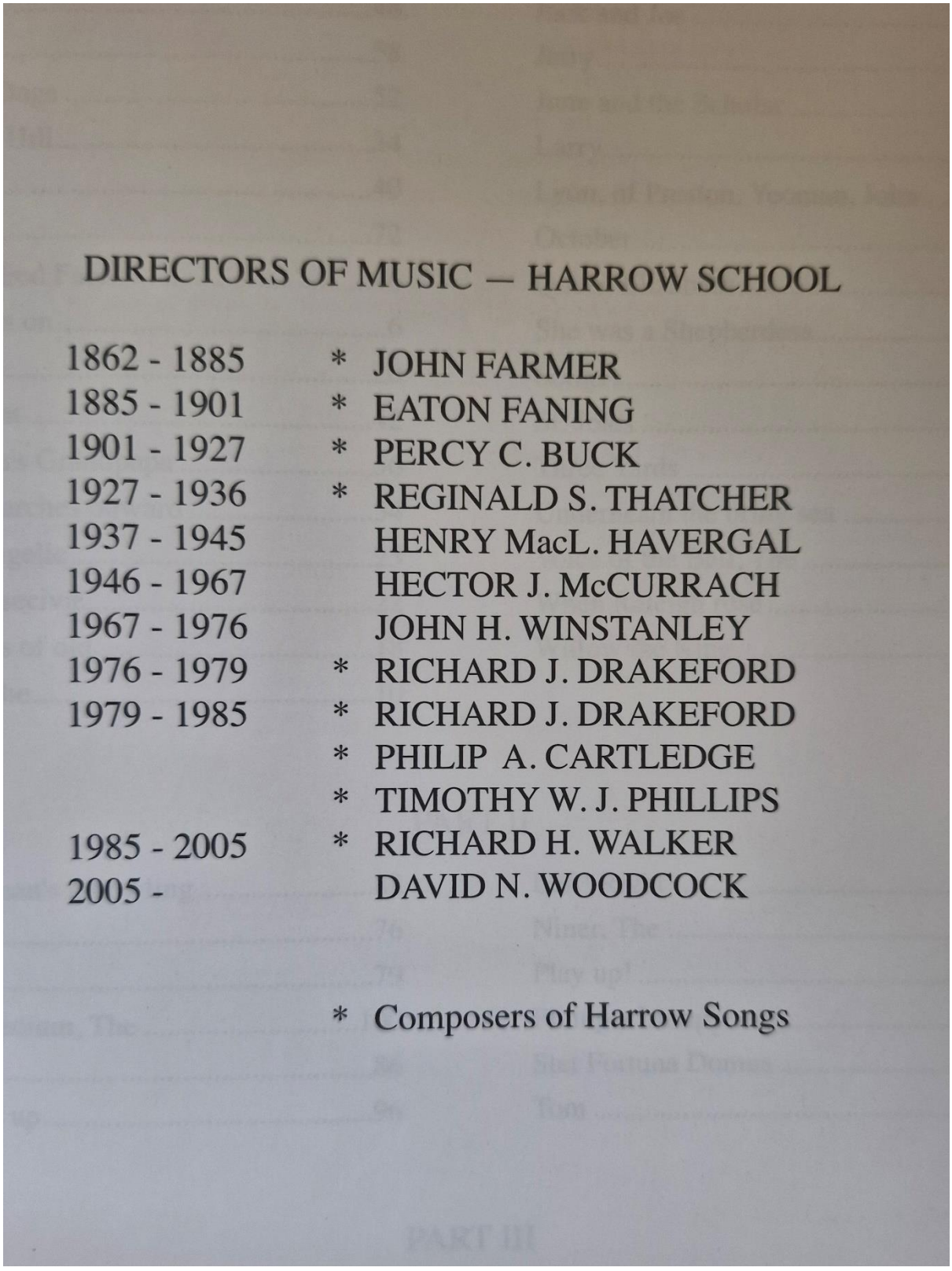
The intermediate boys: Kevin Zhu, Bradby's, Mir Hamid, Bradby's, Eric Li, *The Park*, Henry Gilbertson, *Newlands*, Stirling Smith, *Lyon's*, and Darell Yeoh, *Lyon's*.

The competition was tough but Harrow did not shy away. In the 4 x 50m medley, our senior boys came 4th behind swimming academies in the National final but unfortunately were disqualified for a minor mistake from Finch. Moore, Yeo, and Wong all swam best times.

In the Senior 4 x 50m freestyle Harrow placed 7th overall where Yeo, Pearce, Moore and Cao all swam personal best times. Two boys had been unwell that week but showed Courage and Fellowship and never asked to rest.



12.5 List of Directors of Music at Harrow



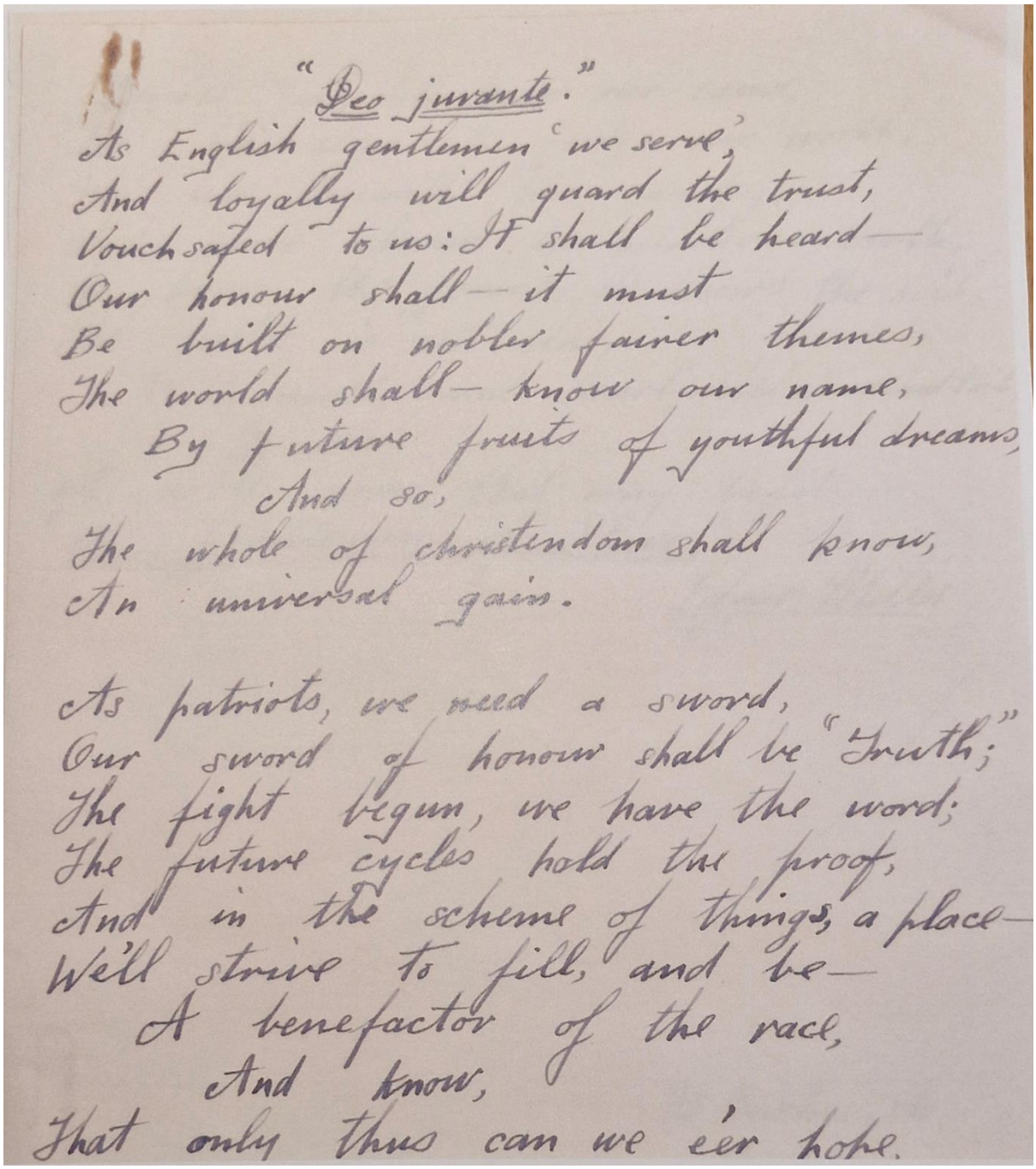
DIRECTORS OF MUSIC — HARROW SCHOOL

1862 - 1885	*	JOHN FARMER
1885 - 1901	*	EATON FANING
1901 - 1927	*	PERCY C. BUCK
1927 - 1936	*	REGINALD S. THATCHER
1937 - 1945		HENRY MacL. HAVERGAL
1946 - 1967		HECTOR J. McCURRACH
1967 - 1976		JOHN H. WINSTANLEY
1976 - 1979	*	RICHARD J. DRAKEFORD
1979 - 1985	*	RICHARD J. DRAKEFORD
	*	PHILIP A. CARTLEDGE
	*	TIMOTHY W. J. PHILLIPS
1985 - 2005	*	RICHARD H. WALKER
2005 -		DAVID N. WOODCOCK

* Composers of Harrow Songs

13 STOWE SCHOOL SONG TEXTS

13.1 Deo Jurante



"Deo Jurante."

As English gentlemen we serve,
And loyally will guard the trust,
Vouchsafed to us: It shall be heard—
Our honour shall—it must
Be built on nobler fairer themes,
The world shall—know our name,
By future fruits of youthful dreams,
And so,
The whole of christendom shall know,
An universal gain.

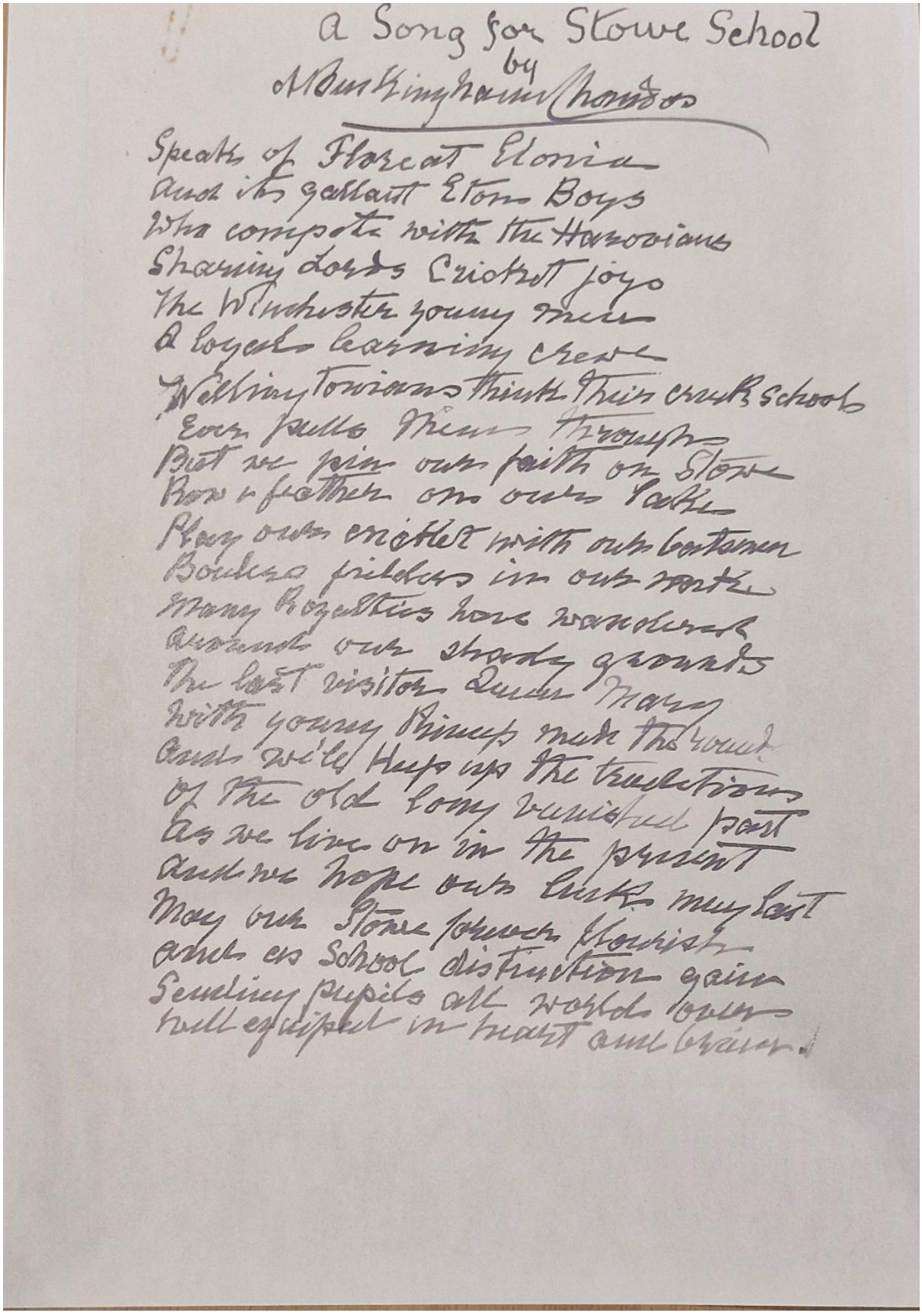
As patriots, we need a sword,
Our sword of honour shall be "Truth;"
The fight begun, we have the word;
The future cycles hold the proof,
And in the scheme of things, a place—
We'll strive to fill, and be—
A benefactor of the race,
And know,
That only thus can we e'er hope.

"Eternal God", doth know our cause,
'Tis his alone to judge our worth,
We live beneath his canopy,
And move abroad the bounteous earth;
He knows the ground, He knows the soil;
The battle — is not slow,
With mind and heart, we'll strive and toil,
To win,
A noble name, that may befit —
"A Gentleman of Stowe."

Edgar Miller

28 Bowstonville,

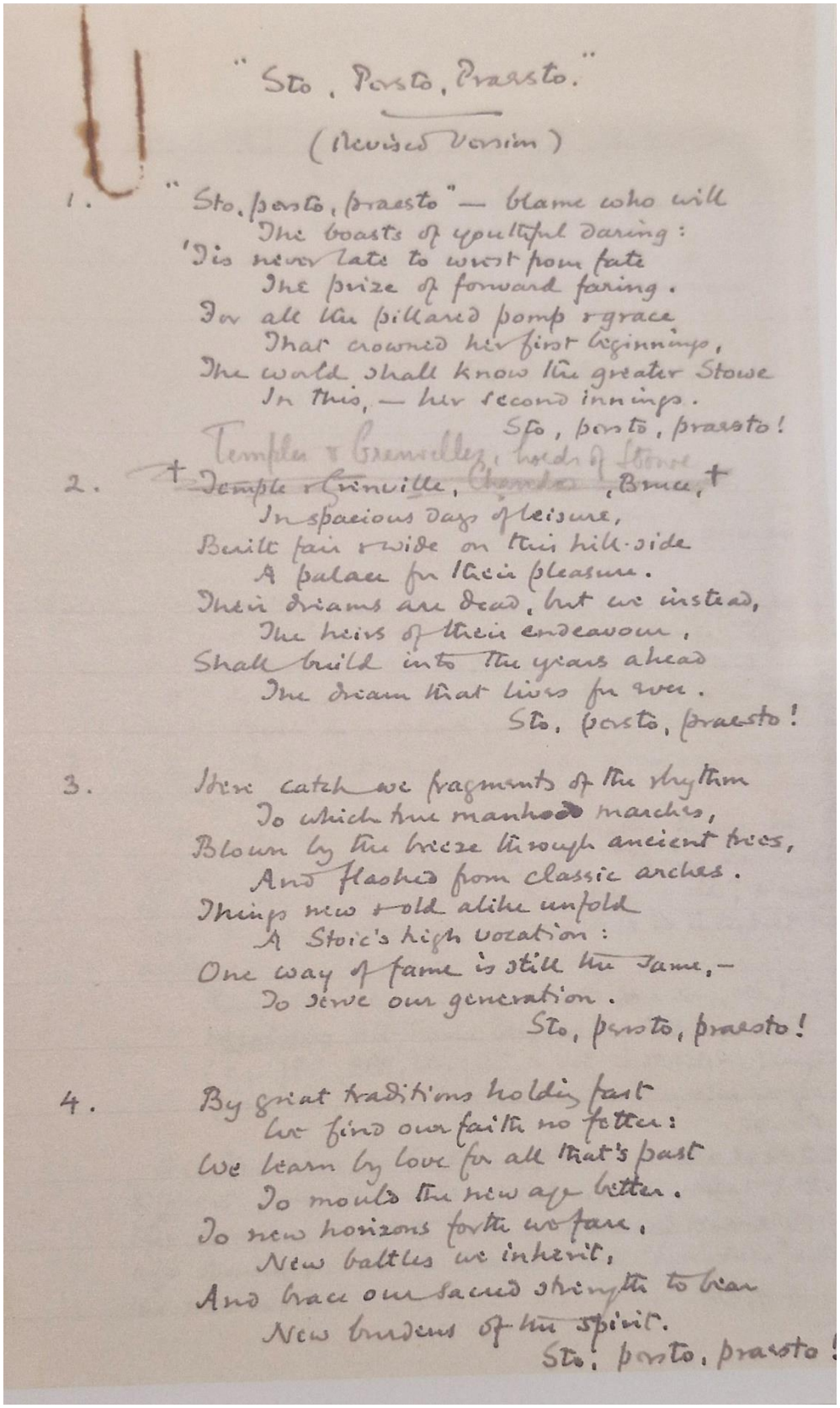
13.2 A song for Stowe School



A Song for Stowe School
by
Buckingham Chandos

Speak of Floreat Etonia
And its gallant Eton Boys
Who compete with the Harrovians
Sharing Lords Cricket joys
The Winchester young men
A loyal learning crew
Welding Tonians think their rugby school
Ever pulls them through
But we pin our faith on Stowe
Bow & feather on our hats
Play our cricket with our batsmen
Bowlers fielders in our mats
Many Royalties have wandered
Around our shady grounds
The last visitor Queen Mary
With young Princes made the round
And we'll keep up the traditions
Of the old long vanished past
As we live on in the present
And we hope our link may last
May our Stowe School flourish
And its School distinction gain
Sending pupils all World over
Well equipped in heart and brain!

13.3 Stowe Persto Praesto!



"Sto. Persto. Praesto."

(Revised Version)

1. "Sto. persto. praesto" — blame who will
The boasts of youthful daring:
'Tis never late to wrest from fate
The prize of forward faring.
For all the pillared pomp & grace
That crowned her first beginnings,
The world shall know the greater Stowe
In this, — her second innings.
Sto, persto, praesto!

2. † Temple & Grenville, Lords of Stowe
† Temple & Grenville, Chandos, Bruce, †
In spacious days of leisure,
Built fair & wide on this hill-side
A palace for their pleasure.
Their dreams are dead, but we instead,
The heirs of their endeavour,
Shall build into the years ahead
The dream that lives for ever.
Sto. persto, praesto!

3. Here catch we fragments of the rhythm
To which true manhood marches,
Blown by the breeze through ancient trees,
And flashed from classic arches.
Things new & old alike unfold
A Stoic's high vocation:
One way of fame is still the same, —
To serve our generation.
Sto, persto, praesto!

4. By great traditions holding fast
We find our faith no fetter:
We learn by love for all that's past
To mould the new age better.
To new horizons forth we fare,
New battles we inherit,
And trace our sacred strength to bear
New burdens of the spirit.
Sto. persto. praesto!

5. So, standing firm for God & truth,
For gentleness & duty,
For daring hopes & dreams of youth,
For wisdom's sober beauty,
Each son of Stowe, where'er he go,
Shall wield her sword of honour,
And all the passing ages show
God's blessing still upon her.
Sto, per sto, prae sto!

E.A.B.

21.v.24.

Notes. – 1. Is the opening too obscure? It is an attempt to bring out the force of the juxtaposition of per sto ("by a narrow shave") & prae sto ("in spite of starting late".)

2. Is "second innings" merely bathos, or is it a "happy touch" in a school song?!

† 3. "Names, please!" – make your own selection so long as they scan.

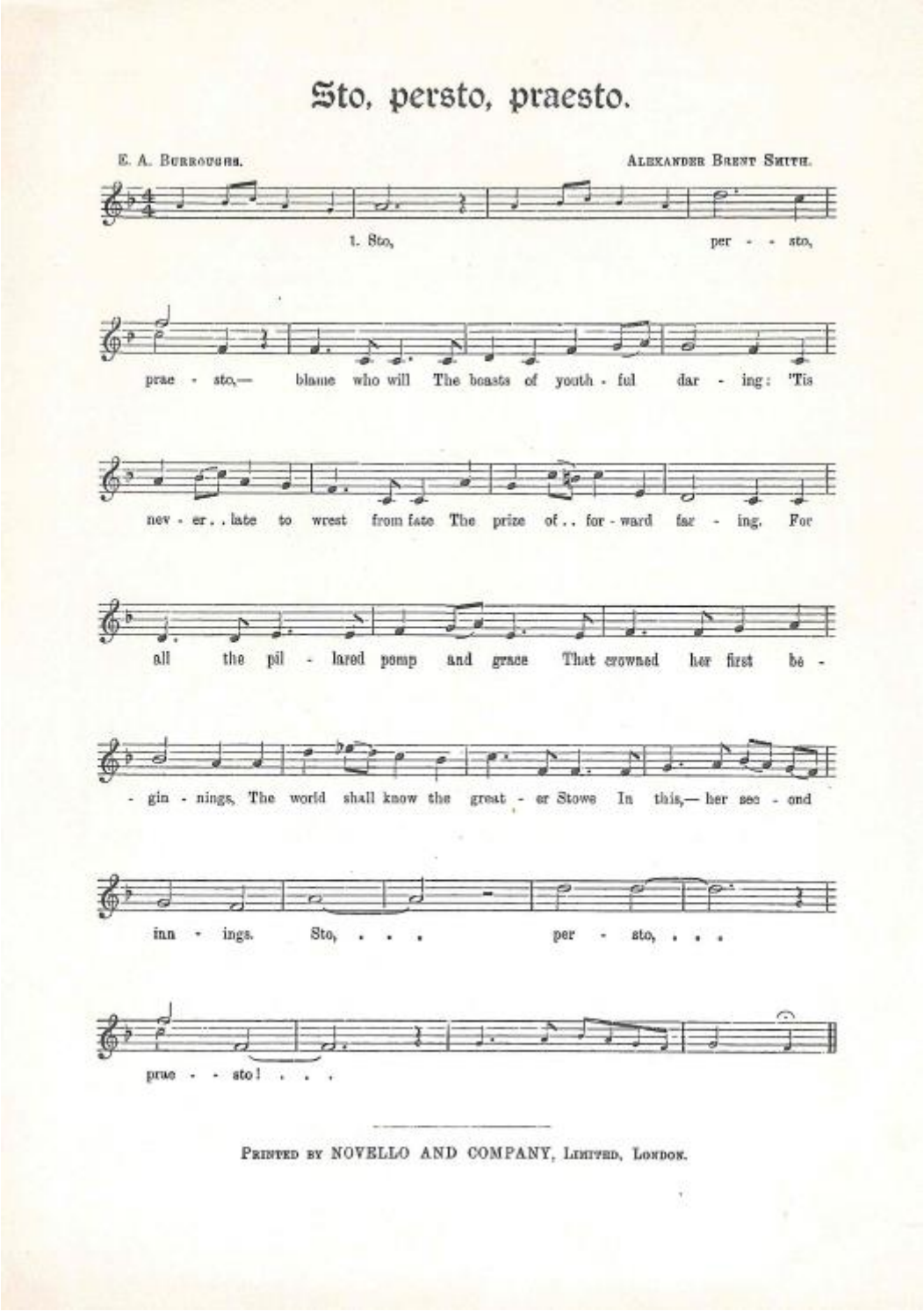
4. The transition from new matter to old in stanza 3 is the shakiest, but "Things new-old" is a little vaguer than "New days old"; & maybe helps to cloud it over. If one had to interpret the whole, one might say –

"Things Old" (e.g. ruins, park sold for a song, etc.) impress negatively the same lessons as "Things New" (e.g. VFR, EPH, etc. giving moral instruction) impress positively, – viz. 'we lose what on ourselves we spend', etc. etc.

5. The ethos of the opening phrase is now so entirely different from "The world's great age", etc., that I think the composer ought to have a chance of reconsidering his opening, – which doesn't quite "convince" with the new words.

E.A.B.

13.4 Sto, Persto, Praesto! Melody Part



Sto, persto, praesto.

E. A. Burroughs. Alexander Brent Smith.

1. Sto, per - - sto,

prae - sto,— blame who will The boasts of youth - ful dar - ing: 'Tis

nev - er . . late to wrest from fate The prize of . . for - ward far - ing. For

all the pil - lared pomp and grace That crowned her first be -

- gin - nings, The world shall know the great - er Stowe In this,— her sec - ond

inn - ings. Sto, . . . per - sto, . . .

prae - - sto! . . .

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STO, PERSTO, PRAESTO.

